POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA

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Abstract
Sustainable and strong democracy is dependent on the existence of well-organized and functioning political parties. The institution remains a crucial actor in bringing together diverse interests, recruits and present candidates, and develops competing policy proposals that provide people with a choice. In a democracy world over and Nigeria in particular there is no substitute for open competition between political parties. The objective of the paper is therefore to examine political parties in Nigeria and its role in sustaining the democratic transition in the country. The research by its nature generates data from empirical and secondary sources. The finding of the study reveals that the political parties are faced with problems of internal democracy, corruption and lacked political development strategies. The paper taking into consideration these problems probed the prospect of democracy in the country and recommended among others that political parties in the Nigeria should focus attention on evolving an ideology for economic development of the country instead of attaching much importance to primordial issues.

Key Words: Political Parties, Democracy, Development, Corruption and Politics

Introduction
The quest for independence and the attendant decolonization process in many African countries ushered in a state of intense political mobilization and active participation led by nationalist movements. When Nigeria got her independence in 1960, the dream of the founding fathers and Nationalities was to built a country south of Sahara that will not only be economically active in the international system, but also democratically stable for a sustainable growth and political freedom for its citizens. It was against this background that political associations thus played an active role in the struggle for political emancipation from the then colonial masters.

Immediately after independence, Nigeria adopted Westminster system along her colonial master, Britain. It equally saw to the emergence of three dominant political parties that were regionally rooted and without any clear ideological differences. These parties are NCNC, AG and NPC. This phase was short-lived with the coup and counter-coup of 1966 and 1967 and the outbreak of the civil war from 1967 to 1970, and subsequent military took over in 1975. In 1979, Nigeria witnessed another phase of democratic rule. The Second Republic marked the beginning of presidential system of governance in Nigeria with five registered political parties that were later characterized by corruption, lack of internal party democracy and widespread political violence leading to military intervention. The military regimes that followed made attempts for national integration. This action led to the successful transition from military rule to civilian
The Fourth Republic is not only patterned along the model of presidential system of government as practiced in the Second Republic but it also encourages multi-party system which theoretically is more inclusive and ensures an enabling environment for active political participation of all citizens. The multi-party system entails an interactive relationship between all the political parties in preparation for general election. The extent to which the relationship will ensure smooth and peaceful elections and sustainability of democratic rule in Nigeria is therefore the central concern of this paper.

**Political Development**

Political development on the other hand lacks a precise and standard definition, the reason of which should be traced in numerous studies made from inter-disciplinary perspectives impinging on the subject of ‘growth’, ‘modernization’ and ‘development’ of new states or third world countries such as Nigeria. Riggs (1976) viewed political development as an increasing ability to make and carry out collective decisions affecting the environment. In a similar vein, Park (1984) perceived political development to mean terms of the capacity of the political system to satisfy the changing needs of the members of the society. This may be either democratic or in a form of totalitarian mobilization. But for Rudebeck (2004), political development is a process through which the political system adapts to and acts upon conflicts and contradictions and changes in demands and supports emanating both from within the system and from its national and international environments, he presents his position from different angle. It is the level of institutionalization of any political system which includes the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures. In short, the concept views the operation of a political system in terms of its increasing democratization, while that of political decay does same for its regression and disintegration leading to the advent of some form of totalitarianism. Political development is therefore a political system that provides an opportunity for all citizens to contribute, which is transparent and focused on its ecological environment for the benefit of all citizens.

**History of Political Parties in Nigeria**

The earliest known political parties in Nigeria were formed as far back as the early 1920s. Prominent among them then was the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) under the leadership of Sir Herbert Macaulay, sequel to the provision in the Clifford Constitution for four elected members into then forty-six member Legislative Council. The formation of the NNDP was followed in 1934 by Lagos Youth Movement (LYM), which was later renamed Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM). The early 1950s saw the emergence of the National council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) led by Dr Nnamdi Azikwe, the action Group (AG) by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the Northern People’s Congress (NPC) with Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello as its leader. The Northern people’s congress (NPC) and The National council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1959 eventually coalesced and formed a government in 1960 when Nigeria first got her political independence. Dr Nnamdi Azikwe was made the President (Ceremonial), while Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa emerged the prime Minister symbolizing close political affinity between the Hausa and Igbo political hegemony which came to an end when civil war broke out in 1967. There were also some political parties such as Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) that was radical in posture, and an arch-rival of Northern people’s Congress (NPC) (Nnonli, 1985).

