

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ELECTORAL LOGISTICS AND CHALLENGES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA, 2019-2025

Okonkwo, Clement Nwafor¹; Obiora, Charles Arinze²; & Igboaka, Peter Nwachulwu³

¹Department of Political Science, Madonna University Nigeria, Okija Campus

²Department of Political Science, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University (COOU)

³Unizik Business School, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State

nwaclemsoko@yahoo.com / okonkwo.clement@madonnauniversity.edu.ng

Abstract

Good governance has been the central focus and the fundamental objective of every democratic dispensation, paradoxically, it appears to be elusive. Therefore, this study observed that the nexus between good governance and electoral logistics has not received enough scholarship hence the study is fashioned to unravel the fundamental linkages between the two concepts. Ex-post facto research design was utilized and the data for the study were sourced secondarily through Documentary method of data collection. The data so collected were analyzed with the aid of tables through Content analysis. Theoretically, Marxian theory of Social Production and Reproduction of Material Value was adopted as the theoretical fulcrum around which the study revolved. The theory maintained among others that for anything of material value to be produced, it must involve two or more persons and in the production parlance, the parties are interested in satisfying their selfish needs. However, the study found that the electoral expenses in the form of logistics tend to derail the leaders and brought about the erosion of the anticipated good governance in Nigeria within the period under investigation. Hence, we recommend that the government and the electorate should reduce the cost of election through the amount the tickets are sold to the politicians. On the part of the electorates, they should stop encouraging vote buying and vote on integrity of the candidates for the political positions.

Key words: Electoral Logistics, Good Governance, Marxism, Political Economy and Vote Buying

Introduction

The need to shove off the despondency of living in the State of Nature, where Hobbes (1651) characterized life as being solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short necessitated the need for migration to a politically organized society, where there is rules and regulations governing human actions and inactions. Describing the importance of living in a politically organized enclave, Appadorai cited in Okonkwo and Unaji (2016) intoned that when we observe the life of men around us, we cannot fail to understand two facts, which maintained that, as a rule, every man desires to have his own way, to think and acts as he likes; and at the same time, everyone cannot have his own way, because he lives in society, where one man's desires conflict with those of another. The relations of the individual members of society with one another, therefore, need

regulation by government. In addition to the promulgation and execution of laws for the regulation of the activities of men in the society, the government still reserves the fundamental right and responsibility of provision of essential needs of the citizens through good policies and programmes, in other words, good governance. In line with this, Bentham (1789) propounded the Utilitarian Theory, which implies that the best government should ensure the happiness of the majority of the citizens through the good governance.

Historically, considering the sparse nature of the population in Greek City State where democracy originated, citizens participated in the decision-making processes of the government directly. As the population grew larger, the possibility of converging at a particular venue to take decision on an issue confronting the populace became so difficult, hence the adoption of indirect democracy, which gave room for selection of a body of persons to man and control the affairs of the state in the name of government (Nnoli, 2003). Essentially, the major reason for organizing men under an umbrella called government is for good governance. By implication, the processes and the accompanying logistics for the institution of the government become pertinent factors for actualization of the good governance. Conventionally, a citizen who aspires to occupy any political position must officially and as a matter of necessity belongs to a political party, where he will contest in elections. Before the contest in general elections, the positions at the federal, state and local government levels such as presidency, senate, house of representative, governorship, house of assembly, chairman and councilors have forms which the prospective contestants are mandated to purchase as a way of registration for the elections.

More so, electoral activities such as campaigns and political rallies as well as lobbying and vote buying are capital intensive to the contestants, which the contestants needed to recoup in the course of his administration. This is so because a rational capitalist cannot invest in any business that is incapable of profit maximization. For Ogban (2005), no rational being will ordinarily take decision that is not favourable to him or his loved ones. On the above backdrop, this paper observed deficiencies in delivering good governance to the people of Nigeria and interrogated same with electoral logistics. However, the gamut of existing body of knowledge has not empirically interrogated the nexus between the electoral logistics and good governance in Nigeria from 2019 to 2025, which was majorly the second segment of President Buhari's and the initial part of President Tinubu's administrations. Therefore, this serves as a lacuna, which the study intended to fill. Structurally, the study is arranged under the following paradigms: clarification of electoral logistic and conceptualization of good governance, methodological underpinning, electoral logistic and good governance in Nigeria, conclusion and recommendation.

