



Corruption and Political Parties in Nigeria and its Effects in Nigerians

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ABSTRACT

Political gain is the target of politics in Nigeria, it has reached the point where it has been tincionalized These politically motivated and nurtured corruption have denied the herexe which would have been appropriated for developmental efforti have been diwed to his family and personal intereses (Prebendal Politics to the detriment of the Nerfan San Polocal parties in Nigeria rather than carrying out is baste functions of pursuing public interest and strengthening the political process as basic institution in deriv hecome avenues for Petron.client politics (Clientelis) which lack patriotism and Haralism. Parties are formed based on ethniciam instead of ideological personal interest ind of national interest paro politics is characterized in Nigeria hy bribery, favourism, using electoral Wiolenew, intimidation and suppression using state instruments (police, /dicta legislature, executive, government agencies) to assist support and promote corption in order to accumulare ill goien wealth to retain governmental power through crude means all efforex hy the Nigerian state to light corruption is not yielding the expected recull hece al politicization of the process and it should be all inclusive, those to ineigate are themselves corrupt corruption lighting corruption masterminded hy political parties.

Keywords: corruption, political parties, ideology, development

INTRODUCTION

Political parties can usher in development and progress in any democratic setting or society. This is only when political parties has an ideology and discipline. When members are not associated with corrupt practices that will only benefit them Abeyemi see corruption as the misconduct by public officials for personal gains. He identified types of corruption in Africa as bribery, private gain, and other benefits to non-existent workers and pensioners (ghost workers) to him, the dishonest and illegal behaviour exhibited especially by people n authority for their personal gain is corruption. According to the ICPC Act (Section2) Corruption includes vices like bribery, fraud and other related offences. Corruption is the abuse of power or position of trust for personal or group benefits (monetary or otherwise).Also collaborating survival politics Osaghae (2011:14) stated that the bases of Nigeria politics is economic as observed by Shively(2005:118) the political warfare crisis and instability in Nigeria is because of high turnover of governments (structures, institutions and personnel), electoral fraud, unstable politics. Joseph's (1987) Prebendal perspective, as Weber explains the abuse of government positions and resources for personal ends in terms of patron-client relations, which constitute the common thread underlying ethnic, regional and religious identities in Nigeria's politics to emancipate Africa from its economic doom precipitated by corruption, Poku (2011:24) noted that there is key elements of governance in Africa to reforms under New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD). The African Peer Review Mechanism that Africa Countries should implement, strengthening institutions that foster predictability, accountability and transparency in public affairs, promoting a free and fair electoral process, institutions capacity building, anti-Corruption measure and enhancing the capacity of public service delivery systems.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

The development of political party commences with the democratization of the Nigerian state, since democracy is impossible without political parties and pressure groups as noted by Brownlee J.L and Adamu Chidozie Akanji (Anifowose, 2005:190). In a bid to fill the 4 seat allocated to Nigerians by the 1922 Sir Hugh Clifford constitution started the process of constitutionalism and representative government with limited franchise the Nigeria "Legislative Council" to make laws for the colony of Lagos and Southern Nigeria while the Northern part laws were to be made by the governor by proclamation. The council was made up of 46 members, (27 official members including the governor, 15 were nominated by the governor while 4 were to be elected). The provision of the elective seats led to the formation of political parties in Nigeria. Ikelegbe (Alapiki, 2004:101) (Abia, 14 2003:114). The Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1903 by Herbert Macaulay And others. The Lagos Youth movement in 1933 and in 1937 renamed Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM).

Criticisms were leveled against the Clifford constitution and a new one proposed to amend. The 1922 constitution. The new constitution came to effect in 1946 under Sir, Arthur Richard, and The Richard's Constitution of 1946 which regionalized the country to (Northern, Western and Eastern Regions (Abia, 2003:118) and (Otoghagua, 2007:22). This constitution laid the Foundation for regional parties rather than National Parties thereby encourages

