**PARTY POLITICS AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION:**

**A CASE STUDY OF PEOPLE’S DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)**

**IN NIGERIA, 1999-2015**

**BY**

**ANIOKE IGWEBUIKE O.**

**U14/MSS/POL/042**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF**

**MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY UGWUOMU NIKE ENUGU**

**JULY 2018**

**Title page**

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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND**

**SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.Sc) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**SUPERVISOR**

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**JULY, 2018**

**DECLARATION**

I, Anioke Igwebuike O. hereby declare that this research work was written by me and has been submitted or received anywhere for the purpose of acquiring degree in political science or any other programme.

……………………………………………….. …...……….……………..............

**Anioke Igwebuike O.** Date

**APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that this research work titled **“party politics and National Integration: A study of people’s Democratic party (PDP) in Nigeria, 1999-2015”**; by Anioke, Igwebuike O in the Department of Political Science & International Relations has been examined and approved as meeting the requirement for the award of Bachelor of Science (B.Sc) Degree in Political Science, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu.

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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to Almighty God for his Providence, and also to my lovely parents Engr. And Mrs Oliver Anioke.

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I wish to express my heart-fully appreciation to all those who contributed towards the completion of this work. In particular, I am immensely grateful to God almighty for His estimable mercies, love, providence and grace upon my life; indeed he has been faithful to me even in my unfaithfulness. I will ever remain grateful to my lovely parents Engr. and Mrs. Oliver Anioke for their love and care, most importantly for their financial support, moral assistance, and also for seeing me through in every stage of my academic pursuit. I will forever remain loyal to them.

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To others too numerous to mention, but whose contributions were of no less important, I remain greatly indeed. Nevertheless, any errors and/or omissions, contained in this work, remain the sole responsibility of the researcher.

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***Abstract***

*Since the attainment of independence in 1960, it has been known that party polities has not really done much in the area of national integration in Nigeria because of this; political parties in Nigeria tend to promote ethnic and private interest which has milted against National integration. Based on this, this study sought to investigate the party politics and national integration with a view to analyzing the nature and structure of the People ’s Democratic Parties (PDP) between 1999 – 2015 in order to ascertain how it has promoted National Integration in Nigeria. Qualitative method of data collection based on documentary evidence was used. Secondary source of data was employed. Also Qualitative descriptive method based on content analysis was used as our method of analysis. The work was predicated on the systems theory approach as our theoretical framework of analysis, this study desire to investigate the extent to which fourth republic parties’ politic has impacted on national integration. The study found that the structures of parties in fourth republics tended to promote ethnic and private interest and this really affected national integration. The Nigerian ruling class, patriotism or national interest was a hollow propaganda intended to mask class selfishness. The ruling class demonstrated their private interest through awarding contracts to party loyalists who abandon those contracts and embezzle the money and nothing would be done. It had been noted that parties politics have not really done much on the achievement of national integration, we recommended amongst others things that Political parties in Nigeria should be formed on the basis of promoting National integration. Grassroots and people oriented political parties should be formed, founding of political parties should not be done by few wealthy individuals but by the entire people. Also participation in political party activities should be open and transparent for all citizens.*

**Key words:** People’s Democratic Party (PDP), Ethnic Identities, National Integration, Propaganda, Fourth Republic, Grassroots.

**CHAPTER ONE**

**INTRODUCTION**

* 1. **Background of The Study**

The rise of political parties as an instrument of national integration has captured the attention of many scholars in recent times. Their common purpose enables Appadorai (2004:537) to formulate his classical definition of political party as “A political party is more or less organized group of citizens who act together as a political unit, have distinctive aims and opinions on the leading political questions of controversy in the state, and who, by acting together as a political unit, seek to obtain control of the government”. Edmund Burke defined political party as “a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors, national integration upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed” (Burke, 1839).

Ostrogorski, (1854-1919) was one of the first students of politics to recognize that parties were becoming vital in the new era of democratic politics. The twentieth century proved to be the century of parties. In West Europe, mass parties battled for the votes of enlarge electorates. In communist and fabist states, ruling parties monopolized power in an attempt to reconstruct society and the people within it. In the developing world, nationalist parties became the vehicle for driving colonial rulers back to their imperial homeland. In all their cases, parties succeeded in drawing millions of with the national political process, often for the first time. The mass party was the mobilizing device of the twentieth century.

In standing between the people and the state, parties became and substantially remain, integral to politics in four main ways.

1. Ruling parties offer direction to government, performing the vital task of steering the ship of state.
2. Parties function as agents of elite recruitment. They serve as major mechanism for preparing and recruiting candidates for public office. If you want to lead your country, you must first persuade a party to adopt you as it candidate.
3. Parties serve as agents of interest aggregation. They transform a multitude of specific demands into more manageable packages of proposals. Parties select, reduce and combine interests. They act as a filter between society and state, deciding which demands to allow through their net.
4. The declining extent, political parties serves as a point of reference for their supporters and voters, giving people a key to interpreting a complicated political world.

Political parties are permanent organizations which contest elections, usually because they seek to occupy the decisive positions of authority within the state, unlike interest groups, which seek merely to influence the government, serious parties aim to secure the levers of power in Rod Hague and Martin Harrop (2001:167). In Weber’s phrase parties live in a house of power Weber (1968).

A party may exist primarily as an electoral machine for gaining power with no coherent philosophy, or it may have deep ideological aims. It might also conform to Edmund Burk’s definition of a group agreed “upon a pimple by which the national interest might be served. It is a group publicly organized with the intention of gaining political power in government, to realize certain aims C. A. heeds (1975:124).

National integration is a process which includes among other things, the incorporation of various parts of a society into a functioning whole, the growth of obedience and loyalties of the nation transcending loyalties to its, parts and emergence of shared values and perspectives or consensus. Therefore, Nigerian could achieve national integration if loyalty to the nation transcends loyalties to the parts of state. Nigeria would be a country where all the citizens no matter where you reside could aspire, work and attain his life ambition without hindrance based on regionalism and states.

Party politics came into Nigerian during British rule in the country. As a result of the circumstances of their “birth”, most of the pre-independence political parties in the country lacked national outlook despite the fact that some of their main actors were looked upon as committed nationalists. A possible exception was, however, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) which made a number of concrete attempts to assume a national outlook.

Although political parties in Nigeria under the presidential system wore new labels, the individuals who operated them still retained their old habits. If there was anything new in party politics under the presidential system, it was in the structure of the parties. For example, while political parties under the parliamentary system tended to deepen ethnic differences, the ones under the presidential system cut across enthnic solidarity. But because there was no corresponding change in the political ways of Nigerian political corruption and other vices that typified pre presidential political parties in Nigeria assumed alarming proportions under the new system.

The second republic, in spite of the constitutional provision for the emergence of true national parties, the five political parties that was registered by Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) was nothing but the reincarnation of political parties of the first republic. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) was a re-emergence of the NPC of the first republic, equally, the Nigerian People’s Party, the Unity Party of Nigeria, the NCNC, AG respectively.

**IBB** lifted the ban on political activities, which had been in place since the 1983 coup, two political parties were established: the center-right **National Republican Convention (NRC)**and the center-left **Social Democratic Party (SDP). Pulse.ng (2018)**

Going forward, Abacha’s political madness cost Nigeria a great deal. But that ended on June 8, 1998 when the cold hand of death gripped him in what Nigerians believed to be a decisive moment. Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar prepared way for transition that saw the power returned to the ex-military head of state, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo as democratically elected president on May 29, 1999.

Abubakar appointed the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to conduct elections for Local Government Councils, State legislature and Governorship positions, the National Assembly, and Presidency. The INEC successfully held elections on December 5, 1998, January 9, 1999, February 20, and February 27, 1999, respectively. For local elections, nine parties were granted provisional registration with three fulfilling the requirements to contest the elections. These parties were the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), the All People’s Party (APP) and the predominantly Yoruba Alliance for Democracy (AD).

The People’s Redemption Party (PRC) promulgated a new Constitution based largely on the suspended 1979 constitution, before the May 29, 1999 inauguration of the new civilian President. The Constitution includes provisions for a bicameral legislature, the National Assembly consisting of a 360 member House of Representatives and 109 members Senate.

Former Head of State Olusegun Obasanjo, freed from prison by Abubakar, ran as a civilian, candidate. PDP won the 1999 presidential election with its flag bearer, President Olusegun Obasanjo. The PDP produced 21 state governors, ANPP 9 governors and AD produced 6 governors. The emergency of a democratic form of government in Nigeria on May 1999 ended 16 years of consecutive military rule. (Vanguard, August 18 2013)

In the study, we shall comparatively analysis two political parties in Nigeria. Our task therefore is to access the attempt made by political parties in the achievement of political integration.

* 1. **Statement Of The Problem**

Since the return of Nigeria to the paths of democratization, the challenges of consolidating democracy occupy a central position not only in the academic circle, but also in the domains of civil society, public policy and democracy aid industry. This is probably so because sustaining democracy is often a task difficult as establishing it (Schedler, 1998; 2001), if not much more daunting. Moreover, the experience of history demonstrates convincingly the fluctuating fortunes of democratisation in Africa, given the abysmal failure of all previous attempts at democratisation in the continent. Worse still, under the third wave of democratisation, African democracies appear not to have taken firm roots. Indeed, they appear to be under the threats of potential breakdown and/or erosion. Tatah Mentan characterized them as being held together by pins and perpetually under siege by antidemocratic forces (Mentan, 2007). Evidently, the democratization process in Nigeria appears epileptic and inconsistent, beaming new hopes in some countries and instances, and faltering prospects in some others (Osaghae, 1999; Young, 1999; Baker, 2000; May, 2000;Basedau, Erdmann and Mehler, 2007; Journal of African Election, 2007; Menocal; Fritz;Rakner, 2008; Lindberg and Morrison, 2008). The situation is so terrible that one may be tempted to re-echo the sentiments of anti-democratic thought as to the possibility of democracy in Nigeria (see Gilley, 2009).

