

Primordial Politics and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an inquisition on the impact of primordial politics on democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. Data for the research was gathered from secondary sources including Books, Journals, Newspapers, Magazines, and the Internet. The analysis of the data gathered was based on the historical descriptive method which attempts to understand the phenomenon of primordial politics by determining its process of evolution, growth, and dynamic of internal changes. Findings revealed that socio-political and economic deprivation amounting to internal colonialism by one section of the country over the others has bred frustration leading to recourse to ethnicism as expressed in the pattern of voting. The paper therefore recommends, Constitutional amendments, rotational presidency and two party system as a panacea for nationalism.

KEYWORDS: Primordialism, Ethnicity, Ethnic Politics, Democracy, and Democratic Consolidation

How to cite this paper: Diri, Benjamin B | Godwin Isaiah Jaja "Primordial Politics and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic"

Published in International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development (ijtsrd), ISSN: 2456-6470, Volume-5 | Issue-2, February 2021, pp.812-821, URL: www.ijtsrd.com/papers/ijtsrd38537.pdf



IJTSRD38537

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Background to the Study

The multiethnic composition of the Nigerian state, seats solidly at the foundation of the structural politics of the nation. Ethnicism has become the major ethos for the measuring of contributions to national growth, an instrument for the allocation and distribution of power and national resources. The ethnic outlook of the Nigerian state post-independence is captured in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended (Sec. 153(1 c).

This is the Federal Character Principle" which is to ensure that all public service institutions in Nigeria fairly reflect the ethno-linguistic, religious, and geographical diversity of the country. Whereas the Federal Character Principle was considered as a panacea for unity in diversity, its foot hold on ethnicism in the Nigerian body polity has worked to ensure that the principle militates against the development of the country.

It is against this backdrop that the military disengagement from politics and the return of democratic rule in 1999, the Nigeria's fourth republic is characterized by ethnic sentiments which has given birth to the multiplicity and in most case the duplicity of ethnic militia groups with the intents to help her ethnic group grab and occupy the political space (Adams, 2003). The four major ethnic groups in Nigeria, viz Hausa, Ibo, ijaw and Yoruba all have a standing militia group which is an offshoot of the umbrella political group of each ethnic group. This sad recrudescence of ethnic politics and militia movement in Nigeria was squalor to the formation of the O'odua People's Congress (OPC) as a fall out of the annulment of the June 12, 1993 elections deemed to

have been won by Chief Moshud Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) a Yoruba man whose ethnic group occupy a vast portion of western Nigeria (Akubo. 2018).

As a follow up to the formation of the O'odua Peoples Congress in the west, the Northern Nigeria led by Sagir Muhamed, launched in December 1999, the Arewa Peoples Congress (APC). which many have argued, was as a reaction to the numerous communal clashes involving the Yoruba and Hausa communities and the role of the OPC in Lagos (Olayemh 2007)

The democratic landscape of Nigeria's fourth republic has been a subject of contestation for the occupation of the highest political offices by the political elites relying mostly on the strengths of their ethnically based militia group to shoot them to power. The decoy of power play for the soul of Nigeria using ethnically based militia group began with the demise of the Abiola struggle, the formation of the O'odua People's Congress which was partly used to the benefit of the Yoruba's with elections of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999, the Niger Delta militant also shot themselves and the region to prominence, when Dr. Goodluck Jonathan was picked for the position of Vice President ahead of the more popular Dr. Peter Odili, the choice of Jonathan may not be unconnected with the fact that he is an ijaw man, whose ethnic group constitute the fourth largest part in Nigeria, housing also almost all the oil-bearing communities, the mainstay of the Nigerian economy.

The tampering of oil facilities by the militia groups which had roughly and vigorously shaking the Nigerian economy to

its foundation such that the panacea for stability was the elevation and maintenance of Jonathan an Ijaw son at the highest seat of power in the land became a necessity.

The Boko Haram, though touted as a religious group has also succeeded in twisting the hands of power brokers to favour of the north. The Ibo's are the only major ethnic group who's militia group has not been able to attract the much-converted seat of presidency, though they have also benefited earnestly from the ethno linguistic sharing of power at the center. The fourth republic democratic experience is at risk of total collapse of what democracy should entail with the constant barrage of ethnic militia under current remote directing of democratic flow as many now are turned between obedience and loyalty to the Nigerian-state as parts of their civic duties to loyalty are obedience to ethnically based militia groups on the other hand political parties are always served between choosing a good candidate and a candidate from an ethnic group with the highest firepower.

Statement of the Problem

Quite like most other developing countries of Africa, in her quest for democratic consolidation, Nigeria has been at the receiving end of an ever increasing upswing in the activities and number of ethnically based militia group stemming from parochial politics exacerbated by the political elites. In this era of militant ethnicity, allegiance and loyalty have shifted from the state to the ethnic groups which are gradually eroding the spirit of nationalism and replacing same with parochialism and the authorities seem very helpless in the face on ever daunting demands of these ethnic militias for a fair share of the national cake.

