

MOTIVATION: AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF PERSONAL MANAGEMENT

Ozokwere Helen Nkechi

Ph. d, M.ed, B.ed, NCE, PGD (PUB), MAP.
Associate Professor of Education Management
drozokwere@gmail.com
08033180453

Department of Educational Management, Faculty of Education
Tansian University Umunya Anambra State

Abstract

This paper explored motivation as an integral part of personnel management. It looked at some theoretical perspectives of motivation as a critical support function of school administrators. The topic evolved from basic duties of personnel management. Organisation of the paper began with an introduction that set forth the topic parameter and its rationale. This was followed by the contextual meaning of motivation as it related to management of personnel in education industry. The chapter provided a tutorial for management students, personnel managers and school administrators as a whole, where they can embrace the basics as well as advanced concepts that are related to motivation processes. Some of the significant topics dealt with in this paper were: Motivation incentives, Ways for building staff motivation in school organization, Motivational need analysis, Features of good motivation, Motivational challenges and the way out. The paper was concluded with some suggested strategies to facilitate motivation, which if implemented, would help to improve performance amongst staff and achieve high productivity in school organization.

Keywords:

INTRODUCTION

Systems theory of human resource by Vroom (1964) viewed organization, which school is part of, as a system that gears itself to attain set objectives. According to the theory, an organization has inputs, outputs and processes that are involved in carrying out its activities towards realization of its objectives. Motivation, as a process of committing expertise for the purpose of doing more than the minimum requirement, captures the core aspect of human resource management and is viewed as the input an organization should not toy with. Human resource management function goes beyond routine task of hiring, checking attendance, looking at payroll, processing pays and benefits, etc., to actually bringing the function that plays a critical and crucial role in

the employee motivation. Some school administrators and personnel managers are found more or less lagging behind in facilitating their employees towards healthy mindset and in creating a better atmosphere in the work place. There are certain elements that administrators would bring into an organization to make it a better place for work. Such answers the question of how healthy is the relation between subordinates and the concerned authority. Concomitant with the advent of globalization, proliferation of technology, stressful financial situations and so on, personnel management function changes correspondingly. Hence the need for a shift in the way personnel management should be conceptualized. The present conceptualization means that employees have to be not only remunerated but also enabled to actualise their dreams. This is because human resource is thought to be the bridge between performance and production. The work force, being central in the organization's strategy, remains the chief determinant of profit. Efficient organizations identify their employees as the chief asset and something that can give them competitive advantage over their rivals. The point here is that no longer were employees treated like any other asset. Personnel are the center of attraction and attention in the change paradigm. This calls for motivational function to be envisaged by personnel managers as fulfilling a role that was aimed at in satisfying employees, instead of being just a mediator and negotiator. Therefore motivation of the work force in this paper have evolved from the basic duties of personnel administration in the education system.

The Contextual Meaning of Motivation in Management of Personnel

Motivation denotes a person's needs, desires, wants or urges. The term refers to a degree of readiness and determination to pursue some designated goals. It is the interest or drive of having a strong reason to act or accomplish something. Motivation is that force that arouses action, fuels an individual to perform and sustains activity in progress. It is an internal process; a condition inside a person that desires a change. Attitudes, perceptions, behaviors and viewpoints of people in an organization make great impact. These are the internal feelings which can be understood only by the administrator who is in close contact with the employee, therefore he can frame plans accordingly. Staff motivation is a continuous process because it is based on needs which are unlimited and diverse. In the work-goal context, various psychological factors stimulating people's behaviour can be: desire for money, success, recognition, job satisfaction, team work and the like. Many motivation theorists which include Maslow (1954), Herzberg (1968) Alderfer (1972) and others, propounded different levels of human needs that guide motivation. The central idea of all the theories of

motivation is that one is motivated to perform an action if one believes that he can perform it. The common factor among the theorists was that actions are motivated by certain physiological and psychological needs that progress from basic to complex. Thus motivation will have different effects on each individual because it is based on human behavior. The most valuable asset of any organization is its personnel and the most crucial driving force is the level of their morale and motivation. Morale generally related to the feeling of individual comfort, happiness and satisfaction from his job, his work group, his superior, the organization he works for and the environment. Morale is a mental condition of group or individuals, which determines their attitude. It is a fusion of employees' attitudes, behaviours, manifestation of views and opinions; all taken together in the work scenario that exhibit the employees' feelings towards work, working terms and relations with their colleagues. High morale implies determination at work and it is essential as a motivational factor in achievement of management objectives. High morale results in healthy and safe work environment while low morale has the feature of greater grievance and conflict, dissatisfaction with the superiors, absenteeism, frustration, decrease in productivity and lack of motivation.

However, motivation may either be intrinsic if the activity is desired because it is inherently interesting and enjoyable, whereas motivation may be extrinsic if the goal attracts tangible and visible external reward distinct in itself. Extrinsic motivation has monetary value such as salary hike, bonus, etc. Both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations have beneficial outcomes. In this case, the most important function of the management is to create willingness amongst staff to perform in the best of their abilities. Therefore, the role of motivation remains to arouse interest and high morale in performance of the staff on duty. In this context, the process of motivation consists of three stages. First is the felt need or drive, second is the stimulus in which the need has to be aroused, third and finally the need is satisfied for accomplishment of goals. Thus, motivation could be described as a psychological phenomenon, which means that needs and wants of the personnel have to be tackled by framing an incentive plans.

Motivation Incentives

It is a natural thing that nobody acts without a purpose behind the action. In a work place, people behave in a way they believe will lead to a reward, and avoid actions that may entail punishment. There are some stimuli which can drive workers to better behavior. Such things that incite or tend to encourage a person to action, put greater effort, especially to work harder for high performance, are what we call incentives. Incentive is a stimulant. It spurs, lures, provokes and persuades persons to alter their

behaviours in the desired manner. By the basic law of behavior, incentive matters a lot. Higher level of incentive amounts to greater level of effort and therefore higher level of performance. Strong powerful incentive, really, can work to accomplish the goal of a concern. A hope for a reward is a powerful incentive to motivate personnel in the organization. There are two categories of motivation incentives;

