

Nigeria's Democracy in the Fourth Republic

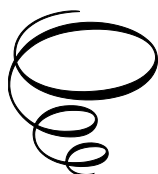
Nigeria's Democracy in the Fourth Republic

Edited by

Olawari D. J. Egbe

and Abdulrasheed A. Muhammad

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The return to democracy in 1999 which heralded the Fourth Republic, after decades of military dictatorship, was welcomed with wide expectations. However, almost three decades into the current republic, democracy in Nigeria has remained nascent and fledgling—one decimated by underwhelming feelings of dissatisfaction by the Nigerian people. This dissatisfaction with democracy in the country necessitated this edited volume, “*Nigeria’s Democracy in the Fourth Republic*”; the basic essence of which is to critically examine the continued downturn in democratisation in the country and to proffer the ways forward on how it be fixed.

We acknowledge all the contributors who saw the need to engage in this robust examination of Nigeria’s democracy in the fourth republic so as to extend the frontiers of democracy in the country. We will never thank enough all of those that supported and encouraged this academic endeavour by reading, and peer reviewing the earlier drafts and as well making valuable suggestions for improvement. We are grateful to Miss Ngozi Edeagu, Ph.D. Researcher (African History), University of Bayreuth, Germany, for proofreading the earlier versions of the manuscript and particularly Prof. (Mrs.) Egodì Uchendu, Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria Nsukka (UNN), who showed the way in encouragements, in invaluable advice, linkages and information.

An examination of Nigeria’s democracy since 1999 is definitely inexhaustive. As there have been several other edited collections that examined the earlier decades of the ongoing republic, this volume being a contribution reflecting on Nigeria’s democracy, is intended to further elicit critical analysis of the nation’s democracy until it becomes a stable and envious democracy from its present fledgling status.

FOREWORD

It is an honour for me to write the Foreword on *Nigeria's Democracy in the Fourth Republic*. I am aware that the editors are committed to academic scholarship with a deep interest in cutting-edge research on national and international issues. They are committed to interrogating and offering suggestions on strengthening and consolidating Nigeria's democracy beyond the Fourth Republic (since 1999).

Nigeria's Fourth Republic, which began in 1999, marked the return to democratic governance after several years of military rule. While there have been notable achievements and positive developments in Nigeria's democracy, there are also several persistent issues and varying perspectives on its functioning. This period has witnessed the implementation of democratic principles, including the holding of regular elections, respect for fundamental human rights, and the establishment of democratic institutions. Overall, Nigeria's democracy in the Fourth Republic has been characterised by both progress and challenges.

Nigeria's democracy in the Fourth Republic has witnessed progress in terms of electoral processes, the emergence of political parties, and the establishment of democratic institutions. However, challenges such as electoral irregularities, security threats, corruption, and socioeconomic issues persist and need to be effectively addressed to further consolidate democracy and improve the well-being of Nigerians. Nigeria has held several general elections during the Fourth Republic, including presidential, gubernatorial, and legislative elections, with varying degrees of success, failures and contestations. While these elections have generally been marred by irregularities, voter intimidation, and violence, there have been notable improvements over the years. Efforts have been made to strengthen the electoral system, enhance the independence of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and ensure greater transparency. The Fourth Republic has seen the emergence of multiple political parties, offering a wider range of choices for voters. Whereas, the two major parties are the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC), however, political party structures often face challenges such as internal conflicts, lack of internal democracy, and defections, which impact on the stability of the political landscape.

Nigeria has made progress in establishing and strengthening democratic institutions, such as the INEC, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). These institutions play crucial roles in ensuring the integrity of elections, protecting human rights, and combating corruption. However, they often face challenges related to funding, capacity building, and political interference. While civil society organisations and the media have played significant roles in promoting democracy, advocating for good governance, and holding the government accountable, there have been instances of government crackdowns on civil society groups and restrictions on press freedom, which undermine their effectiveness.

Despite the achievements and positive developments in Nigeria's democracy, there are also several persistent issues and varying perspectives on its functioning. The overwhelming expectations that the return to the path of democratic rule will lead to a conducive environment for human security and development soon became dashed hopes. Another set of challenges to democratic consolidation seen today relates to high levels of insecurity (insurgencies, banditry, terrorism), conflicts and even threats of civil war. The role of elections as a democratising tool has been called to question as periodic elections are far from being free, fair and credible. On the one hand, while democracy is still being preached as the 'only game in town', it lacks participatory content and empowerment, as 'people are being priced out of politics' as the highest bidders continue to buy their way into power.

