

MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: CHALLENGES AND SUGGESTION

GBOLAHAN Charles-Oloye & DURUJI Moses

Department of Political Science and International Relation, Covenant University Ota, Ogun
State

Abstract

The viability of any democracy in the world today depends on the political party system which helps in the electoral process of a political system; democracy in Africa has witnessed a positive rise in recent times with democratic election being held in nation all over the continent to ascertain the true representation of the electorate through the political party system. This study critically looks into group theory in relation to party system, multi-party systems and democratic consolidation in Nigeria, pointing out the peculiar problems it faces in the fourth republic. Qualitative method was used in this study to collect data from existing literature. This paper posits that there are a lot of challenges facing the multi-party system in Nigeria today, some of the recommendations of this study will help solve these problems. This paper concludes that, multi-party system is a good fit for the political system in Nigeria's fourth republic, but its flaws must be looked into to ensure it delivers the dividends of democracy to the people.

Keywords: *Democratic Process, Fourth Republic, Group Theory, Multi-Party System, Political Parties.*

INTRODUCTION

The political system in Nigeria has gone through different phases in her development, from the pre-independence era to the post-independence, where the nationalist and founding fathers struggled tirelessly to ensure the African nation gained their independence. In the midst of this struggles, political parties were used as a tool for fighting for independence in Nigeria. The political parties were formed based on the major regions in Nigeria, the Northern region the Eastern region and the Western region, so it safe to say that the party formation was based purely on the interest of the larger ethnic groups and regions.

Political Parties are the most fundamental instrument to determining a feasible and stable democracy, La Palombara (1964) is of the view that political parties system is comprised of all the enlisted political parties that are active within the political system of a country. Political parties are saddled with the responsibilities of educating the citizens, presenting candidates during election and ensuring national integrations in a democratic setting. Democracy in the world owes a lot of its accolades to the party system; extant literature has shown that the party system is the back bone of democracy.



e-Governance Conference

Covenant University Conference on e-Governance in Nigeria - CUCEN2017



Gbolahan & Duruji

Multi-party system has always been a part of the political system in Nigeria, in the first republic and second republic there was proliferation of political parties in the nations democracy, the third republic brought about a different approach to the political system of Nigeria when it adopted the two party systems by the military head of state as at that time, it was said to be in the selfish interest of Babangida who was the military dictator as at the time. The fourth republic began on May 29th 1999 when the military eventually handed over power to the civilians; the president elect was a person familiar to the historical archives of Nigeria in person of Obasanjo.

This work takes a critical look at the fourth republic, which was introduced with extraordinary expectations from the Nigerian people, multi-party frameworks in Nigeria has experienced an astounding period in the fourth republic it has figured out how to accomplish a great deal as far as political participation and political awareness, but has also combated a lot of challenges which has hindered the development of the democratic process in Nigeria, The challenges that the multi-party system has faced in the past 18 years of the fourth republic has made a lot of scholars questioned if it is the ideal form of political party system for the Nigerian political system, hence the dire need to look critically into the challenges of the peculiar problems that serves as hindrance to the democratic consolidation, and proffer a practical solutions and recommendation to these problems.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Concept of Political Party

Alabi and Arowolo (2009) see political parties as a well-organized group of people or individuals with similar idiosyncrasies who seek to gain and maintain the control of power in order carry out governmental roles and policies. Political parties bring people of different ethnicity and creed but with similar ideologies and perspectives. The above statement clearly explains the attributes of any political party; the formation of a political party entails similar views and shared interests. Omotola (2010) on the other hand see a political party as a maker of a functioning democracy in any democratic nation of the world, hence no nation can truly be democratic in nature without practicing a true political party system, similarly (Yaqub, 2002) explains the role of political parties in his definition as a group of people who intend to capture political power, they educate the populace, train candidates on the norms and needs of the people and ensuring unity within and outside of the party.

The Origin of Political Party

Akinola (2014) explains that the origin of political party can be traced to Greece where they had the City-State, which democracy similarly got its root from and all the citizens of these city-states will come to make decisions that will benefit their society. During these meetings they found out that it was not an easy task to getting people together to agree on how to wield the mechanism of power, therefore the need to elect representatives in government and in order to do this people decided to form groups according to their views and interests. Political activities are group based, hence the need to adopt group theory to analyze it.