Clarification of Electoral Logistics

Electoral logistics in all intents and purposes serves as the independent variable in this study, which implies that the understanding of the whole discourse is dependent on the understanding of the concept. By a way of clarification, election, which involves selection of citizens to form government and man the activities of the state, has some inherent processes. Those processes undertaken by the electoral actors (INEC, the political parties, candidates and the electorates)

have some financial implications on the above mentioned four bodies. The processes and the corresponding financial demands are conceived as electoral logistics in this study. On the part of the state, through the electoral commission known as INEC, it has to constitute an electoral body that would be paid to conduct the elections, by providing the electoral material such as voter's cards, ballot boxes and papers. The political parties, among others form a recognized and prerequisite platform for a candidate to emerge and contest in elections. Whereas the candidates are expected to bear the financial responsibilities of supporting his or her party, purchase forms, bear the financial burden of electioneering campaign exercise, involve in lobbying and vote buying. On the part of electorate therefore, they are expected to register for the elections by getting the voters cards and exercise their franchise on the day of election (Aja-Akpuru-Aja, 1998).

Be that as it may, the electoral logistics comprised of all the paraphernalia of the socio-economic and political responsibilities of the three actors in the electoral processes. In as much as the financial burdens in elections are borne by the three actors in electoral process, the special emphasis of this study is on the side of the candidates, who have personal economic interest in venturing into the political contest and are at the same time expected to dish out good polices and programme for the citizen, which will manifest in good governance. However, the study advances that the huge financial expenditure in the name of electoral logistic has significant bearing with the challenges of good governance in Nigeria. Hence, the study interrogated the nexus between the electoral expenditures of the occupants of political positions and the good governance of the state.

Table 1: Electoral Actors and Election Logistics

S/N	Electoral Actors	Election Logistics	Descriptions
1	INEC	Provision of electoral materials and registration of political parties	The INEC is responsible for the election and provides the templates for the whole electoral activities, provide electoral materials , register political parties and monitor the processes.
2	Political Party	Selection of candidates, through party primary	The political party is the fundamental platform from which a candidate declare interest and contest election therefore, a candidate should lead the fundraising in his or her political party
3	Candidate	Purchase of party tickets/forms, campaign, lobbying and vote buying	A candidate vying for any political office must as a matter of necessity purchase the interest form or ticket that qualify him or her to contest in an election, sponsor electioneering campaign, lobby and engage in vote buying
4	Electorate	Voting in election	The electorates reserve the roles of registering and voting in an election. In the course of playing their constitutional roles in an election, they expect tips through lobbying and vote buying in elections.

Source: Compiles by the Authors

The table 1 above simplified the roles and responsibilities of the electoral actors on the election logistics in an election. The INEC as one of the actors provides the templates, election materials, registers political parties and monitors the general process. Political party serves as a platform where candidates are groomed and selected for an election. The candidate on his own part undertake the responsibility of buying the form, engage in electioneering campaign, lobby and buy votes from the electorates, the electorates on their own participate through registration to get voter's cards and finally exercise their franchise.

Conceptualization of Good Governance

Good governance has been in front burner so long as Political Science is concerned. Notwithstanding the familiarity and self-explanatory nature of the phrase in the Political Science diction, it needs clarifications in this study. As a result, this segment of the study is fashioned to conceptualize the phrase 'good governance'. To begin with, governance can be seen as an act of harnessing the available human and material resources for the purpose of providing human material needs for socio-economic and political development in a state (Okonkwo & Ononihu, 2020). This definition among other things links development with governance. In a broader perspective, UNESCO, (2025) averred that governance is the process of decision-making by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. It can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. An analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement the decision.

Clarifying further, government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors involved in governance vary depending on the level of government that is under discussion. In rural areas, for example, other actors may include influential landlords, associations of peasant farmers, cooperatives, NGOs, research institutes, religious leaders, finance institutions political parties, the military etc. The situation in urban areas is much more complex. At the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multi-national corporations, etc. may play a role in decision-making or in influencing the decision-making process. All actors other than government and the military are grouped together as part of the "civil society." In some countries in addition to the civil society, organized crime syndicates also influence decision-making, particularly in urban areas and at the national level (UNESCO, 2025).