Nigeria has faced significant security challenges during the Fourth Republic. These challenges have had profound implications for the stability of the country and the functioning of its democratic system. One of the most pressing security challenges in Nigeria has been the Boko Haram insurgency. The extremist group, founded in 2002, has conducted numerous attacks, including bombings, kidnappings, and massacres, primarily in north-eastern Nigeria. The insurgency has resulted in significant loss of life, displacement of populations, and a humanitarian crisis in the region. Nigeria has experienced recurring conflicts between herders and farmers, often stemming from competition over land, grazing rights, and resources. These conflicts, particularly in the Middle Belt region, have resulted in violence, loss of lives, and displacement of entire communities. The clashes have also taken on ethno-religious dimensions, exacerbating social tensions. The Niger Delta region has witnessed various forms of militancy and armed groups. These groups have engaged in activities such as pipeline vandalism, kidnapping, and attacks on oil installations. The underlying grievances include environmental degradation,

lack of development, and perceived marginalisation of the region despite its significant oil wealth.

Nigeria's diverse ethnic and religious composition has contributed to communal and ethno-religious conflicts. These conflicts often arise from disputes over land, resources, political power, or historical grievances. They have resulted in significant loss of lives, destruction of property, and the displacement of whole communities. In recent years, there has been a rise in banditry and kidnappings, particularly in the north-western and central parts of Nigeria. Criminal groups have targeted villages, schools, and transportation routes, abducting individuals for ransom and causing fear and insecurity in affected areas. These security challenges have had significant consequences for Nigeria's democracy. They have undermined the government's ability to provide security and basic services to citizens, created an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, hindered economic development, and limited the exercise of democratic rights, such as freedom of movement and participation in political processes. Addressing these security challenges requires a comprehensive approach that combines security measures with efforts to address underlying social, economic, and political grievances. It involves strengthening security forces, promoting dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms, improving governance and service delivery, addressing socioeconomic inequalities, and fostering inclusive and participatory governance.

The book is, therefore, not only timely and reflects the perspectives of scholars that were carefully selected to examine diverse issues and proffer far-reaching suggestions on strengthening Nigeria's Democracy in the Fourth Republic. The book also offers practical suggestions on how best Nigeria should strengthen its democracy in the fourth republic for the country's progress, stability, and well-being of its citizens. Some of the suggestions and recommendations include: Ensuring Free and Fair Elections; Promoting Political Participation and Inclusion; Enhancing Transparency and Accountability; Strengthening the Rule of Law; Protecting Freedom of Expression and Media Freedom; Enhancing Civic Education and Public Awareness; Strengthening Political Parties and Promoting Intra-party Democracy; Socio-Economic Development and Poverty Alleviation; Strengthening Regional Integration and Cooperation to Foster Democratic Stability; and Continual Review and Reform. I am happy to be associated with this noble and well-thought-out project.

I commend the Editors for bringing together refined and very reputable scholars and practitioners to contribute to this book Project. The book is strongly recommended as a veritable resource for Scholars, Practitioners and Students of Democratic Studies, Government and Political Science,

and all those who are genuinely and dispassionately interested in a Nigeria that is further consolidating its democracy and promoting inclusive and sustainable development.

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INTRODUCTION

INTERROGATING DEMOCRATISATION DEFICITS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

OLAWARI D. J. EGBE
AND ABDULRASHEED A. MUHAMMAD

The interest in editing this book, "*Nigeria's Democracy in the Fourth Republic*" was aroused by this worry: Why is Nigeria, one of Africa's biggest democracies in its Fourth Republic and already into its third decade (since 1999), still in democratic deficits heinous enough to derail the very foundations of democracy in the country?