Gbolahan & Duruji

This explains the need to have a group of people who share similar views and interest, with defined ideologies and purposes. The Greeks of that time had no idea that the decision they made in those days will transform democracy in centuries to come.

Types of Political Parties

La Palombara and Weiner (1966) argue that political party system is made up of all the registered political parties that are active within the political system of any nation. There are three major types of party systems, they are as follows: One party system, two party systems and multi-party systems: One party system is a very authoritarian system of government, a situation where only one party system operates in a political system. One party nominates all the executives and legislative positions of a nation. There are no opposition and there are no competitions.

This party system was very common the Former Soviet Union and in other communist nations around the world. China, North Korea, and Cuba are examples of nations that still practices one party system. Adeniran (2015) further argues that the international financial pressure has also reduced the number of single-party systems in developing nations. However, single-party systems limit the political freedoms and choices of citizens.

La Palombara and Weiner (1966) cited in Adeniran (2015). In a two-party system, control of government power shifts between two dominant parties. Two party systems as seen in Britain Canada and even Ghana, allows for two major political party to remain dominant and agile in their political system. Two party systems has been hailed for the quick and defined election decision without confusing the electorate with too many political party options, a lot of scholars have advocated for the scraping of multi-party system in Nigeria and the returned to a two party system which was practised by Babangida regime. It makes sense for smaller parties to combine into larger ones or to drop out altogether. Adeniran (2015) Multi-party systems are the most common type of party system. Parliamentary governments based on proportional representation often develop multiparty systems. In this type of electoral arrangement, the number of legislative seats held by any party depends on the proportion of votes they received in the most recent election. Multi-party system is a political system which has more than three political parties that contest for political power, it has often being seen as a scourge of democracy as it brings political division among the people in terms of ethnicity and religion and cultures. Multi-party system in Nigeria has enabled the people participate more in politics and given the minority ethnic groups platforms to raise their voice.

Multi-Party System in Nigeria

According to Omotola (2010) Multi-party systems in Nigeria from the pre- independence era where the political parties were used to agitate for representations of Nigerians in politics and an instrument of nationalism to attain independence, independence came for Nigeria in 1960 which became a new stage for multi-party system to flourish but the political elites and ethnicity served as hindrance for the system, these led to political violence in the south-west especially and a well rigged election. The twists and turns of party activities eventually led to the end of the first republic. Similarly the second republic was almost like the first in nature which led to its bane as well. The third republic brought about a new dimension to the



Gbolahan & Duruji

political party system in Nigeria, with the Babangida led administration opted to practice a two party system, SDP and NRC, this new experiment was marred by the annulment of the June 12th elections which saw M.K.O Abiola emerge as the winner.

With this backdrop given, this study focused on the intrigues of multi-party system and democratic process in Nigeria's fourth republic, critically examined the major achievements of multi-party system in Nigeria and its ill, scrutinizing the political stage in the fourth republic and how democratization has been enhance with the practice of multi-party system. This study further attempted to find out the unique challenges multi-party system is facing in the fourth republic.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The group theory Approach was championed by Bentley (1908) and Truman (1951). Bentley stated that "when the groups are adequately stated, everything is stated. When I say everything I mean everything". The group theory which spells out clearly that the political activity in a society is a group activity which needs the people as a unit to perform some functions in the public, the political party which is one of the most important instruments of ascertaining political development in a state or nation. Bentley sees politics as actions through groups aimed at realization of interest, that is to say, that group activity is interest activity. He further argues that what we study as politic today wasn't formed by one man and his thoughts, it was made possible by men coming together to form a group so as to have a relative impact on their society (Mbah, 2011). The group theory further explain the involvement of people in the participation of politics as a group affair, which encourages competitiveness among the various groups that seek political power and ensure that politics is in the interest of the public.

Group theory is very suitable to the party system in Nigeria, it enables this research to look at the political arena in the Nigerian scenes and how the various political groups inter-dependently play their parts to ensure development in the political process of the nation, from the ethnic groups and its political structures to the political parties and its influence on democratic consolidation in the fourth republic. The justification of the Bentley's group theory is that it views political dealings as a collective action of a group, which forms the mechanism of a functional political process, which a political party is a key ingredient of achieving political development. Political parties serves as an avenue for the people to participate in the decision making process in their community. It is noteworthy that Bentley was strongly against the institutional approach towards politics or political activities which he believed weren't dynamic enough to handle the ever changing political landscape in nations around the world.

