

## Assessment of the Social Lost of Political Crisis in Nigeria (1960 – 2023)

Ibrahim Olanrewaju Akanbi Bolaji

Department of Social Studies, Kwara State College of Education, Oro,  
Kwara State, Nigeria.

doi: <https://doi.org/10.37745/bjmas.2022.0273>

Published August 12 2023

---

Bolaji I.O.A. (2023) Assessment of the Social Lost of Political Crisis in Nigeria (1960 – 2023), *British Journal of Multidisciplinary and Advanced Studies: Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* 4 (4),116-136

---

**ABSTRACT:** *Politics, since time immemorial has been the major means of administering human society. In the act of social administration, there are bound to be conflict of interests which metamorphose into crises thereby faulting the political process. This study examines the lost of political crises to the Nigerian society from independence till date. In justifying this, the study reviews the system of governance practiced, the electoral process, the political participation and other factors that constitute the Nigeria's political culture. Structural functionalist theory, as well as the conflict theory was employed in evaluating the study. To ensure meaningful coverage of the study area, six (6) Colleges of Education (C.O.E.) was selected across the six (6) geo-political zones of Nigeria. Thirty (35) respondents were randomly selected among the staff of each of the colleges comprising of both teaching and non-teaching staff amounting to two hundred and ten (210) respondents. Eventually, one hundred and eighty (180) questionnaires were collected and used for the research. Five hypotheses were tested using the ordinal regression and non-parametric correlation (spearman's rho) to determine the level of relationship between each pairs of the independent and dependent variables using IBM SPSS statistics 20 version software. The result revealed that bad governance was majorly responsible for political crisis which procreate institutional failure, frequency change in policies, political violence, political assassinations, economic downturn, insecurity, unemployment and low self-esteem for most citizens. In conclusion, until the Nigerian constitution re-defined politics as a social service and not social work with drastic reduction of financial attributions to political offices, the scrambling and stiff contest for political positions will continue to generate crises too disastrous for the Nigerian society. Finally, the most expensive loss of political crisis to the Nigerian society is the retardation, stagnation and retrogressiveness of social growth and development.*

**KEYWORDS:** development, growth, political crisis, politics, social lost, social crisis

---

### INTRODUCTION

Political activities the world over is mostly responsible for crises in human societies. The definition of crisis does not only specify political crisis, but terrorism, banditry, herdsmen farmers crises, communal crises, cult crises, extra-judicial killings and the likes which have all been proven to have political undertone or have been politically induced and instigated by politicians. Unarguably, the place of politics in human societies cannot be underestimated considering the fact that it has no alternative in social administration. The crises attached to politics are functions of the proceedings as well as the players. The pattern of the conflict varies from one society to the other depending on the political culture

and socialization of the society. The tune of crises attached to the politics of a place might be fair, mild or extreme referring to the political ideology originated by the founding fathers of such nation. The fair tune refers to most of the politically matured countries of Europe and America. During Political Campaigns, the worst that happens is engaging in war of words. The mild tune refers to the developing nations of the world such as the Asian Tigers comprising of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan with strong centralized states whose political ideology were not severe or strong, nor extreme. This means that their politics does not significantly exhibit crisis. The extreme political ideological tunes represent the characteristics of most African Countries whose politics is a do or die affair. The different stages of their political activities have peculiar conflict attached ranging from the formation of the political party, zoning of party's executive positions to different geo-political zones, fracas before and after the national convention of the party, conduct for party primary elections, campaign for the general elections, as well as voting in the general elections that are characterized by crises involving loss of lives and properties. In Nigeria, the political practice since the first republic has taken this pattern and has been following this trend till date. This explains why Nigeria's first republic lasted for less than six years until it fell on January 15, 1966 after the country's first military coup (History Ville, 2022).

### **Objectives of the study**

Citizens desire good governance from their leaders as a trust for the mandate given. For verification, the major means of evaluating the level of civilization or civickness of modern administration is the level and extent to which they are well organized and the citizenry well catered for (Omotoso, 2010). Two important factors influence the direction of development of nations, they are the character and nature of political leadership and the system of governance in operation. The leaders are drivers that directs the vehicle in the direction of their choice (Abegunde, 2010). Leaders are expected to direct a nation towards gain and avoid directing towards lost. The objective of this study is to assess why the leadership directive has been yielding lost for the Nigerian society. What are the causes of political crisis and other social crises. To investigate if other crises were politically motivated or influenced and proffer solutions. Why can't Nigeria organize an election free of crisis and simultaneously be free, fair and credible.

### **Research hypotheses**

*The following hypotheses are stated for the study:*

- i. Bad governance has no significant influence on political crisis
- ii. Electoral malpractice has no significant influence on political assassination
- iii. Leadership failure has no significant influence on economic downturn
- iv. Leadership Corruption has no significant influence on social insecurity.
- v. Tribalism or tribalistic politics has no significant influence on political crisis

### **Significance of the study**

One of the dangerous phenomena in the electoral process in the Nigeria politics according to Akinwale (2011) is the criminality involved in the practice. The Nigerian politics over the years have been immersed in endemic electoral violence. Rather than elections to be embraced as one of the important processes that strengthen democratic institutions and facilitate peaceful transition of power, they are seen as violent means of acquiring the "spoils of democracy". However, this study intends studying political process that results mostly in crisis from independence till date. The significance of the study is embedded in the fact that it tries to change the narrative and re-write political process positively. The fragility of the Nigerian state that is mostly revealed during elections is one of the scenes this study

intends changing because this mostly metamorphose into political crisis that brings about enormous lost to the society (Albert, 2011).