This concern was orchestrated by an unusual chain of politically motivated events that have been experienced in Nigeria's polity since 1999 and; especially, those leading up to the 2019 general elections that engulfed the country's polity. Indeed, these developments triggered agitations and fear among Nigerians of the fate of democracy in the country. The polity in Nigeria, when the ongoing dispensation started in 1999, has remained inundated with several governance deficits (Obiyan and Amuwo 2015); which has led to the frustration of the hopes and expectations of Nigerians of the democratic era (Jega 2006). Indeed, the dashed expectations of Nigerians writ large and extends to every sphere of Nigeria's body politics (Adagbabiri and Okolie 2019).

A particular deficit that has threatened the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria has been the chain of conflicting judgments from the different courts in the country; especially from the Supreme Court of Nigeria, the apex court in the country. Recalling the chain of judgments of the Supreme Court of Nigeria bordering on the popular choices of the electorates that stirred agitated interests and fears that the Fourth Republic, the longest ever republic in Nigeria's political history may after all be in danger. One of such judgments concerns the governorship election in Imo State, South-East Nigeria, where a sitting governor, Senator Emeka Ihedioha of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), was removed from

office and in his place, Senator Hope Uzodinma of the All Progressives Congress (APC) who came up a distant fourth position among his fellow gubernatorial contestants, was pronounced as the winner of the 9 March 2020 gubernatorial election in the state by the Supreme Court. By the results of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Emeka Ihedioha polled 273, 404 ahead of his closest contestant Uche Nwosu of the of the Action Alliance (AA) who polled 114,676 votes, Senator Ifeanyi Ararume of the All-Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) came third with 96,458 votes. Meanwhile Senator Hope Uzodinma challenged the election of Emeka Ihedioha but failed in his bid at both the election petition tribunal and the appeal court. However, the Supreme Court of Nigeria declared that Senator Hope Uzodinma actually won the election and should be sworn in as the substantive governor of Imo State (Yahaya 2020a). In its ruling, constituted by a five-man panel of justices, the Supreme Court declared in its judgment read by Justice Kadirat Kekere-Ekum that:

Votes due to the appellant Senator Hope Uzodinma and the APC from 388 Polling Units were wrongly excluded from scores ascribed to the appellant (to them). It is, thereby, ordered that the appellant votes from 388 polling units unlawfully excluded from the appellant vote declared shall be added and that the first respondent, Emeka Ihedioha, was not duly elected by a majority of lawful votes cast at the said election. His return as the elected governor of Imo State is hereby declared null and void and accordingly set aside. It is hereby declared that the first appellant, Mr. Uzodinma holds the majority of lawful votes cast at the governorship election held in Imo State on March 9, 2019. It is hereby ordered that the certificate of return shall be issued to the first appellant, Senator Hope Uzodinma, forthwith and he should be sworn in as the governor of Imo State. (Yahaya 2020b)

Meanwhile, the judgment did not provide the details of the new results scored by other governorship candidates upon addition of the results from the controversial 388 polling units. This judgment by the apex court indeed upset the prevailing peace of the state.

Similarly, in oil-rich Bayelsa State, South-South Nigeria, on the eve of the swearing-in of governor-elect of Bayelsa State, David Lyon of the APC, and while he was undergoing inauguration rehearsals, the Supreme Court of Nigeria, constituted by a five-man panel of justices led by Justice Mary U. Peter-Odili upturned the peaceful political atmosphere in the state and the popular choice of the electorates in Bayelsa State with a judgment that declared Senator Douye Diri of the PDP, as the duly elected governor of Bayelsa State. David Lyon as governor-elect of Bayelsa State was disqualified on the grounds of name discrepancies of his deputy governor-

elect, Biobarakuma Degi-Eremienyo. The Supreme Court of Nigeria held that the actions of Degi-Eremienyo affect David Lyon since both of them ran on a joint ticket (Olabimtan 2020).

The foregoing Supreme Court judgments are connected to election-related deficits. Indeed, the conduct of elections has been a major deficit in Nigeria's democracy in the Fourth Republic. Election related violence prior, during or post-election periods which either contest election results widely believed to have thwarted the popular will of the electorates or aggrieved politicians rather than using the court of law to settle their electoral differences, often resort to instigating their supporters into violent demonstrations thereby causing mass killings, maiming, arson, etc., (Oni et al 2013; Omotola 2010). Insecurity in electioneering periods is also a major democratic deficit in Nigeria since the start of the ongoing republic in 1999. It is a worrisome development that security agencies deployed to keep peace during electioneering periods also demonstrate partisanship and are therefore complicit in committing heinous electoral frauds by either supporting a particular political party or a politician to have an unmerited electoral victory.