The deepening crisis of democratisation in Africa seems closely connected to the pertinent issue of multiparty elections and their administration (Omotola, 2009). Effective electoral reforms energises elections by contributing to the building of social capital for the democratization process. For the most part of Africa, however, electoral reforms and therefore, electoral administration has tended to be largely ineffective, becoming democratic liabilities, instead of assets, thereby reinforcing the thesis that elections in Africa are nothing but a fading shadow of democracy(Adejumobi, 2000; Van de Linde, 2001; Lumumba Kasongo, 2005; Obi, 2009). The concept of national integration is the prime political problem facing the Nigerian nation. Many authors and political scientists have devoted time and attention to this problem but it seems to be more increasingly intractable. Political party’s activities because of the determinative role they play in Nigeria and these roles should not always be taken for granted. Since political parties provide a link between the individual and the larger political community, they can be a mechanism for political socialization, mass mobilization and thus for achieving national integration.

National integration in totality may consist of political integration, social integration, cultural integration; economic integration etc. part of the problems of national integration is that initially the colonialists arbitrarily lumped together various groups under the name Nigeria. In fact Nigeria has remained a society where forces of ethnicity, parochialism and religious diversity or pluralism seriously predominate over centripetal forces. The emergence of political parties in the fourth republic entails the formal convergence of various communities with their leaders and members as well as their loyalties behind. In an effort to comparatively analysis two political parties in Nigeria, the following questions are considered fundamental

**1.3 Research Questions**

The problems to be encountered in this research are:

1. How does the ethnic character of political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015?
2. Does the non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015?
   1. **Objectives of the Study**

It is the intention of this research to expose alternative methods of achieving national integration and how political parties can help in bringing about national integration in Nigeria. Therefore, the aims and objectives of this research are as follow.

1. To examine how ethnicity in political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015
2. To ascertain how the non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015
   1. **Significance of the Study**

To realize national integration, there must be an organization responsible for the provision of the necessary personnel for the running of government. Here the role of political parties became imperative. It is the function of the political parties to provide the machinery for the selection of personnel of government.

This work aims at perpetuating itself as a viable resourceful and relevant material to lend information to future researchers especially in this chosen field. The significance of this research is as follows:

It will explore the roots of the problem of national integration and proffer solutions and how political parties can help in bringing about national integration. The problems of national integration in this research are the issue of ethno-regional domination, private interest etc. This work would proffer solutions on how these problems could be controlled.

It will act as a guide to researches on how the problem of ethno-regional domination, corruption has hampered on national integration. It would provide solution and alternative ways through which national integration could be achieved. Furthermore, if the lessons that would be gathered from this work would be adopted, it would improve the lots of the people and make them more responsive to the input structure of the political system. It would also make them to be politically conscious, patriotic and have a sense of unity. By the end of this research, one must have learnt alternative methods of achieving national integration.

* 1. **Scope Of The Study**

The scope of this study covers the period within the life span of the fourth republic (1999-2015). Consideration lies between APC and PDP political parties and their role in achieving national integration within the period.

**1.7. Hypothesis**

1. The ethnic character of political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015
2. The non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

**CHAPTER TWO**

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**2.1 An Overview of Political Parties in Nigeria**

Igwe, (2002) defines political parties as any group of people organized for objectives from time to time, publishing a manifesto, explaining its programme and canvassing for membership and support in it quest for power. Nnoli, (2003:7) defines political party as a group of people who shares common conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. This idea is sometimes expressed in a different way when it is argued that a political party is an organization concerned with, the expression of preferences regarding the emergence of consolidation and use of state power. In other words political party is all about politics and contesting control of the Chief policy making offices of the government.

Appadorai, (2004:123) defines political party as a more or less organized group of citizens who act together as a political unit, have distinctive aims and opinions on the leading political question of controversy in the state, and who, by acting together as a political unit, seek to obtain control of the government. It is based on two fundamentals of human nature; men differ in their opinions and are gregarious; they try to achieve by combination what they can not achieved individual.

In other words, party structures are very crucial and important tools for determining the strength and weaknesses of political parties. The Nigerian political parties had federalist structures. They all had similar structure. This research shall give one indebt knowledge of the structure of Nigerian political parties. Political parties in Nigeria have been said to lack ideological vigour. The comprador bourgeois who are members of the parties has influenced party ideologies in Nigeria. Scholars have made several attempts to define the term ideology.

Igwe (2007:194) define ideology as a philosophical worldview reflecting the material conditions of an epoc and defining and justifying the nature and character of the political society of the future that its adherents aspire to, and the means by which the goal may be attained.

Duverger (1968) regarded political parties as the process of unifying a society, which tends to make it a harmonious city base upon an order. He described modern political parties as a twentieth century mechanism designed to solve the problem of how to bring “the people” the new mass voters into the community. However, bringing people the political community may to certain extent constitute integration. But this is not a more amalgamation of the people into a political entity, rather it entails making them have a feeling of oneness and consciousness within the polity. he further argued that to bring the masses to the political system means to encourage parties that are not merely aggregate of local and personal interest, but parties that give or profess to give to the man in the street, a voice in politics.

Leeds (1968) view political parties as a group public organized with the aim of gaining political power as to carry out policies which it feels will serve the national interest.

Rodee et al (1983) content that political parties acquired their meaning in terms of the purpose for which they are formed, the character of membership, its structures or functions they perform.

Ball (1983) regards political parties as structures within the political system that perform many functions. Among the functions are those of communicating the wishes of the electorate to the government, informing the electorate an important political issues and allowing a wide participation by more people in a political system. He believed that political parties bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical distances and provide coherence to sometimes divisive government structures.

Similarly, Igwe (2002) defines political parties as any group of people organized for objectives from time to time, publishing a manifesto, explaining its programme and canvassing for membership and support in it quest for

power.

Nnoli (2003:7) defines political party as a group of people who shares common conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. This idea is sometimes expressed in a different way when it is argued that a political party is an organization concerned with, the expression of preferences regarding the emergence of consolidation and use of state power. In other words political party is all about politics and contesting control of the Chief policy making offices of the government.

**2.2. Concept of National Integration**

Scholarly works on integration have diversely interpreted the concept. It has been viewed both as a process or a condition or even both by scholars. But what exactly is integration? Integration may be viewed simply as a way of getting things done through coordinated group efforts. Integration is a process intimately linked to the German notion of “gemeinschaff” of community emphasizing the mutuality of feeling and a willingness to share for the common food of its members. According to Lindberg (1963) integration is

“*the process whereby nations forego the desire* *and ability to conduct foreign and domestic* *policies independent to each other, seeking* *instead to make joint decisions or to delegate* *the decision-making process to a new control* *organ”.*

Lindberg (1963), hinged his definition on three comparative conditions which include;

1. The development of central institutions and policies;
2. The assignment to those institutions of importantspecific tasks;
3. The continued commitment of member states on such arrangement

Karl Deutch (1957:67) conceived integration as the “attainment, within a territory of a sense of community” and institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure dependable expectations of “peaceful change” among its population. He argues that by sense of community he means a belief that common social problems must and can be resolved by process of peaceful change.

Another integration theorist who has attempted to conceptualize integration is E.B Haas (1958:402). He conceives integration as:

*The process whereby political actors in severaldistinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties expectations and politicalactivities towards a new centre whoseinstitutions posses or demand jurisdiction over* *pre-existing national states.*

Thus, integration involves the coming together of states units with overlapping common interest to form a union so as to advance and secure those interests.

Duverger (1954) wrote that in modern political parties, the organizational structure assumes great importance. It constitutes the general setting for the activities of members, the form imposed on their solidarity and it also determines the machinery for the selection of leaders and decides their powers. It explains the strength and efficiency of certain parties, the weaknesses and inefficiencies.

**2.3. Political Parties and National Integration in Nigeria**

Although some forms of informal political activities had begun in Nigeria prior to 1922 (Agbaje, 2005), the first political party to emerge in Nigeria was the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) which was formed in Lagos in 1922 by Herbert Marculay and his associates. It contested elective legislative seats in Lagos and Calabar under the limited franchise system for local representation approved in the 1922 Clifford Constitution. As nationalist activities continued, and with the demise of Herbert Marculay and the introduction of regional principle by the Richards Constitution in 1946, other nationalists‟ political parties emerged. The parties that emerged at this juncture included: the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (later National Council of Nigerian Citizens) (NCNC), Action Group (AG) (formed from a Yoruba socio-cultural organization, Egbe Omo Oduduwa) and Northern Peoples‟ Congress (NPC), formed from Jammah Mutenen Arewa. The AG and NPC were basically regional parties drawing their major support from their ethnic groups in the West and North respectively. Only the NCNC had and maintained a national outlook but was forced to recede to Eastern Region after its leader, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe who had won a seat in the Western Regional Assembly was prevented from going to the centre by the newly formed AG. This was because representation in the central institution is determined by the Regional Assembly (Osaghae, 2002).

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It would be recalled that during the 1951 Western Region House of Assembly election, Azikiwe’s NCNC defeated the Obafemi Awolowo-led AG in the Western Region by securing 35 seats against AG‟s 29 (Kurfi 1983). The implication of this was that Azikiwe, an Easterner would have gone to represent the Western Region at the centre (Lagos). However, this opportunity was denied him overnight by AG‟s negotiation and securing of the decampment of 16 legislators elected on the platform of other smaller political parties. Although this action was played down in the contemporary Nigerian political discourse, however, this singular act dealt a deadly blow on a march towards national cohesion using political parties as a platform in Nigeria.