In the Nigerian context the group theory fits well the interplay of forces and struggle for power among various ethnic groups in the Nigeria which can be traced to the post independent political parties were formed based on the activities of the ethnic groups in the nation, the adoption of the group theory, is to examine how the intrigues among the various ethnic groups and the resulting multi-party system affect generally political activities and in

Gbolahan & Duruji

particular development of Nigeria Political system. Furthermore the group theory helps to understand the power interplay in Nigeria's political parties and how effective they have been in the development of democratic process in Nigeria.

METHODOLOGY

The approach used to carry of this study will be descriptive and explanatory. The source of data collection was secondary. Data was generated by studying of official documents, library materials, and internet materials. The scope of this study is the fourth republic from 1999 till date. Ex post facto research design was used in this study using data already collected and events of the past to explain the political situation in present times.

The Peculiar Challenges of Multi-Party System in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Yacoub (2002) Multi-party system and political system in Nigeria has often been called a caricature of the ideal situation, the democracy in Nigeria has so many challenges; ethnic division, miss-representation of the people, mismanagement of public funds, abuse of power and the greed of the political elites. From the characteristics of political parties it is seen that political parties should serve as a unifying force, a tool for national integration and political participation, to be fair to the system it has achieved tangible goals in these area but for the decades of practicing multi-party system Nigeria political party system should not be where it is now. It is just the same set of unfortunate things reoccurring again and again, the political situations has become a do or die affair which makes the political participants take desperate measures in their quest for political power. The challenges combating and hindering the multi-party system and political development in Nigeria's fourth republic based on the findings of this study are as follows;

Ethnic Politics: Bamgbose (2009: 216) posits that the major challenge Democracy faces in Nigeria is the politics played by the different ethnic groups in the nation where the major ethnic groups look to dominate the minority ethnic groups, where everybody place more importance to the ethnic groups more that the national interest and development.

Nigeria is a culturally diverse nation with over 250 languages, this always come to play in the political scene of the nation, where the northern part has over 50 percent of the nation's population and landmass therefore believing it is their natural right to rule and any other ethnic group doesn't matter. Without the intervention of fate Goodluck Jonathan which was from the minority will never get to be president and even the. Some often northerners were disgruntled about this. Another way ethnic loyalty has become a torn on the side of multi-party system in Nigeria is the formation and administration of political parties in the fourth republic, every ethnic groups seem to has its own political party or affiliations, which makes Nigerian political system in the fourth is still ethic based.

Lack of Party Ideology: The political parties in Nigerian political system are non-ideological in nature, where the parties do not have a well-known principle which guides; the political parties in Nigeria are just a gathering of politicians looking to loot, they only want to find a way to win political power at all cost and when they succeed, their next move is to find a way to loot the coffers of the government. Unarguably, a principled and focused political



Gbolahan & Duruji

party is supposed to be driven by ideology. It is because ideology is the force that fires the spirit which controls the actions and programmes of political parties. It is also central to the existence of political parties to the extent that the lack of it predisposes political parties to internal squabbles, lack of sense of direction and makes them to be mere platforms for actualising personal interests of the few (Jude and Ika, 2013:7). They further define Political ideology as the programmes and activities that a political party is committed to implementing when voted into office.

Another dimension in which lack of party ideology affect the political party system in the fourth republic is there issue of party crossing or cross carpeting on the part of the politicians from one political party to another, these has now become the order of the day in the political scene of the fourth republic, the politicians move from one party to another if they are not giving the candidacy of the party to run for a political office. Simbine (2004) argues in the same vein that the manner at which political aspirants cross from one party to another has to do with their own greed and unrealistic political ambitions which make them steer up intra party conflicts, this happens simply because the political parties lack party ideology.

