



## **Political Party Dynamics in Nigeria: Origin and Trends; A Governance Perspective**

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### **Abstract**

The paper examines the political dynamics of political parties in Nigeria, tracing their historical development, identifying prevailing trends, and analyzing their impact on governance. It explores the relationship between ethnic, regional, and ideological factors that shape political parties and how these trends influence policy outcomes and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper adopted content analysis to examine the positions of different scholars as they relate to the study. The study concluded that the dynamics of political party competition are largely influenced by historical and socio-cultural factors, which have produced political party systems that are not ideologically based and which take cues largely from pre-modern forces. The paper recommended that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should introduce criteria for effective party registration that prioritize policy coherence and national outreach over mere geographical spread to promote value and issue-driven political parties that would enhance good governance.

**Keywords: Political party, competition, origin, dynamics, governance**



## 1. Introduction

Political parties are essential to democracy, especially as they are the competing forces of any representative democracy. Political party reform functions are necessary for the democratic process. Parties mediate or arbitrate between a pluralistic society and its political institutions of government as well as organize political campaigns in order to mobilize voters to participate in an election (Habu, 2014). They are key institutions in the political process of any democracy. Political parties articulate and aggregate diverse interests, recruit and present candidates for political offices, and develop competing policy proposals that provide people with choices (Downs, 1957; O'Donnell, 1994 and 1996; Linz and Stepan, 1996; Keefar, 2005).

Coleman and Roseberg (1996) define political parties as “associations formally organized with the explicit and declared purpose of acquiring and to some extent, maintaining legal control either singly or in coalition or electoral competition with other associations over the personnel and the policy of the government of an actual or prospective sovereign state”.

Party competition for votes in free and fair elections involves complex interactions by multiple actors in political landscapes continuously. Free, fair and competitive elections are seen as the minimal precondition in order for a country to be a democracy (Almond and Coleman, 1966; Dahl, 1991; Przeworski, et al, 2000; Sartori, 1987; Strom, 1992). The manifest objective of every political party competition is to maximize a group's representation and influence in government. In a democracy, political competition has either one or more of three objectives: to recruit decision makers, to influence the making of decisions, and to affect the specific ways in which decisions are applied and values are allocated. With regards to each of these parties, competition may range from being all-important to being immaterial.

The modes of party competition can be gauged on the basis of five general criteria: differences in fundamental views or orientation; differences in concrete goals or in the rank order of goals pursued; differences in the means of striving for concrete goals; differences in the assessment and evaluation of political personalities; and difference in the social composition of the parties or factions particularly their class basis and the extent to which they aggregate diverse forces



## **1.1 Literature Review**

Thelen (1999) argued that in political theory, political dynamics are usually explained in terms of historical events. Usually, previous events are interpreted as a source of events to come. Traditional political theory is more likely to stress political order rather than political change. Greif and Laitin (2004) maintain that a central concern in political science today is how to explain both institutional stability and change through endogenous causal mechanisms. Political party competition could take place within the political parties or within the political party system.

### **1.1.2 Drivers of Political Party Competition in Nigeria's Dynamic Landscape**

Many factors affect the dynamics of political party Competition in Nigeria. Some of the most important of these are: colonial antecedents; regional, ethnic and religious cleavages; party splits, alliances and mergers; political and socio-cultural forces; constitutions and electoral laws; funding, ideological institutionalization; internal party democracy, and, the media. Let us examine these factors closely.

#### **1.1.2 Colonial Antecedents**

The origins and evolution of party systems are also an aspect of party-system dynamics, for evolution are always a part of developmental patterns. The origin and evolution of political party competition in Nigeria could be traced to the foundation of political parties under colonial rule. In Nigeria, political parties emerged during colonialism as the principal instruments of the mobilization of the people for increased participation in governmental affairs and for independence. The parties that emerged became very influential at the regional levels and maintained their authority un to independence and through the First Republic.