### **Theoretical Framework**

Sociology is a social science which studies society and human beings in perspective of society. It is concerned with all group activities: economic, social, political and religious (Jain, 2012). Sociology's specifically interested in the cost of any events to the society, i.e. whether the event results in loss or gain for the society. Political activities are major events that determine the status of any society (developing or under-developing). Considering this, political events deserve adequate survey and assessment so that the development of the society will be monitored. For this purpose the duo of structural functionalist theory and conflicts theory will be used in evaluating this study. The structural functionalist theory simply referred to as functionalism likened the society to the human biological system that comprises of different parts and system that are inter-related and inter-connected. Just as the different parts in the human system contribute to the functioning of the biological system, it interprets each part of the society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole social system.

As Durkheim suggested, functionalism conceptualizes society as more than the sum of its component parts. Each part is "Functional" for society, each of which is organized to fill different needs for the society (Andersen and Taylor, 2005). Personally, I viewed politics as the nucleus and heart of the social system which co-ordinates and control the entire society. If it does this rightly (ethically), it translates into growth progress and development for the society, but if politics (governance) did the wrong thing, the whole society falls into pandemonium and anarchy as it had rightly happened to Nigeria especially under the just concluded president Buhari administration.

The base of the conflict theory for politics is understandable because politics is all about contest and every contest is crisis ridden and conflicting. Conflict theory as contended by Asamu (2015) is not best understood as a complex system striving for equilibrium but rather as a competition. Society is made up of individuals competing for limited resources (e.g. money, political position, sexual partners etc).

#### ***The following assumptions encapsulate conflict theory:***

- Competition over scarce resources is at the nucleus of social relationships. Characteristic of human relationship is competition and not consensus.
- Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained.
- Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interest's rather than through adaptation (Asamu, 2015).

Marx in Sirohi (2021) submits that a social class is any aggregate people that perform similar function in the organization of production. It is not determined by occupation or income, but by the position an individual occupies and the work he does in the process of production. For example, two tailors, of whom one is the shop owner and the other his paid worker, belong to two different classes even though their occupation is the same. The conflict perspective assumes that social behavior is best understood in terms of tension between groups over power or the allocation of resources, including housing, money, access to services and political representation. Karl Marx viewed struggle between social class as inevitable given the exploitation of workers that he perceived under Capitalism (Schaefer, 2012). Bendix and Lipset in Sirohi (2021) identified five variables that determine class in the Marxian Sense:

- Conflicts over the distribution of economic rewards between the classes.
- Easy communication between the individuals in the same class and positions, so that ideas and action programmes are readily disseminated.
- Growth of class consciousness in the sense that the members of the class have a feeling of solidarity and understanding of their historic role.
- Profound dissatisfaction of the lower class over its inability to control the economic structure of which it feels itself to be the exploited victim.
- Establishment of a political organization resulting from the economic structure, the historical situation, and maturation of class consciousness.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of literature for this study will be done in phases for clarity and complimentary sake. The research will discuss the first to the present fourth republic of Nigeria Separately.

### Nigeria's First Republic

Politics has always been a key aspect of human life. Like the weather, everyone is affected by it (Morlino, Schlosser and Badie, 2017). The effect it has on all inhabitants of the society informs the massive participation but at different levels. The volume of participation brought about complexities in co-ordinating and controlling political activities the world over, though with differences in magnitude and approach. Despite this, no society should use this as excuse since politics and crises are inseparable. The Nigeria's first republic and independence commenced on a conflicting note with series of crises from the regional parties of the major tribes and compounded by that of the minorities. These include the Eastern regional crisis of 1953, National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), crisis over the motion for "Self-Government in 1956" by the Action Group (AG), and the subsequent Action Group (AG) crisis after Nigeria's independence in 1963. Differences of opinion and clash of personality between the leader of the Action Group (AG) and his deputy was majorly responsible for the Action Group crisis. Outcome of the 1959 general election reveals that the party (AG) could not unilaterally win election because the three major political parties had been firmly established in their regions by 1961. This means that alliance with the major parties is inevitable if the AG hope to dislodge any of the party in their base.

On this issue, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the party leader prefer alliance with the NCNC, while his deputy, Chief Samuel Ladoke AKintola sought to form alliance with the Northern People's Congress (NPC). Apart from that, Chief Akintola was accused of not consulting him (Chief Awolowo) before taking important decisions about the party. After series of attempt to reconcile the two leaders failed, Chief Akintola was expelled from the party at the party's convention in Jos, in 1962 along with his followers. To back up the dismissal, a letter signed by majority of the party members in the Western Regional House of Assembly specifying lack of confidence in the premier was presented to the Governor and he subsequently dismissed Chief Samuel Akintola as the Premier of the region and appointed in his place Alhaji D.S. Adegbenro. At a meeting of the regional house convened to ratify these executive decisions, a fight broke out in the house warranting policemen to use tear gas in dismissing members from the chamber. The action against Chief Akintola further worsened the unfriendly relationship between the AG and the NPC. On Chief Awolowo's preference of forming alliance with the progressive

NCNC, the NCNC saw it as opportunity to destroy the AG dominance in the West. The NCNC already in coalition with the NPC team up to invoke the Constitutional power to declare a state of emergency in the western region and appointed Dr. M.A. Majekodunmi the then federal minister of health as the administrator of the region (Dare and Oyewole, 2002).