ethnicity in Nigeria's Politics. The Nigeria Youth Movement was split due to leadership tussle between Ikoli and Akinsanya signaling of tribalism in Nigerian Politics. (Adeniyi, 2010:5). The causes of corruption are greed, ostentatious lifestyle, custom, loyalty, tributes, ethnicity, Tribalism, kinsmen seeking favour and desperate bid to remain in power to enjoy the Protection they usually enjoy while in government. The country have passed various phases Of Corruption From Independence, Pre Nnamdi Azikiwe (www.wikipedia.or/corruptioninnigeria, Adeniyi (2010) and Otoghagua (2007)) was the first Major political figure investigated for questionable practices in 1944, over Continental Bank Financial allegation from Eastern Regional Financial Corporation Fund. Chief Obafemi Awolowo was indicted and the Coker Commission of nquiry was set up, which found out Misappropriation from the coffers of the Western Regional Government in 1962. Adegoke Adelabu was investigated of political corruption leveled against him, the report led to his Demand for resignation as district council head. In the Northern Region corruption allegation leveled against some native authority officials in Borno and Kano States. Since then from 1975 of Gowon's administration to Shagari Administration to General Mohammedu Buhari (1983-1985). General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993), General Sani Abacha (1993-1998), General Abdusalami Abubakar (1998-1999) Administrations has experienced various forms of politically rooted corruption. The country Has lost billions of Naira to the dread monster of corruption. Political parties during Shagari Regime under NPN alleged to have fraud the country through Johnson Mathey Bank of London in 1985, 1981 rice importation Saga, these corruptions were covered by the Government. There is wide spread corruption from 1999 till date in both PDP, APC, Labour Party and all other parties are corrupt and desperate to take and maintain governmental Powers for their patrons and clients in the business of politics (Otoghagua, 2007). Nigerians continues expression of dissatisfaction, and criticisms leveled against the Richard's Constitution, enlightenment on self rule agitation led to Macpherson constitution in 1951, the 1953/54 constitutional conferences, Lytleton constitution of 1954, then 1957/58 conferences and finally. 1960 independence constitution, as noted earlier these regional ethnic based Political parties emerged. National Council of Nigerian Citizens was Igbo dominated party under Nnamdi Azikiwe, at the demise of Herbert Macaulay in 1946. It was made Igbo National Party for the Eastern Region from Igbo State Union. The Western region under the Egbe Omo Oduduwa Association floated in London in 1945 (Adeniyi, 2010:8) a cultural organization, Chief Obafemi Awolowo transformed its aims and objectives to Nigeria and metamorphosed into a Political party the Action Group dominated by the Yoruba's in 1951. The Northern region Also used the platform of Bauchi Improvement Union in 1943 with Mallam Sa'ad Zungioru Mallam Aminu Kano and Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as leaders. However, Disattection amongst them resulted to its disagreement with the Emir of Bauchi, this gave Way to Jamiya Matanneen Arewa in 1949 transformed into the Northern People's Congress (Adeniyi, 2010:8-9) these activities plunge the country into ethnic rooted political parties. As Noted by Ikelegbe (Alapiki, 2004:93).(Geer, 1998), in Nigeria, the National Youth Movement (NYM) the National Council of Nigerian Citizens(NCNC), the Northern People's Congress(NPC), The Action Group(AG) were political parties which grew out of nationalist, Ethnic and geographical associations, anchored on ethnicity as the root of political parties and

Politics in Nigeria. The Babangida's administration in order to discourage ethnicity in Politics, two parties were registered and sponsored by the Government. The two parties became National and Ideological parties that recorded and adjudged the freest and fairest election conducted in Nigeria both in and outside the country, the SDP and NRC (Adeniyi 2010:548; Abia 2003:330), (Otoghagua, 2007:210) but the election was annulled by the Same regime. The notion that political parties metamorphosed from other interest groups is noted by Shively (2005:249). Tkelegbe (Alapiki, 2004:125) and Geer (1998) stated that political parties have their roots from associations, groups and unions as in the case of Nigeria. As noted Earlier political parties are groups of individuals who have sole aim of gaining political

Powers to influence government policies and programmes as held by Lalpalombara, (Alapiki, 2004:122) Party Politics is the activities of political party as noted by Stanley Kelley. To Kelley (Geer, 1998:4) Party Politics is the multi-faceted interplay between party politics and Government. And that without political parties there is no democracy as noted by E.E Schattchnn Eider (Roskin, 2010:195). *Political Parties created democracy", modern Democracy is unthinkable without political parties". In view of the crucial and core role political parties play in the democratization process all over the world of which Nigeria is inclusive. Democracy is intended to bring about freedom, fairness, justice, development and even distribution of resources as noted by Havel V. in his selected writings (1965, 1990,