Sklar (1963) cited in Tijjani (2014), examined the emergence of political associations, such as the People's Union, and the first political party in Nigeria, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which emerged in 1923 under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay. The activities of these parties were limited to Lagos. Before 1946, the British colonial authority did nothing to integrate the political units that composed the country. It was the Richards Constitution of 1946 that recognized three regions- the Northern, Western, and Eastern



Regions, and the Colony of Lagos. In 1947, Governor Richards promoted political party competition by integrating the native authorities across the country into the government through electoral colleges and regional councils. Indeed, for the first time, the Northern Provinces were brought into the mainstream of political competition. thereby necessitating the formation of political parties. Indeed, contrary to southern Nigeria, where political parties were flourishing, there were none in the North, as the idea of open political competition was not yet popular. The Action Group AG, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), and the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) all emerged through this experience.

### **1.1.3 Regional, Ethnic, and Religious Cleavages**

In Nigeria, regional, ethnic, and religious cleavages are major divers of political party competition. Before independence, in 1960, the political parties that emerged sought control of power in their regions. The NPC and the Act, which controlled the Northern Region and the Western Region, respectively, clearly emerged in this way. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), which controlled the Eastern Region and the Midwestern Region (created in 1963), became a nationalist party but was forced by the pressures of regionalism to become primarily an Eastern Region party, albeit with strong pockets of support elsewhere in the federation. These regional parties were based upon, and derived their main support from the major groups in their regions. The Action Group emerged from the Yoruba cultural association known as the Omo Egbe Oduduwa. A notable and more ideologically based political party that never achieved significant power was Aminu Kano's radical NEPU. It opposed the NPC in the Northern Region from its Kano base and was predominantly supported by the talakawa (meaning the socially and politically marginalized).

The Second Republic (1979-1983) witnessed the emergence of more political parties; these were not very different from what obtained under the First Republic. The parties included the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) replacing the NPC, AG and NCNC, respectively. Others were the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) and Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP), and later Nigerian Advance Party (NAP), which was registered in 1982. In the Second Republic, the UPN was more or less a revitalization of the AG It continued with its predominant localization in the south-west geo-political part of the country. The NPN could be said to be a renaissance of the



NPC, but with a more national outlook. It was more dominant in the northern part of the country. The NPP was more a re-incarnation of the NCNC, and was more ubiquitous in the south-east. As in the First Republic, it was the ethnic minorities that enabled these parties to extend their influence beyond their regions.

#### **1.1.4 Political Culture**

Fundamentally, the system of government in a country has a high tendency of influencing the tool development of parties and party systems. The widely shared beliefs, values and norms that define the relationship between citizens and government, and citizens to one another have been shaped largely by authoritarian traditions in Nigeria. Political party competition has been shaped by the authoritarian culture. Political parties have been the convenient of 'competing for power. Competition, here, means going into battle with the opposition party or even doing battle within the party as they become the convenient tool for prosecuting violence to gain power. Political parties in Nigeria are yet to fully develop widely shared democratic beliefs, values or norms that should guide party political competition. This has been further complicated by military interventions, which rendered pre-existing party systems unusable because politicians have always needed to start from the very scratch. Lacking a party political culture to sustain democracy, politicians find it difficult to play the political game according to established rules. Political parties play a key role by presenting competing policies they have developed, recruiting leaders, engaging in public debate, creating opportunities for individual citizens to get involved and, critically, abiding by the outcome of these contests. Without widely shared values and norms more conducive to democracy, it is to that degree more difficult for those political parties to play the expected role of deepening democracy to have effective good governance.

#### **1.1.5 Constitutions and Electoral Laws**

The constitution and electoral laws influence the nature of political party competition in a number of ways. Between 1922 and 1999, Nigeria has inaugurated eight constitutions, five under colonial rule (in 1922, 1946, 1951, 1954, and 1960) and five in the post-colonial era (in 1963, 1979, 1989, 1995, and 1999). Of the latter, four were engineered under military rule. Only the 1963 Constitution was initiated under an elected civilian federal administration. The 1979 and the 1999 Constitutions, provided Constitutions as amended, provided regulations for political parties.