As a result of the proliferation of militia by the major and some minor of the over 250 ethnic groups that makes up Nigeria putting each group at a collusion course against the other with a high casualty rate in human lives and property.

Nigeria is today ranked among the top 10 most dangerous African countries by the Global Peace Index (2012) as the activities of these groups have continued to challenge the authority of the Nigerian state as the only legitimate organ to hold instruments of coercion. The global peace index ranking is basically reserved for countries that are either affected by war, terrorism, political instability, and regular or sustained violence. According to Singer (2000), between 1999 when Nigeria reverted to democratic rule to the year 2000, more than 2000 people have died from sectarian and ethnic clashes. Even so today, the situation in Nigeria has gone pasts the scenario painted above by Singer (2000). The accurate number of the dead given to sectarian violence and militants activities may never be known, for example, Ukaogo, cited in Nwauwa and Korieh (2011) noted that between December 2011 and January 2012, over 10,000 Yorubas were lost in the northern riots, while another 215 innocent Nigerians including over 20 Ibos were killed unlawfully.

The resultant effect of these was a mass exodus of peoples from one region to the other creating colossal number of internally displaced people, political registered voters which not only triggered a decline in economic activities, and a high crime rate but also bred distrust amongst the citizens.

Research Questions:

In carrying out this research, we shall attempt to answer the following question;

1. What is Primordial politics?
2. How has primordial politics impacted democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic?

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study shall include the following;

1. The conceptualization of primordial politics as operated in Nigeria
2. Show the impact of primordial politics on democratic consolidation in Nigeria

The Concept of Ethnicism and Primordialism

According to Salawu and Hassan (2011), the term ethnicism like many other concepts in the social science discipline, does not lend itself to easy definition. To better appreciate the meaning of ethnicism, other related terms and concepts like ethnic group and ethnicity will have to be equally defined first.

Cohen, (1974) put forward a definition of Ethnic group as an informal interest group sharing kinship, religious and linguistic ties of whose members are distinct from the members of other ethnic group in a larger society. The communal character of the boundaries of an ethnic group makes them more of a social formation. In the view of Nnoli (1978,) the most distinguished character of an ethnic group is language. An ethnic group therefore is constituted by those who share common ancestry, common language and a common culture and are so recognized by others. Ethnicity therefore according to Nnoli (1978) is defined as the interaction among members of many diverse groups. While ethnicism is the loyalty allegiance and commitment to ones ethnic group. Geertz (1963) sees ethnicity as something that is fixed and permanent, having been assigned at birth, derived from the traditional ethnic and cultural heritage of human society.

Ethnicity in Nigeria is therefore a primordial phenomenon, touching at the very root of human existence given that primordial approach to the concept of ethnicity can be identified as the oldest in sociological and anthropological literature. it follows therefore, that ethnicity has to do with the identification of various groups from others, those distinguishing factors which stands out an ethnic group, given them a neutral existence and calling one to awareness and alertness about their existence. Such distinguishing factors are language, origin, ancestry and others such cultural features (Otite, 1990).

Having seen ethnicity as an interaction between and among various ethnic groups which on its own is uninominal to development. However, ethnicism which is an extreme points of ethnicity canny with it such negative connotation which manifests as an ejective attitude towards others who are not of the same ethnic stock. Ethnicity has been part of the Nigerian society before the advent of Colonialism, while ethnicism became the consequence of the ensuing competition for economic and political resources. Nnoli (1978) has described conflict as an important aspect of ethnicism. In his view, conflict is inevitable in the interaction and competition that ensures between ethnic groups for scarcely available resources.

Ajayi (1998) posited that ethnicity is a "Satanic tool" which must be expunged from the society at large as it now constitute major setbacks to Nigerian sociopolitical and economic stability and advancement.

According Aluko and Ajani (2009), in a relationship between an average Nigeria and the Nigeria state, the Nigerian think of himself first before others and when he or she does think of others, it is of his immediate and extended family. Then he or she can extend to other people of the town of his nativity and ethnic group from where the swings his allegiance, patriotisms and loyalty to his religion and or religious denomination before he can spare a thought for the nation at the final point. Every one they said, puts the nation last in the 'scheme of things as parochialism and utterances in defense of ethno-religious agenda takes center stage as against patriotism and nationalism as all loyalty and patriotism are reserved for ethnicity. From the forgoing, this paper agree with the argument of Nnoli (1978) that the Nigeria politics has presented an image of struggle among various ethnic groups from the sharing of National resources. The diverse background of the various ethnic groups has generate so much of ethnic skirmish arising from the fierce and tensed competitions amongst the people from the different ethnic groups for economic resources and political power. With the hue and arises of some of the ethnic group' against political and economic marginalization, the issue of ethnicity has further degenerated with arm struggles and militia movement in pursuit of ethnic dominance and political liberation.