1991). Democracy is about human potentials as they tight for and strive to preserve freedom. Democracy embodies a faith that a more moral, prosperous, and dignified way of living, exists than being ruled by others. Democracy represents liberty and responsibility, the pursuit of happiness and civic duty. Then political parties became vehicle for selecting officials for Government to pursue these ideals in Nigeria to bring about an egalitarian society. Political Parties in Nigeria are to entrench in the polity the ideals of democracy to include freedom. Fairness, equity and credible administration in internal party democracy and in governance. Political parties rather promote corruption, through warlike struggle for power or "do or die electoral malpractices, assassinations. Thuggery. Violence, intimidation and politics" Godfatherism in the party politics thereby making democracy impossible in Nigeria. Alapiki (2004:99). Political Parties in Nigeria act as agent of clientele (patron-client) (Geer, 1998) the management of party by persons of questionable characters were imposed on the masses, whereas political parties should train candidates on its policies and programmes and prepare such individuals to represent the party in elections who have won free and fair party primaries to enable the electorate chose the best to rule. The inability of Nigeria to reap the dividends of democracy is according to Ranny and Kendall is lack of constitutional mechanisms such as Federalism and separation of powers. Collaborating this view, Richard Katz and Robin Kolodny emphasizes "three fundamental aspects of American Politics. These are the Presidential System and the Concomitant doctrine of separation of powers, a basic ambivalence about parties and federalism". The constitutional mechanisms includes the principle of Rule of Law, checks and Balances and an effective and efficient judiciary are incredents to nurture democracy to maturity and then consolidation. The various strong institutions that needed to make democracy work are the institutions which are neither not there or too weak in Nigerian politics resulting to epileptic Democracy (Geer, 1998:14).

Another fundamental aspect of failure of political parties to meet its responsibility is the inability to democratize the country and the absence of democratic culture. The citizens have not imbibed and internalized these virtues or norms of justice, fairness, equality and freedom rights, civic responsibilities, having a sense of fair play; that justice should be pursued both in public life and in private affairs, that people should love the truth and feel an obligation to search for truth as noted by Tocqueville (Hood 2004:130) this will move democracy from transition to consolidation stage to maturity, to him democracy represents liberty and responsibility, the pursuit of happiness, and civic duty. Both Tocqueville and Putnam agrees that

associations are vital for democracy, virtues, religion, individual virtues, family virtues, democratic virtues, education system to be taught by virtues, democratic leaders to bring about democratic mind set is the sure way to democratic rule that will transform society (Hood 2004;130-134).

The faith of people towards government differs, to the American people's idea about

Government "are the people", the Nigerian people's idea of government is "Winners takes all when negative and corrupt persons are elected into government thereby the people trust on the government is less. (AMBah, 2001: 3). Nigerian party patrons lack internal democracy and accountability, the basic weakness in the party politics in Nigeria are non-delivery, lack of accountability and corruption as noted by Adebayo (2000). As noted by Steve Nkom (Adebayo, 2000:73) that Nigeria politicians are corrupt, undemocratic and self-seeking style of governance by an elite which is more pre-occupied with sharing of the resources of the state than with the principles of fairness, justice, accountability, transparency, efficiency and productivity.

Former President Olusegun Obasanjo described Nigeria as a country

Perpetually potentially great, almost permanently in crisis, regularly threatened with disintegration, prolonging devoid of democracy, economically plundered and mismanaged, forever talking about democracy but retreating from democracy.

The foregoing political party is rated as one of the most corrupt institution in the country, party politics is the root of all politically motivated corruption. Party patrons are at the forefront in enriching themselves using government (state) influence in all sectors, of the economy and positions to accumulate wealth for the privileged few to the detriment of the larger society. The chentel politics in which patrons provide coverage and protection while clients give political support and the politics of self help perpetrate corruption in diverse ways in Nigeria.

Politics is for the benefit of self, tribe, community and region rather than for national interest. As asserted by Proudhon and Kropotkin earlier, that state machineries and institutions are for coercive and oppressive to perpetuate corruption and injustice in society.

Nigerian Political Parties are formed not for public good and interest but for self-enrichment, politics of clientelism and prebendalism invariably promoting corruption to the highest levels, which hinders development and progress. Nigerian Political Parties should as matter of urgency find new political method that can change our orientation from the present party politics as recommended by Tocqueville. Political parties have also failed in being bridge between the larger society and democratic institutions but political parties are a disconnect (Hood, 2004:34, 109) for selfish and parochial reasons perpetuating corruption for self-enrichment and accumulation of wealth. It is on this premises that Aristotle (1984) sees other nations including Nigeria as barbarous and be slaves by nature, can only do when directed. Because they lack moral qualities, no capacity for independence but with brains enough to interpret their master's order. Lack of party ideology is another major problem in Nigerian Party Politics, most parties have no clear ideological foundation in Nigeria, adoption of ideologies and manifesto verbatim is accepted norm, and one can hardly differentiate one party to the other except with name, logo and officials. As material and physical incentives decline, the parties must resort to "purpose, principle, and ideological as a major source of incentives." The lack of strong and purposeful ideology promotes crosscarpeting and decamping from one party to another as clear indication of survival party politics in Nigeria. In the past for example, Atiku, some Governors and legislators decamps from one party to another, running from party discipline or fear of not being nominated. This brings about non institutionalization of political parties in Nigeria. Until parties become institutionalized democracy will be in infant stage. Institutional capacity is the ability of the party to train, culture and indoctrinate its candidates with party ideology,