Democracy has been clamoured for not necessarily because it is desirable alone as a form of governance but because it will solve basic problems of Nigerians (Ake 1996). However, there is shortage of basic human rights, especially basic necessities of life. This has been a major hallmark of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Nigerians are noted in agitating such democratic deficits as the infringement on basic human rights as free speech as epitomised by the clamp-down on the democratic space such as the ban on Twitter in the country by the President Muhammadu Buhari administration; the right to demonstrate against unpopular policies of government; and the short supply of basic dividends of democracy such as the provision of infrastructure like electricity, pipe borne water, food, good roads, etc. General insecurity has been ripe since 1999 when the Fourth Republic started. For example, separatist agitations from various ethnic nationalities like the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB)/Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) from South-East, Nigeria, the insurgency in the Niger Delta from South-South Nigeria, agitations of the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) from South-West Nigeria; the dare devil kidnapping for ransom in various parts of the country; religiously motivated killings; farmers-herders clashes and killings and in particular, the heightened insecurity from Boko Haram terror in North/East, Nigeria, that has claimed many lives and which has qualified Nigeria as the second most terrorised country after Iraq (Omonobi 2022).

Corruption has remained a hallmark of Nigeria's Fourth Republic and a major democratic deficit in the country (Ogundipe and Ibekwe 2016). The worrisome magnitude of corruption instigated David Cameroon, former British Prime Minister, in saying to Queen Elizabeth II at the commencement of international anti-corruption summit in London in May 2015 that "We have got some leaders of some fantastically corrupt countries coming to Britain...Nigeria and Afghanistan, possibly the two most corrupt countries in the world" (Mwiti 2017). Assigning such a derogatory remark to Nigeria is unfortunately correct. Nigeria has consistently recorded very high percentage indices in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). For example, in the 2021 CPI ranking, Nigeria scored a CPI of 24% (i.e., rankings are done by countries' perceived extent of public sector corruption on a scale from zero (highly corrupt) to 100% not corrupt (UNODC 2019). Corruption in the petroleum sector in Nigeria remains the principal sector responsible for earning Nigeria such a high CPI. For perceived monetary gains, Nigeria is the only member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) that imports its refined fuel for domestic use; however, local refineries record an abysmal 1% utilisation of its three refineries in the country. The preference for importation rather than local refining is that it is corruptly enriching a set of privileged class of Nigerians.

A basic democratic deficit in Nigerian politics is that, in Nigeria politics is not about competition of ideas. Indeed, it is an anathema to think of politics in Nigeria on the basis of competitive ideas. Instead, politics in Nigeria is so commercialised that it is simply a display of who has the deepest pocket or sort of a race to control a casino (Tella 2022). Politics in Nigeria is a race to control the 'casino' in the state house; a scenario that has enthroned money bags, godfathers, etc., who invest their ill-gotten wealth in sponsoring their godsons to control the casino in the state house. A worrisome aspect of this politics of commercialisation is that the competition is often bloody. It is such an ignoble politics that Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the founder president of Tanzania, admonished African leaders that the state house should be seen as a holy place and not a place of a bounce of bandits. Died since 14 October 1999, the spectre of Nyerere still haunts Africa in dire need of such a rare political role model (Molony 2014). Regrettably, quacks, known thieves and the barely educated are the politicians who occupy Nigeria's state houses. Ethnicity and religion are the twin hydra found complicit in enthroning such men and women into positions of governance, the control of the various state houses in Nigeria and into the unethical thinking that it is our turn to eat (Levan and Ukata 2018).

The enormity of the afore-discussed democratic deficits is that the country has not gotten it right in the Fourth Republic, just as it was in the three previous republics. Whereas, it is the preponderance of similar developments that instigated the military to topple Nigeria's earlier republics, the fact that the military has not toppled the ongoing republic is definitely not on an account of what the political class has done well or is doing right. This is because the very political developments that compelled the military into truncating the earlier three republics (First Republic 1963-1966, Second Republic 1979-1983, and Third Republic 1992-1993) in Nigeria are ever present in the current dispensation. Probably, by dint of luck, the Fourth Republic (since 1999) is fortunate to have a submissive military institution; a submissiveness the political class has not built on to do things rightly for once.