Akubo (2014) has opined that ethnic militia movement which was a fall out of the June 12 1993 election annulment were formed mostly to defend a "cause" often related to ethnic interest, having access to coercive instrument are made more straightened by their daily face-off with security agencies, and other communities and or ethnic groups, he quickly added that the activities of the ethnic militia may never be regarded as rebellion as their ultimate aim is not to overthrow incumbent government. In response to the activities of the OPC, other ethnic group began to form militia movements. Specifically, the Arewa People's Congress (APC) and Ibo People's Congress, the APC lead by Sagir Mohammed according to (The News magazine 2000 p17) declared that the objective of the group is to "safeguard and protect northern interest, wherever it is and to respond to further attack on Northerner in any part of the country particularly Lagos State where OPC is unleashing terror on innocent and defenseless citizens from other parts of the country.

The Movements for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra led by Chief Ralph Uwajuerike is one such ethnic militia group championing the cause of the Ibos within the Nigerian state MOSSAB is one of the most vocal of all ethnic militia in Nigeria as she goes about campaigning for a sovereign State of Biafra, caves out from the south eastern parts of the present Nigerian State dominated by the Ibo with a vast Christian majority. On the heels of MOSSAB is another militia group championing also the cause of the Ibos and demanding for a referendum to ascertain the legality of the continued retention of Biafra land as parts of the Nigerian state. The Indigenous People of Biafra, (IPOB) led by Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, a diaspora radio presenter has mobilized scores of the youths in all the states of the federation, especially the 5 states of the south east to demand for an independent state for the Ibos. The IPOB which is at a loggerhead with the Chief Uwazuike MOSSAB has been disbanded and branded a terrorists group by the Nigerian State, while the leader Mazi Nnamdi was arrested on his arrival to Nigeria, prosecuted Mid Metained

Many in Nigeria believe that the only thing still holding Nigeria together as one according to Obianyo(2007) is all about what they could still get out of Nigeria as a group. Apart from the Arewa People's Congress (APC) representing the interests of the people of northern Nigeria every other group has voiced their willingness and readiness to secede from the Nigeria state. The O'odua People's Congress has threatened to secede in 1993 when Chief M.K O Abiola was denied his mandate. Other groups like the Niger groups from the time of IYC Kaima declaration in 1998 to the MEND resistant movement and recently the Niger Delta Avengers all have claimed sociopolitical and economic marginalization and the need for resource control or secession* the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, (MASSAOB) and the indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) had all cried foul in the share of political powers within the Nigeria state and the need to secede. However the APC silence on the matter of secession is viewed from the spectacle of the North having dominated the power the Nigerian independence. Rather than ask for secession, the APC has worked to settle the planned secession of other ethnic groups.

The Concept of Democratic Consolidation

The term democratic consolidation which originally was seen from the prism of surmounting the challenges that negates the making of new democracies secured in an attempt to extend their life expectancy by immunizing them against the threats of authoritarian repression (Shadler 1999). Ojo (2000) has expanded the concept of democratic consolidation according to Beetham,(1994) to include such divergent terms as popular legitimacy, civil supremacy over the military, including the systematic extermination of authoritarian enclaves, focus on party building mechanisms, the stabilization of electoral rules, decentralization of state powers, direct democracy, judicial reforms, poverty alleviation and economic stabilization and periodic elections(Andreas 1998). Whitehead (1989) in his summation, stated that it is believed that when democracy is built to have the capacity to withstand both external and internal pressure and or

shock and still hold tenaciously to the very principles of the electoral process, political freedom, accommodation of dissents and opposition views, then we have the best description of democratic consolidation or sustenance The imports of the above would set democratic consolidation to mean the building of strong civil institution to support the sustenance of democracy as 'against despotic and tyrannical strong man. The ability to adhere to the principles of periodic democratic free, fair and credible election to usher in transition from one set of governments operatives to another with minimal crisis that does not affect the credibility of the process. Democratic consolidation will further entails an ideologically based political party growth devoid of ethnic and or religious inclinations. As Diamond,(1997) puts it, democratic institutions, rules and Constraints of democracy become the sole legitimizing means for the attainment and exercise of political powers .

In line with views of this paper on democratic consolidation, Huntington (1991) has postulated a "two turnover" thesis as an indicator of democratic consolidation. He is of the view that when a reigning regime delivers a free, fair and competitive election in which a party that won election as the initial stage during the transitory stage looses in subsequent elections will hand over power to the winning

party and when the winning party loses it also hand over power in a peaceful atmosphere to the party that won, then democracy is said to be consolidated.

Since the return of democratic rule in 1999, there have been periodic elections which has ushered in and orderly change of government* elections were held in 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019, civilian transition has occurred in 2007 with a handover from Obasanjo to Yar'adua, again in 2011 from the Yar'adua-Jonathan to Jonathan, again from Jonathan to Buhari in 2015. This however does not in any way guarantee the sustenance of democracy as credible free fair election is still a far cry as the freedom of the people to select representative have grossly been eroded with the ever constant and consistent collusion between politicians, state institution" like the police, the military and the electoral body to manipulation the electoral process in favour of

a particular candidate and this phenomenon of electoral irregularities has increased in magnitude in every election thereby reducing the chances of democratic consolidation. (Ogbofinaya, Omoju and Udefuna, 2012)

Methodology

This study shall adopt the historical and descriptive method. The historical method is an attempt to understand the phenomenon by determining its process of evolution, growth and dynamics of internal changes. While the descriptive method on the other hand, attempt to understand the essential elements and characteristics of any careful inquiry and the critical analysis of primordial politics in Nigeria's forth republic. We shall adopt the secondary sources of data. Consequently the work shall rely on available materials on the subject matter of primordial politics as it affects democratic consolidations from relevant Textbooks, Academic Journals, Newspaper, Magazines, Governments publications and the World Wide Web (Internet).