1. **Monetary Incentives:** These are financial incentives used in the workplace, which help encourage workers to increase their performance and meet their targets. They are cash or gifts with monetary values, given to workers to recognize and encourage good work. It is a given fact that most people are not motivated to work unless money is involved. Thus monetary incentive can come in the form of bonuses, commissions, etc. These have been recognized as a chief source of satisfying the needs of people. Money is helpful in satisfying economic needs by providing various material items. It satisfy not only economic needs but also security and social needs. Therefore, various wage plans and bonus schemes should be introduced to motivate and stimulate people at work.
2. **Non-Monetary Incentive:** As the term suggests, non-monetary incentives are non-cash benefits that are used to reward people outside of the normal money compensation and benefit packages. Incentives which cannot be measured in terms of money are under the category of non-monetary incentives. Examples of non-monetary incentives fall into: recognition, opportunity, flexibility, paid leaves, mentorship, office parties, team building, awards, gifts, and all other means other than money. These non-financial incentives can satisfy the ego and self-actualization of workers. Personnel managers have to satisfy the psychological needs of the subordinate by making use of non-financial incentives. Pfeil (2013) added to the non- monetary incentive to include the following types:
 - a. **Security of Service:** Job security as non financial incentive will put the employee very far off from mental tension of losing his job and he will put maximum effort to achieve objectives and always give his best to the organization.
 - b. **Job Enrichment:** This is another non- monetary incentive in which the job of a worker can be enriched by increasing his responsibilities, giving him an important designation and so on. In this way, efficient workers can get challenging jobs in which they can prove their worth. Thus, Brigg (2002) said “motivate your employees by offering more changing jobs.

- c. **Flexible Working Hour:** This involves giving employees time to work on their own projects. Giving an employee some more time to take off, developing solutions to support their work, would certainly be a well received award.
- d. **Promotion Opportunities:** This is an effective tool to increase the spirit to work with concern. If employees are provided with opportunities for advancement and growth, they feel satisfied and contented, thus become more committed to the organization.
- e. **Suggestion Scheme:** Inviting suggestion schemes from the subordinates creates a spirit of participation in the employees. This motivates the employees to feel important and can search for innovative methods that can be applied for betterment of the organization.

School administrators and personnel managers should frame effectively, the above non-financial tools and give concentration to the needs of the staff. Whenever personnel manager has to satisfy the psychological needs of the subordinate, he makes use of non-financial incentives.

Generally, the need for incentive, both monetary and non-monetary can be many:

- i. To increase productivity
- ii. Arouse stimulus work
- iii. Drives job satisfaction
- iv. Shape outlook of subordinates towards work.
- v. Inculcate zeal and enthusiasm towards work.
- vi. To get maximum workers' capabilities and utilize them maximally. Therefore, management has to offer categories of incentives in order to motivate workers types of need.

Ways for Building Staff Motivation in an Organization

Personnel are the building block of every organization. Organizational success depends on their collective efforts. They will collectively contribute to organizational growth when they are motivated. Vroom and Lee (1964) described a positive workplace and wrote that some ways administrators can facilitate staff motivation are as follows:

1. **Evaluate Yourself:** Control your own behavior as a manager. Work upon yourself, utilize your strength to neutralize or lower the negative impact of your weakness or organizational threat.
2. **Be familiar with your staff:** A cordial superior-subordinate relationship is a key factor in job satisfaction.
3. **Induction of new employees:** School administrator or personnel managers should fully participate in new employees' induction programme after recruitment. This is the first stage when the potential entrants start creating their impressions and desires about the job and the organization.
4. **Feedback to staff:** Giving regular and constructive feedback on real facts helps a lot. It boosts staff morale and will thus motivate them.
5. **Effective time management:** Having control over time ensures that things are done in right manner. There should be "open" time when staff freely communication and interact. There is need for interaction forum with staff, where they can ask for clarifications and also get attention, so that they will not feel neglected. This will work in long run to motivate staff.
6. **Stress management:** This create an environment in which staff can work within optimum pressure levels. Give staff autonomy in work. Identify stress symptoms in staff and deal with them. This will boost staff morale.
7. **Counseling:** Staff counseling deals truly well with the employees. It provides an incentive and support which enable the staff to achieve his identity. Staff feelings towards the work, their peer, their superior and their future, can be effectively managed through staff counseling.
8. **Learning Opportunities:** Let staff consistently learn new skills on the job. Continuing learning is the best way to remain employable and curb the risk of job insecurity. Give opportunities to develop staff skills and competencies, and then make best use of the skills. This, as a motivation, gives job satisfaction.
9. **Acknowledge staff achievements:** Giving a note of credit or some words of praise to the staff member at personal level, with some form of broad publicity, can motivate staff a lot. Mention staff outstanding achievement in official newsletters or institutional journals, especially such staff that meet or over exceeded the target.

10. Provide benefits: Benefits such as bonuses, payment of overtime, health and family insurance, giving breaks, vacations from work, etc give job satisfaction to workers.

11. Set examples: Set examples for your staff to follow. Staff would learn from what you do as the Head and not from what you say or claim. Be a role model because your staff are closely observing your gestures and body language.

In a nut shell, proven ways to build staff motivation maintained that environment should be made a pleasant place to work, be a respectful, honest and supportive manager. Money and benefits are important, yet, they are not the only motivating factors. Recent studies such as Burgers (2015), Graham and Bennett (2019) and Edugas (2021) found that the most motivational factor for employees are good work-life balance, as highlighted above.

Motivation Need Analysis (MNA)

This is the diagnostic phase of motivation plan. Motivation need analysis is assessing which type and level of needs are necessary in motivating staff of an organization. Need analysis is a critical step, and identifying gaps in the need is the key to the assessment process. The first and foremost step in the motivation need analysis measures the competencies of the organization, the group or workforce and the individual, as they relate to what is required. The purpose is to identify performance requirement, the knowledge, skills and abilities needed by the workforce to meet the requirements of the organization. The second is to find out if motivation will help achievement and if so, what kind of incentives are needed. Effective motivational need assessment considers questions like: who needs motivation? What form will the motivation take? How will the benefit be transformed to the job? An effective motivation need assessment will help direct resources to areas of greatest demand. Thus the process of motivation need assessment can be divided into 5 steps, viz:

- i. Identify the need.
- ii. Determine design of the need
- iii. Collect data on the need from relevant sources
- iv. Analyse the data for specification
- v. Provide feedback for the take off action.

There are three areas of concentration in analyzing motivation need. They are organizational analysis, operational analysis and individual analysis. Thus, motivation need analysis incorporate issues related to employee and organizational needs. It involves monitoring current situation of the organization using observation, interview or even questionnaire; anticipating future failures and identifying the type and level of motivation required to improve the situation.