A party should be known for a particular ideology like in the United State of America where the democrats are liberals, they are known to mediate peace and avoid war. The republican on the other hand are known to be outspoken group who wouldn't hesitate to go to war with other nations if needed. The political parties in Nigeria are only united by the slogans of the election and after that the next election carries another slogan like Muhammadu Buhari and APC's slogan was change, they are all fighting for their personal interests and ambitions. The lack of party ideology make politicians in Nigeria's fourth republic triggers internal conflicts within the party because a lot of the political elites and the other politicians do not share the same values and interests which creates imbalance within the party as seen in the PDP where there are two factions in the same party leaderships claiming to be the national chairman, this is a major defect in the democratic and electoral development in the fourth republic, because if the party cannot internally coordinate itself how would they bring credible candidates that will be able run the affairs of the state.

God-Fatherism: The politics of god-fatherism is another major hindrance to multi-party system and the development of democratic process in the fourth republic, this epidemic in which the political elites turn politics into an economic investment, where they sponsor a candidate and in return if he or she wins the government will be run by their dictates. It is a great impediment to democratic consolidation in Nigeria because the god-fathers will be play the king makers in the affairs of the state managing it as if it is a business satisfying his greedy yarning's. The king makers nominate the people who will hold the juicy ministries to recover their investment, controlling the resources of the state to favor them a lot not minding the fate of the rest of the masses. God-fatherism is the major cause of the electoral violence, corruption and political instability that affects the political development in the fourth republic (Ogundiya 2010:237). From the foregoing it can be deduced that the politics of god-fatherism is very bad for a developing democracy like the one we have in Nigeria. Furthermore the political elites or god-fathers within the party will select candidates that are loyal to them not

Gbolahan & Duruji

putting into consideration the person's health status, background and the capability to handle the office, as Nigeria witnessed during the presidency of Musa Yardua and as we are witnessing now under the presidency of Buhari. The practice god-fatherism internally in the political parties or the external practicing politics is frustrating to the democratization of Nigeria's fourth republic.

Party Defections: Omotola (2008) sees the handing over of power to the civilians as a new hope for democratization in Nigeria, one factor that has come to threatening the democracy of the fourth republic is the defection of party members from their political party to rival political parties because things didn't go as they wanted or because their needs were not met. (Aleyomi, 2013:117) opines that one problematic fact that was unprecedented is the current rate of political party defections. Party (political) defection or cross carpeting has being before Nigeria's independence and is older than her sovereignty. However, this has been shaped and sharpened by colonialism and sustained by them structures of post-colonial state (Mbah, 2011).

There are two major reasons for cross carpeting in the political party system in Nigeria's fourth republic. First, politicians move from rival political parties into the ruling when the elections are close with the hopes of picking up tickets or to participate in the primaries of the party in power. The second is a ripple effect of the first the politicians can't all win so the sore losers with gather themselves and move back to their former parties or create a new one forming an excuse to leave their party (Aleyomi 2013:117). Consequently this lack of loyalty to one's political party is becoming a norm the society today, gradually destroying the political party system and the democratic process in the fourth republic.

Poverty: Poverty is a major challenge to multi-party system in Nigeria's fourth republic, poverty is generally associated with developing nations in Africa where massive unemployment is on the rise, Nigeria like so many African countries has a very high number of unemployed youth which in turn tell on the standard of living, according to Victor (2002) it is worthy to note that around 70% of Nigerians are poor who view politics as a way to make money. In his view, Ake (1996) said a state cannot be progressive or stable if the greater numbers of the population are thieves, beggars and parasites. The above statement sheds more light on the political situation in Nigeria, where politicians participate in politics within the party to get their hands on political offices with the sole aim of loot public funds; this is a major hindrance to democratization in the fourth republic. When politicians only see a politics as an opportunity to make money, where political elites invests in upcoming young politicians which will pay off when they help them get to power, so they can control the viable mechanism of government.