This book addresses itself to the afore-discussed issues and many more not mentioned here that informed that have influenced and shaped recent political developments in the country. To do this, it thus, assembled a pool of scholarship across Nigerian universities to investigate, rejig and interrogate these developments in the Fourth Republic with the aim to enthrone a strong and enviable democracy in the country.

Scope of the Book

Beyond this introduction, this is a book of 24 chapters. Each chapter of the book explores a specific theme related to democratisation debacles in Nigeria since the commencement of the ongoing Fourth Republic in 1999. **Chapter one** by Temitope Peter Ola on, "Interrogating Sovereignty and Democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 1999-2019" argues that the start of the ongoing Fourth Republic (since 1999) opened a sea of expectations from Nigerians after traumatising years of military misrule. However, he quickly added that the much-desired expectations of Nigerians from an era of democratisation are still a far cry from being realised and short-lived because the very challenges such as internal colonialism that compelled military misrule are still commonplace. In **Chapter two**, Ibrahim Salawu and Mary Magdalene Sackflame considers, "Prospects and Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic". They express worry over the lack of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. They identify the challenges that have bedevilled democratic consolidation in Nigeria; however, they are optimistic that if fundamental issues of rule of law, election/political participation, and protection of human rights are addressed democracy hopefully be consolidated in Nigeria.

Chapter three by James Ocheni Obaka on, “Rerun Elections in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic: The Experience of 2019 Gubernatorial Election in Kano State”, contends that while Nigeria’s Fourth Republic marks the longest uninterrupted civilian rule in Nigeria with remarkable developments that have been recorded in the course of democratic struggles of the country; however, the issue of rerun elections have dashed the hopes of Nigerians as it has introduced vote cancellations as a result of the excesses of the politicians that adopt a do-or-die approach in their struggle to gain power. Obaka concludes that both the INEC and the security agencies need to be neutral for the conduct of genuine elections. In **Chapter four**, Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko, writing on, “The 2019 General Elections and the Imperative of Electoral Reforms for Credible Polls in Nigeria’s Future Elections”, is worried by the extent of incredible polls in Nigeria that have caused unending petitions and endless election tribunals. The author contends that electoral reforms is imperative if Nigeria is to lay a solid foundation for a stable democracy; and to achieve this feat e-voting, constitutional amendment, revision of the Electoral Act, regulation of political finance, and an inclusive electoral system, etc., should be considered as the ways forward. **Chapter five** still by Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko on, “An Assessment of Military Involvement in Elections in the Fourth Republic”, investigates the roles played by the military for election security during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria and its implications for democracy in Nigeria. The author notes that in course of the 2019 general elections, soldiers went beyond their mandate of providing electoral security and instead interfered with the electoral process by being partisan—supporting particular party, and politician against others. The author concludes that military deployment in the 2019 general elections was responsible for voters’ apathy and general insecurity.

Chapter six on, “An Empirical Assessment of the Role of the Supreme Court on the Consolidation of Democratic Practices in Nigeria”, by Cinjel Nandes Dickson and Achanya Julius John examines the roles of the Supreme Court of Nigeria in the sustenance and strengthening of democratic practice in Nigeria. The authors submitted that the Supreme Court has resolved several thorny issues and controlled the unethical activities of diverse institutions of government and political parties and their activities; and for the Supreme Court to continue to toe this path, the judiciary should be immune from executive interference.

Chapter seven by Kenneth Nweke and Ken Nwoko on “An Assessment of Executive Order 10 and the Financial Autonomy of State Legislature and Judiciary in Nigeria”, succinctly examines the posture and workings of the principle of separation of powers vis-à-vis its constitutional

underpinnings in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The authors appraised the constitutional relevance of the enactment of Executive Order 10 by President Muhammadu Buhari which intended to ensure the effective applicability of the principle of separation of powers at the state levels. The authors exposed the institutional improprieties among the three arms of government at the state levels in Nigeria as they carry out their statutory responsibilities. It, further, discovers that since 1999, state authorities are said to have variously compromised strict observance of the principle of separation of powers due to sheer negligence and abuse of constitutional provisions. The authors identify the over-intrusion of the executive arm of government on the legislative and judicial arms of government on constitutional powers relating to administration and autonomy as the culprit. The authors conclude that except there is a strict enforcement of Executive Order 10 by the federal government, the principle of separation of powers and particularly financial autonomy for state legislature and judiciary in Nigeria will be an illusion. Thus, they recommend a re-definition of the statutory boundaries of the different organs of government as enshrined in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) and other extant laws with a view to securing and sustaining financial autonomy for the state legislative and judicial arms of government.