The 1979 Constitution Sections 201-209 provided regulations for political parties in Nigeria. For the first time in the country, political parties became a constitutional matter. Section 201 provided for the features of a political party and Section 202 specified the criteria that parties had to meet in order to be registered: the name, emblem, or motto of the party, could not contain any ethnic or religious connotation or give the party the image of a sectional party, membership of the party should be open to all Nigerians irrespective of ethnic or religious affiliation; the party headquarters must be in the Federal Capital; and the executive committee of the party should reflect the fate of the country. The task of registering political parties and conducting elections was given to the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO).

The necessity for national parties emanated from the conviction that the disunity experienced during the First Republic was engendered by the nature of the parties then operating. When the ban placed on political activities in 1966 was lifted in September 1978, at least fifty-three political associations were formed. Seventeen of them applied for registration, but only five were registered: the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), the United Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP), and the People's Redemption Party (PRP). In 1982, a sixth party, the Nigeria Advance Party (NAP), was registered.

The 1999 Constitution as amended, also specified similar provisions in Sections 221-229 to regulate the political parties in Nigeria. The Constitution empowered the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to regulate the political parties in Nigeria and their activities. In giving effect to the powers of INEC, the National Assembly, passed the Electoral Act 2006, which was repealed and replaced with the Electoral Act 2010 and the Electoral Act 2026, to enable INEC to better regulate the conduct of federal, state and area council elections and for related matters. Election rules influence the number, size, and integration of units and tendencies in party systems. Electoral rules structure how parties must compete.

Section 222 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended, specifies that no association by whatever name shall function as a party, unless:

- (i) the names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the Independent



- National Electoral Commission;
- (ii) the membership of the association is open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion or ethnic grouping;
  - (iii) a copy of its constitution is registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission in such form as may be prescribed by the Independent National Electoral Commission;
  - (iv) any alteration in its registered constitution is also registered in the principal office of the Independent National Electoral Commission within thirty days of the making of such alteration;
  - (v) the name of the association, its symbol or logo is free of any ethnic or religious connotation and is free from the appearance that the activities of the association are confined to any geographical area of Nigeria solely; and
  - (vi) the headquarters of the association is situated in the Federal Capital Territory. Abuja.

Clearly, no party can emerge that has no national outlook. All political parties must reflect the character of the federation. In other words, the diversity and heterogeneity of the country must be reflected in the political parties to the extent that no party stands for a particular ethnic or religious group.

Section 224 requires that "the programme as well as the aims and objectives of a political party shall conform to the provisions of Chapter II of this Constitution". The section provided for the fundamental objectives and directive principles of State policy. This is composed of the fundamental obligations of the government, economic objectives, political objectives, social objectives, educational objectives, foreign policy objectives, environmental objectives, among others. Specifically, Section 14 (1) specifies that "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice". Section 14 (2) declared that:

- (a) Sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority;
- (b) The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government; and,
- (c) The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.



Section 14(3) provides that:

The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few States or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies.

A similar provision was made for the composition of the Government of a State. local government council, or any of the agencies of such Government or council and the conduct of the affairs of the Government or council or such agencies

This shows that the context for competition among the political parties has been clearly defined. The manifesto of political parties must conform to this provision as well. Nonetheless, in allowing Governors and Legislators elected on a party platform to cross carpet to another party without sanction, an unhealthy dynamic is unleashed. It makes it easier for a ruling party to reap where it has not sown. This tends to destabilize weaker parties. It is fair to argue that the general intention of the constitution itself and the placement of responsibility for registration of political parties on INEC limit the possibility of "extremist" political parties being registered in Nigeria.