Theoretical Framework

This work adopted the Relative deprivation theory.

The analysis of this research work is based on the theoretical frame work of the Relative deprivation theory. Relative deprivation is defined as an actual or perceives lack of resources required to maintain the quality of life, diet, activities and material possessions to which various

Socio-economic groups or individuals within these groups have grown accustomed or are considered to be acceptable more within the group. In general terms Relative Deprivation is that feeling that you are "worse" off or fallen behind your reference group. Relative deprivation suggest that people who feel they are been deprived of almost anything considered essential in the society whether money, rights, political voice or status will organize or form a movement to obtain that which they feel deprives. In many cases Relative deprivation has been the factor for incidences of social disorder like rioting, looting, etc. People who feel they are' deprived of resources which they are entitled to, often fall into this group when they indulge in disorderly acts to vent their grievance (Runcuman, 1966; Merton and Kitt. 1950)

To add more impetus to understanding the rise of primordial politics in Nigeria and the slid into milia movements, we shall take a pip into the explanation offered by Gurr (1969) "Why Men Rebel" " that the greater the discrepancy, the greater the propensity of aggression. It is believed that when a people are thwarted in their attempt to achieve their goal,

there is the likelihood they will strike at the source of their frustration. Having agreed that when people are angry the most probable response is to strike at the source of the frustration, we therefore agree with Anifowoshe (2000) observations that the origin of O'odua People Congress and other ethnic militia groups are traceable to the mass misgivings over perceived political marginalization, poverty and unemployment, collapse of social infrastructures and state welfare programmed as well as the perceive political and economic injustice meted on the people of other ethnic groups by the Hausa/Fulani group from independence through the years of military rule.

Primordial Politics in Nigeria

Nigeria was amalgamated in 1914 and attained political independence in 1960, however despite the facade of conviviality the country remain divided along ethnic and religious line still in search of nationhood. (Eremie, 2015). The political landscape of Nigeria has been entrenched in primordial ethnic political and tribal sentiments. Political parties formation from the colonial days has followed ethnic line rather than aim at national spread. Attempts at nationalistic outreach by some political parties was stoutly resisted as election was seen from the point of the ascendancy of one ethnic group over the other, (Nnoli, 1980). When the political space pre-independence was opened up by the Lyttleton constitution 1954, political party became a tribal and ethnic affair, the very essence of election which is to select capable, hands to manage the affairs of government was jettisoned for primordial parochial tribalistic and ethnic sentiments, as almost all political parties from then and beyond was formed along ethnic lines, with some conspicuously displaying name that never leave you in doubts of their origin and focus as shown in the table below.

S/N	NAME OF POLITICAL PARTY	NO OF STATES WON
1	Northern Peoples Congress	84
2	National Council for Nigerian and Cameroun	63
3	Action Group	20
4	Kamarun National Congress	6
5	UNIP	5
6	Idoma State Union	2
7	Middle Belt People Party	2
8	Igbirra Tribal Union	1
9	Nigerian Commoners Liberal Party	1
	Total	184

Source Zik (1961) in Eremie(2015) Issues in Nigerian Federalism.

The table above depict the deep seated ethnic tribalistic political outlook of the Nigeria state. The party that won the highest number of seats according to the table is specifically a northern based political party as the name suggest, it means therefore that only persons of northern extraction has the right to stand for election under the umbrella of the party, even though all the other parties are regional champions, the Idoma State Union and the Igbirra Tribal Union, seem more like a political party exclusively carved out for the Idoma people and the Igbarra people and with such name, the party does not in any way have the agenda of venturing outside the confine of their ethnic origin. This ethnically based politics is what the second Republic

Constitution tried to nip in the bud when it advocated for a certain percentage of geographical spread for candidates in either the presidential or governorship election to be declared winner. This same provision is been maintained by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended Section 134(lb) thus: "have scored not less than one quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two third of all states of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja. "for a candidate running for the office of the president with respect to a candidate for the office of a state governor, the constitution stipulates in section 179 (2b) that for a candidate to be declared winner, such candidate have score "not less than one quarter of all the votes casts in each of at least two-thirds of all the local government areas in the state"

The matters of ethnicisation of politics is so dare that the electoral Act 2010, section 102 states in clear term the criminalization of sectarian interest in the pursuit of public office.

The Act Stated thus:

Any candidate, person or association who engages in campaigning or broadcasting based on religious, tribal, or sectorial reason for the purpose of promoting or opposing a particular candidate is guilty of an offense under the Act and on conviction shall be liable to a maximum fine of ^ 1,000.000 or imprisonment for twelve months or both.