The level of poverty also contributes to the way the masses give up their chance to choose a credible leader, where desperate politicians brainwash them to offer them money for their votes which affect their lives for the tenure of the political office, this will give them a temporary comfort but impedes on their rights to choose freely.



e-Governance Conference

Covenant University Conference on e-Governance in Nigeria - CUCEN2017



Gbolahan & Duruji

Over Ambitious Politicians: Democracy in the fourth republic has been constantly marred by politicians who set unrealistic political achievements for themselves and pursue these set of goals by all means necessary, the influx of these group of people with the do or die mentality into the political scenario is alarming in the fourth republic (Bamgbose, 2012:216). They engage in antiparty behaviors in order to win political power. These over ambitious politician are so desperate they risk snatching ballot boxes, bribing polling unit officials and deploying political thugs if the need arises, sadly this a one of the greatest challenges multi-party system faces in the fourth republic. The Nigeria populace has seen this as act of desperation as a norm in the political and electoral system especially in the fourth. Political parties on the other hand have absolute no control over these over ambitious politicians because of the weak party laws and lack of party ideologies.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above findings this study recommends that:

- a) Political parties in Nigeria is the lack of political ideologies, philosophy and principles, there has to be what a party is known for, if they are liberals or conservatives, these will help shape the nature people the party will attract. Furthermore it will also impact of their manifestoes and how they will go about executing them. The importance of party ideology cannot be over emphasized therefore there must be clearly spelt out party ideologies for political parties in the fourth republic.
- b) There a serious need for political education among the citizen of Nigeria to remove the roots of ethnicity in the administration of political parties in Nigeria, The citizens should know the dangers of mixing ethnicity and politic so as to prevent chaos in the society. Ethnicity is another major hindrance to democratic development in the fourth republic, which needs to be addressed by constantly educating the populace about their rights so as to prevent them from being manipulated to be a part of ethnic politicking.
- c) There should be measures in place to look into establishing strict internal laws that will govern the affairs of party members and curb their excesses; most of the parties in the fourth republic have stronger men who do not obey the party laws and dictates of the party. Majority of the politicians today misbehave because there are no strict party laws guiding their actions. If the political party manage their own members how can they manage a state or a nation, hence the need for party internal laws to guide their affairs.
- d) There should be conferences among political parties which will lead to the adjustment of political laws and regulation that cautions politicians so as to make them very accountable for their actions in government and if found guilty of mismanagement of funds or abuse of office is liable go to prison. This will ensure that the elected office holders will be responsible for their actions while in the office, and will fast track the growth of democracy in the fourth republic.
- e) Seminars and workshops should be organised as frequently as possible to help the political party officials stay updated with the trend of political party activities which will develop them and the political party system at large. Constant education for the political party members as well will help to breed a new group of enlightened politicians that will cut across all levels of government.



e-Governance Conference

Covenant University Conference on e-Governance in Nigeria - CUCEN2017



Gbolahan & Duruji

f) The electoral body that coordinate election (INEC) should be well funded by government to enable them carry out its duties properly without the influence of the government and other external forces. The independence of the electoral body is key to guaranteeing the accuracy election result which is a very important aspect of democracy. The inability of INEC to carry out its duties has hampered the development of the democratic process in the nation, it also brought social vices to play where politicians rig and stuff ballot boxes as seen in the fourth republic elections.

In conclusion, political party is a group of people who come together in common interest to get political power, multi-party has enhanced the development of the democratic process especially in the fourth republic. However there are peculiar challenges that have hindered the development of Nigeria in the fourth republic, the political elite have come to politics as a money making avenue where they invest in local politicians and expect returns on their investment. The adoption of group theory in this study has helped explain the coming together of people into groups; these groups get involved in political activities which encourages political participation in the activities of the state. All these political activities help to deepen democracy in Nigeria's fourth republic. This study concludes that multi-party system is very good for the political development of our democracy in the fourth republic and if all the mentioned challenges are address it will enhance democratization in Nigeria.