These three dominant parties could in a way be regarded as nationalist, at least for uniting to fight a common „enemy‟ (colonialism) and gaining independence for the country. According to Osaghae (2002) and Yaqub (2003), regardless of the socio-cultural and regional antecedents of these parties, they were able to reduce primordial sentiments among them and their supporters and mobilized them to end colonial rule. But what was noticed immediately after independence was that these „nationalists‟ rather than continue to champion national cause that would unite the young nation, began to pursue personal, regional and primordial interests. If these parties had stepped up the unity of purpose with which they eliminated colonialism, perhaps the country would not have been enmeshed in the political crisis that rocked the First Republic.

Awolowo (1960), declared that a situation in which one ethnic group would dominate the other does not accord with any conception of a united and happy Nigeria. He nonetheless did not hesitate to give a tribal interpretation to

the ascendancy of the NCNC. Such ethnicization later culminated into the Igbo and Yoruba friction of 1948. What we have today in Nigeria is a nation is conflict within the nation, rather than conflicts generated by the desire to redefined the boundaries of our nation.

Weiner (1965) believed that the problem of national integration arose during the transitional phase of political

development when government began to assume or attempt to assume more functions. He further defined national integration as the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and

the establishment of a national identity. The question here is “could the mere bringing together of culturally and socially discrete groups like the Igbos, Ijaws, Hausa, Yoruba, Fulani, Tiv etc into a single territorial unity (Nigeria)

and the establishment of national identity constitute integration? If such is permissible as national integration nigeria may be integrated but not fully initiated to Weiner centered on the subjective feeling of territorial nationality,

which overshadows or eliminates subordinates parochial loyalties.

Mazrui (1977:229) wrote that the process of national integration requires a partial decline in the power of kinship (reproductive) symbolism and ethnic confrontation. The decline would require the modernization of social conflicts in the direction of new economic classes. For a while class and ethnic antagonisms both will simply reinforce each other, but as the economy becomes more complex and its reproductive capacity becomes enlarged, kinship competition should begin to subside by the year 2000 especially as the ethnic purism becomes less distinct in the wake of cultural integration and geographical and biological intermingling among the groups.

Azikiwe (1978) defied ideology as a systemic body of concepts about human life and culture. Ideology by Azikiwe’s definition, ideologies should focus on human life and culture. But what do we see in Nigeria politics today? It’s simply the opposite. For those who have a purist view of ideology and conceive of its in terms of two dominant word ideologies, socialism and capitalism, the ideal of political parties in Nigeria having ideologies would seem like a joke. Parties have flaunted their ideologies but a critical look at them would tell you that they don’t have ideologies.

But what was noticed was that as independence became imminent, the music began to change and primordial and selfish interest began to set in. Power relations and competition for power became the hallmarks of politics and how individuals were organised to contest for power is another ball game. As time went by, rivalry grew among the political parties with each trying to outdo the other and succeed the departing colonial masters. Although this rivalry actually began with the introduction of the principle of regionalism, but it was a healthy one because it had to do with economic development of the regions. The parties rather than seek national support receded to their ethnic groups for support. Little wonder that from independence to the collapse of the First Republic, there was no emergence of a national party. Hence Ojo (2005) argued that:

*There was no doubt that the Nigerian leaders worsened the situation by not evolving a national party that would unite the country. Instead, the three major parties, the Northern People‟s Congress (NPC), the national Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) was regionally based and drawing support from their regions.*

These rivalries culminated in the eventual collapse of the First Republic and eventual military takeover in 1966. After several years of military rule, party politics resumed in the country in 1979, ushering in the Second Republic. The „framers‟ of the 1979 constitution were careful in the clauses added to the constitution especially with regards to electoral matters to avoid the pitfalls of the First Republic. This was done to forestall the emergence of regional or ethnic-based parties as follows;

1. Official party registration by the electoral body (s. 202);
2. Periodic elections of officers and in compliance with federal character principle (s.203);
3. party aims and objectives must conform to the Fundamental Objectives and Directive principles of State Policy (3.204);
4. account for all its assets and liabilities, disclose their sources and submit its books or records of financial transaction for audit (ss.205- 206);
5. prohibition of quasi-military organizations (s.207);

These provisions were aimed at solving the nagging Nigerian problems of North-South dichotomy, thereby engendering national integration. Similarly, the 1979 Constitution prohibited carpet-crossing. Section 64(1:9) of the Constitution states that a member of the Senate or of the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House of which he is a member if,

Being a person whose election to the House was sponsored by a political party, he becomes a member of another political party before the expiration of the period for which that house was elected.

This was done to ensure discipline and accountability of the elected officials to the electorate and their political parties. The constitution further provided that a person for the candidate of the President of the Federation was expected to score at least two-third of the total votes in at least two-third number of states in the federation before being declared winner. In all, five (5) political parties were registered to contest for the election. These included National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Nigerian People‟s Party (NPP), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Great Nigeria People‟s Party (GNPP) and People‟s Redemption Party (PRP).

The sixth one with the name National Advance Party (NAP) joined the race to contest the 1983 elections (Agbaje 2005). By the end of the presidential elections in 1983, the country was thrown into the debacle of determining the actual interpretation of the constitutional provision of two-third. The dream of the government to have a national party was jeopardized again as most of the parties that emerged were more or less the offshoots of the parties of the First Republic. The NPP (Nnamdi Azikiwe), PRP (Alhaji Aminu Kano), NPN (Alhaji Shehu Shagari) and UPN (Chief Obafemi Awolowo) had the same values, leadership and orientation of the defunct First Republic parties, namely, NCNC, NEPU, NPC, and AG (Agbaje 2005).

Although the leader of NPN is different from the original leader in the First Republic, but its emergence could be traced to the Hausa/Fulani platform, which was more or less the regrouping of the old NPC stalwarts. Similarly, the location of party offices and officials reflected the region, which the leaders of the parties hailed from. This manifested in the outcome of the results of the elections. For instance, NPP won most of votes from the two Igbo states of Anambra and Imo; UPN won most of the votes from the Yoruba states; and the same was applicable to the NPN in the North (Osaghae 2002:124-125). There was high level of inter/intra-party conflict. There was mistrust and fusion of religion into politics. So it was difficult for parties that could not maintain internal cohesion to achieve national integration. Apart from the NPN that had its members cutting across ethnic boundaries, other ones had ethno-regional outlook. Hence, rather than forging national cohesion, political parties promoted national polarization. This deep-rooted crises and unhealthy rivalry among the political parties necessitated the military taking over again and bringing to an end the Second Republic.

This era of military incursion into the Nigerian body-politic marked the second phase of military rule, which lasted from December 31, 1983 to May 29, 1999. This long period witnessed endless democratic transitions and series of military coups and counter coups. According to Osaghae (2002) between 1960 and 1996, there were no less than ten officially known coups in Nigeria. All these were successful and involved change in regimes. Two were unsuccessful but bloody (1976 and 1990) and three were nipped in the bud and the officers involved were either jailed or executed (1986 and 1995). There were also rumours of unreported coup plots and executions of convicted officers within these periods (Osaghae 2002).

It was during this second wave of military rule that the country first experimented with a two-party system of democracy. Initiated by the Babangida regime, there emerged the Social Democratic Party (SDP) with a “little-left” ideology and National Republican Convention (NRC) with a „little-right” ideology. This, according to the administration was done to foster national unity and development. The membership cut across all the ethnic and religious boundaries. Unlike the parties of the First and Second Republics, election was to be devoid of ethnic or regional sentiments, just as was the case of the Western Region House of Assembly Election of 1951. In the ensuing presidential election in 1993 between Mushood Abiola and Babagana Kingibe (a MuslimMuslim ticket and a Yoruba presidential candidate of the SDP) Bashir Tofa and Silvester Ugoh of the NRC were swept off in a landslide outcome in favour of the SDP. According to Yaqub (2003), SDP won in Christian-dominated regions of the South, notwithstanding the fact that the counterpart NRC had a Christian and Igbo from the Southeast as its running mate. SDP on the other hand lost to the NRC in some core Muslim-dominated areas such as Bauchi, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger and Sokoto States despite the fact that it had Muslims as its candidates. But this laudable project could not see the light of the day because of the insincerity of the Nigerian military leader of the time, General Ibrahim Babangida which led to the annulment of the election, which was widely adjudged at home and abroad as the best election in the country.

The crises that erupted as a result of the annulment of the election made the military government of General Babangida to step aside and hand over power to Chief Ernest Shonekan who led the Interim National Government (ING). The idea of handing over power to Chief Ernest Shonekan a Yoruba was a calculated scheme to pacify the Yoruba, whose son, Chief MKO Abiola had been denied electoral mandate. It is instructive to note that given the events which played out during the struggle for the actualization of the June 12 election mandate of Abiola, the two parties created by the government might not have engendered national integration as has been argued in some quarters. With the military annulment of the June 12 election, it should have been expected that the whole country would rise to demand justice from the military government over the stolen mandate. But rather than having a robust struggle against the military, the struggle was seen as a Yoruba affair while the other ethnic groups withdrew to their shell. Even some ethnic groups especially the Igbo saw it an opportunity to take a revenge on the Yoruba ethnic group for failing to assist them during the thirty-month Nigeria/Biafra war. To worsen matters, Chief Abiola‟s running mate, Kingibe of Hausa/Fulani extraction sold out as he accepted an appointment to serve under the Abacha-led military junta that overthrew the ING. So, in this second opportunity, the political parties also failed to act as instrument of national cohesion.