By implication, good governance involves all the efforts and the activities of the government that are geared towards effective policy formulation and implementation for the purpose of progress and sustainable development of the state for the betterment of the citizenry. The significant manifestation of good governance includes the general provision of welfare packages to the citizens such as social amenities (access road, electricity, housing scheme, portable water, health care etc.) provision of employment opportunities for the youths, creating a level playing grounds for investors, provision of soft loans for business, prompt payment of salaries, accessible pensions and gratuities for the retiree, provision of functional education system etc. According to

World Justice Project (2023), the good governance is characterized by accountability, consensus, effectiveness, efficiency, equitability, inclusiveness, participation, responsiveness, rule of law and transparency.

Table 2: The Indicators of Good Governance and their Descriptions

S/N	Indicators of Good Governance	Descriptions
1	Accountability	Provision of proper report of the governmental activities especially in relation to income and expenditure to the people
2	Consensus	The actions and inactions of the government should be a product of an agreement between the government and the govern
3	Effectiveness	The government should be pragmatic and seriously result oriented by providing for the needs of the people
4	Efficiency	The available resources should be properly channeled for achievement of greater results for the people
5	Equitability	The government should endeavor for farness in allocation of available resources
6	Inclusiveness	The component parts of the polity should be considered while dishing out governmental policies and programmes
7	Participation	The masses are expected to be fully involved in the governmental activities
8	Responsiveness	The plight of the masses should be the priority of the government therefore, the government should respond to the development al or welfare needs of the people
9	Rule of Law	The government and the govern are under the law , in other words, the law is not a respecter of anybody because it is supreme
10	Transparency	All the activities of the government should be open for the scrutiny of all and sundry

Source: Adapted from World Justice Project (2023)

Table 2 above demonstrated the main indicators of good governance. Extrapolation from the table is that we have ten indicators, which are needed to be present before a government can claim the status of good governance. Therefore, any government that lags behind in any of the mentioned indicators cannot has no right for the claim of good governance. However, with the brief insight on what good governance entails, we can shift our emphasis on the next variable which is the concept of the Fourth Republic.

Methodology

This study adopted Ex-Post-Facto research design, which among others reveals the possible relationships between variables by observing an existing condition or state of affairs and searching back in time for contributing factors (Kerlinger, 1986). It seeks to establish causal relationships between events and circumstances. On the area of data collection, we adopted

Documentary method, which is used to gather information from secondary sources such as books, book chapter, journal articles, newspapers, periodical and internet sources to support or guide our views on the issue under investigation. Also, the generated data were analyzed using Content analysis. For Asika (2009), it is used to verbally summarize the information gathered in research. More so, it is used in analyzing data generated from the secondary sources in order to make systematic logical deductions from them.

Theoretical Framework

The study is conducted under the Marxian Theory of Social Relations of Production and Reproduction of Material Value as a framework of analysis. It involves the co-operations, antagonisms and contradictions between individuals and/or parties in the production process. Axiomatically, no product of material value can be produced without the involvement of two or more parties. For instance, a producer of shoes can get the raw material from a tanner or a person who bought the animal skin from the tanner. In other words, a producer of rice must get the implement and material inputs from another party and/or he may hire a labourer during the production process (Okonkwo, 2016).

Therefore, social relations of production or relations of production are the relationships between individuals in the production process. A famous example of social relation of production is the relation between the ruling classes and the subordinate class (Ake, 1981). The theory studies the basis of the development of human society from the perspective of the specific relation of people in the production process. Also the approach recognizes the unequal relations between the social classes in the process of production of material values in the society. Marxian approach is adapted to the analysis of different social systems in terms of historical development of various structures of state and their interrelationships (Gilpin, 1987).

Ogban-Iyam, (2005) noted among other things that social production and reproduction of material value involves the following propositions:

- The fundamental concern of human beings and perhaps of other living things is survival and security.
- For the human beings to survive and have security, he/she must produce and reproduce human needs including production and reproduction of human kind.
- Each human being endeavours/struggles to attain and remain in a favourable position in the social production process so that his needs can be met.
- It is in this struggle for survival and security that human beings find and/or define allies and opponents, be it within or outside their family, clan, tribe, nation, class or profession etc. It is in the course of the struggle for personal interest that clashes or conflict of interest occur in a social relationship.
- This struggles to change, improve, or retain/preserve one's position in the scheme of

things is the direct and indirect basis of virtually all social behaviour such as cooperation, conflicts, violence, allies, and alliance, friendships, enmities, within, between and across classes, families, clans, tribes, nation, ethnic groups, race, religious, and occupational groups in fact, in all social groups.