### **1.1.6 Party Splits, Coalition and Mergers**

Mergers, coalitions or even splits of political parties are well-known occurrences in the actions of political parties, They create some dynamism in the competition among and within parties. Alliances/coalitions, party splits and mergers have influenced the dynamics of political party competition in Nigeria since the First Republic. A common denominator since independence has been that whenever alliances coalitions and mergers are formed there has been political instability, including military take-over of power. Notable exceptions are the alliances between All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD) to provide one ticket in the run-up to the Presidential election of 2009 and the widely discussed undeclared "deal" between ACN and PDP for support of the latter's fielded its own candidate



During the 1964 general elections, the first to be conducted solely by Nigerians, the country's politics had become polarized into a competition between two opposing alliances. One was the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) made up of the NPC and NNDC; the other was the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) composed of the NCNC, the AG, and their allies. The Prime Minister's NPC aligned with a faction of the AG led by Chief Ladoke Akintola, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), to form the NNA in readiness for the elections. At the same time, the main AG led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo formed an alliance with the United Middle-Belt Congress (UMBC), Alhaji Aminu Kano's Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and Borno Youth Movement to form the UPGA. The coalition provided a measure of north-south consensus that would not have been the case if the NCNC and AG had formed a coalition. This is a healthy dynamic for the country. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of NCNC became the Governor-General (and later the President after the country became a Republic in 1963), Abubakar settle for role of Leader of the Opposition. The regional Premiers were Ahmadu Bello Tafawa Balewa (NPC) was named Prime Minister, and Obafemi Awolowo (AG) had to (Northern Region, NPC), Samuel Akintola (Western Region, AG), Michael Okpara (Eastern Region, NCNC), and Dennis Osadebey (Midwestern Region, NCNC).

Similarly, in the Second Republic, after the 1983 elections, the UPN, GNPP, PRP and NPP governors met regularly to coordinate opposition to the ruling NPN government, especially after the collapse of the NPN-UPN accord on July 6, 1981. They later proclaimed themselves Progressive Parties Alliance (PPA). This later culminated into Progressive People's Party (PPP), which had unsuccessfully applied for registration 1982. The alliance degenerated into irreconcilable factions as each party leader wanted to head it. The failure of the alliance created the impetus for the NPN to achieve an overwhelming victory in the 1983 elections. This victory was challenged by the opposition parties who believed it was obtained fraudulently. The violence that ensued thereafter led to the termination of the Second Republic through a military coup in January, 1984.

In the Fourth Republic, from 1999, there have been attempts to form alliances among political parties, but every effort was marred by conflicting political interests. However, the dynamics of political party competition has brought together the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the



All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), a faction of the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) and the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), to form the All Progressives Congress (APC). Prior to the APC merger, each opposition group was viewed more as a regional or sectional party, representing some narrow interests, a contrast to the outwardly nationwide appeal of the PDP. The coalition has thus brought together several major contending groups across the north-south divide. The tendency towards party consolidation and integration in the opposition may affect the nature of the competition, but past experience indicates that many of the opposition parties usually fail to make calculations that would improve their electoral chances because they are not willing to make concessions.

### **1.1.7 Funding**

Funding is an element among the dynamics of political party competition and is of profound importance to the quality of competition among the political parties in the country. Political parties that have better funding tend to compete more favourably than political parties that are poorly funded. In a democracy where accountability and transparency are in deficit, there is a tendency that the political party that has formed the central government could siphon state money through bureaucracies and corporations to the party. The party is then better positioned to wear-out any competitor and multiply us which campaign money flows through the parties. It is often difficult for a challenger to advantages. Competition among political parties may differ depending on the degree to compete with the incumbent because of easy access to state coffers.

Indeed, the general perception in Nigeria about the corrupt and dubious relationship between "loose" money and politics was cited as a basis for the wholesale "creation" of political parties, complete with their constitutions, names and philosophies. This was under the Administration of General Babangida (Tijjani, 2014).

### **1.1.8 The Mass Media**

Political parties are among the most important and visible political actors in news media coverage of politics. The media shapes the nature of competition among the political parties. The media educates the voters on how to exercise their rights, reports developments in an election campaign, provides a platform for the political parties and candidates to communicate



their message to the electorate, provides a platform for the public to communicate their concerns, opinions, and needs to the parties and to interact on these issues, and provides the platform for the parties and candidates to debate with each other. Since the First Republic, the media has shaped the dynamics of political party competition in Nigeria through their agenda-setting power. Increasingly, the political parties use the mass media for campaigning through sponsored direct access spots, paid political advertising, televised debates, use of social media, and other mechanisms. The competition among the political parties for media coverage and newsworthiness of their campaign activities has become more intense than ever before. Political parties now expend enormous human and financial resources on planning and executing mass media campaigns in Nigeria. They demonize certain candidates and parties as well as eulogize others, often unjustifiably. The mass media became a central force in Nigeria's electioneering process in the 2011 presidential election. During that process, there was trivialisation of politics. The mass media drew the attention of the electorate away from issues to personalities, where they came from and their religion. The 'media-sation' of politics has now become a major factor in political party competition in the country and is likely to play an even a greater role in the 2015 elections.