The intensification of the alliance of the NCNC and the NPC revealed the treasonable charge against Chief Awolowo and later sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Equally, the inquiry into the finances of the Action Group through Scrutinizing the Western Regional owned National Bank came up, and discovered misappropriation and irregularities. The inquiry cleared Chief Akintola of involvement in any form of financial misappropriation and this set the stage for his reinstatement as the premier of the Western Region. After returning to the seat of the Regional Premier, Chief S. L Akintola formed a new party known as the United Progressive Party (UPP) and team up with the NCNC to form the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) (Isola, 2010). Equally, the Nigeria's republican constitution of 1963 crises which feature Chief Akintola Contesting his removal from the position of premier by suing the Governor, Sir Adesoji Aderemi and Alhaji Dauda Adegbenro, the premier, the census crisis of 1962-1964, and the general election crisis of 1964.

Professor Huntington in Okeke (2017) described the events that rocked Nigeria's first republic as political decay. As a normal constitutional exercise, a general election was to take place in 1964 and considering the crisis which the various party and ethnic groups have been experiencing, new political alliance came into being. The remains of Action Group (AG) and National Council for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), joined with the Northern Progressive Front (NPF) comprising of Northern Elements Progressive Union, (NEPU) an ally of the NCNC and United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), an ally of the Action Group, all joined to form the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) while the NPC, Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), The Mid-Western Democratic Front (MDF), The Niger Delta Congress (NDC) in Eastern Nigeria and the Dynamic Party (DP) formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). With these alliances, both parties were thus ready for political contest at the federal level.

Based on the endorsed census figures, the North was allotted 167 parliamentary seats out of 312, a reduction of 7 seats compared to what it had before, the East was allotted 70 seats against 73 it had in 1959 election, the west gained 10 seats in addition to the 47 it had in 1959, the Midwest lost 1 seat, having 14 if compared to the 15 it had in the previous election and Lagos the federal capital gained 1 more seat against the 3 it had before making it 4. The election recorded gross irregularities and misconduct like the UPGA candidates being unable to get nomination papers or electoral officers being conspicuously absent when UPGA candidates wanted to file nomination papers in the North and Western regions Controlled by NPC and NNDP. Despite UPGA delegation presenting a protest letter to the president, this did not change the situation. At the close of nomination period, many seats had already been declared unopposed in both the North and West. About 68 Candidates were declared unopposed in the North alone (Dare and Oyewole, 2002). The election was boycotted in Many places especially the Eastern region by UPGA. The NPC claimed 162 out of the 167 seats allotted to the North alone while the NNDP won 36 seats in the west and this made the NNA had overwhelming member in the Federal house of legislature.



Again, there was to be a new election into the Western Regional Legislative house in 1965 and the NNNDP and UPGA were the two contending parties. The electoral malpractices that characterized the general election of 1964 repeated itself in the Western Regional election. The NNNDP that was in power in the region manipulated the entire exercise to her favour. Electoral officers were absent in many places when UPGA candidate were to file their papers. The result being that at the close of the nomination period, many seats were declared unopposed. This led to frustration for a people that have long waited to constitutionally vote out Chief Akintola out of power. The election was massively rigged and characterized by gross misconduct. This led to people taking laws into their hands and widespread killing arson, looting and wanton destruction of lives and property (Isola 2010, Okeke 2017). Conversely, many writers were united in pointing out the fact that the Western Nigeria as well as other crises that were due to ethnic rivalry, hatred, leadership failure, and corruption of the political/elite class were responsible for the coup d'état of January 15, 1966 that terminated the Nigerian first republic (Dare and Oyewole, 2002, and Delani , 2014). Though, this study only intends studying the civilian political activities, the influence and involvement of the military cannot be underestimated in the whole array of events that created crises and the eventual lost of lives and properties by the country. Considering this, the Nigerian civil war was an event too enormous in terms of the souls and properties lost to it by the country to be ignored. The Nigerian civil war took place between 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1967 to the 15<sup>th</sup> of January, 1970. Leadership tussle and claim of supremacy was majorly responsible for the war. During two and half years of the war, there were about 100,000 overall military casualties, while between 500,000 and 2,000,000 Biafran civilians died from famine during the Nigerian naval blockade (<https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki>), (Onah and Okeke, 2017).

### **The Second Republic**

Between the termination of Nigeria's first republic by the Coup of January 15, 1966, there was a cessation of thirteen years before the nation's second Republic took off. Three other Coup took place in between. On July 29, 1966 another coup came up and the head of state, General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi and the military Governor of Western Group of provinces Lt. Col. Adekunle Fajuyi were kidnapped and later killed on August 1st, 1966, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon became the head of state spending 9 years as Nigerian Leader. On Tuesday 29 July 1975, General Yakubu Gowon was ousted by Brigadier Murtala Mohammed when he attended the 12th summit meeting of the then organization of Africa Unity (OAU) in Kampala. General Murtala Mohammed spent only six months and fifteen days as the Head of State of Nigeria having been killed in a Coup staged by Lt. Col. B.S. Dimka. After his death, General Olusegun Obasanjo took over the mantle of leadership and he put in place a transition timetable that led to the successful handing over to a democratically elected president on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1979 (Dare and Oyewole, 2002).