Advantages of MNA

By conducting motivational need analysis, Weightman (2008) wrote that one can have the following advantages:

1. Identify the right motivation incentive, and then focus on the most important.
2. Recognize the right personnel and what they need, then target on the specifics.
3. Proper motivational need analysis will determine the correct method of distributing the employee needs.
4. Address the resources required to fulfill the staff needs and provide the quality motivation services.
5. Identify the necessary needs of the employee. Often times, some administrators believe they know what their staff need, but there could be gap in the knowledge. The MNA will help to close such gap by ensuring that every staff is incorporated and gets the most possible benefit.
6. An assessment will help validate need requirements.
7. By conducting a need analysis, organizations finds it easy to target the need which is to be supplied at a particular point and which need can be left, for later.
8. Prepare for specific motivation: By conducting MNA, one can learn which needs are best for specific positions and specific jobs.
9. Structural improvement: MNA gives a structure to the organization. When series of analysis are conducted, it helps to organize the need items in a structural manner.
10. MNA helps staff to be more motivated, perform better and have high job satisfaction, as a result, maintains a stronger work culture.

Features of a Good Motivation System

A sound motivation system in every organization must have specific features. Steel (2012) outlined essential features of a good motivation system which administrators should practice. They include:

1. Motivation System must be modified to the situation and correlate to the goals of the institution. That is to say that, individual goals must be harmonized with the institutional goals.
2. Management approach should be participative; by involving relevant units in decision-making process about staff motivation.
3. The motivation system should accommodate both monetary as well as non-monetary rewards.
4. Motivation should be based on employee's action towards the goal and not the fame of the staff.
5. Sound motivation system should encourage supportive supervision whereby the supervisor should share views and experiences with the subordinates.
6. Motivation of personnel must be dealt with, in fair and just manner.
7. A superior performance should be duly acknowledged and reasonably rewarded. If the performance is not consistently up to the work, then the system must make provisions for penalties.
8. Carrot and stick approach should be implemented to motivate both efficient and inefficient staff, respectively. That is to say; treating good performance with a positive reinforcement as carrot, to spur inner move toward it, whereas negative consequences should be treated using stick, to move away from it.

Motivational Challenges and the Way Out:

Motivation of employees becomes challenging especially when the organization has considerably faced inadequacies of finance, or when the employees are burn out because of certain reasons. There are things that can de-motivate or prevent motivation even when the incentives are there. Such obstacles can be identified and removed by looking from the challenges perspectives. Greezy and Aldo (2000), while addressing common motivational challenges, listed some causes of motivation problems such as:

1. **Lack of adequate materials:** Inadequate materials or equipment to complete assignment can cause a motivational problem in the workforce. Employees feel undervalued because the management does not provide the necessary assets to achieve steady productivity. In order to remedy the situation, work materials must be adequate both in the right quantity and quality.
2. **Abundant Choice:** When options are too plentiful, they can overwhelm the person with inactions. The thought of moving ahead becomes exhausting. Therefore, narrow your choices to just very few options and ignore the unnecessaries.
3. **Perfectionism:** Being perfect isn't possible. Failing is an essential part of the journey. We learn by trial and error.
4. **Fear of Success:** Low self-esteem can compromise your view of success. You doubt that success is possible and lack the motivation to attain it. Look to the past and acknowledge your small and large successes. Be aware of your current accomplishments. Practice noticing and appreciating your wins, then build from the past to reduce your fear and boost your confidence.
5. **Lack of clarity:** When you don't know which step is next or the specific objective of what you are doing, you can quickly become de-motivated. Take a step back, set aside time to revisit your project, goals and values, shift and make time to adjust.
6. **Exhaustion:** Sleep is essential for optimal mind and body functioning. When exhausted, it is difficult to remain motivated. Review your current sleep pattern and make necessary adjustments. It is said that many adults need between 7-9 hours of sleep per night.
7. **Comparison:** Focusing on how do I or not measure up compared to other colleagues, friends, neighbours and families will only promote unproductive thinking. It is a sure way of de-motivating oneself. It is said that comparison is the thief of joy. Forget about "grass is greener" concept and practice contentment. Focus on your success, desires natural gifts and dreams. Build and encourage a life that is uniquely yours.
8. **Excuses:** These are the negative messages we repeatedly tell ourselves which prevent us from doing the necessary things. Be aware of excuse that are not useful, real or true and begin to challenge them when they appear.

- 9. Drudgery:** Routines can be helpful but can become so tedious that we lack the motivation to maintain them. If you are feeling bored, add the fun factor to the equation. Playing up beat music and bringing mood boosting to colour your environment could make a difference to your pattern. Have a change in the pace or sequence of the routine. Alter one element at a time.
- 10. Patience:** When things are not happening as fast as you expected, it can demotivate you to continue. Strive to achieve. Do take time and extend your patience.
- 11. Distractions:** When your attention is pulled into too many distractions, you can lose focus and the motivation to work on what is most important. Pay attention to the distraction-makers. Minimize distractions during certain times of your work.

Conclusion

Summarily, motivation has metamorphosed with perceptible shift in its usual way. The point being re-emphasised is that no longer were staff of organizations treated like every other asset. Motivation is becoming more enamors each day in the life of every organization. Therefore, the power of motivation cannot be denied. Administrators should manage subordinates in a non-stop barrage of motivation on real times. It is considered an exclusive responsibility of administrators and personnel managers in the organizations, to keep the employees motivated. Implementing some of the suggested strategies will help keep them back on the track.

References

- Alderfer, C.P. (1972). *Existence, relatedness and growth: Human needs in organizational setting*. New York. The Free Press.
- Braggs, T. (2002). Motivate your employee by offering more interesting challenging job experiences. *Louisville Business First*. 1(2) 210-215.
- Burgers, C., Eden, A., Van, E. & Buningh, S. (2015). How feedback boost motivation and play in a brain-training game. *Computers in Human Behaviour*. Doi: 10.1016/j.chh.2015.01.03. ISSN 0747-5632. 94-103.
- Edugas, P. (2001). The benefits of a motivated workforce. *BBC Bite*. Archived from the original on 2020-08-30. Retrieved 2021-10-09.
- Graham, H.T. & Bennett, R. (2019). Human resource management. *MIE Handbook*. ISBN0-7121-0844-0.
- Greezy, U. & Aldo, R. (2000). "Pay enough or Don't pay at all". *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 115(3):791-810. Doi:10.1162/ 00355300554917. ISSN 003-5533. JSTOR 25868. Archived from the original on 2022-05-06. Retrieved 2022-05-06.
- Herzberg, F. (1968). One more time: How do you motivate employees? *Harvard Business Review*. 46(1) 52-62.
- Maslow, A.H. (1954). *Motivation and Personality*. New York. Harper and Row.
- Pfeil, M. (2013). How employee recognition programme improves retention. *CEO Insight Magazine*. Archived from the original on 2013-01-2016.
- Steel, P. (2012). *Motivation: Theory and Applied*. Boston. Pearson Learning Solution.
- Vroom, V.A. (1962). *Expectancy Theory of Motivation*. www.researchgate.net.
- Vroom, V. & Lee, P. (1964). Work and Motivation: Description of positive workplace. *Small Business Chron*. Archived from the original on 2020-10-10. Retrieved 2020-10-09.
- Weightman, T. (2008). The employee motivation audit. Cambridge strategy publication. 2(4) 120-129.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