## **1.2 Methodology**

This paper exclusively made use of secondary data sources. The study is qualitative in nature and it utilizes content analysis for data examination. The data utilized were extracted from books, journals, articles, among others. These materials were chosen because of their relevance to the study. Masureen (2021) noted that the objective of content analysis is to deliver an explicit and lucid explanation of conceptual meanings. This is accomplished by inductive application.

## **1.3 Impact of Dynamics of Political Party Competition in Nigeria**

The extent of internal party democracy can affect the ability of political parties to compete effectively in the political arena. This is a function of the degree of extent to which internal decisions and procedures are formalized, routinized and internalized. It is also a measure of a party's coordinated structures throughout its target constituency. The procedures of doing things within a party have to be clearly known to members and applied consistently. Where there is deviation, there is likely to be rebellion within. The recent rebellion witnessed in the



PDP, leading to the defection of some of its high profile members to other parties provides a good illustration of this. To avoid rebellion where members can give consent to the change of procedures of policies. Inclusiveness within the party is characterized by accountability and openness, participatory process in policy choices, and feedback on outcomes. It is influenced by "people centred" principles conceived to embrace the idea that all "stakeholders should be a part of the decision making process. It is a process of ensuring that all marginalized or excluded groups are included in the decision making process. Decentralization involves a participative process of policy development in debates, consultation meetings and other platforms, and granting real power of decisions by all levels of the party on matters that concern them. The more a political party has internal democracy, the more cohesive it becomes and the more likely it is to compete favorably than those with lower levels of internal cohesion.

Of equally importance is that a party that does not respect its own internal rules is a danger to the system, it will be incapable of sustaining democracy or the rule of law.

#### **1.4 Ideological Institutionalization of Political Party**

The party system in Nigeria is characterized by the absence of a sharp ideological distinction among the actors, or clear positioning in the ideological space. Parties in Nigeria have weak historical and philosophical roots. In the absence of ideological distinction tendencies towards ethnicity, geopolitical zones and religion become prominent for party political competition in the country.

In Nigeria's First Republic, it is possible to say that ideologically, the NPC was conservative and elitist party, while the AG and NEPU appeared to be progressive and welfarist, predicated upon some Fabian socialist ideology. Even then, it may be difficult to delineate the very ideological orientation of these parties. They share a common feature of ethno-regional underpinnings, seeking to capture and consolidate power in their respective spheres. The situation was not too distinct in the Second Republic. In the aborted Third Republic, the government created and imposed two political parties on the citizens: the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Congress (NRC) The was quite obvious that the parties did not achieve the ideological differentiation expected expectation was that the SDP was to be a little to the left and the NIC's little to the rights of them (see, Jinadu, 1995; Lewis, 1994; Oyediran and Agbaje, 1991; Adejumobi, 1997) In the Fourth Republic, despite the huge



number of political parties in the country, ideology their memberships and policies 1, 2014). is yet to feature prominently in the competition among parties, in terms of how they draw their memberships and policies (Tijjani, 2014)

### **1.5 Impact of the Dynamics of Political Party Competition in Nigeria**

In Nigeria, the dynamics of political party competition have been influenced by a number of factors that shape the democratic process as seen below:

#### **1.5.1 Constitutional Regulation**

Section 222 of the 1999 Constitution as amended has limited the goals of all the political parties in the country to its provisions. The political parties are now limited to only the means and ways of achieving their end state. Thus, the political parties have no clear ideological differences to enable the electorate to ascertain what they stand for. Unlike the First Republic, the Fourth Republic is yet to witness electioneering campaigns that are issue based. The campaigns have been personality driven and at times heavily driven by parochial considerations. The programmes of the PDP and the APC, as provided for in their party manifestoes are very similar. They have only slightly different opinions on how to actualise them. Thus, there has been rapid movement of politicians from one party to another depending on which party treats the individual politician better in the latter's estimation. The electorate is becoming very confused as it cannot make really differentiates the parties seeking their support. The political parties are becoming less functional with little emphasis being placed on campaigns, as the focus is more on meeting the constitutional requirements for victory in elections. This has implications for voter turnout at elections.

#### **1.5.2 Political Elite**

One of the effects of political party competition in Nigeria is lack of political tolerance among the political elite. Some of the political elites emerged from authoritarian traditions that have no tolerance for any form of opposition. For them, opposition is treason. Thus, political party competition is a "battle" where the "adversaries" must be eliminated or denied space to compete. It is not seen as a contest where winners and losers would emerge but must cooperate to build and develop the country. Political intolerance often leads to abuses of human rights. The political elite has not drawn lessons from the past experience of Nigeria. This also has



implications for the deepening of democracy in the country (Tijjani, 2014).

### **1.5.3 Money Politics**

The nature and dynamics of political party competition in the country breeds corruption in the system. The pages of newspapers are inundated with endless lamentations about how corrupt Nigerian politics has become. The desperate struggle for political offices by political parties is for the perquisites of the offices and what those offices can offer to the political parties. In Nigeria, Governors have become essential players and are in very high demand by political parties because of the enormous resources at their disposal, including those of their local governments. Usually, substantial sums of money are also the leaders of their parties in their various states. There is scant separation between the ruling party headquarters and the Government Houses. Similarly, the President is also the Leader of the party at the national level with no clear separation between the 'ruling party' and the Presidency. Political competition has become excessively monetized without established mechanisms for effective regulation and monitoring.

### **1.5.4 Internal Democracy**

Political parties in the country are not fully operating within the norms of tends to affect political competition. Candidates for elective positions are sometimes democratic principles as well as established rules and regulations of their parties. This handpicked and imposed on the parties by the political leaderships arbitrarily without recourse to due process. Thus, a number of political parties are experiencing internal turmoil and revolt because of the arbitrariness that has become the norm of many of them.

### **1.6 Conclusion**

In conclusion, Nigeria's political landscape can be strengthened by incentivizing party consolidation, promoting policy-driven politics and enhancing regulatory oversight. It is our contention that political party competition remains a vital component of multi-party democracy.

In Nigeria, the dynamics of political party competition are largely influenced by historical and socio-cultural factors which have tended to produce political party systems that are not



ideologically based and which take their cue largely from primordial forces. This sometime lead to instability in the system as it experiences party splits, alliances and mergers. It most be mention that one of the major challenges affecting the dynamics of political party competition in Nigeria is that many of the politicians are no longer responsive to the electorates after the elections. It is common knowledge that many politicians in campaign speeches, debates and nominating conversions, make promises to the electorates when they know well they will not be committed to it. This overtime becomes a big challenge in consolidating the gain of democracy in Nigeria.

### **1.7 Recommendations**

The study makes the following recommendations:

- (i) The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should introduce criteria for effective party registration that prioritize policy coherence and national outreach rather than mere geographical spread to promote viable and issue-driven political parties that would enhance good governance.
- (ii) The Nigeria's electoral laws should be revised to encourage mergers and alliances among different parties that have similar political ideologies. This would foster a more consolidated and policy driven party system.
- (iii) Nigeria should implement targeted incentives for political parties to develop a clear and concise policy platforms, strengthen internal democracy and enhance transparency, while empowering INEC to enforce compliance and promote political party consolidation.
- (iv) To enhance political party development and governance in Nigeria, policy-makers should prioritize strengthening internal party democracy, implement electoral reforms that encourage party consolidation, invest in capacity building for parties to develop policy – focused platforms, and establish a reburst regulatory framework for effective oversight.



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