This law however has failed to deter politicians from appealing to ethnic and tribal sentiments in their quest to attain political office and yet never has it been once said of a conviction based on the provisions of this law, thereby emboldening the politicians to carry on their affairs with recklessness.

The Slid Into Militant Politics

The event of September 1951 when some members of the NCNC who had won elections into the Regional House of Assembly rather than have Nnadi Azikwe the leader of the party who is an U Ibo man become the premier of the western region dominated by the Yoruba ethnic group, swifched party in what is today known in the Nigerian Political balance as "cross carpeting" thereby giving Obafemi Awolowo of the Action group at advantage over Zik to clinching the premiership position of the region. This saga played out because according Mbadiwe(1989) Zik was an Ibo man, this singular action scuttled Jk&one of the few chances Nigeria had to entrench nationalistic politics, and from then upwards, ethnicity has sought to tire the fabrics that holds the Nigerian state together and clinch her soul.

The Nigerian state has made conscious efforts at investing in institutions and processes aimed at preserving the legal entity called Nigeria. This however has yielded little or no results as some parts of the components units that makes up the country felt cheated out of the political equation and common wealth and as such has reverted back to their ethnic and tribal lines to garner support towards braking into and occupying the political space at the center. This fight for the soul of Nigeria often elicit the services of ethnic militia men who goes to war on the behest of the elites whose ultimate aim is to achieve political position.

According to the founding president of OPC, Dr. Frederick Fasehun, the group was formed to "defend the rights of every Yoruba person on earth"(Newswatch 2006:p6) this

claim to defend the rights of every Yoruba, the descendants of Oduduwa, the mythological ancestor of the Yoruba, was born out of the perceived political alienation and marginalization in the hands of the Hausa-Fulani(Oyvind,2009).With over 5million membership drawn across the 5 state of western Nigeria,(Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun. Ondo and Ekiti) Kwara and Kogi in Central Nigeria, with supports from diaspora Oduduwa descendant in Ghana, Benin Republic, Liberia, Sierra Leon, Brazil, Germany, Jamaica, United Kingdom and the United States, the OPC professed to work for the unity of all people of Oduduwa decent, was able to attract high profile patronage from the masses and politicians who now use them to settle political score especially with the breakaway splinter group led by Ganiyu Adams in1999, the group which was later to become the new face of OPC had introduce the hard line militant dimension to the struggles.

With the continuous clinging to power by one section of the country, the others have no option than to explored their ethnic groups which has now given birth to ethnic militias. This militia groups are offshoots of other ethnically based sociopolitical groups which often serve as the apex political wing of the ethnic groups, while the other serve as the, militant wing. Eg. Afanifere is the apex pan Yoruba sociopolitical and cultural group, it serves as the highest political mouth piece of the Yoruba people of south western Nigeria, while the O'odua Peoples Congress is the militants wing, formed as a fall out of the denial of Chief M.K.O Abiola of his HOPE '93 presidential election mandate, the groups agitation for the recognition of Abiola as the winner of the June 12, 1993 presidential election, which has on many occasions pitched the group against citizen from other parts of the country, arguably paid off with the election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo a retired army general and former head of state, as the next civilian president of Nigeria. Having first formed a group to function as a counter weight to the activities of the OPC, the Ij aw National Congress gave tacit support for the formation of the Ijaw Youth Council is the militia wing of a more politically focused Ij aw National Congress (INC) leading to the 1998 Kaima Declaration and the agitations for resources control. The "Oil war" that follows the Kaima Declaration, and the birth of other militia groups which violently contesr for political space within the Nigerian federation, the resort to kidnapping and hostage taking as both political and military strategy to bring international attention to the plight of the people of the Niger Delta region, the incessant vandalization of oil facilities which drastically reduce the oil output and by extension the revenue accruable to the federal government, not only created awareness of the happenings in the region, it also soften the grounds for the election of a son of the region Dr. Goodluck Jonathan to the office of the Vice president and eventually the president upon the demise of president Umaru Yar'Adua. Without the violent contestation and sustained media war by the Niger Delta militants, it may have been difficult for a minority ethnic group like the Ijaws inHamh the "black gold" that has sustained the Nigerian economy since 1956 to be remembered for the exulted office of the president.

The activities of the Boko Haram sect which increased during the administration of Dr. Jonathan prompting Chukwumenje (2011) to posit that "Boko Haram was part of Northern agenda to capture presidency in 2015, as Niger Delta militancy paves the way for the south south to produce

the president", indicating that political office has taken a compensatory character as Obasanjo in 1999 was to compensate the Yorubas for the events of 12th June 1993 and Goodluck Jonattan to compensate the Niger Delta for the many year of neglect, economic emasculation and environmental degradation.