Although some political activities took place during Abacha‟s five-year reign, but they were not done to engender national integration but to perpetuate Abacha‟s attempt at transmuting into a civilian president. In order to achieve this desire, he floated the idea of being adopted by all the five major parties, in what Bola Ige had branded as “five fingers of a leprous hand”. This agenda could not however materialize because of Abacha‟s sudden death on June 8, 1998. His demise paved the way for the emergence of General Abdusalami Abubakar as the new Head of State. The Abubakar administration did not last long as the country was already tired of military dictatorship as there also was mounting international pressure on Nigeria to democratize. So the government embarked upon a short transition to civil rule programme.

* 1. **Multi-Party System and Democratic Development in Nigeria**

The introduction of elective principle in 1922 by the colonial government institutionalized the formation of political parties in Nigeria. The various nationalist movements were transformed into political associations to contest for elective positions in the Legislative Council. Thus, competitive party and electoral politics was prevalent as the country progressed through representative government to political independence between 1922 and 1960 (Jinadu, 2011). Within this period it is estimated that fifteen political parties contested the pre-independence election of 1959.

Prominent among these parties were the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) formed in 1923, the People’s Union (PU) also formed in 1923, Union of Young Nigerians (UYM) formed in 1923, the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) formed in 1937, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) formed in 1944, and the Northern Elements Progressive Association (NEPA) formed in 1945. Others were the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) formed in 1950, the Action Group (AG)  and the Northern Peoples’ Congress  (NPC) both of which were formed in 1951, the United National Independence Party formed in 1953, the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) formed in 1955 through the merger between the Middle Belt League which was formed in 1950 and the Middle Belt People’s Party which was formed in 1953; Bornu Youth Movement formed in 1956, the 3 Dynamic Party formed in 1955, and the National Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons formed 1958 (Jinadu, 2011; Omodia, 2010; Dode, 2010). The dominant political parties amongst them were Action Group (AG), the Northern People’s Congress (NPC) and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (later National Council of Nigerian Citizens; NCNC).

At independence in 1960, the system of multi-party formations continued. Between 1960 and 1966[[2]](http://www.africanpoliticsandpolicy.com/?p=69" \l "_ftn2), the following political parties existed; Action Group (AG), Borno Youth Movement (BYM), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), Dynamic Party (DP), Igala Union (IU), Igbira Tribal Union (ITU), Kano People’s Party (KPP), Mabolaje Grand Alliance (MGA), Midwest Democratic Front (MDF), National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons later National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Niger Delta Congress (NDC), Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU); Northern People’s Congress (NPC), Northern Progressive Front (NPF), Republican Party (RP), United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), United National Independence Party (UNIP), and Zamfara Commoners Party (ZCP) existed. As in the pre-independence state, political parties in the First Republic were formed along ethno-religious basis. Again, this resulted in the political parties being volatile and enmeshed in unhealthy rivalry (Yalae, 2006

When in 1997 after the political crisis occasioned by the annulment of the June 12, 1993 general elections, the General Abacha-led military government began a transition to democratic governance. The government adopted multi-party system and the following political parties were formed; Committee for National Consensus (CNC), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN), United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP) and Justice Party (JP). They contested the 1997 local government elections. The parties of the Abacha regime were formed only to adopt their sole benefactor General Sani Abacha as their consensus presidential candidate and to facilitate his transformation from the military Head of State to civilian President. However, the sudden death of Abacha on June 8, 1998 marked the end of the transition programme of self succession and the beginning to the emergence of the Fourth Republic, through the General Abdulsalam – led short and brief transition programme (Azeez, 2009).

Certain inferences can be drawn from the foregoing overviews. First, Nigeria has had a checkered political history as it concerns political parties and party systems. Secondly, in Nigeria, the existence of political parties whether in pre- or post- independence era reflects the nature of its political development. Thirdly, long before political independence in 1960, Nigeria has practiced multi-party system more than any other party formations. However, the contributions of multi-party formations to political development in Nigeria have remained a contentious debate in political discourse, pitching political analysts and commentators on different sides of the ideological spectrum. While some have contended that multi-party system has severely contributed in truncating the democratic process in Nigeria given its inherent feature of polarizing systems along ethno-religious and regional basis as was witnessed in the First and Second Republics (Omoruyi, 2007; Azeez, 2009; Yuda, 2010; Nwaoko, 2011; Odunsi, 2012), others have submitted that the democratic process in Nigeria has been strengthened by the adoption of multi-party system (Tyoden, 2002; Chizea, 2004; Omotola, 2009; Omotola, 2010).

* 1. **POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE FORTH REPUBLIC**

Nigerian’s forth Republic was a product of two futile attempts by different military heads of state namely General Ibrahaim Babngida (Rtd) and they General Saani Abacha transit to civil rule. General Abdulsalani Abubabkar brought in the forth republic. The Abubakar political transition program (June 1998-May 1999) was the shortest in Nigerian’s political history lasting barely one year. The Abacha transition programme. like the Babangida episode, was a political fraud designed to entrench general Abacha in power and was inclusive due to his death in June 1998.

The demise of general Abacha on June 8 1998, Ushered in the regime of general Abdulsalami Abubakar. On assumption of office, general Abubakar set a new agenda far the political and economic rejuvenation of the country. His main focus was returned the country to civilian rule after futile attempts by his predecessors. In his national broadcast on: *Monday July 20th 1998, he said*

*“that we must admit that mistakes made, particularly as our most recent attempt at democratizations was marred by maneuvering and manipulations of structures and actions. At the end we have only succeeded in creating a defective foundation on which a solid democratic structure can neither be constructed nor sustained”.*

This is an overwhelming verdict from our consultation(Guardian, July 2l 1998:15) in the light of thishe dissolved the five political parties registeredby the Abacha regime and their assets weretaking overTwenty-four new parties registered according to INECguidelines but only nine of them met the conditionsrequired. These include the Alliance for Democracy, (AD) AllPeople Party (APP), Democratic Alliance Movement (DAM),Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Peoples Redemption Party(PRP), United Democratic Party (UDP) the United PeoplesParty (UPP), and the Movement for Democracy and Justice(MDJ).

* 1. **The origin of People’s Democratic Party (PDP)**

The People’s Democratic Party arose from four sources. The first were the G34. The G-34 was those so-called politician who were denied registration by General Abacha during his self-succession project. This group called itself G-34 committee from the fact that the petition against the selfsuccession

was signed by 34 men and delivered to General Abacha by Chief S. D. Lar. Chief Lar was the leader of the group. Also included in this group was Dr. Alex Ekwueme who though the Igbo should use this as their vehicle to the presidency. Abubakar rim and Bola Ige was also member of this group. These people were the main founders of PDP.

The second group called itself the All Nigerian Congress (ANC) led by Chief S.B Awoniyi. This group was made up of politicians who were followers of the NPN (National Party of Nigerian). This group were not opposed to the sel fsuccession of Abacha hut were not part t his machine.

The third group was known as the Peoples Democratic Movement. This group was made up of those who were followers of Late General Musa Ya’adua. Most of the members of this group were military officers prominent members of this group were Chief Anenih and Aihaji Atiku Abubakar.

The fourth and last group was known as the social Democrats with the social progress party (SPP). This group was made up of people from different parts of the country that failed to make their position felt in the party. The party was committed to returning power to the south not necessarily southwest. The Yoruba leaders who were in this organization such as chief Bola Ige wanted an explicit commitment to returning power to the South West (Yoruba land) especially after the death of Chief M. K. O. Abiola. The first National Chairman of the PDP was Solomon Lar while it’s first Presidential candidate was Chief Olusegun Obasanjo.

**The All People Party (APP)**

The All People’s Party (APP) rose from the self-succession outfit of General Sani Abacha. The founders of the party served him as aides and ministers in different parts of the country. The party was fondly called Abacha’s people party. App’s first national chairman was Alhaji Mahmud Waziri. It’s first presidential flag bearer was Chief Ogbonnaya Onu. Chief Onu later stepped down for Chief Olu Falae. Chief Falae was from the AD but he ran the presidential election under the platform of APP and AD.

**The Alliance for Democracy (AD)**

The Alliance for Democracy (AD) was formed in 1998. It developed from the National Democratic coalition (NADECO) NADECO was a protect movement against the injustice meted to Chief Moshood Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) who was widely believed to have won the annulled presidential election in 1993. NADECO was not able to influence the government of Nigeria between 1993 and 1998 in order to declare Abiola the winner of the June 12, 1993 election.

The AD is essentially a Yoruba outfit committed to producing a president in 1999. It did not meet the federal character clause in the constitution. But the military had to register it on National Security groups. The military had to lace the prospect of denying a voice to the Yoruba people after what they went through after the annulment of June 12 1993 presidential election. The military decided to err on the side of national security and allowed the highly ethinicised political Yoruba association to come Put as a political party. It became a field after jumping in and out of’ PDP and APP. By the time it went into the political market, it was too late to make a dent

in the area outside the Yoruba land. Bola Ige, Lar Adeshina and others formed the AD. Its presidential candidate was Chief Olu falae

**2.6. Political Parties and National Integration in the Fourth Republic**

The journey to the Fourth Republic began in 1998 following the death of General Abacha. But could we say that the political class had learned any lesson from the failure of the previous Republics? Well the events that played out during this period will explain. The Fourth Republic deviated from the aborted Third Republic by adopting a multiparty democracy similar to the defunct First and Second Republics. After Political parties are the vehicle for organization in the struggle for power in a democratic system. In fact, there is no democracy without political party. This is because of the constitutional and expected unifying roles of political parties in intergroup relations, particularly in a plural society. Be that as it may, the political parties in Nigeria since independence have not done much towards nation-building.

Apart from 1954 that they all agreed to end colonial rule, all other efforts towards national integration have remained a mirage. Even the much acclaimed 1954 consensus was not actually to achieve national integration but rather to achieve a parochial interest.