Critical analysis of the political and electoral proceedings of the first chapter of the second republic revealed that it was not as bloody, violent and disastrous as the first republic, at least not very obvious and conspicuous as the first. However, this is not to say that it was totally free of violent scenes and acts. Five Political parties were eventually registered after screening hundreds of organizations that applied for the status, the five parties that met the criteria were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) headed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Nigeria's People's Party (NPP) headed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, the Great Nigeria's People's Party (GNPP) headed by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, the People's Redemption Party (PRP) headed by Mallam

Aminu Kano and the Nigeria Advance Party (NAP) headed by Lawyer Tunji Braithwaite was added to the political parties as the sixth in the 1983 general elections.

In the first elections in 1979, the NPN won 36 out of the 95 senatorial seats, the UPN won 28 senatorial seats, the NPP won 16 seats, and the GNPP gained 8 seats while the PRP won 7 senatorial seats. In the house of representatives election held on 14th July, 1979, the NPN won 167 seats out of the total 445 seats contested, the UPN claimed 110 seats, the NPP had 77 slots, the PRP won 47 seats while the GNPP claimed 44 seats. For the gubernatorial election that took place on Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1979, the NPN won Seven States, Niger, Sokoto, Bauchi, Benue, Kwara, Cross River and River states. The UPN won five states. The NPP claimed Imo, Anambra and Plateau States. The GNPP won Borno and Gongola while the PRP clinched Kaduna and Kano states. Alhaji Shehu Shagari won the presidential election conducted on August 11, 1979 under the NPN (Dare and Oyewole, 2002, Delani, 2017).

The second Stanza of the second republic was characterized by crises, repression and victimization of opposition parties. The NPN which was in power retained it at the federal level by winning the presidential election, and it upgraded her victory by capturing some of the states hitherto won by other parties. For example, the party broke into the holds of the opposition, Borno, Gongola, Bendel, Anambra, Ondo and Kaduna which were non NPN States came under the dominance of the ruling NPN in 1983. According to Asuzu (2007), the nascent Nigeria's democracy huffed and puffed, emitting political heats and effusions. The experiment became over heated when the civilian organized presidential elections of 1983 'won' with a landslide by Shagari persistently was dogged by controversy months after. The 1983 election was far from being free and fair. The only political parties that could complain of election rigging are those parties that lack the resources to rig. There is ample evidence that rigging and thuggery were relative to the resources available to the parties (Delani, 2014).

The second republic faced lots of crises which was a combination of natural and artificial causes. The administration was noted for corruption and mismanagement which made the voices of opposition parties audible. In an attempt for the reigning party to curb opposition voices and cling to power, she resorted to viciousness, victimization and attack of oppositions. This amount to totalitarian democracy, this was obvious in many states like the Kano example between the PRP and NPN when Dr. Bala Muhammed, the political Adviser to the Kano State Governor, Abubakar Rimi was assassinated on 10TH July, 1981, Similar incident occurred in Plateau, Kaduna, Ondo and many states (Bello and Sule, 2021). The government was characterized by fraud, embezzlement, mismanagement, misappropriation and misapplication of public funds. The ministers and other government appointees were highly corrupt and Nigeria's debt rose from ₦3.3 Billion in 1978 to ₦14.7 Billion in 1982. Umaru Dikko, the transport minister under Shagari unilaterally misappropriated ₦4 Billion meant for rice importation. Arson was frequently committed on public buildings to destroy evidence of corruption and looting (History Ville, 2022) (thehistoryville.com).

The Maitatsine riots occurred during the second republic Nigeria. The Maitatsine were a series of violent uprisings instigated by Islamic militants in Northern Nigeria between 1980 and 1985 and represented the Northern Nigeria's first major religious violence. The riots prompted immense ethno religious discord between Muslims and Christians. The movement was led by Muhammadu Marwa, a Cameroonian residing in Kano who opposed the Nigerian State (Maitatsine is a Hausa term for "He who damns," referring to Marwa).

He referred to himself as a prophet being compared to prophet Muhammed (S.A.W) by his followers and a reformer (Mujaddid) with reference to Usman Dan Fodio. Marwa was notable for his outright condemnation of Western Culture, education and technology and refer to anyone that sent their Children to school as infidel. Marwa's followers were young, poor men, seasonal labourers and economically displaced. In the first Maitatsine riot that broke out on December 18, 1980, 4000 deaths (Including Marwa) was recorded in addition to millions of properties destroyed. Numerous riots also took place between 1980 and 1985 where thousands of deaths and casualties were recorded (Adesoji, 2011 and Isichei, 1987).