Like the Yoruba and Ijaw nations, the Hausa/Fulani group in Northern Nigeria has the Arewa Consultative Forum and the Northern Elders Forum as the political mouthpiece of the people, however upon the formation of O'odua Peoples Congress in 1994 by the Yoruba ethnic group, the North led by Sagir Muhammad also formed the Arewa Peoples Congress on 13th December 1999, a move which many viewed as an attempt to create a Bi-polar power structure given the antecedents of the O'odua People's Congress, the group which was structure to be the militant wing of the Arewa Consultative Forum, soon began to engage in pitched battles with OPC in Lagos and MASSOB and others, in Kano and other parts of northern Nigeria (Abubakar, 2010). The fears of Chukwumenje, was made manifest when in the heat of the Boko Haram "insurgency" Mohammadu Buhari, of the Hausa/Fulani extraction won the 2015 Presidential election, defeating for the first time an Incumbent seating president. This feat is thought to be as a result of the sustained media propaganda employed by the Arewa Peoples Congress (APC), using the Boko Haram insurgency to actualize an already orchestrated northern Agenda. Of particular note, is that apart from the Arewa Peoples Congress, all other groups at one time or another have called for an existence outside the Nigerian Federations situation Obianyo (2008) said is as a result of the fact that the north has been in control of political power in Nigeria for a greater part of Nigeria's existence as an independent state, while those asking for separate existence has been marginalized from power, economic control and social provision.

Quite like Chukwumerije (2011) has noted, the Ibo group is the only major ethnic group in Nigeria that has failed to clinch the seat of an executive president. The Movements for the Actualization of the Sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB) led by Ralph Uwazurike came to be in the year 2000 with an unsuccessful attempt to rejuvenate the secessionist state of Biafra by hoisting a flag in Aba, an event which was promptly quelled by the federal government. During the events the group demanded for a separate state from Nigeria, while expressing concern about the declaration of Sharia law in some parts of the north. (Ogunnaike 2000)(Weekly express

2000). The failure of the group to properly articulate and present the demands of the Ibo ethnic group has prompted a split within its rank given birth to the Nmadi Kanu led Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Kanu who has used radio propaganda machinery to mobilizing a substantial number of youths from the region, was arrested on arrival in Nigeria from the United Kingdom. The group has since been branded as terrorist and proscribed by the government after series of clashes with security operatives in almost all cities in the eastern part of Nigeria. Though both MASSOB and IPOB are at each other's throat, they have Also failed to attract the blessing of Ohanaeze the apex socio political Pan Igbo group The disconnect between the political and militant Igbo based group is thought to have hindered that part of the country from clinching the presidency, though the efforts IPOB did not all go unnoticed and unrewarded as Peter Obi a former governor of Anambra state was picked as a running mate for Atiku Abubaka the Peoples Democratic Party(PDP) presidential candidate in the 2019 election, a feat for the first time achieved by the Ibos in a major political party in the present 4th republic

IMPACT OF PRIMORDIAL POLITICS ON DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION:

One of the basic qualities of democracy is periodic elections, election being an avenue for the presentation of qualify candidates with proven leadership abilities to face the challenges' governmental administration. Ethnicity, primordial politics and the slid into militant resistance 'have set the hands of clock backward in the push for efficiency and effectiveness in democratic consolidation.

According to Mazuiri(2001) ethno religious factors remain one of the forces that contributes greatly to the socio-political instabilities in the country, he however linked the Sharia advocacy in the north to being peripheral in the Nigeria politics and power configuration. The existence and patronage of ethnic militia is another avenue of threat to democratic consolidation, aside from hindering free, fair and credible elections, which is panacea for democratic sustenance, it engenders electoral fraud, as some of these militia serves a political thugs during elections.(Oladiran 2013). Operating democracy at the dictate, pleasure and the whims of ethnic militia as noted by Chukumerije (2011) will continually throw up mediocre who are in the good books of some ethnic war lords to be placed in positions of the trust without any proven ability to deliver, thereby ensuring sulog in the wheels of democratic progress and consolidation.

**Table 3.2 Results of President Election 2011 and 2015 by state between the two leading party candidates
Mohamadu Buhari (CPC& APC) Goodluk Jonathan (PDP)**

S/NO	STATE	2011		2015	
		PARTY SCORE (CPC)	PARTY SCORE(PDP)	PARTY SCORE (APC)	PARTY SCORE (PDP)
1.	Abia	3,743	1,175,984	13,394	368,303
2.	Adamana	344,526	508,314	374,701	251,664
3.	Akwa/Bom	5,348	1,165,629	58,411	953,304
4.	Anambra	4,223	1,145,169	17,926	660,762
5.	Bauchi	1,315,209	258,404	931,598	86,085
6	Bayersa	691	504,811	5,194	361,209
7.	Benue	109,680	694,776	373,961	303,737
8.	Bornd	909,763	207,075	473,543	25,640
9	Corss Rivers	4,002	709,382	28,368	414,863
10.	Delta	8,960	1,378,851	48,910	1,211,405
11.	Ebonth	1,025	480,592	19,518	323,653
12.	Edo	17,795	542,173	208,469	286,869
13.	Ekith	2,689	185,009	120,331	176,466