On 15th January, 1966, civil rule was terminated through military coup which the Junta remained in power for over thirty years with interruption from internal factional coups and counter-coups. During the Second Republic, five political parties emerged. These are; National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Peoples’ Redemption Party (PRP), the Great Nigeria people’s party (GNPP) and the Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP). These parties re-incarnated from those of the first Republic without a clear difference in prevailing political ideology. Similarly, on 31st December, 1983, General Muhammadu Buhari terminated the journey with the allegation of corruption and indiscipline (Emmanuel, 1994).

The preparations and process of 1993 General Elections midwife by the Military Government of General Ibrahim Babangida was one of the longest transition program in Nigeria. The only registered political parties that emerged and contested the elections are the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The annulment on 12th June, 1993 of the presidential election result that was adjudged to be the most transparent and fair election marked yet another turning-point in Nigeria’s political history. This singular action consumed the regime, and the coming-in of the Abatcha administration (Abutudu, 1997).
Following the death of Genral Sani Abatcha on June 8, 1998, the transition of the Fourth Republic under General Abdulsalam Abubakar brought into existence some political parties that wrestled for power during the period. These parties are the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP). The early stage of re-democratization process saw the stifling of political parties’ space, with difficult position imposed by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). It took the intervention of the Supreme Court in 2002 for INEC to liberalize the political party arena and allow political competition to flourish. Presently, there are more than thirty registered political parties in the country (Omuruyi, 2006).

**Political Party**
Political party is more or less an organized group of citizens who act together as a political unit. Members of a political party share the same opinions on public questions and exercising their voting power towards a common end, seek to obtain control of government (Chaturredi, 2006). It is an association organized in support of some principles or policy which by constitutional means endeavors to make the determinants of government. Political parties are tools, not only for representing the electorates, but also a way for the electorate to hold parties accountable for their actions and promise (Clapham, 1997). It is a political organization that typically seeks to attain and maintain political power within government, usually by participating in electoral campaigns, educational outreach or protest actions (Thabo, 2011).

When we refer to American scholars notion of political party, we find that a political party is regarded as a vote-catching machine or an agency to mobilize peoples support for a candidate at the polls or an instrument for the aggregation of interest that demand their vociferous articulation. Thus, Nowaczyk (2003) suggests that political party isn’t something where senator, representatives, and other political officials have fun all day. Instead, a political party is a group of dedicated people who come together to win elections, operate the government, and determine public policy. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official government institution and relates them to political action within the larger political community. This notion of a political party makes it hardly distinguishable from a pressure or interest group. A specific interest may constitute the foundation of a political party. Thus, differences between or among political parties may be sought on the basis of different specific interest.

The Marxist view of a political party and its role is quite different from one discussed above. Here the liberal emphasis on party as a ‘doctrine’ has been replaced by the idea of a party as a ‘class’ that will fight for inaugurating a new era culminating in the phase of ‘communism’. Lenin (1904) described the communist party as part of the working class; it most progressive most class-conscious. The party is the lever of political organization, with help of which the more progressive part of the working class directs on the right path the whole mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat along the right road (Degras, 1956). It is a more or less organized group of citizens who act together as 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 governance (Appadorai, 1968). It is different from other social groups such as labor unions and other association because of the unique function a political party performs for the system, political parties are major “inputting” devices, allowing citizens to get their needs and wishes heard by government. Without parties, individuals will stand alone and be hired by the government. At a minimum, parties give people the feeling that they are not utterly powerless and this belief helps maintain government legitimacy. Political party therefore is a group of citizens of a given polity who shares common ideas on how to win the confidence of electorates, based on their strategies for governance.