- People rarely knowingly make choices against themselves or against their own interests. The more collective the discussions and decisions on what to produce, how, where, and when, by who, for who within an entity, the more the needs of those involved in the collective discussion and decisions in the entity are produced and met by that entity and the less the conflict and violence within that entity.

Explicating further, Okolie (2011) outlined the propositions of social production and reproduction of material value as follows:

- The fundamental interest of man (all living thing) is security and survival.
- In order to survive or be secured, man must produce and reproduce himself; this social production and reproduction give character to other human values; the social activities are in part or full related to pains, pleasure, security, violence, development, underdevelopment, poverty, riches etc.
- In every social production process there must be someone that makes binding decision; those who make decisions also use it to their favour;
- Every man struggles to remain in a favourable position in social production and reproduction processes; those who are satisfied with the production system struggle to retain the system while those that are not satisfied struggle to alter the system.

By a way of application, the central and propelling motive of individuals to venture into any activity on earth is to avoid pains and enjoy pleasure, and the fundamental source of this pleasure in our terrestrial existence is the satisfaction of human economic needs. These inherent engagements for the satisfaction of human needs are not done in isolation because the activities and the corresponding processes are social in nature and the actors in the electoral contest have their latent motives, which more or less revolve around economic gains. In this social parlance, the parties are obviously selfish in the pursuance of the economic needs. By implication, the candidates in elections are motivated by the economic gains accruing from the political positions. The government, through the INEC, needed to make gains from the activities of organizing and executing the elections, hence the impositions of fees for registration of political parties, political parties also demand registration of members, purchase of form by candidate and financial supports for electioneering campaign. Finally, the electorates expect and collect financial tips, through lobbying and vote selling from the candidates during the voting exercise.

Nonetheless, the INEC and the electorates needed good governance from the winner of the election as the manifest motive for their engagement in the political activity. While the leader, who spent much money in the course of gaining the political position, as a rational capitalist that always invest in augmenting venture tries to secure his or her financial augmentation. In doing

so, he has to recoup the whole expenses he incurred during the elections thereby sacrificing good governance on the altar of reimbursing the coffers, where the electoral expenses were generated. As a result of the above scenario, the anticipated good governance became elusive. By extension, the more the electoral logistics are reduced through a reduction of the cost of interest forms, registration and sponsorship of political parties as well as outright removal of lobbying and vote buying on the part of the electorate, the less expenses on the part of the candidates, the more the resources are channeled to provision of good governance to the citizen by conception and execution of good governance to the electorate.

Electoral Logistics and Good Governance in Nigeria

This segment of the study unveils the nexus between the electoral logistics and the good governance in Nigeria. It is focused on those essential issues involved in elections that are expected of a candidate in an election such as fundraising for the political parties, purchase of interest forms, electoral campaigns, lobbying and vote buying. To start with, a potential political party is needed to be viable, known and possess the needed characteristic for controlling the government of the day. In this regards, a prospective contestant, not minding the directives and restrictions mounted on the required funds to sponsor a political party will go beyond the constitutional stipulations just to ensure the popularity of the party for the purpose of winning an election, the maximum amount for candidate to sponsor a political party is fifty million (#50,000,000.00) (www.inecnigeria.org). This is done by the candidate with the sole objective of recouping the money when the election is won. Indeed, the anticipated good governance in the political terrain is sacrificed in this regard because one cannot eat one's cake and have it.

Similar scenario is observed in the area of the purchase of interest forms cum tickets for political positions in Nigeria. As the government tries to generate resources for proper execution of election, they raise the amounts for the political party registration, the parties on the other hand increase the amount for interest forms/tickets for the positions of presidency, house of senate, house of representative, governorship, house of assembly, local government chairmanship and the councilor. The candidates in their normal notion of doing everything humanly possible to secure the aspired seats, pay all the financial requirements with unflinching and dauntless hope of reimbursement during the administration. This simple belief of the political gladiators advertently or inadvertently erode the spirit of dividend of democracy, through good governance to the people. This is so because the rational leader, who won the election would prioritize recouping of the funds spent in the name of electoral logistic during the elections.