Manifestos and programmes to prepare them before elections through well planned Competitive primaries. This is described as fluid party system (Roskin, 2010:207). Still on capacity, money is required to campaign in mobilizing votes for the parties, parties should be able to raise fund for its activities and maintain its staff and secretariat. In advanced democratic system parties raises fund through support from interest and pressure groups with the same or similar policies and programmes investments (Banks, Media etc). Individual donations, subsidies from government. Parties incur huge expenses for campaign and other activities and cannot do it with merger membership dues, parties resort to desperate moves to raise money resulting to scandals related to party fund soaring in almost every democratic county. The US Spent an estimated \$500 million in 1976, in 2008 about \$5 billion was spent for presidential and congress campaigns, the recent presidential election 2020 cost \$14 billion us dollars while British spent \$150 million 2009 general elections far lower than US (Roskin 2010: 202) Nigeria due to its size, sectarian and ethnicity, elections are expensive and violent associated with fraud and foul plays coupled with huge finances needed by the government and political parties is worrisome (Shively 2005:245). The independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and other Related Offences Commission was enacted by Former President Olusegun Obasanjo and was inaugurated on September 29, 2000 to fight corruption which was a full blown institution with collaborators. The Transparency International Corruption Perception Index rated Nigeria the second most Corrupt nation in the world in 1999, in 2012 Nigeria was rated 139 most corrupt country out of 179 countries, in 2013, 144 out of the countries that were rated and in 2014, 136" out of 175 countries rated (www.wikipedia.com). At this point corruption virus had infested every facet of Nigerian society. The commission since inception has prosecuted a lot of politicians and top civil servants to include Ghali Umar Na Abba (2002), Fabian Osuni Federal Ministry of Education (2006), Emmanuel Ayoala (2008) managers of Pension Fund N90 Billion (2009), Education Reform Programme of Ministry of Education 1 billion, non-declaration or false declaration of assets, diversion of public fund and money laundering are some of the offences. Governors were immune from prosecution while in office is worrisome. Dr. Peter Odili was granted injunction for corrupt agencies not to investigate him, the courts are hindrance to the fight.

The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act 2004 is to investigate people in all sectors who appear to be living above their means, money laundering and other financial crimes. The commission since inception has prosecuted a lot, and a lot more are standing trials but the Judiciary (Courts) and Politicians are the hindrance to its full scale operations. Despite these constraints of political influence and corrupt court system, the commission has done its best. At a public hearings on the amendments, Senate President David Mark expressed concern that EFCC and ICPC would have too much power without another body supervising Their work, in response the EFCC chairman, Abdul Rashid Bawa said it Was important for anti-corruption agencies to remain independent of politicians, whom they often investigated, he said the proposed amendment would rather limit than enhance the Effectiveness of the agencies (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia).

In fact, in Nigeria Politicians acknowledging huge amount of money required to float new Party or to retain power, incumbent government and parties engages in massive corruption to und party politics since politics is not mobilization by stimulation, persuasion and conviction as in advance democracies but in Nigeria is by intimidation or gratification, so much fund is required to rig and influence the process. This is largely, due to absence of career politicians, institutionalization of political party, politics should be a career, gradual training on the job, from small job to higher levels while