14.	Enugu	3,753	802,144	14,157	553,003
15.	Gombo	495,898	290,376	361,25	98,873
16.	Imo	7,591	1,381,357	133,203	559,185
17.	Jigawa	663,994	491,252	885,988	142,904
18.	Kaduna	1,624,543	1,190,179	1,127,760	484,085
19.	Kano	1,624,543	440,660	1,903,999	215,779
20.	Katsina	1,168,919	428,392	1,345,441	98,937
21.	Kebbi	501,433	369,198	567,883	100,972
22.	Kwara	83,603	268,243	302,146	132,602
23.	Lagos	189,983	1,281,688	792,460	632,327
24.	Nasarawa	278,390	408,997	236,838	273,460
25.	Niger	652,574	321,429	657,678	149,222
26.	Ogun	17,654	309,177	308,290	207,950
27.	Owao	11,890	387,376	299,889	257,368
28.	Osun	6,997	188,409	383,603	24,929
29.	Oyo	192,396	484,758	528,620	303,376
30.	Plateau	356,551	1,029,865	429,140	549,615
31.	Rivers	111 OA	1817,762	69,238	1,487,075
32.	Sokoto	13,182	309,057	671,926	152,199
33.	Taraba	540,769	451,354	261,326	310,800
34.	Yobe	257,986	117,128	446,265	25,526
35.	Zamtara	257,986	238,180	612,202	144,833
36.	Kogi	132,201	399,816	264,851	149,987
37.	FCT	13,576	253,444	146,399	157,195
Total	12,250,753	22,615,416	15,428,921	12,853,162	

Sources: Nick Tattersall (Reuters) <https://www.reuters.com/article/nigeriaelectionresults-iafdlde73g05b20110418-retrieved> on the 6th of July, 2019; Presidential election liveupdate- <https://www.pulse.ng/Nigeria-elections-2015-presidential-results-announcedliveupdate/OUpmde8>. Retrieved on the 6th of July 2019.

The analysis of the two presidential elections results between the two candidates within a 4 years period, shows some similarities in the pattern of voting. The synthesization of the election results shows a voting pattern based on some primordial sentiments and inclination. While Mohammadu Buhari secured more votes in both elections from the northern part of the country, Goodluck Jonathan also dominated the results from the Southern part of the country. The core northern state as shown in the table gave maximum vote to the candidate of CPC/APC, who is a Muslim northern while the south south and south east votes went to Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP a Christian southern from Bayelsa State. The CPC/APC candidate Mohammadu Buhari in both elections secures massive votes from Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Bauchi state given that he is a Muslim from Kartsina state and these states are predominately Muslim states. However Goodluck Southern raked in a good number of votes from Kaduna state in the 2011 elections given also to the percentage of Christian population in that state, while the reduction of the votes accruing to the PDP in 2015 from Kaduna State could be linked to the increased death toll of the Christians population within the period arising from attacks by the Boko Haram sect or communal clashes.

In both elections, Goodluck Jonathan of (PDPD) won massively in all the south south states and south east state, this pattern of voting is traced to the fact that PDP candidate is himself from the south south region and a Christian while his wife Patience Jonathan has a link to the Ibo dominated south east state through her maternal grandmother. The voting as we sees it here in a battle of the son Avhile the north in claiming Buhari as their son, the south especially the south south region sees Jonathan as one of them accounting for the massive votes they both enjoy from their region.!

Table 3.3 Showing results of presidential election 2011 from Northern and Southern States

S/N	States	PDP	CPC	States	CPC	PDP
1	Adamawa	508,314	344,526	Abia	3,743	1,175,984
2	Bauchi	258,404	1,315,209	Akwalbom	5,348	1,165,629
3	Benue	109,680	694,776	Anambra	4,223	1,145,169
4	Bornu	207,075	909,763	Bayelsa	691	504,811
5	Gombe	290,376	495,898	Cross River	4,002	709,382
6	Jigawa	491,252	663,994	Delta	8,960	1,378,851
7	Kaduna	1,190,179	1,339,245	Ebonyi	1,025	480,592
8	Kano	440,660	1,624,543	Edo	17,795	542,173
9	Katsina	428,392	1,168,919	Ekiti	2,689	185,009
10	Kebbi	369,198	501,453	Enugu	3,703	802,144
11	Kogi	399,816	132,201	Imo	7,591	1,381,357
12	Kwara	268,243	83,603	Lagos	189,983	1,281,688
13	Nasarawa	408,997	278,390	Ogun	17,654	309,177
14	Niger	652,574	652,574	Ondo	11,390	387,376
15	Plateau	1,029,865	356,551	Osun	6,997	185,409
16	Sokoto	304,057	540,769	Oyo	92,396	484,758

17	Taraba	451,354	257,986	Rivers	13,182	1,817,712
18	Yobe	117,128	337,537			
19	Zamfara	238,180	624,537			
	FCT	253,444	131,576			
	Total	8,653,900			391,428	13,940,271

Source: Adapted from presidential election liveupdate date. <https://www.pulse.ng/Nigeria-election-2015-presidential-results-announcedliveupdate/0vpm628>.