**Democracy**
While political party within the context of liberal democracy is an organized group of citizens who act together as unit to win elections, democracy on the other hand means rule by the people. Since the people are rarely unanimous, democracy as a descriptive term is synonymous with majority rule, (Mclean and McMillan, 2008). Democracy is a term derived from two Greek words, ‘demos’ and ‘cratia’ which ‘demos’ means people and ‘cratia’ means power. The citizens decide what is to be done and, in so doing, they take their destiny firmly into their own hands (Doho, 2012). On the other hand, Sufyan, (2012) aligned himself with Abraham Lincoln’s position who defined democracy as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Citizen’s participation in the process of electing leaders and decision making are guaranteed. Democracy therefore, is a form of government in which all citizens have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. It is a form of government which the supreme power vested in
the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections.

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

i. Unite, Simplify and Stabilize the Political Process: Political parties bring together divergent sectional interests particularly in countries with multi-ethnic groups and regional interests, narrow the geographical gap and in most cases provide coherence to government that is federal in nature. The parties therefore tend to provide common denominator for convenient and smooth operation of government.

ii. Recruitment of Political Leaders. People in authority who are occupying various political offices are recruited by political parties. The President, Governors, Parliamentarians, Council Chairmen and a number of political appointees are all recruited by political parties, though in the case of Nigeria with a system that is characterized by weak and ill-organized political parties, power remains in the hands of the elites, traditional groups and military oligarchies. But in liberal democratic countries with competitive party system, recruitments are made from different political parties.

iii. Struggle for Capturing Power. They strive to win elections and form governments by means of forming order out of chaos.

iv. Linkage Between Government and Citizens. Parties seek to educate and sensitize electorates. They mobilize, socialize and interact in forms of rallies, campaign uniforms and other display of unity identifying individuals with a particular political party.

v. Presentation of Issues. Political parties set value goals for the society by ways of manifesto and philosophical bases as is the case with All Progressive Congress (APC) that proclaims socio-economic improvement of the masses, and an all inclusive government.

vi. Interest Aggregations. The parties do bring together issues raised during campaigns; select those that are of urgent and paramount national interest and focus attention them.

vii. Political Mobilization and Social Welfare. In developing nations of the world where political habits and traditions are yet to grow, parties do or do the job of political modernization and at the same time work for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people during periods of disaster, etc.

In view of the above functions, political parties in Nigeria instead of pursuing these goals are rather engaged in internal wrangling and forming elite’s caucus that is bent on looting public funds and marginalizing the common man at the grassroots.

Party Politics and Survival of Democracy in Nigeria
Party system or party politics on the other hand are the interactions of parties with each other. Modern representative democracy has brought about party system as an indispensable factor, and scholars made classifications of these systems to aid understanding. Nigerian political system can be classified under the fluid party system. Roskin (2003) described fluid party system as new and unstable democracies that have party system so fluid and inchoate; they change before your eyes and fit none of categories of party system classification. He further went ahead to say parties rise and fall quickly sometimes existing just for election - and are often used as vehicles to get leaders, and stand for no program or ideology. Suffice to this description therefore statistical evidences shows that each generation of political parties had peculiar set of elites who determined the pattern of succession politics in the country. It’s the pursuance of succession politics that informed the formation of numerous political parties in Nigeria. However, the needs and greed of the ruling class gradually impoverished the Nigeria society.

Historical analysis of inter and intra- party interactions in Nigeria is a significant area that can guide in understanding the institutional roles of the political parties in either perfecting the democratic system or derailing the whole process. The political parties of the first republic were regionally rooted, and this got its origin in the crisis of Nigerian Youth Movement in early forties when Ethnicity and its attendant parochialization and regionalization of issues appears to be in the ascendance since the Ikoli – Akinsanya crisis in the NYM which dismembered the party. This crisis not only split the party but as shall be seen led to ethnicity and the regionalization of politics and elections in Nigeria (Nnoli, 1980). Furthermore, when
the Lytton Constitution of 1954 formerly recognizes political parties and party system, it was evident that the politicization of ethnicity and the regionalization of politics have been generally entrenched.