EFERENCE

- Achebe, C. (1983). *The Trouble with Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Adebayo, A. (1986). *Power in Politics*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Adele, J. (2012). Electoral Violence and Nigeria's 2011 General Election: *A Journal on International Review of Social Science and Humanities*, 4 (1), 205-219.
- Adeniran, A. (2015). Analytical Study of Political Party system in Nigeria. *Public Policy and Administration Research*. 5(12).
- Agbaje, A and Adejumbi, S (2006) "Do Votes Count? The Travails of Electoral Politics in Nigeria" in *Africa Development*, XXXI, (3), CODESRIA.
- Agbo, A. (2009). A Catalogue of Failures, *Tell Magazine*, June 8
- Aina, A. (2002) Party Politics in Nigeria under Obasanjo Administration, *Monograph Series* No. 1, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Babcock University, Nigeria.
- Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy Development in Africa*, Abuja: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Ake, C. (1996) "The Political Question" in Oyeleye Oyediran (ed) *Governance and Development in Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Billy J Dudley*. Ibadan: Oyediran Consult International.
- Akhakpe, I. (2011). Election Crisis, Liberal Democracy and National Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: *European Scientific Journal*. 8. 21-36.
- Akinola, A. (2014) *Party Coalition in Nigeria History, Trends and Prospects*. Ibadan: Safari Books Ltd.
- Alabi, F, Arowolo, D (2009) *History and Politics of Nigeria*: Akure, ACL Nigeria.
- Aleyomi, M. (2013) Election and Politics of Party Defections In Nigeria: A Clue of Kogi State. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*. 1, (2).
- Anifowose, R. (1982). *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv Experience*. Enugu-Nigeria and New York: Nok Publishers. 34-45



e-Governance Conference

Covenant University Conference on e-Governance in Nigeria - CUCEN2017



Gbolahan & Duruji

- Ball, A. (1971). *Modern policies and Government*. London: Macmillan Press Limited.
- Bamgbose, J. (2009). Presidential Election and Refugee Crisis in Togo: *A Journal of International African Studies*. 3, (2).
- Bentley, A. (1908) *The Process of Government*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Barnes, S. (1965) Group Theory and Political Culture: A Review of Joseph La Palombara, Interest Groups in Italian Politics. University of Michigan. *Conflict Resolution* 4, (3).
- Jude, M. and Ika, M. (2013). Implication of Intra-party Conflict in Nigeria's Democratisation: *Global Journal of Human Social Science*. 13. (6) 1-14
- LaPalombara, J. (2003) Political Parties: in Hawkesworth, M. and Kogan, M.(eds) *Encyclopaedia of Government and Politics*, London and New York: Routledge.
- LaPalombara, J. Weiner, M. (1966) *Political Parties and Political Development*: New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- LaPalombara, J. (1964) *Interest Groups in Italian Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Mbah P. (2011) Party Defection and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, 1999-2009 *AfroAsian Journal of Social Sciences*. 2. (3) Quarter III.
- Ogundiya, I. S. and Baba, T. K. (2005). Electoral Violence and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria in Onu. G. and Momoh, A. (eds) *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria* Lagos: Educational Publishers. 45-67
- Ogundiya IS (2006). On Democracy, Legitimacy and Accountability: Lessons for Nigeria. Paper Presented at the 25th Annual Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association, PortHarcourt, Nigeria August 26 to 31.
- Oji, R. (2002). *Political Parties, Pressure Groups and Public Opinion in the Political Process*. Enugu: John Jacobs Publishers Ltd.
- Omotola, J.S. (2011) Electoral Reform and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, *Journal of African Elections*, 10 (1), 187-207.
- Omotola, J. S. (2010). Political Parties and the Quest for Political Stability in Nigeria *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 6 (2), 125-145.
- Omotola, J. S (2009) Electoral Administration and Democratic Consolidation in Africa: Ghana and Nigeria in Comparative Perspective, PhD Post-Field Seminar Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Academic Research*. 4. (4). 2016 ISSN 2309-3218 *Multidisciplinary Journals* www.multidisciplinaryjournals.com
- Oyediran, O. and Agbaje, A. B. (1999). Two partyism and Democratic Transition in Nigeria *Journal of Modern African Study*. 2. (29). 25-32
- Simbine, A. T. (2004). The Impact of More Parties on the Democratic Project in Saliu, H. A. et al (eds) *Nigeria Under Democratic Rule (1999-2003)*. Ibadan: University Press.
- USAID (2006). Democracy and Governance Assessment of Nigeria, Available at:http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADI079.pdf.
- Truman, D. (1967). *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*, New York, Alfred Knopf Inc.
- Varma, S. P. (1975), *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vicky Publishers, PVT Ltd
- Wakili, H (2008) *Financing Political Parties in Nigeria: 1999-2007*, The Consortium for Development Partnerships
- Yaquab, N. (2002). *Political Parties in the Transition Process in Bob Onuoba and M.M Fadakinte, Transition Politics in Nigeria: 1970-1999*. Lagos: Malthouse Press limited.