imbibing them with the values that the political leadership wishes to encourage E.g. Conservative party in Britain and Democratic Party in US have been for years but in Nigeria it is for all comers, job seekers, criminals, fraudsters and never do well; therefore increases the rate of corruption (Shively, 2005:250). The Military always take over power from elected civilian government on the pretext of corruption and was widely accepted (Shively, 2005:118). The Nigeria's corruption index was 1.6 out of 91 states by transparency international, dedicated to documenting and tracing levels of Governmental corruption for 2002 (Shively 2005:120). Now is even worst. Therefore, non institutionalization, consolidation of political parties adversely responsible for corruption in the party politics in Nigeria. The national parties should be continuing institutions, should have professionals, Conduct party programmes, recruitment, broadcasting, and advertising and finance sourcing, Consultants and political action committees, Ranney (1975) (Geer, 1998:30) is of the opinion that these are sure ways for improved party politics in Nigeria as in the United States. Party financing in Nigeria is by party in government patronage and individual party patrons who dictate the affairs of the parties.. The principal accusations leveled against Belew's regime were that it was corrupt with high levels of regionalism, nepotism and tribalism. The military is not spared, under Ibrahim Babangida's regime, the oil wind fall could not be accounted for, Sani Abacha's regimes looted and Siphoned to outside countries. On the death of Abacha the Switzerland Government was sincere and agreed to remit \$400million to Nigeria Graham Burton noted "corruption results to higher prices and fewer job opportunities, it diverts budgetary resources away from productive investment and away from the provision of health, education and Social services. State wealth is seen to be family's wealth (Otoghagua, 2007:260). Political corruption is not recent but started with public administration in Nigeria, the country have recorded several such cases of official misuse of resources for personal gain. From the Nigeria survey and corruption survey study final report (June 2003) institute for development research, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (1DR, ABU Zaria) rated the most corrupt institutions, First Nigerian Police, Political Parties, National and State Assemblies, Local Government, Federal & State Executive Councils, Traffic Police and FRSC and PHCN at of 2003. The Obasanjo administration took the first bold step to face the dread monster of political corruption when the Economic and Financial crime commission EFCC Act, 2003 was established and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) Act 2000. These agencies have since inauguration to fighting political corruption, despite of political interference and judiciary restrictions by the two bodies; they have tried to prosecute some such as Alamiyeseigha, Tafa Balaogun, James Ibori, Ceicillia Iburu etc. However, the political institutions have not been strengthening to make the agencies carry out their assignment without political interference: the government lacks the political will. The government of the day always prevails or conceals the cases of party loyalties, reason is that elected officers are desperate to be re-elected. The cost of government services not properly provided and the inflated cost of government Programmes due to corruption reduces economic growth and the benefits we receive from Governmental services. Corruption produces Cynicism, lack of faith, disregards to rule of law leading to political instability (Shively, 2005:118), are some of the causes of corruption in politics. In his observation Alfred llenre (TELL June 2, 2014:40) said a faulty presidential system and revenue allocation formula breed and sustain corruption in the country. The Nigerian structure is not designed to tame or fight corruption. A country that is mortgaged into the hands of bureaucrats cannot fight corruption, the present system encourage and entrench corruption, Party Primaries and congresses were conducted under tight security to rig party primaries in Favour of anointed candidates, assigning positions to stakeholders to fill in their candidates of Choice, incompetent, inexperienced person with questionable characters, fraudsters, criminals And cult members were more favoured to be chosen. The ruling party's influences award of contracts, employment, appointments, Scholarships in collaboration of security agencies. Godfatherism and even the judiciary is victim of this manipulation..

CONCLUDING NOTE

Political Parties in Nigeria have contributed to the high corruption rate in the sense that, political parties lack institutionalization, internal democracy, ideology, public interest, cordial relationship between the parties and the masses. They rather promote individual interests by imposing candidates, creating divisions, factions to polarize parties, castigating, abuses, thuggery and hijacking of the party structure by patrons for their clients. Mobilization is by intimidation and gratification, instead of persuasion and conviction on policies and programmes; parties are interested in distributive economy rather than productive economy, lack leadership training, virtues, and mores to nurture democracy to maturity for the good of all.

RECOMMENDATION

Since democracy cannot thrive without effective and strong political parties as noted by Brownlee (2007) and Adamu, Chidozie Akanji (Anifowose 2005:190) Alapiki (2004:91). There is need to make deliberate efforts to restructure, reform and reorganize political parties for us to nurture our democracy to maturity, the following recommendations are to be taken into consideration to help strengthen our democracy which will bring about good governance. Ideological based political parties, virtue education in family, school, religion, associations and individual to imbibe democratic principles of equality, fairness, justice, rights and responsibilities towards public life and as noted by Lee Kuan Yew, Abba Morro and Tocqueville attitudinal change be instilled and internationalized above selfish and parochial political thinking. Party's re-orientation, education and socialization to create the enabling environment for democracy to thrive. Institutionalization of political parties, other sources of funding, free fair party primaries, leadership training, strong institutions and anti-corruption agencies and the political will to fight corruption, reward and punishment when necessary, "carrot and stick". Value system in the nation's education scheme, mobilization should be by persuasion, conviction and enlightenment rather than gratification and intimidation. Deliberate effort to train the young ones to be patriotic Nigerians. If these recommendations are taken into account and deliberate effort is made, our political parties will be strong to strengthen the democratization process for us to achieve the dividends of democracy.

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