In the words of Nnadozie (2007), the federal elections result in 1959 revealed the decisive role of ethnicity in Nigerian politics, particularly during elections. The seeds of ethnic and regional politics sown and nurtured by the Nigerian leaders and the British especially from the forties have taken a firm root and begun to bear fruits. The resultant effect of this regionalization led to politicization of 1963 National Population Census and its aftermath crisis, the Western Nigeria regional election of 1965, among others, and the 1964 General Elections which was the first since flag independence was described as ‘the most perilous display of brinkmanship’ (Kirk-Greene, 1971:21). This was described by Aughin (1965) as a period which Nigeria was tottered perilously on the brink of disintegration and bloodshed. These prepared the ground for the January 1966 coup and the counter-coup of July 1966, and a final blow to democratic rule.

The Second Republic political parties and their leaders resorted to the same political tricks and campaigns, by easily exploiting the situation for their individual and selfish interest – projecting themselves as champions of the commoners, and their respective ethnic groups. The leaders of the major political parties; the NPN, UPN and NPP were known to have made some statements during campaigns by calling and linking parties to the former First Republic parties (Uba, 1989:72). In the process, campaign slogans were targeted to arousing ethnic sentiments with little or no emphasis on socio-economic and political programs concerning the development of the country. Furthermore, when the NPN was unable to command majority in the National Assembly, as such, work out an accord with NPP which was just similar to the First Republic accord between NPC and NCNC that is Hausa Igbo coalition, and had to rely on fragile coalition in order to take off. From 1979 through 1982, the period was marked by a legal tussle between NPN and UPN on the issue of one third majority, inter party clashes and conflicts especially between NPN and PRP in some Northern states especially Kaduna and Kano, corruption and mismanagement, elections rigging and snatching of ballot boxes and papers during elections and a policy of winner- takes- all by parties controlling governments.

The 1983 General Elections on the other hand was faced with the same problems of the inability of the members of the governing class to respect the rules and regulations set by them. In a bid to ensure that the NPN retained power in spite of its dismal performance during the past four years, the 1983 General Elections was marked by massive rigging and all sorts of electoral fraud. This massive collusion involving the NPN, the FEDECO, the Police and some sections of the Judiciary had produced governments that could not claim legitimacy by dint of even the most rudimentary requirements of bourgeois democracy (Tijjani, 1986:5). The high level of corruption by the political class and clashes between supporters of these political parties to capture power by all means led to the intervention of the Military to save the country from total collapse.

The preparations and process of 1993 aborted third republic general elections midwife by the General Ibrahim Babangida military administration was one of the longest transition program in Nigeria. Two political parties – the National Republican Convention (NRC) that fielded a presidential candidate from the North, and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) with a Southern presidential candidate. The voting procedure used was the option A4 as it represents a great departure from the conventional voting procedure earlier used. Unfortunately, after the successful conclusion of the first and second phases of the elections, the annulment on 12th June, 1993 of the Presidential election result that was adjudged to be the most transparent and fair election marked yet another turning-point in Nigeria’s political history.

The return to democracy in 1998/99 further attempted to re-introduced politics of regionalism in Nigeria, though not so glaring as was the case in the past transitions. The Alliance for Democracy (AD) controlled the Western states, the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) captured some Northern states and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) emerged the ruling party. These parties compete in a centrifugal manner though without any ideological demarcation, but engaged in a ‘politics of outbidding’ with one another (Sartori, 1976). This period witnessed the enthusiasms by Nigerians for a democratic rule, as such the election served as a litmus test and inter-party relations was at a premature level. It was not until when the country was preparing for 2003 General Elections events started to manifest, intra and inter-party crisis engulfed the whole scenario. The elections which was a transition from civilian to civilian government, ended in bitterness and rancor, boycotts, manhandling, Kidnapping and assassination of political opponents, thuggery and manipulation of electoral bodies all over the states. Barely two years into their first term, elected office holders starting from the President completely turned their attentions from the basic needs of the people to second term agenda (Okorie, 2003). The PDP being the ruling party exploited its incumbency
to the fullest by mobilizing and deploying every available instrument of the state including the Police and to some extent even the Military personnel before and after the elections to ensure its retention of power. The 2003 General Elections was not held without some negative consequences. One area of concern was the corrupt practices involving the leadership of the PDP led government, where a fund from a federal agency was diverted into a phony account to finance the party. A special public account named Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF), meant to facilitate technological development in Nigeria through training and research was cornered by the leadership of the party and used to finance presidential election. This and many more incidences continue unabated until when the politics of constitution amendment by President Obasanjo which was initially aimed at third term agenda failed, the party started experiencing internal crisis. In preparation for the 2007 General Elections, the number of registered political parties rose to fifty though only few made any impact, but the trend of inter party relations did not change positively. Although there are regulations on how these parties should organize themselves to ensure internal democracy in the selection of party officials to run the parties and candidates for contests, the parties claimed exclusive rights over their internal process as such, the leadership virtually appropriates the space and conducted selection not election. Most of the political parties if not all grossly manipulated the primaries and in many cases the results of the primaries were not respected. Several candidates who did not win the primaries were eventually selected by the leaders of the party, claiming a spurious logic of party supremacy in the selection of party candidates to compete for general elections. These ugly trends continue unchecked, and became glaringly in the subsequent elections held in 2011 (Okorie, 2003).