### **The Third Republic**

The Nigerian third republic (1992 - 1993) was an unsuccessful attempt to restore Nigeria to democracy. It was initiated by General Ibrahim Babangida. The third republic was the planned republican government of Nigeria in 1992 which was to be governed by the third republican Constitution. In this republic, there was democratically elected state Governors and State houses of assemblies and a democratically elected Federal Legislature (National Assembly). The elected governors assumed office in January 1992, and the presidential election followed in June 1993 which was assumed to have been won by Chief M.K.O Abiola in 1993. (<https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki>). However, after series of crises, rioting, protest and argument to convince General Babangida of accepting Abiola's Victory at the poll and hand over power to him, he prefer handing over power to an interim national government headed by chief Ernest Shonekan Stepping aside on 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1993. However, On November 17 1993, the then minister of Defence, General Sani Abacha, planned a palace coup and forced chief Ernest Shonekan, the head of the Interim National Government to resign and took over power, thereby scuttling in totality the third republic by halting the transition from military to civilian rule (Historyville, 2022).

Undoubtedly, the June 12 political crises represent Nigeria's worst experience since the creation of the Nigerian nation. The loss of lives, disruption of businesses and governmental activities, destruction and destabilization of infrastructural facilities and social proceedings made it the worst experience of Nigerians. Even during the civil war, events and proceedings did not got grounded to the extent that re-energizing, re-starting and re-convening activities became so difficult that even after decades, Nigeria is still re-writing the carry-over of the June 12 course without success. Example is the malfunctioning of the four Nigerian refineries that are yet to be active in the refining activities for over two and a half decades. Recounting the lives lost, it was the first report of deaths since protestors in Lagos, Nigeria's Largest city, began pressing the government to recognize the annulled June 12 presidential election.

At least eleven (11) people were killed as a result of police and military gun shots at protesters (Sahara Reporters, 2021). In the same Vein, several victims of the June 12 political struggle had demanded compensation from the government due to several injuries, disabilities inflicted on them through government security attacks. One of the victims who lost one of his legs during the struggle comrade Abiodun Mustapha narrated their ordeal. Recounting the quantum of lives lost in the June 12 Political Crisis, the Ekiti State Governor, Dr. Kayode Fayemi said that the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election was the second most significant national crisis after the civil war because of the reverberating effect it had on the polity (Olasupo, 2018 and Afolabi, 2020).

Virtually all Nigeria's general elections since independence have been characterized by violence, chaos and pandemonium. The outrage that trailed the first election in 1964/65 for example claimed more than

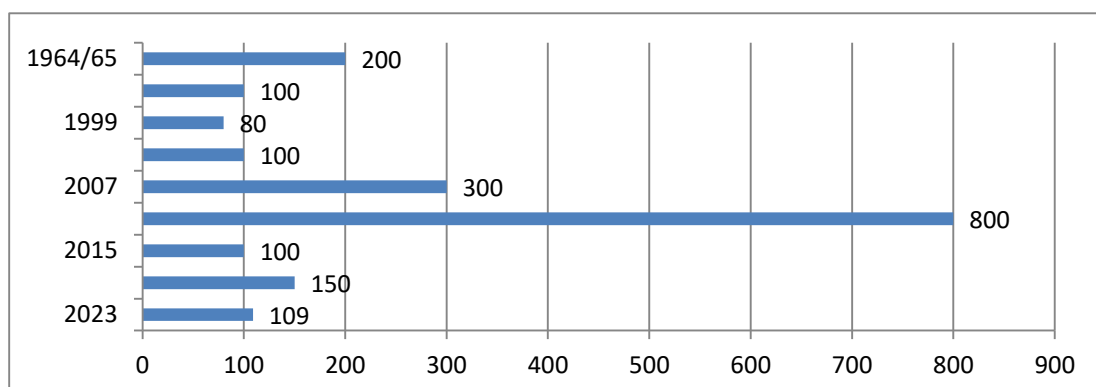


200 lives, especially in the Southwest as reported by Human Rights Watch (HRW). Similar incidents trailed the 1983 elections with several lives lost and properties destroyed. The 1993 presidential election that was adjudged to be free and fair equally had its version of violence. This was as a result of the annulment of the election by General Ibrahim Babangida which instigated protests, riots and expressions of different kinds for the leader to review his decision on the annulment. Campaign for Democracy headed by Beko Ransom Kuti estimated over 100 peaceful demonstrators and passers-by to have been gunned down by security agents. Federal and State elections claimed over 300 lives in different electoral violence in 2003. The 1999 election that brought in President Olusegun Obasanjo recorded about 80 people to have lost their lives. Post-election violence led to the death of at least 800 people within three days of rioting across 12 Northern states in Nigeria. This seems the worst case of election violence in the country. More than 100 people lost their lives during and after the general elections in 2015 as specified by the international crises Group (ICG). The European Union election Observation Mission reported 150 people were killed during election violence in 2019 (Adebajo, 2022).

### The Fourth Republic

In a report relayed by the premium times, a total of one hundred and nine (109) people were reported dead in connection with the 2023 general election across Nigeria. This was discovered by the centre for democracy and development whose tracker recorded the deaths between 1st January and the 10th of March, 2023. These deaths were linked to political violence across the country. Equally, the director of the centre, Idayat Hassan emphasized that Osun, Imo and Ebonyi states have experienced series of incidents in the last three months that could disrupt their state houses of assemblies polls (CDD, 2023). Buttressing the same story, the this day newspaper equally specified that no fewer than 109 election related deaths were recorded across Nigeria in the build-up to the 2023 general elections. The pro-democracy group challenged the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to learn key lessons from the conduct of the first of the series of elections to be conducted i.e. the presidential poll of 25th February, 2023 and improve the conduct of the state elections. Stamping the veracity of the story, Friday Olorok of the punch newspaper stressed that the centre for democracy and development on Friday disclosed that about 109 deaths was recorded in Nigeria between January and March 10, 2023 in connection with the conduct of the 2023 general elections.