IKEANYI JOSEPH C

Department of Political Science
Tansian University, Umunya, Anambra State.
Tel: 08037949407, 08054372925
Email: joseph.ikeanyi@tansianuniversity.edu.ng

CHUKWUJEKWU ONYINYE NZUBE PhD

Department of Political Science
Federal College of Education (Technical) Umunze, Anambra State
Email: onyiciecks@gmail.com

Abstract

Political parties are institutions that play crucial roles in bringing together diverse interests, recruit and present candidates for elective positions. They also develop competing policy proposals that provide people with choices during elections. In Nigeria, the return to democracy since 1999 has ushered in a renewed process of democratization and thus, heralded another opportunity for the country to launch a new strategy towards democracy, after many years of authoritarian rule and military intervention. This paper examines the nature and character of party politics in Nigeria and its impact on democratic consolidation. The paper relied heavily on secondary sources for data generation. The Elite theory by Vifredo, Mosca, and Roberto was used as a framework of analysis. The paper identified the challenges of political parties and democratic consolidation in Nigeria to include god-fatherism, absence of internal democracy within the political parties, etc. The paper concluded that party system in Nigeria is still weak and vulnerable with no visible signs of adding value to the democratic consolidation in Nigeria. It is recommended that for political parties to achieve its role in consolidating democracy, it will imbibe and inculcate organizational capacity, effective leadership, internal democracy discipline, institutionalization and personalization, ideological platforms of mobilization and linkage to civil society.

Keywords: Political Parties, Democratic Consolidation, Electoral Process, Democracy, Politics.

INTRODUCTION

The survival of democracy in modern society rests partly on the ability of political parties to recruit people into party and elective offices, aggregate and articulate interests, politically educate, socialize and integrate the people. There is growing evidence of declining public confidence in parties the world over; political parties have deteriorated in membership, organization, and popular involvement and commitment

to democratic ideal. The Nigeria situation is not an exception. Since the Nigerian State returned to democratic governance in 1999, party activities especially in the areas of selection, election, accountability, discipline, etc appear to be far below democratic requirements such that Nigeria democratic project has been the subject of intense debate in many quarters. Besides, political parties were neck-dipped into all manners of antidemocratic activities including: electoral manipulations during primary and secondary elections, thuggery, hooliganism and vandalism during elections, party cross-carpeting, political assassination of political opponents, arising from unfair method of selecting party's flag bearers and generally lack of party's internal democracy (Dike 2003). Political parties, are seen by them as "makers" of democracy, this have been so romanticized that scholars claim that neither democracy nor democratic societies are thinkable without them (Omotola, 2009). In other words, the existence of vibrant political parties is a sine qua non for democratic consolidation in any polity (Dode, 2010). It is patently ironic that political parties largely pursue (and profess) democracy outside the gates and resist it within the gates (Ibeanu, 2013). Competitive party and electoral politics is expected to deepen and consolidate the democratic transition, which the country embarked upon in May 1999 (Jinadu, 2013).

Dike (2003:3) opined that well-functioning political parties are essential for the success of electoral democracy and overall political development of Nigeria. Indeed, democracy is unthinkable in the absence of viable political parties. Parties are expected to participate in the political socialization of electorates, contribute to the accumulation of political power, facilitate recruitment of political leadership, and serve as a unifying force in a divided polity. Omotola, (2010:125) and Ibeanu, (2013:1) are of the view that the objectives which party regulation seeks to achieve, including the lingering question of internal party democracy, namely the push and pull of struggles to get political parties to respect their own rules and act in line with democratic principles in the conduct of their internal affairs, all remains central to the wider consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. The character and tendencies exhibited by political parties has implications for democratic sustenance in the country. Ikelegbe (2013:4) argued that the performance of political parties in terms of articulation, aggregation, representation and organization are critical to political accountability, communication, democratic consolidation and political stability.

It is against this background that the paper examines the nature and character of party politics in Nigeria, its impacts on democratic consolidation, and the impediments to the success of political parties in Nigeria since independence, essentially from historical perspective.

Conceptual Review.

Democratic Consolidation

Linz (1978: 158) asserts that a consolidated democracy is one in which "none of the major political actors, parties, or organized interests, forces or institutions consider (s) that there is any alternative to the democratic process to gain power and that no political institutions or groups has a claim to veto the action of democratically elected decision makers. To put it simply democracy must be seen as the only game in town.' Democratic consolidation is about regime maintenance and about regarding the key political institutions as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to the democratic rules of the game". More explicitly, Gunther, Diamand and Puhle (1995:90) contend that the democratization process has three phases: the fall of the authoritarian regime, consolidation, and enduring democracy. Democratic consolidation should therefore connote a consistent and sustained practice of democratic principle. Lastly, Asiwaju, (2000:86) contends that democratic consolidation "implies the internationalization of democratic culture and the institutionalization of democratic practices" by a polity that has successfully embarked on a democratic transition"

Political Parties

Ikelegbe, (2013:7) asserts that a political party is much more than an organization for seeking and controlling political power, more critically, it is an organization for expressing and harmonizing interests, which mediates between the citizens and political society, government and state. Political parties have been defined in different ways. Nnoli (2003:87) defines a political party as a group of people who share a common conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. Political parties have also been conceived as an instrument for contesting elections for the purpose of selecting candidates and parties to exercise political power. Yaqub (2002:122) sees political party as simply a body of organized individuals whose ultimate aim and goal is to contest for governmental power through the - instrumentalities of elections. While it should not be mistaken that the mere existence of political parties presupposes that a society is democratic or otherwise, however, competitive and periodic elections have come to at least define the character of liberal democracy. Momoh, (2013:23) also asserts that political parties perform functions that include; mediating between citizens and state institutions; recruiting and preparing individuals for political leadership; organizing election campaigns; aggregating societal interests, and providing a participatory, responsive relationship with the

people; political recruitment and training; education, socialization, breeding consensus, - providing alternative world views and political communication among others.

Background to the Development of Party Politics in Nigeria

The development of political parties in Nigeria must be understood against the wider context of how the political system has developed since independence, as well as in relation to the sense of deterioration of the institutions of governance since the return to democracy in 1999. Nigeria is governed by a presidential system. However, as political power has been concentrated in the centre and in the hands of the executive branch, an intricate body of informal rules of political interaction has also evolved, including through the experience of civil war (the Biafra war) and military rule, by which power is brokered in a way that achieves a sense of stability — at least among elites. (Domingo and Nwankwo, 2010).