The build-up to 2015 General Elections changed the political scenario in the country and the shapes of the political parties that contested the elections. This period marked yet another transition in the political history of Nigeria. It was either to endorsement Jonathan’s Administration or a dramatic change in the leadership. It was a crucial period in the history of democracy in the country. Nigerians are by way of voting during the general election, expected to choose the leadership that may lead the country for another four years. This period was equally an important period for the survival of democracy in the country, and its survival as a nation. The events that unfolded and the preparations of the opposition parties and the subsequent outcome were historic (Adam, 2015).

With the coming into coalition of political parties such as Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and, All Nigeria people Party (ANPP) to form All Progressive Congress (APC), thus, turn the political scenario into a battle field for two powerful and dominant political parties. These gladiators are the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC); while the rest of the registered political parties in the country were mere spectators and silenced. This coalesced political parties threatened the hegemonic power of the people’s Democratic Party (PDP) and with the intra-party squabbles and elites struggle to survive or to change camp so as to continue enjoying relevance, this led to mass cross-carpeting of senior and prominent members of the ruling party among whom are the former Speaker of House of Representative, Hon Alhaji Waziri Tambuwal some senators, and House of Representative members. There are also some State Governors and key influential personalities who are now in the opposition camp fortressing the All Progressive Congress (APC). This fueled the souring relationship between the two parties and made the contest a do-or-die affair (Obakunle and Olowojoh, 2015).

The sixteen years of PDP rule in the country institutionalized corruption in the system. The party used monetary and other available means at its disposal to corrupt the political process, and also patronage networks and outright bribery of the electorates as major instruments for electoral victory, all that notwithstanding, the PDP and its die-hards dwelled on campaign of calumny against the APC and its Presidential candidate. There was even a threat of destabilizing the country if President Jonathan was not re-elected. Consequently, the relationship between the political parties was consumed in trivial issues rather than National integration, with divisive factors such as religion, tribal sentiments, regional and clique’s interest were all that dominated the campaigns. This trend since the inception of the fourth republic led to series of protracted ethnic and religious crises that claimed many lives and properties in the past, which according to Atere and Akinwale (2006) emanated from irrational behavior of the political elite, politics of division and politics devoid of political ideology which combine to create politics of assassination, decampment (carpet crossing) and public protest witnessed all over the country any time elections were held.

Corruption by politicians and public office holders as earlier mentioned led to abject poverty in the country, and culminated into a number of social problems which the ruling party failed to address. The inability of the PDP led Administration to tackle the problems of insecurity in almost all parts of the country made the ruling party prone to attacks from the opposition parties. The unending activities of the
Islamic militants (Boko Haram) in the north-east region, ethnic clashes in the Middle Belt, Niger Delta Militants in the South East, Arm Robbery and kidnapping of both foreigners and wealthy citizens for ransom in virtually all parts of the country, exposed the regime to attack from citizen and International communities for failure to act decisively. More so, the sixteen years of Nigerian democratic experience has neither served the fundamental goals of political emancipation nor led to economic improvement of the citizens, especially in the face of widespread poverty, unemployment, Hunger and gradual disempowerment of a large segment of the population. It is being estimated that over seventy percent of Nigerians currently are living below the poverty line of One Dollar per day and the country is ranked one of the twenty-five poorest nation of World (Atoyebi and Mobolaji 2004 ). It is equally rated among the highest corrupt country in Africa. The implication therefore, is that mass poverty accompanied with unemployment creates alienation, insecurity, frustration and divisiveness among citizens. This made the teeming youth who are desperate looking for means of survival prone to recruitment as political thugs, dosed with drugs and paid a little money to go on rampage and or killing political opponents. It makes the practice of democracy counterproductive and problematic whenever elections approach (Salii, 2004).