Still on the link between electoral logistics and good governance in Nigeria, the idea of electoral campaign is a significant activity in an election, which also gulps a huge amount of money during election. The need for campaign in an election can never be over-emphasized because it is through the campaign that the candidate articulates and presents the blue print of his/her administration through what is known as party manifesto. This campaign among others helps the candidates to make the electorates know and clearly understand how the candidate will run the government through unveiling the socio-political and economic ideologies of the party, which

will go a long way in attracting the electorate into voting the candidate in the election. In addition to the presentation of manifesto to attract the electorate through the campaign exercise, the candidates lobby and induce the electorate through vote buying.

Essentially, the whole financial responsibility borne by the candidates in the name of electoral logistic goes a long way in distorting the execution and implementation of the campaign promises during election. This is so because the first step of the winners who spent a lot of money in the process of winning the election is to recoup the expenses incurred in the process of winning the election. In other words, it implies that the candidates used his money to buy the political position, as a result, the electorates have received their dividend of democracy through lobbying and vote selling. Finally, the expected good policies and programmes are deferred till next election, this is the more reason we wrongly construed that projects are carried out by leaders during their second tenures in the office, after they might have recovered the electoral expenditures in the first tenure. Empirically, the table below indicated the cost of electoral logistics in Nigeria by the two major political parties.

Table 3: Electoral Logistics and their Costs in Nigeria by APC and PDP

S/N	Logistics	Descriptions	Costs	
			APC	PDP
1	Interest tickets/form	President	100 million	40 million
		Senate	20 million	3.5 million
		House of Representatives	10 million	2.5 million
		Governorship	50 million	21 million
		State House of Assembly	2 million	1.5 million
2	Expenditure Ceiling for Candidates	President	5 billion	
		Senate	100 million	
		House of Representatives	70 million	
		Governorship	1 billion	
		State House of Assembly	30 million	
		Chairman	30 million	
		Councilor	5 million	
3	Election Campaign	This involves the amount a candidate spent on the political rallies, lobbying of voters and vote buying	50 million	

Source: adapted by the Authors from (www.inecnigeria.org)

The table 3 above showed the cost of nomination forms for different political positions as obtainable in the major political parties, APC and PDP. Also the maximum expenditures acceptable from the candidates in those political positions and the table illustrated the possible amount of money campaigns and the accompanying vote buying could gulp. Observable from the table is that they are all cost effective, which affects the performance of the leaders in achieving good governance at the end of the day. For further clarifications, the table below juxtaposed the impact of the high cost of electoral logistics on the indicators of good governance.

Table 4: The Main Indicators of Good Governance and their Percentage of Fulfilment in Nigeria

S/N	Main Indicators	Percentage Scores	Sources	Summary of Assessment
1	Accountability	44.8%	MO Ibrahim Foundation (IIAG)	Weak institutional check mechanisms on executive power, though slightly bolstered civic civil oversight
2	Consensus	28.3%	African Journal of Health Governance Metric	Severe multi -ethnic and geopolitical friction points mean broad stakeholders' agreement on major federal fiscal reforms remains hard to bridge
3	Effectiveness	24.0%	World Bank (WGI Percentile Rank)	Tracks very low due to severe challenges in policy implementation, structural infrastructure gaps and deep institutional leakages
4	Efficiency	21.0%	World Bank (WGI Regulatory Policy)	High structural overhead costs, over bloated civil service lines and widespread duplications of duties across government MDAs
5	Equitability	41.0%	World Justice Project (Fundamental Rights)	Strained equal access to justice, discrimination in legal application, and heavily divided socioeconomic wealth distribution
6	Inclusiveness	47.9%	MO Ibrahim Foundation (IIAG)	Low inclusion and parity across marginalized demographics, gender representation in elected offices sits below continental averages
7	Participation	57.1%	MO Ibrahim Foundation (IIAG)	Relatively strong public desire and constitutional framework for political engagement, though actual vote turnout remains low
8	Responsiveness	33.0%	World Justice Project (Regulatory Enforcement)	Significant delays in bureaucratic public sector processing, judicial court dockets, and official response to public service defaults
9	Rule of Law	34.1%	World Justice Project (WJP Index)	Nigeria ranks 120 th out of 143 globally. Security concerns, compromised enforcement, and high internal violence drop this metric significantly
10	Transparency	31.0%	Open Budget Survey (Transparency International)	Poor access to active financial tracking, minor historical progress has been made via the implementation of online open budget platforms