3.4 Table showing presidential election results from South South and North West State

S/N	States	PDP	CPC	States	CPC	PDP
1	Akwalbom	1,165,629	5,348	Jigawa	663,994	491,252
2	Bayelsa	504,811	691	Kaduna	1,334,244	1,190,179
3	Cross River	709,362	4,002	Katsina	1,624,543	440,666
4	Delta	1,378,851	8,960	Kebbi	1,163,919	428,392
5	Edo	542,173	17,795	Sokoto	501,453	369,198
6	Rivers	1,817,762	13,182	Zamfara	624,515	309,057
7						238,180
		6,118,608	49,978			
					6,417,437	3,466,924

Source: Adapted from Nick, T. (2011)

3.5 Table Showing Presidential Election Results from Northern and Southern State 2015

S/N	States	PDP	CPC	States	CPC	PDP
1	Adamawa	374,701	251,664	Abia	13,394	368,303
2	Bauchi	931,598	86,085	Akwalbom	58,411	953,304
3	Benue	373,961	303,737	Anambra	17,926	660,762
4	Bornu	473,543	25,640	Bayelsa	51,194	361,209
5	Gombe	361,245	98,873	Cross River	28,368	414,863
6	Jigawa	885,988	142,904	Delta	48,910	1,211,415
7	Kaduna	1,127,760	484,085	Ebonyi	19,518	323,653
8	Kano	1,903,999	215,779	Edo	208,469	286,869
9	Katsina	1,345,441	98,937	Ekiti	120,331	176,466
10	Kebbi	567,883	100,972	Enugu	14,157	553,003
11	Kogi	264,851	149,987	Imo	133,253	557,185
12	Kwara	312,146	132,602	Lagos	792,460	633,327
13	Nasareawa	236,836	273,460	Ogun	308,290	207,950
14	Niger	657,678	149,222	Ondo	299,889	257,365
15	Plateau	429,140	549,615	Osun	383,603	249,929
16	Sokoto	671,926	152,199	Oyo	528,620	303,376
17	Taraba	261,326	310,800	Rivers	69,238	1,487,075
18	Yobe	446,265	25,526			
19	Zamfara	612,202	144,833			
	FCT	146,399	157,195			
	Total	12,384,896	3,854,115		3,050,31	9,006,054

Source: Adapted from Nick T. (2011)

3.6 Table showing presidential election results from North West and South South State 2015

S/N	States	PDP	APC	States	PDP	APC
1	Jigawa	142,904	886,988	Akwalbom	953,304	58,211
2	Kaduna	484,085	1,127,760	Bayelsa	361,209	5,194
3	Kano	215,779	1,903,999	Cross River	414,863	28,368
4	Katsina	98,937	1,345,441	Delta	1,211,415	48,910
5	Kebbi	100,972	567,883	Edo	286,869	208,469
6	Sokoto	152,199	671,926	Rivers	1,487,075	69,238
7	Zamfara	144,833	612,212			

Source: Adapted from presidential election live update. <https://www.pulse.ng/Nigeria-election2015-presidential-results-announcedliveupdate>

The tables above is clear pointer to primordialism as votes are cast in line with regionalism and religious inclinations in mind. Buhari of the CPC/APC won comfortably in his northern region and more comfortably in his North West, so is the case with Goodluck Jonathan who command majority vote in the southern part of Nigeria and lead with overwhelming majority in the south South region. This sentimental inclination in a democratic setup in an anathema to democratic consolidation and development. The practice which is anchored in mutual suspicion is gradually becoming a norm which only a carefully designed and implemented national orientation programme can answer to.

Conclusion

The incidences of militia activities and the threat it poses to democratic consolidation are myriad, manifest and glaring. The unfolding events within the polity indicate that primordial ethnic sentiment and militancy has taken over the essence of federalism, every time an election is proposed; the upsurge in sectarian crisis tends to direct the pendulum as to which ethnic group should produce the next leader and at which stage. Even though some foundation has been laid for the flourishing of democracy, haven had an unbroken civil rule from 1999 to date, a period spanning over 20 years, the calm acceptance of militia war lords as ethnic king makers in some areas and their grandstanding incursion into politics as repentant militant will further give these ethnic jingoist the platform to propagate and solidify their ethnic superiority and impose same on the rest of the country.

If the trend of ethnic chauvinist intrusion and dictation of the political direction of our democracy is left unchecked, the tendency is that, at some point the democratic space will be a committee of ethnic war lords, and who ever amongst them with superior fire power will be the leader.

Recommendations

The emergence of ethnic militia is traceable to agitation due to socioeconomic and political marginalization and internal colonialism, we therefore recommend as follows:

1. A review and amendment of the 1999 constitution to include rotational presidency between the six geopolitical zones. This will reduce the tension that always greet every general elections on which zone to produce the next president or the senatorial district where the next governor should come from.
2. A review of the revenue allocation formula, to increase allocation on the basis of derivations, this will be a wakeup call for other state to look inward and tap into their natural resources for their development.
3. 90% of the militia men are youths who are mostly unemployed, the diversification of the economy toward agriculture, tourism and manufacturing will gainfully employ a vast majority of these youths and make them unavailable for use by the political class during and after elections.

A carefully implemented two party system to enhance and encourage national integration towards the match to nationhood.

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