The then political elites schemed to replace the outgoing colonial masters and to enjoy the perks of office like the outgoing colonial masters. This actually played out during the politics of the First Republic as each of the so-called nationalist leaders tried to outsmart the other in order to control the centre and when this could not be achieved, they resorted to primordial instruments.

It was also evident in the Fourth Republic when the Sharia legal code was used as by the Northern politicians as an instrument to galvanizing political support not minding the effect on the general polity. In spite of the constitutional provisions, especially the 1999 constitution as amended, sectional interest has continued to override national interest and these impede efforts towards building a cohesive nation. alignments and realignments of the political associations, three political parties Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All Peoples Party (APP) were registered to contest in the 1999 general elections. One of the Parties, PDP tried to maintain a national outlook with its membership cutting across all the states of the federation. The APP could manage a semi-national outlook, while the AD tended to maintain the Southwest as its stronghold.

In a similar vein, the military interest again overwhelmed this era as the departing military government seemed to have been favourably disposed to the PDP and in placating the Soutwest for the June 12 injustice, settled for a retired General from the Yoruba ethnic group, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. While the PDP favoured the emergence of General Obasanjo, the APP and AD formed an alliance against the PDP during the presidential election with a new name the All Nigerian People‟s Party (ANPP) with a Yoruba presidential counterforce, Chief Olu Falae. At the end of the election, Obasanjo of the PDP won.

Again, it was expected that given the the long years of military rule, that these parties would have cemented their collaboration and forged ahead in national cohesion. But the unfolding events revealed that little or no lesson was learnt. The parties more than ever widened the polarity in the nation by appealing to different primordial sentiments, which have continued to undermine the unity and progress of the nation.

During this period, there has been revival of the old wounds, with the North seeking the full implementation of the Sharia legal code in all the Northern states, while the South-South continually and lousily agitated for constitutional amendment to allow for resource control. In the Southeast, there was a revival of the Biafran Movement. Kidnapping, political assassination and ritual killings were all over the place with little regards to human life.

World Bank Studies have linked most of these nefarious activities and the re-emergence of ethnic militias to the „do or die‟ approach to politics in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic. Politicians wish to cling to power by all means- legitimate or illegitimately. The selfish interest of the Nigerian politicians has continued to breed mistrust, rivalries, alignments and realignments since the end of the 2011 general elections. In more recent times, the nation has been under intense heat from the Islamist movement, Ahlus Sunnah Lidda‟awati wal –Jihad popularly known as Boko Haram, which initially started as a group of footsoldiers for some politicians in the Northern part of Nigeria and soon got hijacked by international terrorist organizations (Ajayi and Indahi, 2015).

As this mistrust, rivalries, alignments and realignments continued, some people who were not favourably disposed to the different party policies have decamped and joined other parties or formed another party where they felt that their interest would be best protected and promoted. The formation of new political parties led to the astronomic increase in the number of political parties. This at a point brought the number of registered political parties in the country to over fifty. Although, given the poor performance of most of the political parties after the 2011 general elections, there had been deregistration of many of them, some have not been able to meet the criteria by INEC and cannot field presidential candidates for the 2015 presidential elections, while some rather endorsed the major candidates of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) ahead of the general elections. Today, intra and interparty conflict has become a common feature. The question is, can a polarized party promote national cohesion? The parochial interest of the political elites rather than integrate the country has brought more problems.

The Northern Nigeria is a no-go area now because of the insurgent activities of the Boko Haram group. Their activities have led to the loss of many lives and properties, kidnapping is still ravaging the south east with assassination of prominent politicians unabated, militarization of elections and impeachment of political foes is unabated. All these boil down to lack of structure to engender national cohesion within and among the political parties (Ajayi and Indahi, 2015: 1-2).

Virtually all the political parties in the country are suffering from internal crises occasioned more by lack of internal democracy. This has made it easy for politicians just as it was in the First and Second Republic to easily and readily navigate from one party to the other just to get voted to power; led to rise of splinter groups and exit of key members to other existing , or formation of new ones. All these have promoted national instability and unhealthy party system.

* 1. **Summary of the Gap in literature**

In other to ascertain whether party politics have any effect on national integration in Nigeria, some intellectual giants argued convincingly that party politics has generally enhance national integration Nigeria society because political parties has remained a subsisting phenomenon of the global political arrangement (Tadora, 1977). But these scholars did not put into cognizance that w ethnicity in Nigeria political partices have deepen the level of disintegration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2019.

Scholars also believe that the Constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria was manipulated to serve the interest of the ruling parties but these scholars failed to make us understand the ideology and structure of political parties and its ideology have help in shaping the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria.

Various scholars reviewed who supported the current structure of political parties in Nigeria failed to indentify the role of these political parties towards national integration. We posit therefore: That the reviewed literature though comprehensive in understanding, the meaning of political parties and their functions have not established the actual flaws of the political parties in Nigeria as instruments of achieving national integration. They have only given us the idea of the functions of political parties and not their contributions.

That little work has been done on ethnic identifies and ethno-regional domination of the political here constituting an academic problems that necessitated this research work. In the light of the above, a study that will establish the social realities of the Nigerian political parties in the second and third republics, a study that aims at exploring the empirical functions of political parties in Nigeria and study that will look into party discipline is inevitable.

The effort of writers in extent literature reveals that the link between party politics and national integration with a focus on People’s Democratic Parties (PDP) in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 has not been properly articulated. This forms the lacuna which this study attempts to fill, with the title: party politics and national integration with a study of People’s Democratic Parties (PDP) in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

**CHAPTER THREE**

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

**3.1 Theoretical Framework**

For the purpose of this research work, this study is predicated on the A systems theory approach which formed the theoretical framework of analysis. Systems theory was first propounded in 1930s by a biologist named Ludqig von Bertallantly (Nakabari, 2000). It was from the biological since works of scholars like Emile Durkcheim, A. R. Radchiffe, Brown and Bronishlaw Malinowski, among others (Eminue, 2001). From social anthropology, it was applied by sociologis like Robert K. Merton and Talcott Parsons and so on. Further, it finally got into use in the master science discipline-political science, in the of David Easton, Gabriel Almond, Mortan Kaplan, among others (Isaac, 1985). Within the purview of political science, David Easton popularized the systems theory which has been widely acknowledge political phenomenon such as corporate government and public policy making in a democratic system.

To David Easton (1960), the basic methodological foundation or assumption of systems theory is that political system consists of all interacting elements, which contribute to the authoritative allocation of values for a society. Also, the theory posits that political life, therefore, concerns all activities that significantly influence the formulation and implementation of authoritative policies and programmes for a society. The theory further assumes that political phenomena can best be analysed by viewing them as part of a reduces whole. As Okoro (2005) aptly put it, system theory reduces every phenomena to a whole, made up of interdependent parts, which contributes to the proper functioning of the whole.

The above analysis succinctly implies that systems theory depicts a conglomeration of different parts that make a single whole. Thus breakdown of any parts or unit ultimately affects the entire system. Hence, for there to be harmonious operation of the system, all parts thereof must function properly towards goal attainment.

Certain key concepts are central to the understanding of the systems theory, input and output. Input refers to the forces generated in the environment that affect the political system. It can take the form of demand and support. Demand involves actions by individuals and groups seeking authorities allocation of values from the authorities. Support comprises of actions rendered in favour of government such as obedience to the law and payment of taxes. Inputs are generated from the environment and are fed into the black box of decision making (otherwise called the conversion box) to produce output. Outputs are the decision and policies of the authorities, which reflect the input, made into the political system. Another concept used in the systems theory is the concept of feedback and conversion box. The conversion box implies decision-making authorities in a political system that may be referred to as the government. The feedback is a mechanism of sending the outcome of a policy back to the conversion box.

Analytically, using the systems theory, the political parties are seen as input makers into the conversional mechanism. Their inputs are in the form of political recruitment and demands seeking authoritative allocation of values to the different units of the political system. This functions or inputs also include political socialization and education, interest articulation and aggregation and other input functions, which determine the nature and character of the policy decision of the government in particular, and the stability of the general political system. Hence, the system theory would help us to ascertain the nature of inputs made by the political parties in Nigeria and how these inputs have affected the national integration.

**3.2 Research Design**

A research design is the structure of investigation, aimed at identifying variables and their relationship to another. The study shall adopt the ex post facto research design. Here, the independent variable has already occurred, a researcher begins the process with observation of a dependent variable, then analyzes the independent variable in retrospect for its possible relationship to and effects on the dependent variable (Asika, 2006). Kerlinger and Rint (1986) opined that Ex-post facto investigation seeks to reveal possible relationships by observing the present conditions or state of affairs and searching back in time for plausible contributing factor. This design enabled us to generate data to answer the research questions and as well, test the hypothesis. In this study, we studied in retrospective.

In Hypothesis one, the (X) variable is the ‘The ethnic character of political parties” while (Y) variables are ‘national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015” In hypothesis two, the (X) variable is; ‘non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties’ while (Y) variable is; ‘national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015’. Based on this research we are measuring the character of political parties and how it undermines national integration in Nigeria between 1999-2015. We also measured ‘the non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties and how affected national integration in Nigeria between is 1999 - 2015

**3.3 Method of Data Collection**

An important feature of this research is the method of analysis, which is based on the historical explanation and method of logical assumption; certain lessons that are drawn from history could be relevant to the present and the future. For any research to be meaningful, reliable and scientific facts and ideas must be supplemented with empirical data. As such as substantial portion of this work would be gathered from the internet and journals.

Secondary materials like Journals, Newspapers, Textbooks etc would also be used. Primary materials, which would also include party documents, would be also used.