Keys: IIAG – Ibrahim Index of African Governance, WJP - World Justice Project, WGI – World Bank Governance Index

Source: Compiled by the Authors from the World Justice Project (2025)

As a result of the expenditure incurred by the leaders under the electoral logistics, the indicators of the good governance are fulfilled abysmally. As shown on the table 4 above. Extrapolation from the table above is that only participation recorded above 50%. This average participation of the populace is induced by the needs of the electorate to gain some financial tips from the leaders. Then, the other indicators of good governance recorded below 50% because the leaders are using them as tools to drive away the masses so as the pave ways for recouping of the expenses incurred as electoral logistics during elections.

Conclusion and Prognoses

The study identified the deficiencies in good governance in Nigeria and interrogated same with electoral logistic. In the course of the study, the meaning of the electoral logistics and some other variables were explored. Data for the discourse were gathered from the secondary source through the Documentary method of data collection. From the analysis, using Content analysis, we found that the huge amount of money spent in the name of electoral logistics during an election, through the registration of political parties under the INEC, for the procurement of nomination form, campaign exercise, lobbying and vote buying are responsible for the challenges of good governance in the country. This is so because the winners of the elections will as the matter of necessity prioritize the recoup of the wasted resources before thinking of delivering good policies and programmes for the masses. Therefore, the more the electoral logistics is on the higher side, the more the candidates spend more in the election process and the less the political will to deliver the anticipated good governance to the people.

By a way of recommendation, we suggest that the government should reduce the cost of the registration of political parties to the affordable level. Similarly, the political parties should also reduce the cost of the nomination forms. More so, the sponsorship ceiling of the candidates to political parties will be reviewed downwardly. On the part of the electorate, they should as a matter of necessity shun everything concerning lobbying and vote buying/selling. If the above suggestions are duly implemented, the financial burdens of the leaders will be reduced thereby according them the finance muscle to face the provision of good governance as anticipated by the electorate.

References

- Ake, C. (1981). *Political economy of Africa*. Spectrum Books Limited.
- Aja-Akpuru, A. (1998). *Fundamentals of modern political economy and international economic relations... changing with time*. Data Globe Nigeria.
- Appadorai, A. (2004). *The substance of politics*. Oxford New York
- Arthur, A. (2010). *Freedom and the rule of law*. Rowman & Littlefield

- Asika, N. (2009). *Research methodology in the behavioural sciences*. Longman Nigerian Plc.
- Gilpin, R.G. (1987). *The political economy of international relations*. Princeton University Press
- Kerlinger, F. N. (1986). *Foundations of behavioral research (3rd ed.)*. Rinehart & Winston.
- Nnoli, O. (2003). *Introduction to politics*. (2nd Ed), PACREP
- Ogban-Iyan, (2005). Social production and reproduction, social conflict and challenges of democracy in Nigeria. *University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy* 1(1), 151.
- Okolie, A. M. (2004). *Political behaviour*: Academic Printing Press.
- Okolie A.M. (2011). African States, Ideologization of Development and Recycling of Poverty. In *Fourth European Conference Organised by Nordic Institute Uppsala Sweden*
- Okonkwo, C.N. (2016). *Foundations of political economy*. Chibyke Prints and Publishers
- Okonkwo, C. N. and Ononihu, S. C. (2020). Credibility of the 2019 general elections and the growth of democracy in Nigeria. South East. *Journal of Political Science (SEJPS)*, 6(1), pp.1-29
- Okonkwo, C. N. and Unaji, F.N. (2016). Intra-party conflict and prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 21(5)3, pp.91-98. www.iosrjournal.org
- Okonkwo, C.N. (2025). Ethnicity and Voting Behavior in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An Appraisal. *SSAR Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies (SSARJMS)*, 2(2), 52-64
- World Justice Project (2025). *Annual report of good governance index in Nigeria*. WJP Publications 3(21),