At the inception of party politics in 1923, precisely 24 June, 1923, following the introduction of the elective principle by the Clifford constitution, Nigerian parties had very limited and self-serving objectives. The main objective was perhaps, that of buying legitimacy for the colonial government through very limited franchise restricted to Lagos and Calabar. Richard Sklar, in his seminar work, "Nigerian Political Parties", clearly demonstrated how the emergence of political associations such as the People's Union, was only in response to the prevailing realities of colonial administration (Sklar, 1963; Coleman, 1958 cited in Omotola, 2009:620). Little wonder, when the first political party in Nigeria, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) emerged in 1923, under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay, its activities were restricted to contesting elections into the Lagos city council. For years, the NNDP was hegemonic in its dominance in electoral politics in the country. This was to be challenged by the Lagos Youth Movement - later Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) which was formed in 1934 and which defeated the NNDP in the elections for the three seats allocated to Lagos that year. By 1944, the increasing tempo of nationalist agitation had resulted in the formation of another political party — the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (CNCN), under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay and later Nnamdi Azikwe (see, Sklar, 1968: 46-50 cited in Omotola, 2009:620). This was followed, in quick succession, by the transformation of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a Yoruba socio-cultural organization, into a political party, the Action Group (AG) in 1950 under the leadership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the Northern People Congress (NPC) in 1959 with dominance in the northern region. By

1951, a breakaway faction of the NPC consisting mainly of radical youths based in Kano formed the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU). These parties dominated the political landscape of the country particularly in their respective regions in the march towards independence and in the First Republic.

Historically, Nigeria's political party formations have been characterized by mobilization leaders, who as founder-leaders exercised tremendous influence. Notable examples of such leaders were Obafemi Awolowo of the AG and UPN, and Nnamdi Azikwe of the NCNC and NPP in the first and second republics (1960-1966, and 1979-1988), respectively. In addition, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Tafawa Balewa were the icons of the NPC in the first republic, who though not alive by the second republic, nonetheless commanded a mythical presence and inspiration within the NPN in the second republic. Such leaders influenced party nominations and other internal party processes to the extent of compromising internal party democracy. (Dike, 2003)

After the second interregnum of military rule (1983—1999), the nature and texture of party politics changed. Political parties were no longer guided by an ideology or specific focus; they were not led by mobilization leader who could drive and guide their actions and policies, and inspire internal cohesion and discipline. Political parties assumed the character of electoral machines, whose sole aim was to win political power through the ballot. Aspirants were mostly individual actors sponsored by some powerful individuals; because the cost of electioneering had now become astronomical. Over three decades, military rule distorted social values and undermined democratic institutions in Nigeria, political parties and civil society inclusive. It was worse for the development of the country's party system. The political parties were in complete limbo, and almost near extinction, courtesy of the numerous military coups and counter-coups that punctuated Nigeria's political history. The rise and fall of the Nigerian military is well documented in the literature on politics and development in Nigeria. Suffice to say, however, that the military held all democratic institutions captive between 1966 (when they first struck) and 1999 (when they retreated in humiliation), except for their occasional ceremonious "stepping aside." Weak structures and ineffective operations of political parties made things worse for the electoral environment in the country. Well functioning political parties are essential for the success of democracy. However, in the particular case of Nigeria, there are limited opportunities for the development of political parties. Political party activities resumed in Nigeria towards the end of 1998 after a long period of military rule during which party activities were banned.

Functions of Political Party

A political party fulfills certain necessary functions, so necessary, indeed, that many political scientists consider them essential to the working of modern liberal democracy. Some of these functions generally identified include:

- i. **Unite, Simplify and Stabilize the Political Process:** Political parties bring together divergent sectional interests particularly in countries with multi-ethnic groups and regional interests, narrow the geographical gap and in most cases provide coherence to government that is federal in nature. The parties therefore tend to provide common denominator for convenient and smooth operation of government.
- ii. **Recruitment of Political Leaders.** People in authority who are occupying various political offices are recruited by political parties. The President, Governors, Parliamentarians, Council Chairmen and a number of political appointees are all recruited by political parties, though in the case of Nigeria with a system that is characterized by weak and ill-organized political parties, power remains in the hands of the elites, traditional groups and military oligarchies. But in liberal democratic countries with competitive party system, recruitments are made from different political parties.
- iii. **Struggle for Capturing Power.** They -strive to win elections and form governments by means of forming order out of chaos.
- iv. **Linkage between Government and Citizens.** Parties seek to educate and sensitize electorates. They mobilize, socialize and interact in forms of rallies, campaign uniforms and other display of unity identifying individuals with a particular political party.
- v. **Presentation of Issues.** Political parties set value goals for the society by ways of manifesto and philosophical bases as is the case with All Progressive Congress (APC) that proclaims socioeconomic improvement of the masses, and an all inclusive government.
- vi. **Interest Aggregations.** The parties do bring together issues raised during campaigns; select those that are of urgent and paramount national interest and focus attention them.
- vii. **Political Mobilization and Social Welfare.** In developing nations of the world where political habits and traditions are yet to grow, parties does or do the job of

political modernization and at the same time work for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people during periods of disaster, etc. In view of the above functions, political parties in Nigeria instead of pursuing these goals are rather engaged in internal wrangling and forming elite's caucus that is bent on looting public funds and marginalizing the common man at the grassroots.

Challenges of Political Parties in the Democratic Consolidation of Democratic Process in Nigeria

Political parties are vital organizations in a democracy. To effectively contribute to the deepening of democratic process, parties need to possess certain characteristics of political parties such as high level of institutionalization, a localized level of candidate nomination, high level of women working at internal party offices and the presence of formal rules designed to increase the number of women in elected offices are vital for the deepening and sustenance of democracy. The absence of these attributes in the Nigeria political culture constitutes a major challenge to political parties in consolidating democracy in the country as events in the fourth Republic suggests. Consequently, the challenges of political parties in the consolidation of democratic process in Nigeria include the following:

i. Lack of Institutionalization and Personalization of Political Parties

Parties in Nigeria have not been able to attain the expected degree of institutionalization especially in the areas of internal cohesion and discipline. This deficiency has also contributed to the decline of their conflict management capacities at both intra and inter-party relations levels. The level of crisis at both levels of party relations is worrisome. It is such that none of the parties have been able to hold together without severe conflict that most times threaten their very hearts (Simbine, 2013:18). Party and party system institutionalization is measured by the internal and external activities of parties. Internal refers to all those factors that are only internal to party organization, such as internal democracy, complexities, finance, adaptability, etc., and external refers to the relationship of parties with their external environment (Kura, 2011:270). The internal characteristics and power configurations 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 favored and dubious consensus candidates, and the

swapping of nominated candidates by party chieftains. The absence of equalitarian platforms and the subversion of the will of 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).