Chapter eight by Japhet E. Yerima on the "Challenges and Prospects of Good Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 1999-2020", is agitated by the lack of good governance in Nigeria despite the popular usage of the phrase "good governance". Yerima notes that there is an irreconcilable nexus between good governance and democracy but the managers of the system have failed to exhibit the required leadership needed to move Nigeria's political system out of the woods. The author insists that the Nigerian state should imbibe the spirit of dogged democratic principles as lack of it have become a clog in the wheels of development over the years in the country. An assessment of "Good Governance and Democratic Rule in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 1999-2019", was undertaken in **Chapter nine** by Obasi N. Tobechei. By defining good governance as the capacity of government to cope with the emerging challenges of the society, being the ability to deliver goods to various stakeholders by making the various agents of political system work for the betterment of the citizens of the society, Tobechei undertook a critical review of the extent democratic rule in the Nigeria's fourth republic improves the idea of good governance, especially in the areas of participation, accountability, transparency.

Chapter ten jointly written by Lawal Abdullahi Oladimeji and Abdulmalik Jafaru Afegbua on "Political Parties, Opposition Politics and

Good Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 1999-2020", investigates the extent opposition political parties stimulates good governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. Oladimeji and Afegbua argue that through robust and constructive criticism, a weak and ineffective government could be replaced by a strong opposition political party in a competitive and just election. The authors insist that there a correlation between opposition politics and good governance with specific reference to advanced democracies such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America. However, the authors quickly noted that opposition politics has had little impact on good governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. This evident by the main opposition political parties having not been able to hold the government of the day accountable both in their conduct and in key policy issues. Consequently, good governance remains a mirage in the country as available records show widespread violations of the rule of law; heightened incidences of insecurity across the country; and worsening cases/allegations of corruption among top-government functionaries. The authors recommend that each political party in Nigeria must, as a matter of responsibility, clearly define their ideologies and reflect same in their respective party constitutions.

Corruption has taken a centre stage in Nigeria's political system. Ladan Ozayashi Nasirudeen (Doma) stressed in **Chapter eleven** on "Corruption and Money Laundering in Nigeria in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 1999-2019", the relationship between corruption and money laundering in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, which is having its implications on financial development. The author demonstrates how market displeasures and state displeasures strengthen each other and are at these same time elements of methodical corruption by authorities in the Nigerian economy through private and public sectors. The author further demonstrates that the corruption pandemic in Nigeria is a repercussion of its diligent insufficiency in the standard of law. Situated on the total breakdown of standards in the private and public sectors in Nigeria and the subsequent stultification of financial development, the author insists that the substance of institutional corruption in Nigeria has impacted on the comprehension of social equity and balance among individuals and subverts monetary execution. Similarly, Bose Olojede Ibukunoluwa in **Chapter twelve** on the "Impact of Corruption on Nigeria's National Development in the Fourth Republic, 2015-2019", insists that the fabrics of the Nigerian system are citadels of corruption and this menace by extension has become one of the unresolved long-term cankerworms that has continuously truncated development in the country. The author proffers pragmatic and informed solutions to curb the menace

of corruption and its resultant consequences in poverty, anarchy and underdevelopment.