### Lives lost to election violence in Nigeria since independence



**Chart:** Kunle Adebajo/HumAngle **Source:** HRW, ICG, CD, Africa Watch (2022)

### **Causes of Political Crisis**

A crisis state comes into being when new attempts fail to return us to the pre-crisis level of emotional balance. Crisis is a state of feeling, an internal experience of confusion and anxiety to the degree that formerly successful coping mechanisms fail us and ineffective decisions and behaviours take to their place. As earlier specified in this study, most administration in Nigeria was guilty of corruption, mismanagement, fraud, embezzlement, misappropriation and misapplication of public funds. Victimization and attack of political oppositions and ultimately assassination of political opponents were rampant in Nigeria political practice. Rigging of elections which include snatching of ballot boxes, manipulating election results and threatening of electorates of opposition parties among others are all responsible for political crisis (Bello and Sule, 2021).

In attributing cases to the political crisis in Mali, citizens are prone to blame civilian politicians. They emphasize lack of patriotism among the Malian leaders. Equally, respondents also points to the incompetence of the political class. The second most common response is the weakness of the state, by which they may mean the inability of state institutions to respond to challenges from its political environment. Citizens seem to recognize that the capacity of Mali's state institutions has been "eroded from within", by official corruption, ethnic separatism and foreign invasions. But they prioritize domestic causes as the main drivers of the crisis because only 11 percent implicate "foreign terrorists", a third ranked factor (Coulibaly and Bratton, 2013).

Also in Nigeria, incessant excessive executive-legislative political tussle which mostly metamorphose into political crisis has destroyed the theme of most of these institutions. Since Nigeria's independence and first republic when she practiced the parliamentary system of government before switching over to the presidential system, her democracy has been on trial with different challenges facing the country. The battle line has so far developed in multiple arenas and cut across vital constitutional issues that threaten to suffocate the process of democratic consolidation.

One of the morbid symptoms of this deep and unsettled condition in our democratic order is the gladiatorial contest between the executive and the legislature both at the federal and state levels. At the national levels, this escalating contest has found manifest expression in the differences between the executive and legislative arms of government over the 2000 Appropriation Bills; the Anti-Corruption and Niger Delta Development Commission Bills, the saga of the alleged ₦4m bribery of the House of Representatives members to evict the speaker, Na'Abba, the offshore – onshore impasses and the series of exchanges culminating in the impeachment melodrama. At the state level, the unabated impeachment sagas in the assemblies have developed in some cases into executive thuggery as sponsored agents (Students in Abia state and police in Osun state) descend on defenseless legislators (Bassey, 2006).

The high degree of power separation whose essence is to prevent dictatorship by enabling elected officials to monitor one another's performance and call one another to order, was assumed to lead to legislature-executive gridlocks. Such gridlocks are often assumed to arise whenever different parties control the presidency and congress, although such gridlocks are not assumed to be limited to situations of divided governments alone (Aiyede, 2006).

Pakistan's politics is more crises ridden now than ever before. These crises are created by the government as well as the opposition. The government creates crisis for the people and the society by poor governance and slow decision making or indecisiveness on critical administrative, political and

public welfare matters. The opposition parties cause political crisis by resorting to street protests, long marches to Islamabad to force a political decision, and dharamas to disrupt normal working of urban life. The strategy of blocking traffic on main roads of cities is resorted to by all kinds of organizations and professional groups. In contemporary politics, uncertainty and conflict in politics is caused by using abusive and rude language for political opponents or by making controversial statements about the competing political leaders. The use of offensive discourse about the political rivals is a common practice in Nigeria and many democratic societies (Askari, 2022).

### **Political undertone of other crises**

Crises by their nature are multifarious, apart from the political crisis that forms the crux of this study, others include terrorism, banditry, communal crises, farmers, herder's crises and the likes. However, researches have revealed that most of these crises are politically influenced and instigated. The reason being that politicians always want to stage events or scenes that discredit their opponents and simultaneously score political points to upgrade their political value for winning elections. Omodunbi, Adeyeye and Ige (2021) submits that unemployment, high rate of poverty, quest for political power, lack of education and religious fanaticism among others are the major causes of boko haram insurgency. In the same vein, Alimba and Salihu (2020) recounts that high rates of illiteracy, political interests of the elites, foreign influence and bad governance were the root causes of boko haram.