Mote empirically, whether parties in a particular polity are able to effectively perform these functions is a matter of the degree of party and party system institutionalization (Kura, 2008). Another problem associated with lack of institutionalization is the fact that a few prominent, powerful and influential individuals have completely hijacked the party machinery. While Obasanjo has total control of the PDP, it is well known that Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu determines what happens in the ACN. Similarly, Rtd General Buhari is Alfa and Omega in Congress for Positive Change (CPC), and the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) is controlled by the duo of Kano State Governor Shekarau and Ali Modu Sheriff (Simbine, 2013:18). In Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN), the only authority that mattered was Oloye Olusola Saraki (now late), while Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu (also now late) and Governor Peter Obi of Anambra state control the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) (Simbine, 2013:18). The dominant figures in APC are Buhari and Tinubu. There is something common to the two of them; they are both dictators and ideologically they are two poles apart.

Un-institutionalized parties will always find it difficult to develop deep roots in the society in which they operate. This factor has led to a low rate of party identification among voters, which also leads to high electoral volatility (Simbine, 2013:18). When parties generally lack strong 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.

ii. God-Fatherism

God-fatherism has become a dominant feature of the party system in Nigeria today. Ayoade (2008: 85) states that godfather is "a benign political accretion of the position of either political notables or dreaded political rascals who are recalcitrant to the deterrence of the legal regime". God-fatherism has been described as "an ideology which is constructed on the belief that certain individuals possess considerable means to unilaterally determine who gets party ticket to run for an election and who wins in an electoral contest" (Ogundiya, 2009: 286). To Ayoade (2006:56), god-fatherism is not philanthropy, it is often marked by devious and undemocratic acts such as

violence, bribery and corruption all for the sake of perpetuating the wishes of the Godfather. There is a symbiotic relationship between the Godfather and the God-Son: the Godfather "invests" his resources in the Godson and the Godson must, or at least should, on getting into office reciprocate by reimbursing his Godfather in kind and keeping absolute loyalty to the Godfather in all respects, including decision making whilst in public office. The key goal of all Godfathers is rule by proxy or rule through protégés (Ojo and Lawal, 2013). Godfather politics typically ensures that results are declared even when there is no evidence that voting actually took place. It typically plays electoral politics with little or no respect 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 behavior in democratic political order. It is not surprising therefore those elections results, whether at the intra-party -level or at the level of general elections is always disputed by those who are declared losers. In fact, all three presidential elections since 1999 have been the subject of judicial intervention (Abutudu, 2013:10-11).

Abutudu, (2013:12) observes Godfathers have significant influence on the internal workings of political parties; they are inadvertently or deliberately involved in the stability or otherwise of these parties. In other words, because they are the modulators and epicenter of political in-fighting and struggle for power and perquisites of office, they are one causative factor of members' defection.

iii. Absence of Internal Democracy within the Political Parties

Most political parties do not practice internal democracy because their leaders hardly emerged democratically hence the rising culture of political violence and assassinations especially in some Sections of the country. Internal (party) democracy could be defined as a democratic process which involves accountability and transparency in all party affairs more especially in selecting party leaders, flag bearer, executives and other party officials in a political party (Ukaeje, 2011:19). Internal democracy thus connotes political parties giving full expression and unfettered access to their members to participate in the decision making process. It also means running affairs transparently, in accordance with agreed rules, and in a manner that is fair and just. Internal party democracy in political parties also refer to the levels and methods of including party members in the decision making and deliberation within party structure (Kari and Uchenna, 2011:35-36).

The flagrant abuse of internal party democracy has been identified as the primogeniture of party wrangling or crisis either because of the wrangling it brings in the party affairs or the crisis it causes. Much of the internal party conflicts witnessed among political parties in Nigeria are either directly or indirectly linked to the problem of intraparty democracy, a development which has bedeviled the development of political parties and therefore a major impediment to the development of sustainable democratic governance (and consolidation) in our country (Ukaeje, 2011:23).

iv. Incessant Party / Political Violence

Ibeanu, (2013:13) observes that the most damning record of political parties on clean politics is the persistence of violence in our political system. Apart from elections conducted by the colonial government and the military, others particularly the 1964, 1983, 2003 and 2007, 2011 and 2015 elections were plagued by violence and crises. Elections in Nigeria since 2003 have been plagued with irregularities and violence (Nweke 2005). Prior to the 2007 elections, the spate of assassinations that hit politicians was simply unprecedented, including a Minister of Justice and a National Vice Chairman of the ruling People's Democratic Party (Ibeanu, 2013).

The 2007 elections was particularly plagued by incidents of violence that included theft and snatching of election materials, killings, arson, abductions, assault, intimidation, destruction of properties and election materials, rioting, looting, violent clashes and protests, mayhem and chaos. More specifically incidents of electoral violence have included assault on electoral officials and voters, hijack and seizure of election materials, attacks on security officials and violent clashes between rival thugs and sympathizers of political parties (Nweke 2005). Party politics is always being characterized by assassination, arson, intra and inter- party clashes and monumental political violence (Babatope, 2012). Rather than being a platform for reconciling and mediating conflicts and preventing violent eruptions through democratic procedures, the political parties in Nigeria have become a major institutional formation for the brewing and accentuation of conflicts. Party involvements in violence and violent conflicts have inflamed existing identity and communal conflicts over land, chieftaincy and community leadership the political parties' violence linkage has constructed a regime of public distrust, disgust, apathy and antipathy concerning the political process and political elite. Nigerians have become disillusioned and alienated from the political process.

Theoretical Framework

The Elite Theory as popularized by Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Roberto Michels, Wright Mills, among others, no doubt obviously explicates the Nigeria political system considering the fact that most political parties that exist in the country either be classified as cadre or elite parties which manipulates the sentiments of the masses for the selfish objective of acquiring economic base (Vanna 2006). At this point what constitute political power varies from one society to the other but the difference may be minimal. In Nigeria, political power can be viewed from the perspective of those who have occupied one political office or the other, especially retired military and other public officials such as top civil servant, past ministers and so on. These are the group of persons that have been circulating themselves in governance since the country's independence in 1960 (Dike 2003). One of the advocates of elitism, Pareto (cit. Obah-Akpowoghaha 2013) believes that elite in different occupations and strata generally come from the same class: those who are wealthy are also intelligent; they have an aptitude for mathematics and moral character. To him, society, thus, consists of two classes:

(1) a higher stratum, the elites, which are divided into governing elite, and non-governing elite, (2) a lower stratum, the non-elite.