Still on the subject of corruption, Adebola Esther Osegboun in **Chapter thirteen** on “The Political Economy of Corruption in Nigeria and Implications for Political Development”, argues that corruption continues to undermine development efforts in Nigeria—a country endowed with human and natural resources that are sufficient to root out underdevelopment and poverty. This is because the management of corruption by successive administrations has defied remedy which has, therefore, greatly eroded the values of democracy and submerged good governance in the country. Osegboun insists that politics has become a tool for wealth accumulation while the economy has been driven into decay. The author asserts that there is a nexus between corruption and underdevelopment, both of which underlies the decay in Nigeria's political economy. The author also interrogates the forms of corruption, and the cumulative influence of corruption on economic development, poverty alleviation and particularly, on good governance in Nigeria. The theme of corruption received further attention in **Chapter fourteen** by Boris Happy Odalonu on “An Assessment of Corruption in the Executive Arm and Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 2015-2019”. By critically examining the phenomenon of corruption in Nigeria with particular reference to the executive arm of government in the fourth republic, Odalonu observes that though corruption is a global phenomenon, the prevalence and magnitude of corruption in Nigeria is alarming despite anti-corruption measures put in place by the government to curb it. The author insists that the situation is worsened by the fact that the antigraft agencies charged with the fight against corruption all seem to be at a loss in fighting this menace.

In interrogating executive-legislature relations in Nigeria since 1999, **Chapter fifteen** by Efeiong A. Edet, Prince Chimezie Ohiaegbu and Samuel Effiong Edet on the “Executive-Legislature Relations in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 2015-2019”, examines executive-legislature relations under the President Muhammadu Buhari administration in Nigeria since 2015. The authors argue that the relations between these two arms of government have rather been conflictual on account of ego clash, intra and inter party rivalries, perceived executive dominance, etc.; thereby dampening the hopes and expectations of Nigerians in delivering the dividends of democracy. They insist on all relevant officials to prioritise the interest of the nation and its people on all matters and at all times and relegate every other interest to the background.

The internal workings of Nigeria's National Assembly comprising of the Senate, as the upper chamber and the House of Representative, as the

lower chamber was spotlighted in **Chapter sixteen** by Ovwasa, L. Onovwakponoko and Onimisi Timothy on “Inter-Chamber Relations in Nigeria’s National Assembly, 1999 – 2019”. The authors examine inter-chamber relations in Nigeria’s National Assembly from 1999-2019. They discover that in most cases the inter-chamber relations between the Senate and the House of Representatives are anchored on a power tussle and a crisis of superiority rather than building a strong relation towards democratic sustainability and stability. Isaac Iorhen Akuva, Mohamad Zaini Bin Abu Bakar and Moses Saa-Aondo Andza in **Chapter seventeen**—“The Legislature and Impeachment Processes in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic”, examines the manner in which the National Assembly (legislature) in Nigeria has fared in applying the instrument of impeachment and discovers that the National Assembly has violated the procedures of impeachment. The authors are, particularly, agitated by the abuse of the power of impeachment by the National Assembly in Nigeria. It, particularly, discovers that several impeachments undertaken by the National Assembly either did not secure the required quorums or impeachments were held in hotel conference halls instead of the hallow chambers of the National Assembly. They discover ambiguities in the impeachment procedures in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as the reasons responsible for the rascality displayed by the legislators. It, therefore, calls on the National Assembly to do comprehensive review of the relevant sections on impeachment in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria in order to unbundle the ambiguities in the provisions on impeachment and stringent legislations be put in place to checkmate legislators who violate impeachment procedures. **Chapter eighteen** by Osakede, Ijimakinwa, Adesanya, and Oshineye on “The Nigerian Senate and Corruption in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2020”, examines corruption in the Nigerian Senate in the Fourth Republic and discovers that there is hardly any probe undertaken by the Nigerian Senate while carrying out their oversight functions that has not indicted its members in the long run. To curb this menace and rebuild the battered image of the Nigerian Senate, the authors recommend that membership of the Nigerian Senate should be constituted by persons of sterling character.

By investigating the internal workings of political parties in Nigeria, **Chapter nineteen** on “Internal Party Democracy and Democratisation Process in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic: Focus on the Peoples’ Democratic Party, 1999-2015”, by Amos Olarewaju Olajubu was informed by the quest to investigate global best practices of democracies. The author submits that whereas developed democracies all over the world focus on internal party democracy through adherence to the rules and regulations