**3.4 Method of Data Analysis**

In view of our sources of data and method of collection, we adopted qualitative descriptive method of analysis. According to Asika (2006), qualitative descriptive analysis involves summarizing the information generated for the study. Qualitative descriptive analysis requires creativity, for the challenge is to place the raw data into logical, meaningful categories and to communicate this interpretation to others.

It also involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what will tell others (Bogden & Biklen, 1982)

Content analysis method was adopted as a tool of analysis in this work because it summarizes the information generated in this study. Most importantly, it shows the relationship between the two variables under study (independent and dependent variables).

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**DATA ANALYSIS/ HYPOTHESES TESTING**

* 1. The ethnic character of political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015
     1. **Introduction**

**This chapter sets out to test hypotheses one and hypotheses two** which are as follows: “The ethnic character of political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 (H1), The non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 (H2)” respectively. This chapter is also divided into two major sections and other sub-sections; the first section of this work is the verification of the first hypotheses while the second section is verification of the second hypothesis. These hypotheses are tested through their empirical indicators. In other to effectively carry out these data analysis and hypothesis testing, a synthesis of data have been drawn from numerous sources, including books, journals, news peppers, magazines, conference pepper etc.

**4.1.2. Multi-Party System and Democratic Development in Nigeria fourth republic**

The Fourth Republic could be described as a super-multi party era. Since 1998 when Nigeria’s transition to the Fourth Republic started, the number of political parties contesting in the electoral process has steadily been on the ascendancy. In 1998, at the end of the usual alignment and realignments as well as merger, 26 political associations sought for provisional registration, only nine parties were provisionally registered by the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC). After the Local Government elections, three political parties amongst them well fully registered to contest the elections. They were the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), the All People’s Party (APP) later known as All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). In August 2002, the number increased to six and by December 2003, political parties had risen to 30. As at the general election in 2011, a total of 56 political parties existed in Nigeria, some of the political parties are Peoples’s Democratic Party (PDP), Advanced Congress of Democrats (ACD), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN),  All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA),  Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Democratic Alternative (DA), Democratic People’s Party (Nigeria) (DPP), , Fresh Democratic Party (FDP), Labour Party (LP), National Conscience Party (NCP), , Progressive People’s Alliance (PPA),  People’s Redemption Party (PRP),  United Nigeria People’s Party (UNPP), to mention but few..

With particular reference to the Fourth Republic for example, analysts have argued that with over 50 parties formally registered, only few are considered to be viable. A review of the 59 parties following from the 2007 elections shows that only six of the parties have representation in the National Assembly. These include: the ruling PDP, which won about 70 percent of the electoral seats (bearing in mind the credibility issues concerning the electoral process and results); the ANPP which won about 17 percent of the electoral seats mostly in the North; the Action Congress (AC), trailing just behind the ANPP and winning the most seats in the West of the Country. The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), the Labour Party and Progressive People’s Alliance (PPA), picked up the remainder of electoral seats in the Eastern region. The AD was divided by factionalism, with an important group leaving to become part of the AC in 2006.

The central thesis of the argument here is that political parties are by-products of elite, group and individual interests (Elaigwu, 2013). This is informed by the nature and structure of Nigeria’s political economy. In the Fourth Republic, political parties are more of instruments being employed in order to have a share of the “national cake” rather than to articulate and organize the people for electoral positions. This explains why out of the over 56 political parties that exist in Nigeria less than one-third present candidates for elections in all elections. For instance the Action Party of Nigeria (APN) was formed by the former Lagos State Governor, Alhaji Lateef Kayode Jakande. During the 2007 election, his party did not win a ward even in Lagos, which was won by Action Congress (AC) now Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). To worsen the situation, his son, Deji Jakande was a card carrying member of the Action Congress. Thus, political parties like Kowa Party, Movement for the Restoration and Defence of Democracy, National Movement of Progressive Party, Accord Party, Action Alliance, New Democrats, People’s Salvation Party, among others have only existed in the houses of their founders. These parties have only existed to the extent that they enjoy monetary subventions from the government (Olufemi, 2010).

Though political parties in Nigeria are often portrayed as always engaging in unhealthy rivalry, their importance as representative institutions has not diminished. For instance, political parties in Nigeria reflect the spectrum of the people’s views and needs, from their highest ideals to their basest instincts

**4.1.3 The activities of politician undermined National integration in Nigeria**

The political activities of politicians are to a significant extent devoid of morality and good values. Consequent upon the operation of political elites, that is, party politicians, there is a big question on the politics of ethics and morality. According to former Niger state Governor, Babangida Aliyu, no morality in politics. He stressed that politics is all about telling lies and if one cannot tell lies, then he or she has no place in the game (Ogigi, 2015). According to him, Aliyu asserted thus: If you are talking about honesty or morality, go and become an Iman or a Pastor. The nature of electioneering campaign in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, particularly, the presidential election was a pointer to the unconventional and unacceptable campaign strategies employed by the two major political parties - PDP and APC.

The political campaigns of these parties in the 2015 presidential election were believed and are still being believed by many to be anti-democratic, unconstitutional, anti-electoral Act and against electoral Code of conduct. The manner in which character assassination, defamatory speeches, and the campaign of calumny characterized the electoral process was so alarming and unprecedented. Over-zealousness and desperation among political elites to acquire political power, by all means, created an atmosphere of the political competition of the zero-sum game. Due to the intense political climate during campaigns, there were predictions by many that post-election crisis was unavoidable; thereby forcing many people to leave their places of work and business to their original ethnic regions for fear of being brutalized or killed.

Despite the peace agreement entered into by political parties to shun actions that have the capacity of projecting electoral process in wrong light, it was observed that actions and utterances of Political parties and politicians stamped a big question mark on the integrity of Nigerian electoral process. Considering the widely perceived abusive and acrimonious languages used by politicians in the 2015 presidential election, the former Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku lamented thus: We are witnessing increasingly acrimonious pronouncement by candidates and spoke-persons of political parties. Anyaoku further stated that the nature and intensity of the contestation manifested to date leads to the inescapable conclusion that unless proactive measures are agreed and implemented by all the contending parties, the level of violence, especially in the aftermath of the election, will this time set a new record (Anyaoku, 2015). In his own observation, Director of the Policy and Legal Advisory Centre, Nwankwo said that the standard of the campaign is a worrying development, arguing that it does little to help enhance already shaky confidence in the country’s leaders. According to Nwankwo, what we see is personal attacks, falsehood, concocted stories and political smearing that has not elevated the debate (APF, 2015).

**4.1.4 Political parties and their un-developmental manifesto in Nigeria**

Political parties in the country were believed not to be really interested in telling Nigerians the real issues that have over the years hobbled Nigeria’s development; rather it was regrettable that the whole political campaigns revolve around name-calling. Observing this trend, Agbakoba, (2015) posits that it does seem as if what we see is personal clash from the politicians rather than an issue clash. In the same manner, the former Minister of Information, Walter Ofonagoro posited succinctly that it was very unfortunate that politicians today are diverting attention from real issues (Ofonagoro, 2015). To him, what one would have expected are robust debates and discussion on issues that are more relevant to the development and growth of Nigeria as a nation, but what we are seeing today is very disgusting. We are daily inundated with allegations, evasions, distortions, image plundering and image laundering, all under the permissive canopy of electoral proceeding (Soyinka, 2015). It was believed by many that over-zealousness and desperation of politicians to grab political power by all means, was responsible for all the verbal attacks recorded during electioneering campaign.

There is evidence where there were physical attacks during electoral processes as exemplified when attacks were unleashed on the former President, Goodluck Jonathan campaign convoy in Katsina and Bauchi states respectively. The convoy was stoned on the president’s way to Late Yar’ Adua Quarters in Katsina to visit the memory of late president, while the Bauchi incident involved youths who blocked the convoy on Nasarawa Street on the president way to the Emir of Bauchi to pay homage (Editorial, 2015). These acts believed to have been instigated by politicians indicated that the political life of Nigeria was still below the expectations of many enthusiasts of democracy. Apart from physical abuses that associated with the electoral process, the provocative utterances. Unfortunately, political parties’ spoke persons conspicuously published some adverts capable of hitting up the polity. Regrettably, the negative political adverts contravene the advertising law, regulated by the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON), an agency of the Federal Ministry of Information.

For instance, the Governor of Ekiti State, Ayodele Fayose lamented that APC should be honest enough to tell Nigerians that Buhari is sick and lacked the capacity to rule. He claimed that some APC leaders were only packaging their presidential candidate, hoping that he would become incapacitated so that they can take over power by proxy (Fayose, 2015). Unrepentantly, the advert Ekiti state Governor, Ayodele Fayose of PDP published in some national newspapers on Monday, January 19, 2015, which reads: Will you allow history to repeat itself? “Enough of State Burials” In the advert the said governor showed the pictures of late past leaders who died in office, such as Murtala Muhammed, Sani Abacha, and Musa Yar’ Adua and urged Nigerians not to vote for the then APC Presidential candidate and today’s President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, because of the possibilities that he too would die in office. Unfortunately, the death advert was published barely five days, after presidential candidates of various political parties signed non-violence pact on January 14, 2015. Also, Fayose implied that Buhari, who was around the same age with his mother, wears baby pampers as he no longer has control of his body system (Akubor, 2015).

In another occasion, the PDP Director of Media and Publicity, Femi Fani-Kayode’s publication in National dailies accused Bola Tinubu of plotting the death of APC Presidential candidate, General Muhammed Buhari so as to become Nigerian President in case APC wins. Fani-Kayode also alleged that the APC flag bearer was receiving funding from terrorist groups including the Boko Haram and ISIS (Akubor, 2015). The political debates became death based instead of issue-based. Death which is held sacred in Nigerian society became a political language adopted by PDP’s spoke persons in order to dissuade Nigerians from voting APC presidential candidate. This primordial political strategy is rather antithetical to the ethos and ethics of democratic aspiration of the country.