Suffice to all these, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) appears weak. It is widely perceived as not being independent and its activities are very controversial, with the election results announced by it often disputed by the political parties and candidates. The members of the INEC are appointed by the President and can be removed by him (Gyimah-Boadi, 2007). For the fact that this is the institution that is saddle with organizing a credible election, but past experience has shown that the INEC was part of the problems. Though, with the introduction of card reader machine in 2015, the election was internationally adjudged to be fair and credible, but yet during the gubernatorial elections, it was business-as-usual there was massive riggings and manipulation of votes.

The Nigeria masses who are unfortunately ill-informed and politically passive share a portion of the blames. While the political office holders were busy stealing the wealth of the country which by implication is meant for development, the masses are cheaply bought over and showering praises for the perpetrators. Corruption therefore became institutionalized and corrupt individuals immortalized and blessed by religious groups. The existence of extra-party groups like the militias and their clandestine activities underscores the tenuous nature of the legitimacy and public trust which parties and candidates enjoy from the citizens.

The 2015 General Elections recently concluded marked an important turning point in the country’s political history. It was a significant period in the sense that the country was face with quite a number of challenges and uncertainties, ranging from incumbency, corruption, insecurity, poverty and lacked of confidence on the side of INEC to organize free and fair elections. Tension was high and a political battle zone was drawn between the ruling PDP and opposition APC which led to shifting of the elections date, but that did not change the political equation on ground. Nigerians were so resolute to make change, and despite all the resources at the disposal of the ruling party, and also all the institutions of Government to intimidate and coerce the opposition and the electorates, for the first time in Nigeria a sitting President was uprooted. The APC made a significant victory during the election, and President Mohammadu Buhari defeated incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan.

This significant victory and display of political maturity and courage by Nigerians did not heal the wound of the past. The regional politics in the voting pattern again manifested and some dangerous activities that is a threat to the country are surfacing periodically. The Eastern Nigerian states where President Jonathan hails from made a political miscalculation by throwing all their supports for the PDP and its candidate President Jonathan thinking that because of incumbency powers he may win the election, but for strong alliance between the North and West, the PDP was defeated. A new strategy for destabilizing the country started when some disgruntled elements in the society stated sponsoring a clandestine radio station called Radio Biafra disseminating divisive false news capable of causing confusion. All these are acts directly or indirectly sponsored or perpetuated by the political parties and its followers targeted at derailing the political train (Gordon, 2015).

Conclusion

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

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

i. Political parties in the country should henceforth focus their attentions on evolving an ideology for economic development of the country instead of attaching much importance to primordial issues;

ii. The parties need to be internally democratic so that every member wishing to aspire for any position in the party or under the party will be allowed to exercise his civil rights. This will reduce the roles played by the political godfathers and may equally reduce internal squabbles;

iii. A guidelines for funding of the political parties need to be spelt out categorically so that any money that comes to the party in an illegitimate manner will attract penalties. They should equally be compelled to keep financial records, and transparent in all dealings so that the institution serve as home for growing and producing prudent leaders;

iv. The electoral process needs to be perfected. The use of machines and other gadgets that may help in detecting electoral fraud and averting violence as a result of suspicion must be further employed;

v. Any political party that is engaging, recruiting or encouraging thuggery in the country is to be punished. This will help in reducing the rate of youth addicts and spades of crime in the country so that these youth will be of societal benefits and to contribute their quota in the development of the country;

vi. Corruption that is institutionalized in the country must be reduce to negligible level so that people will witness growth, and will yield the benefit of democracy, and this will further reduce the level of insecurity in the country that is associated with poverty.
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