governing the practice of democratisation in order to enhance democratic consolidation, it discovers that the major problem of lack of internal party democracy and democratisation in developing countries like Nigeria largely depends on non-adherence to laid down democratic principles. To this extent the author, therefore, examines the issues and challenges of internal democracy in the PDP and its impact on democratisation in Nigeria. **Chapter twenty** on “The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic”, by Ishaku Hamidu, Akaknaya Wesley Hellandedu Gayus Mathias insists that while political parties remain the vehicle for a durable democracy in every democratic state; however, in Nigeria they lack internal democracy. It is true that political parties harmonise peoples' interest, present people for elections and form government if they eventually win the election, however, in Nigeria they are encumbered by voters' apathy, defection of party members to other political parties, electoral violence, proliferations of political parties, cancelation of election results, fragile democratic structures, disrespect for electoral laws and party guidelines, politics of godfatherism, etc., due to the absence of genuine intra-party democracy since the return to civilian rule in 1999. No doubt, these encumbrances are inimical to a stable and durable intra-party democracy in the country.

The return to democratic rule in Nigeria, no doubt, had witnessed mindless killing of innocent people in course of elections at national, state and local government levels. Worried by an unusual trend of careless killings in Kogi State, Nigeria, Yusufu Ahmed Audu in **Chapter twenty-one**—“Killing to Rule? Analysis of Electoral Violence and the 2019 Governorship Election in Kogi State, Nigeria”, examines the triggers of electoral violence in Nigerian politics and its implications for democratic consolidation with specific reference to the 2019 governorship election in Kogi State, Nigeria. Deploying both survey and documentary methods the results of the study showed that election rigging [MI=4.11] was the major trigger of electoral violence during the 2019 governorship election in Kogi State while the major nature of the violence was ballot box snatching by political thugs at gunpoint [MI=3.93]. Further findings reveal that loss of human lives [MI=3.99] was the major implication of electoral violence for democratic consolidation in the state. The author concludes that electoral violence will continue to define Nigeria's electoral democracy as long as politicians continue to view politics as a do or die battle. The author recommends, among others, that government should come up with policies that will lead to the reduction in the premium placed on money bag politics so as to make it less attractive to politicians with nothing to offer to the people. In line with the conclusions of the previous chapter, Musa

Saleh argues in **Chapter twenty-two** on “An Assessment of Political Violence in Bauchi State, Nigeria, 2007-2019”, that Bauchi State has continuously experienced electoral violence since 1999 up to 2019 where more than 200 people were killed and over 2000 people were displaced. Relying on John Paul Lederach’s “Peace Building Theory” as its tool of analysis and intended to identify the causes of political violence and the measures to mitigate political violence in Bauchi State, Nigeria from 2007 to 2019, Saleh reveals that in Bauchi State during the 2007, 2011 and 2019 post-election violence, many people were killed while others were displaced. The author maintains that for peace to rein in electioneering period government should reduce the high level of unemployment among youths in the state, the INEC election guidelines should be strictly adhered to and government and religious leaders should continue educate the electorates in the state and beyond on the sanctity of peace in elections.

Still worried by the spate of electoral violence across Africa and Nigeria in particular, Olu Awofeso and Kingsley Ogunne in **Chapter twenty-three**—“High Gains, High Stakes, Make It or Break It: Interrogating the Foundations of Electoral Violence in Africa”, submits that election is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Awofeso and Ogunne maintain that the supposed end refers to resultant political goods, development, peace, and progress democratic societies are expected to enjoy; however, the observed spate of electoral fraud, violence, money bag politics, prebendalism, vote buying, among other factors continually undermine and sometimes overshadow the progress made in democratisation efforts in Africa. The authors insist that while studies have highlighted the above factors as the bane of credible elections and threat to democratic consolidation in Africa, a deeper understanding of why these factors in the first place come into play in Africa’s elections is further desired. The authors, therefore, ask this central question: Why do African political actors invest enormous resources in elections and employ violence? The authors explain that the vast “access” political office holders have to state resources is the driving force behind the desperation to winning elections by all means. Taking Nigeria as its case study, the chapter argues that achieving much gains on the front of Africa’s democratic consolidation requires more than the strengthening of institutional frameworks for elections, as the ideology and perception of political actors towards the essence and acquisition of political power plays a very strong role in the overall engagement of these actors in electoral violence and other electoral vices. Consequently, the authors suggest that political offices be made less attractive by ensuring that the gains of winning elections, and the disadvantages of losing them are reduced to avoid the violence that a