**4.1.5 Political parties breeds insurgency in Nigeria for their interest of their member**

According to the National Deputy Chairman of PDP, Prince Uche Secondus, cited in Abuh and Ughegbe (2015), the APC was planning to recruit a private army, which would include the Boko Haram sect to use them to rig the elections, mainly in the North Eastern part of the country. He also said that Rotimi Amaechi also imported a large consignment of army and police uniforms for the general elections and that Buhari shares the same vision with Boko Haram. There was also a seemingly defamatory documentary which was generally agreed to have been sponsored by the People’s Democratic Party during the campaigns; which targeted to discredit APC leaders. This was worrisome to many observers locally and internationally.

**4.1.6 Party Structures and National/ Private Interest**

For proper, efficient and effective organization, party structures were set up in Nigeria. A badly organized party will not only groom disintegration but would also cause general disarticulation. Duverger (1 954.) wrote that party structure constitute the greater setting for the activities of members; the form impose on their solidarity and it also determines the machinery for the selection of leaders and decides their powers.

Party structures are very crucial and important n determining the strength and weakness of political parties. In Nigeria, the federalist structure of government reflected on party structures. In terms of organization, Nigerianparties could be said to be direct in the sense of membership recruitment, following that constitutional provision is an individual basis and open to all In general terms, party structure specially defines the lie of political power within the party and the process of decision-making. This is referred to as centralization and decentralization.

Decentralized parties do not make for proper political integration in the sense that local interest will not often be subordinate to national interest since both leaders are assumed to represent the interest of various levels and sincethey assume greater autonomy. In centralization the central executives take decisions for the entire society. all their decision were taken by the central bodies and they are binding to the local bodies. In the Nigerian context with the heterogeneous nature of the society and federalist and structure, local levels are given certain considerable autonomy while the federal retain some.

The influence of oligarchy, the notables or the dominant class in Nigerian party politics and the ineffective party structures makes for weak integration. The structures of political parties in the second and third republics tended to promote private interest, which n turn affected national integration. There was a high level f in1uence oligarchy. These oligarchies were party members and saw the parties as their private enterprises. They donated money and helped in raising funds for parties at the end, they wanted to control these parties. This has caused a lot of problem in Nigeria. These oligarchies often impose candidates on parties and ensure that these candidates win. It has been noted therefore that the structure of Nigerian political parties has given these notable oligarchs the lee ways to influence party politics in Nigeria.

This section has proven that ethnic character of political parties which includes; ethnic identifies of these parties, fear of ethnoregional domination, tribalism, corruption, private interest and numerous others has undermined national integration Nigeria, and that it has further increase the tendency disintegration in Nigeria of from 1999 to 2016. The Data provided in this section supported that the ethnic character of political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015, therefore based on the data analysis, we upheld our hypothesis one.

* 1. **The non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015**

**4.2.1 Multi-Party System and Crisis of National Integration in Nigeria**

Though multi-party democracy has become a global political and democratic phenomenon due to its obvious advantage of providing competitive and multiple political platforms, it however has inherent contradictory features which make it prone to crises. One of these inherent contradictory characteristics is that multi-party formations in a pluralist society fan the embers of regional and ethnic disaggregation. This has been the trend in Nigeria since pre-independent political era. According to Ake (1978) the formation of political parties along ethnic or regional lines was occasioned by the entrenchment and institutionalization of ethnic nationalism in Nigeria. According to him;

“T*he regions and political* *constituents tended to be homogenous in* *ethnicity. Thus to win an election you had to win* *an ethnic group and if this happened to be large, a political base was guaranteed”* (Ake, 1978:23).

Azeez (2009) also contends that, the scourge of ethnicity had been a common feature in the country’s drive towards achieving democracy and its attendant party politics. It is a fact that Nigeria’s national identity has been at odds, since the colonial era with the appeal of more exclusive ethnic identity. For example, in pre-independence Nigeria, party politics and party formation assumed an ethnic completion, even as it metamorphosed into the post-independent First Republic. The Action Group developed from the political wing of the cultural association of the Yoruba educated elite, the *Egbe Omo* *Oduduwa*; the NCNC was closely allied with the Igbo state union and played a significant role in the internal affairs of the party, while NPC was founded by the Fulani aristocracy. In the smaller ethnic groups, a local political party was often indistinguishable from the cultural association. And more significantly, the division of the country into three regions for administrative convenience by the Richards Constitution of 1946 led to the development of strong regional feeling.

The consequence of this was such that by 1953, the major political parties in Nigeria NCNC, AG and NPC, were associated with the major ethnic groups and the three regions, Western, Eastern and the Northern regions. To further crystallize the tripartite ethnic cleavages, the party leaderships were structured accordingly, viz: the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello led the NPC of the North; Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe held the ace for the Igbo NCNC, while Chief Obafemi Awolowo led the AG in the Yoruba West, each representing their ethnic/regional divides (Adebisi, 1997). The ethnic and regional inclination of the pre-independent political parties also manifested in December 12, 1959 General Elections.

**Table 1: Regional Voting Pattern in December 12, 1959 General Elections**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
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| |  |  |  |  |  |  | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | | Political Parties | Presidential Candidates | Regions | | | | | East | North | West & Lagos | Total | | AG (& Allies) | Chief Obafemi Awolowo | 14 | 25 | 34 | 73 | | NCNC/NEPU | Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe | 58 | 8 | 23 | 89 | | NPC | Sir Abubakar Tafawa Belewa | – | 134 | – | 134 | | Others |  | 1 | 7 | 8 | 16 | | Total |  | 73 | 174 | 64 | 312 | |

Source: Compiled with Data from African Elections Database (Available at http://africanelections.tripod.com/ng.html)

the above Table reveal that the Action Group (A.G.) which was a predominantly Western party featured a Yoruba candidate (Chief Obafemi Awolowo) and had the greatest support from the Western Region. On the other hand, the NCNC which was predominant in the Eastern Region featured and Igbo candidate (Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe) and received the highest number of its votes from the Eastern Region. And despite its alliance with a Northern-based party, Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), NCNC did not record substantial votes from the Northern Region. The Northern People’s Congress (NPC) also featured an Hausa/Fulani candidate (Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa). The Party did not win a single vote in both the Eastern and Western Regions. The consequence of this was the conflict of interest and unhealthy inter-party rivalry/ wrangling that characterized that era. For instance, the ugly incidences of the First Republic in the Western region between the Awolowo-led AG and the Sam Akintola group and the NPC/ AG saga were rooted in the ethnic base of First Republic political parties.

**4.2.2 Non-National parties of the Fourth Republic**

The then political elites schemed to replace the outgoing colonial masters and to enjoy the perks of office like the outgoing colonial masters. This actually played out during the politics of the First Republic as each of the so-called nationalist leaders tried to outsmart the other in order to control the center and when this could not be achieved, they resorted to primordial instruments. It was also evident in the Fourth Republic when the Sharia legal code was used as by the Northern politicians as an instrument to galvanizing political support not minding the effect on the general polity. In spite of the constitutional provisions, especially the 1999 constitution as amended, sectional interest has continued to override national interest and these impede efforts towards building a cohesive nation. Alignments and realignments of the political associations, three political parties Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All Peoples Party (APP) were registered to contest in the 1999 general elections. One of the Parties, PDP tried to maintain a national outlook with its membership cutting across all the states of the federation. The APP could manage a semi-national outlook, while the AD tended to maintain the Southwest as its stronghold.

In a similar vein, the military interest again overwhelmed this era as the departing military government seemed to have been favorably disposed to the PDP and in placating the Southwest for the June 12 injustice, settled for a retired General from the Yoruba ethnic group, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. While the PDP favored the emergence of General Obasanjo, the APP and AD formed an alliance against the PDP during the presidential election with a new name the All Nigerian People’s Party (ANPP) with a Yoruba presidential counterforce, Chief Olu Falae. At the end of the election, Obasanjo of the PDP won. Again, it was expected that given the long years of military rule, that these parties would have cemented their collaboration and forged ahead in national cohesion. But the unfolding events revealed that little or no lesson was learned. The parties more than ever widened the polarity in the nation by appealing to different primordial sentiments, which have continued to undermine the unity and progress of the nation.

**4.2.3 Politics of Disintegrations among Political Parties**

During this period, there has been a revival of the old wounds, with the North seeking the full implementation of the Sharia legal code in all the Northern states, while the South-South continually and lousily agitated for a constitutional amendment to allow for resource control. In the Southeast, there was a revival of the Biafran Movement. Kidnapping, political assassination and ritual killings were all over the place with little regards to human life. Studies have linked most of these nefarious activities and the re-emergence of ethnic militias to the „do or die‟ approach to politics in Nigeria's the Fourth Republic. Politicians wish to cling to power by all means- legitimate or illegitimately. The selfish interest of the Nigerian politicians has continued to breed mistrust, rivalries, alignments, and realignments since the end of the 2011 general elections. In more recent times, the nation has been under intense heat from the Islamist movement, Ahlus Sunnah Lidda‟await Wal –Jihad popularly known as Boko Haram, which initially started as a group of foot soldiers for some politicians in the Northern part of Nigeria and soon got hijacked by international terrorist organizations (Ajayi and Indahi, 2015).

As this mistrust, rivalries, alignments, and realignments continued, some people who were not favourably disposed to the different party policies have decamped and joined other parties or formed another party where they felt that their interest would be best protected and promoted. The formation of new political parties led to the astronomic increase in the number of political parties. This at a point brought the number of registered political parties in the country to over fifty. Although, given the poor performance of most of the political parties after the 2011 general elections, there had been deregistration of many of them, some have not been able to meet the criteria by INEC and cannot field presidential candidates for the 2015 presidential elections, while some rather endorsed the major candidates of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) ahead of the general elections.