Mustapha (2021) contends that armed bandits has several causes among which are displacement due to civil wars in Nigeria's neighbouring countries, lack of basic amenities in the border communities, growing unemployment among youths, and moral decadence both among the youths and other members of the border communities. According to the punch newspaper of 3rd June, 2022, arrested bandits emphasized poverty and unemployment as some of the factors that pushed them into banditry. On the issue of communal conflicts, several research studies have established the fact that politics remains a factor that instigates communities against each other. In their research report, Akinteye, Wuye and Ashafa (2004) concludes that the 1992 Zango-Kataf communal crisis was ethno-political caused by socio-economic and cultural factors due to lack of governmental and non-governmental conflict prevention organs. Equally, party politics created a gulf in the relationship between the Mwaghavul and the Ron people of Plateau state. Prior to the creation of Mangu Local Government Council in 1976, the Ron and Mwaghavul were in Pankshin struggling together for the division of Pankshin, into two, when Pankshin was splited in 1976, it brought Mwaghavul and Ron together in Mangu Local Government Area, and this created a new majority and minority in the politics of the area. With the commencement of party politics, the Mwaghavul and the Ron were hardly on the same side. In the second Republic, the Ron teamed up with the Pyem as ethnic minorities in the local government area to support the Nigeria's People's Party (NPP), as opposed to the Mwaghavul that supported the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). This situation persists until the creation of Bokkos Local Government Council in 1991 with Ron as Majority but having Mwaghavul Minority (Best and Abdulrahman, 2004).

Nigeria's prolonged violent conflicts between farmers and herdsmen which have been tipped to stake a food crisis in the country is due to intrerrelated socio-economic and political factors. The report root cause of farmers – Herders crisis in North Central Nigeria's revealed that the crisis was caused by multiple but interrelated socio-economic and political factors associated with the structure of the society and the character of the Nigerian state. 72 in-depth interviews was conducted for traditional rulers, community leaders, religious leaders, representative of local governments authority, farmers, herdsmen,

security agencies and the civil societies in some communities in Benue, Nasarawa and Plateau states for the purpose of understanding the root cause of farmers-Herders Crisis in the region. Angela Odah, representative of Rosa Luxemburg foundation, one of the centre that anchored the research asserted that the crisis is detrimental to Nigeria's development in several ways such as threatening food security, displacing millions of people and increasing the number of out-of-school children (Okojie, 2022). In Mambilla Plateau of Taraba state, Leme (2017) recounts that herders and farmers have lived peacefully together for centuries. There was never a history of any clash between the neighbours until around the years 2001 and 2002, and both crises are discovered to have been politically motivated.

### **Loss of Political Crises**

Assassination of Political figures and altruistic leaders (Civilian and Military), economic downturn and recession, incessant political instability social upheavals and insecurity of all cadres are the dividends of political crises to the Nigerian Society. Initially, lack of comprehension and understanding of theme of politics that turned Nigeria's Politics to crises was the greatest lost the society suffered till the present time.

Most of our politicians still practice politics of bitterness and calumny which metamorphose into crisis that destroyed our society. Assassination of the first and only Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa represents a colossal lost to the country. Recounting the long lists of leaders and politicians assassinated include Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, Sir Ahmadu Bello (Sardauna of Sokoto), Chief James Ajibola Ige, General Murtala Mohammed, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Chief Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola, Mr. Funsho Williams, General Johnson Aguyi-Ironsi, Vice Admiral Muftau Adegoke Babatunde Elegbede among others. These and many other assassinations are considered to be lost damaging to Nigeria.

For example, the assassination of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed was regarded as one death too many considering the impact he made in sanitizing the Nigeria society within his 199 days as the nations' leader. Despite being a military leader, his economic policy, social programmes, education styles had meaningful impact on Nigerians so much to the extent that he is still being mourned and remembered for his integrity and good governance till date.

Economic downturn kick started with Nigeria's independence in 1960. Lack of purposeful, effective, strong and dynamic leadership necessary to pilot a new nation into greatness was unavailable. Incompetence was displayed by Nigerian leaders in all sectors for resolving the socio-economic problems facing the nation. Since the first republic, the nation had been engulfed in economic crisis due to the nature of Nigeria's independence. The leaders failed to resolve the contradiction inherited in the colonial political economy. The economy was generally and grossly mismanaged and misappropriated by the corrupt politicians. Since the first republic, occupation of public and political offices started being regarded as means to wealth and affluence, hence misapplication of public funds (Muhammad, 2014). The misapplication of funds brought about colossal lost to the society because of deprivation of sound and good health care, lack of meaningful education, lack of the provision of infrastructural facilities and most importantly payment of salaries and allowances incomparable to any reasonable society, whereas Nigerian leaders are categorized among the highest paid in the world.

Due to bad governance and corrupt leadership, many companies relocated their headquarters from Nigeria to neighbouring countries like Ghana and the likes. Nigeria presently could only generate 12,522

megawatt of electricity through thermal and hydro. Over the years, electricity infrastructure and other power generating apparatus are destroyed in political and social crises. A World Bank enterprise survey reported that 322 private firms closed down in Nigeria between 2009 and 2014 due to stifling business regulations, corruption and political environments.