Pareto's focus of inquiry was the governing elite which, he believed, rules by a mixture of force and cunning (Varma 2006). This last analysis unveils the traits of some Nigerian politicians; particularly the band of retired military Generals and top government officials that have entered the political scene. This is where Roberto Michels "Iron Law of Oligarchy" comes to play. From all available indications, these individuals have been on top of their professions but still cling very tight to the rulership of the country using their Party as well as the title of a 'General' for intimidating others. The point here is that political parties no longer functions as expected, precisely because decision and information are made and circulated by the few. This has really paralyzed the growth of the democratic process in the country. However, according Roberto Michels in relation to elitism, as a party grows in size, more and more functions have to be delegated to an inner circle of leaders, and, in course of time, the members of the organization are rendered less competent to direct and control them, as a result of which the officers acquire greater freedom of action and develop vested interest in their position. They cling desperately to their new powers and privileges, and become almost irremovable.

Once the leader reached the pinnacle of power, nothing could bring them down. "If laws are passed to control the dominion of leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken and not the leaders". It is however important to emphasize the various forms of elite. These include: bureaucratic elites, religious elites, military elites, traditional elites; etc. It is also important to state that elitist classifications are not mutually exclusive in the sense that an individual elite can fall within more than a classification. Such classification also varies from time to time. For instance, the military elite during a military regime could also be qualifying as political elite, especially when he is involved in the authoritative allocation of state resources (Vanna, 2006). The implication of the above is that since elitist classifications are not mutually exclusive, it means that the political elites could easily depend on other elitist class for the manipulation of support for power acquisition.

This is quite visible in Nigeria in the form of traditional rulers influencing support for political candidates or bureaucratic elites in the civil service influencing the electoral process in order to keep their jobs. Besides, political elite aspiring for elective offices had on several occasions used the instrument of money to buy votes and manipulate electoral outcomes (Ayoade 2008). Also, political thugs and hooligans have been recruited to create instability during election by disrupting and snatching ballot boxes. Dudley (cited in Obah-Akpowoghaha 2013:98) sees instability in Nigeria as a result of the constitutional impropriety of the elite. As he puts it, "stability can only be maintained if the behavior of leadership and actors is consistent with rules of the game or if the boundary-determining rules are respected". However, in Nigeria, the activities and inputs of the elites is so pronounced that before the end of a recruitment process or election the results have been predetermined and if there is contrary outcome on the proposed results, the elites attempt to use economic and political means to influence the results. This was very rampant during 1999, 2003 and 2007 election at the state level as well as the national level. The above points buttress Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels theses on that "the elites possess economic power and control the political system".

According to the elitist theorist, the composition and consolidation of a democratic polity must entail serious thought and action concerning the development of a normatively positive appreciation of those core institutions of a democratic political society — political parties, elections, electoral rules, political leadership, party alliances and legislature-by which society constitutes it politically, select and monitor democratic government.

Summary

Conclusively therefore, while political parties have made an important contribution as agents of democratization in Nigeria, with their numbers, roles and activities being enhanced yet their content and quality remain doubtful. These political parties are faced with organizational weaknesses, absence of internal democratic culture, poor financial resource mobilization and management and the lack of articulate ideological views on development challenges that becomes a threat to the nascent democracy in the country. The discussion above therefore, has given insight into the fact that the genesis of regional political parties in Nigeria which is traceable to the primordial structures in the country, and served as centripetal forces, that balkanized the country than it was met in January 1900 when the British formally took over its administration, led to the ruling political parties dominating their opponents through the abuse of state funds and resources. This resulted in widespread corruption and financial recklessness coupled with lack of an ideological base for economic development. And as a result of this, the parties are fluid and politicians move from one camp to the other easily where by polluting the whole system because these parties and the so-called elites instead of educating Nigerians on the good ideals of democracy, are preaching divisive ideas and creating tensions amongst different ethnic groups in the country and instead of positively engaging the youth into a meaningful venture the opposite happens to be the case. Youth are being used as political thugs and tools for elections, the aftermath consequences are wide spread criminal activities all over the country making the political environment conducive for Military interventions due to series of crisis both inter and intra among the political parties that led to so many people losing their lives.

Conclusion

Governance in Nigeria has been characterized by inefficient yet authoritarian centralization, a dearth of meaningful political representation, a culture of impunity, and a demoralizing climate of unaccountability drafting back to military rule. The combination of aggrieved injustice and the social misery of the majority, in turn, risks producing disillusionment with democracy, creates conditions igniting social conflicts and, most importantly, threatens the stability of Nigeria's political order. Many political elites, past and present, have accumulated personal fortunes through resilient, deeply rooted systems of political patronage that are wired into the booming oil industry in the south. Today, Nigeria is contending not only with a growing gap between its northern and southern halves but also with the polarization between

Nigeria's diverse population and an affluent minority that is seen — regardless of its ethnic or religious background — as becoming out of touch, self-serving and corrupt once launched into the wealth and comfort of the federal capital city of Abuja (Hoffmann, 2014).

Oil resources are distributed through informal networks of patronage brokered at the centre through the executive. The evolution of the oil economy and related incentive structures have contributed to the development of an intricate web of neo-patrimonial relations between elites (Sklar et al 2006). This has combined with the legacy of military rule that has led to the erosion of the original constitutional federal arrangement, and to a concentration of political and economic power in the centre. The Presidency is effectively able to "dispense patronage across the country, hijack the ruling party, subordinate the legislature and stifle the judiciary" (Egwu et al 2008). Both horizontal and vertical forms of accountability are fundamentally weak, the prospects for rule of law are weak, and there is a culture of impunity in public office. In this context, political parties are no less susceptible to capture by the personal interests of powerful elites, and consequently fail to fulfill the role of representation, and mediation of state society relations. To advance the democratic project, the Nigerian public needs to gain confidence in its institutions. The public needs to feel that there are organs of the political system that can guarantee fairness and Justice . and that are not undermined by wealth through corruption. Common citizens must have recourse to democratic institutions in order to express demands and resolve conflicts. At this point, the public has little or no confidence in turning to any branch of the government to help directly resolve problems without the benefit of wealth (USAID, 2006:15). A central concern for building democracy in Nigeria is thus to alter this relationship between the oligarchy and the citizenry, so as to reconnect the state to its citizens in a more responsible and responsive manner. Another emerging opportunity arises from the relations within the elite, where democratic institutions and practices are increasingly used for competition within the oligarchy. The starting point for democratization must thus include not only the formal democratic institutions that have been slowly progressing since 1999, but also the informal system of oligarchs and their subordinates which overlays the formal institutions of government.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are being advanced as likely solutions to avoid the past mistakes:

- i. Political parties in the country should henceforth focus their attentions on evolving an ideology for economic development of the country instead of attaching much importance to primordial issues;
- ii. The parties need to be internally democratic so that every member wishing to aspire for any position in the party or under the party will be allowed to exercise his civil rights. This will reduce the roles played by the political godfathers and may equally reduce internal squabbles;
- iii. Political parties should equally be compelled to keep financial records, and transparent in all dealings so that the institution serve as home for growing and producing prudent leaders;
- iv. Any political party that is engaging, recruiting or encouraging thuggery in the country is to be punished. This will help in reducing the rate of youth addicts and spades of crime in the country so that these youth will be of societal benefits and to contribute their quota in the development of the country;
- v. Corruption that is institutionalized in the country must be reduce to negligible level so that people will witness growth, and will yield the benefit of democracy, and this will further reduce the level of insecurity in the country that is associated with poverty.

However there is need to reform and overhaul the entire electoral processes, electoral officers especially those into the state and national assemblies, should be made part-time, while the monetary value attached to them be less attractive. This way, only those that are committed to national development would offer themselves for elections. Besides, thuggery and violence which always characterized past elections due to selfish desire to accumulate wealth through political power while in office would be reduced, if not curtailed. God-fatherism should be detested, and meritocracy and internal democracy being made the bench mark of all party activities. Transparency, accountability, consensus and consultation should be the guiding light of all political parties' activities in Nigeria. The political party to achieve its role in consolidating democracy, it ought to imbibe and inculcate organizational capacity, effective leadership, internal democracy, discipline, institutionalization and personalization, ideological platforms of mobilization and linkage to civil society.

References

- Agbaje A. and Adejumobi, S. (2006) "Do Votes Count? The Travails of Electoral Politics in Nigeria" *Africa Development* 31, No. 3. Pp 25-44.
- Anifowose, R. (2004), 'Political Parties and Party System in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria: Issues, Problems and Prospects' in Olurode, Lai and Anifowose, Remi (eds.) *Issues in Nigeria's 1999 General Elections*. Lagos, Nigeria: John West Publications Limited and Rebonik Publications Ltd.
- Asiwaju, A.I. (2000). "Sharing Best Practice Experiences in Democracy-Building in Non-French Speaking African States", draft paper presented at the 4th International Conference on New and Emerging Democracies, Cotonou, Benin Republic, December 4-6.
- Ayoade J. A. A. (2008) "Godfather Politics in Nigeria" In International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) *Money, Politics and Corruption in Nigeria*, Jos and Ibadan: IFES.
- Babatope O. A. (2012) "Party Conflicts and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria", *Bumpy Past, Shaky Future Journal of Research in Arts & Social Sciences* Vol. 1 No. 1 June 2012. Pp. 12-20.
- Dike V. (2003). "Nigeria and the Politics of Unreason: Assassinations, Decampments, and Moneybags". http://www.nigerdeltacongress.com/narticles/nigeria_and_the_politics_of_unre.ht Accessed on August 15, 2012.
- Dode, R. O. (2010) "Political Parties and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: 1999 — 2006", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 4(5), pp. 188-194.
- Domingo, P and Nwankwo, C (2010) 'Review of International Assistance to Political Party and Party System Development, Case Study Report: Nigeria', An Overseas Development Institute Publication, December 2010
- Gunther, R.P.N, Diamand,P.N and Puhle, H.J. (eds.) (1995) "The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective". Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. .
- Ibeanu O. (2013) "Regulating Nigerian Political Parties: Role of the Independent National Electoral Commission". being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS),

- Kuru, in collaboration with the Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June
- Ikelegbe, A. (2013) "Political Parties and Violence', being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, in collaboration with the Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June, 2013.
- Jinadu, A. L. (2013) "Elections, Democracy & Political Parties in Nigeria: Trends and Trajectories". Being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, Organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, in collaboration with the Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June, 2013.
- Kari, A. G. and Uchenna, E.E. (2011) "Internal Party Democracy and Political Stability in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Issues, Problems and Solution" in Review of Nigeria Political Economy Vol. 1. No 11. July- December 2011. Pp. 17-32.
- Kura, S.Y. B. (2011) "Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria: Candidate Selection, Campaign and Party Financing in People's Democratic Party". Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa (Volume 13, No.6, 2011)
- Linz, J. (1978) "The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Re-equilibration" Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mitchels, R. (1959), "Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchic Tendencies of Modern Democracy', Dover publishers: New York, USA.
- Momoh, A. (2013) "Party System and Democracy in Nigeria", being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, in Collaboration with the Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June.
- Ogōndiṣya I. S. (2009) "A decade of Democratic Governance in Nigeria" in Ogōndiṣya, I. S. et al (eds) A Decade of Re-democratization in Nigeria (1999-2009). Ibadan: Ayayayugu Publishers.

- Ojo. E.E and Lawal E.E. (2013) "Godfather Politics: The collapse of the Saraki Dynasty in Kwara State Politics" in John A. Ayoade and Adeoye A. Akinsanya (eds) *Nigeria's Critical Election 2011* (Lanham), Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Omotola, J.S. (2010) "Political Parties and the Quest for Political Stability in Nigeria", *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Volume 6, No. 2: 125-145
- Pareto, V. (1963), *"The Mind and Society: A Treatise in General Sociology"*, Dover Publishers: New York. Park, H. S. (1984), *Human Needs and Political Development: A Dissent to Utopian Solutions*, Retrieved <http://www.d.umn.edu/~schilton>.
- Sklar, Richard L, Ebere Onwudiwe, and Darren Kew, (2006), "Nigeria: Completing Obasanjo's Legacy", *Journal of Democracy* Volume 17, Number 3 July 2006.
- Ukaeje, O. (2011) "Dearth of Internal Party Democracy as Bane of Nigeria's Democracy in the Fourth Republic" in *Review of Nigeria Political Economy* Vol. 1. No 11. July — December 2011. Pp. 17-32.
- USAID (2006) "Democracy and Governance Assessment of Nigeria", available at http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNAD1079.pdf. Wakili, H (2008) *Financing Political Parties in Nigeria: 1999-2007*, The Consortium for Development Partnerships
- Varma S.P. (2006) *"Modern Political Theory"*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd, 143-173.
- Yaqub, N. (2002) "Political Parties and the Transition Process", in Onuoha, B. And Fadakinte, M.M. (eds.)
- Transition Politics in Nigeria, 1970-1999*, Lagos: Malthouse Publishers, pp. 118 — 134.