Today, the interparty conflict has become a common feature. The question is, can a polarized party promote national cohesion? The parochial interest of the political elites rather than integrate the country has brought more problems. Northern Nigeria is a no-go area now because of the insurgent activities of the Boko Haram group. Their activities have led to the loss of many lives and properties, kidnapping is still ravaging the south-east with the assassination of prominent politicians unabated, the militarization of elections and impeachment of political foes is unabated. All these boil down to lack of structure to engender national cohesion within and among the political parties (Ajayi and Indahi, 2015).

Virtually all the political parties in the country are suffering from internal crises occasioned more by lack of internal democracy. This has made it easy for politicians just as it was in the First and Second Republic to easily and readily navigate from one party to the other just to get voted to power; led to the rise of splinter groups and exit of key members to other existing, or formation of new ones. All these have promoted national instability and unhealthy party system.

**4.2.4 Politics of Mistrust among Political Parties in Fourth Republic**

In the Fourth Republic, democratic developments have not changed radically. Apart from the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) which has a somewhat national spread, the other political parties still show indications of ethnic and regional affiliation and inclination. For instance, the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) are predominant in the Northern region and have since inception failed to establish their presence or capture any states in the South-South, South-East and South-West Zones. The Alliance for Democracy (AD) which following internal crisis metamorphosed into the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) is exclusively and predominantly based in the South-West with an insignificant presence in the South-South and South-East Zones but none in the Northern Region. The All Ground Peoples Alliance (APGA) and to all extent, the Progressive Peoples Alliance (APP) are predominantly South-Eastern parties with no presence anywhere outside the South-Eastern Zone. Among the three parties that took part in the 1999 general elections, the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the All Peoples Party (APP) can , to some extent be identified as South-Western and Northern parties. The People’s Democratic Party (PDP) that pretended to be national could not penetrate the South West in the election, as a result of the dominance of the AD in the region though, this changed during the 2003 general elections.

Apart from fanning the embers of regional and ethnic disintegration, multi-party formations in the Fourth Republic have also occasioned inter- and intra-party crises. According to Idumange (2011), intra and inter-party crises have become more pronounced in the Fourth Republic than any other. These crises have assumed larger dimensions cutting across geo-political zones, distorting national integration and political developments in the States of the Federation with accompanying ruins in human and material resources. For instance, though the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) has a very comfortable majority in the National Assembly and in 23 State Assemblies of the Federation, its powers and influence in Western region are reasonably well counterbalanced by the dominance of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) in the Zone. In Northern states the PDP’s power is counterbalanced by the All Nigerian Peoples’ Party (ANPP) and the growing influence of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). In Eastern states it is counterbalanced by APGA and to certain extent PPA. This has established some of the parties as regional centres of power despite PDP’s national spread. The consequence of this trend is the manifestation and persistence of all forms of inter- and intra-party crises. The persistence of these political crises and violence constitutes a major threat to national integration and political developments in Nigeria.

According to Ake (1996), multi-party crises in Nigeria are rooted in colonial historical experiences i.e. political and economic policies of the colonial regimes in Nigeria tended to emphasis social and cultural pluralism rather than national cohesion and integration. This experience characterized the anti-colonial and nationalist movements so that Nigeria came to independence under political circumstances that led to the fall of First and Second Republic.

The data provided in this chapter shows that non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015. The data further shows that multi-party system in Nigeria with the objective of integrating the nation undermined national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 because this parties are formed in ethnic cleaves and with ethnic consciousness

Based on the data analysis above, we upheld our hypothesis two and we concluded that non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**5.1 Summary**

The study set out to investigate party politics and national integration with a study of People’s Democratic Parties (PDP) in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 In other to achieve its objectives, this study utilized qualitative method of data collection based on analysis of documentaries and structured key informant interview. Secondary and primary sources of data were also used in sourcing for data; we tried to do basing our analysis on the following research questions

1. To examine how ethnicity in political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015
2. To ascertain how the non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

We further made effort to give tentative answers to these questions by raising the following hypothesis

* 1. The ethnic character of political parties undermine national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015
  2. The non-existence of the nationally oriented political parties affect national integration in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

The research work was predicated is predicated on the A systems theory approach would be used as our theoretical framework of analysis. Systems theory was first propounded in 1930s by a biologist named Ludqig Yon Bertallantly (Nakabari, 2000). It was from the biological in the works of scholars like Emile Durkcheim, A. R. Radchiffe, Brow and Bronishlaw Malinowski, among others (Eminue, 2001). From social anthropology, it was applied by sociologis like Robert K. Merton and Talcott Parsons and so on. Further, it finally got into use in the master science discipline-political science, in the of David Easton, Gabriel Almond, Mortan Kaplan, among others (Isaac, 1985). Within the purview of political science, David Easton popularized the systems theory which has been widely acknowledge political phenomenon such as corporate government and public policy making in a democratic system.

To David Easton (1960), the basic methodological foundation or assumption of systems theory is that political system consists of all interacting elements, which contribute to the authoritative allocation of values for a society. Also, the theory posits that political life, therefore, concerns all activities that significantly influence the formulation and implementation of authoritative policies and programmes for a society. The theory further assumes that political phenomena can best be analysed by viewing them as part of a reduces whole.

Throughout the chapters, we have been able to observe and demonstrate that political parties are highly valued as agents of integration but that in the Nigerian situation, these parties are champions of disintegration. These distintegrative functions could be observed in their early formative stages. They tended to resort to their various ethnic groupings. In other words, they were all ethnic centered.

The impediment of national integrations have been observed ranging from ethnic identifies of these parties, fear of ethnoregional domination, tribalism, corruption, private interest and numerous others. A reiteration of our definition of national integration will help to throw more light on the extent to which political parties have tried to solve the problem of national integration.

Myron Weiner (1976) defined national integration as bringing together culturally and social discrete groups into a single territorial unit. National integration according to Weiner centered on subjective feelings of territorial

nationality which overshadows, eliminates subordinates parochial loyalties.

This study shows that political parties in Nigeria tend to politicize ethnic identifies ethnic-regional domination and private interest. The ethnic identities of parties as the study observed stated from the first republic. It created tribal tensions. For instance, the tension created by the ikoli-Akinsanya dispute of 1941, coupled with the dissatisfaction the Yoruba elites who felt that the Igbo’s were dominating the NCNC culminated in inter4ribal Yoruba versus Igbo cold war. This was heightened when a presidential speech was made by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe to the Igbo state union of June 25, 1949, in which he eulogized the Igbo race to high heavens must have helped to inflict wounds of hatred and suspicion of the Igbo’s by other ethnic groups. He was quoted to have said “The God of Africa had created the Igbo nation to lead the children of African from the bondage of ages.

It was a false consciousness infused and nurtured by petty bourgeois for the domination of the masses and for perpetuating themselves in power Parties in both republic assumed ethnic character and utilized the concept of both inter struggle for limited resources in the country If the parties have been performing their integrative functions, each citizen must have been given equal opportunities and not in terms of major-minor ethnic groups. were taken to control the ethnicity problem in Nigeria. The measures were in the introduction of the federal character principle, the zoning and quota systems. These measures were all introduced to ensure social harmony among Nigerians, ensure equitable representation of various ethnic groups and give them necessary opportunities for education, appointment, employment etc. They were manipulated and channeled to serve the overall interest of the petty bourgeois class

In chapter four the issue of private interest was treated. The structures of parties in both republics tended to promote private interest and this really affected national integration. Ta the Nigerian rulling class, patriotism or national interest was a hollow propaganda intended to mask class selfishness. The rulling class demonstrated their private interest through awarding contracts to party loyalists who abandon those contracts and embezzle the money and nothing would be done about that. This chapter also gives instance of embezzlement, corruption, godfatherism and bribery”. After conducting a research work on this study, it had been noted that political parties have not really done much on the achievement of national integration.

**5.2 Conclusion**

Based on the foregoing, it is suggested that political parties should enshrine in their constitutions, codes that will promote national integration to complement the national constitution. Since voting is done on the basis of residence and not ethnicity or other primordial sentiments, then none should be denied of the opportunity accruing from it on account of the place of origin or religion. The constitution needs to be amended such that opportunities in the country can be achieved by means of residency and not ethnicity or other primordial sentiments. Although the country just concluded a national conference in 2014, any conference which fails to discuss and amend the structural imbalances in the country, especially the North South dichotomy will be far from achieving national cohesion. There should be value reorientation. Nigerians need to see themselves as equal, important and partner in progress rather than a threat to one another. To this end, religious leaders should inculcate in their adherents values that promote national unity. The political class should base their campaigns on issues that promote nation-building.

**5.3 Recommendations**

1. Political parties in Nigeria should take the following steps to achieve national integration. These political parties should be given a more so as to escape from the experience of the past where parties have ethnic identities. Nigeria is not the only cot that has multi-ethnic groups. If heterogeneity were the problem, then America, Switzerland, and USSR would not have achieved integration Political parties should serve the purpose for which they were created, That is to say, they should bring together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and overlook ethnic identities.
2. An economic emancipation should be made to stop the issue of ethnic-regional domination. The resources should be allocated on the basis of from each according to this ability to each according to his need.
3. the issue of private interest of the ruling class, the economy of Nigeria should he buoyant to sustain equal distribution of social amenities in such a way that politicians will not find root in their notorious promises and political power will not find root in their notorious promises and political power will not be used for their aim of accumulating wealth. Those who go to politics will then go for the ultimate aim of providing adequate and better leadership.
4. Finally, the country has to embark on a socialist system which would discourage conflict and harmonize the different ethnic groups into an integrated whole.

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