There is a long list of manufacturing companies and factories that have folded up in Nigeria. This includes Berec Batteries; Exide Batteries; Okin Biscuits; Osogbo Steel Rolling Mills; Nigeria Sugar Company; Matches Manufacturing Company, Ilorin; Nigeria Paper Mill Limited located in Jebba, Kwara State; Nigeria Newsprint Manufacturing Company Limited, Oku-Iboku, Akwa-Ibom State and the Nigerian National Paper Manufacturing Company Limited in Ogun State. Others include Nigeria's six automobile assembly plants, namely Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited, Kaduna, set up in 1975; Volkswagen of Nigeria Limited, Lagos established in 1978, Anambra Motor Manufacturing Limited, Emene, Enugu set up in 1980; Steve Nigeria Limited, Bauchi, National Truck Manufacturers, Kano; Fiat Production; and Leyland Nigeria Limited, Ibadan. 38 major textile companies closed down business in Nigeria between 1999 and 2009. These companies are located in Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Edo, Delta, Ado-Ekiti and Abia states. The aforementioned are few out of the numerous industries in all sectors that have turned Nigeria's misfortunes to Ghana's gains. Reasons for failing business and divestiture of many companies from Nigeria include unstable energy supply, insecurity, kidnappings, insurgency, ports congestion, poor railways infrastructure, import dependency of most manufacturing companies, high cost of forex, multiple tax regime, poor social infrastructure, heavy traffic around industrial estates, traffic gridlock to Nigeria's major ports of Apapa and Tin Can island and sharp and shady practices of competitors who import finished products. Summarily, government needs to fix the power sector for the revival of the economy (Babalobi, 2020).

The synopsis of the lost of political crisis to the Nigerian is incalculable qualitatively. We might be able to quantify the life lost, the properties destroyed, institutions destabilized and structures dilapidated, however, how can we measure the quality each leader or person killed in a crisis would have dish out to the society and for how long if not killed. The fortune, the progress, the assistance, the support, the elevation, the growth and development all the people laid to rest in political crisis would have achieved for people had it been they were not killed which might all amount to Nigeria's growth and development represent the greatest lost of political crisis to Nigeria.

Equally, all the people laid off from the thousands and one industries due to corruption, bad governance, mismanagement and misappropriation that influenced political crisis and aftermath destruction of amenities, lack of generation of energy, the standard of life, the quality, the position they might have attained in life if they were still in job, and the industries functioning, the inability of reviewing these situations, the trauma attached to each victim of this scenario are colossal lost to the Nigerian society. Probably, the most devastating experience of Nigerians due to political crisis and the rest is the mistrust that exist among the various ethnic groups that makes the country. This is so serious because for a nation to progress, trust is inevitable among the heterogeneous composition. Considering this, the fact of federal character which makes every state or tribe crave for her representation as minister or other position erodes competency and capability, hence the replacement or occupation of a position for tribe at the expense of quality and competency is a great lost to the nation.



### **Research Design**

The population of the study consists of two hundred and ten respondents (210) staffs of six Colleges of Education in Nigeria randomly selected for participation in the study. The population sample is a combination of the teaching (academic staff) and the non-teaching staff of the colleges. The colleges were selected from the six (6) geo-political zones of the country (Nigeria). The reason for this is that the outcome of the study can be generalized (inferred) or regarded as representing the entire country since participants were drawn from all nook and cranny of the country. The six (6) Colleges of Education are; Federal College of Education (Technical), Potiskum in Yobe state of Nigeria (North-East geo-political zone), Kwara state College of Education, Oro, Kwara state Nigeria (North-Central geo-political zone), Shehu Shagari College of Education, Sokoto, Nigeria (North-West geo-political zone), Ebonyi state College of Education, Ebonyi state, Nigeria (South-East geo-political zone), Federal College of Education (Technical) Omoku, Cross River state, Nigeria (South-South geo-political zone) and Federal College of Education (Special) Oyo, Oyo state, Nigeria (South-West geo-political zone). Thirty (30) respondents were randomly selected in each of the study area and it comprises of both the teaching and non-teaching staff in each institution.

### **Population of the study**

The population of this study consists of all the entire staff of the government owned Colleges of Education in Nigeria (State and Federal Colleges of Education). Conversely, for convenience of the researcher economically, time factor and inability of coverage of the numerous colleges, six (6) colleges was selected, each from each geo-political zone of Nigeria with the aim of generalizing the outcome.

### **Sampling size**

A sample is a collection of sampling units drawn from a frame or frames. It is a selected group which is a fair representation of the entire population of interest (Bello and Ajayi, 2000).

### **Research Instrument**

Research instrument according to Sekaran and Bougie (2016) can be defined as a device used for testing a given phenomenon. It is a tool used in collecting, measuring and analyzing data related to the research study. The questionnaire is the instrument for this research for the purpose of justifying the study, a questionnaire titled "Assessment of the Social lost of Political Crisis (ASLPC)" was used to elicit information from the respondents. Questionnaire was used for collection of relevant information on the five (5) research hypotheses used for this study. A total of 210 questionnaire were distributed but only 180 were retrieved and completed by respondents. Some of the questionnaires were not filled, some were torn and roughened, while some of the respondents misplaced theirs. The Likert scale of strongly disagree, disagree, indifference, agree and strongly agreed were adopted. Score was allotted to each option as follows:

Strongly Disagree (SD)	=	1
Disagree (D)	=	2
Indifference	=	3
Agree	=	4
Strongly Agree	=	5

The administered questionnaires were collated and the data were tested for reliability. The data shows Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.919 (about 92%) which indicates more than 70% reliability threshold. However, the data did not pass normality test being a non-parametric data even after mean and log transformation; non-parametric method of analysis was therefore used.

### **Data Analysis**

The data were subjected to Ordinal Regression to determine the strength of the predictor (independent variable e.g. bad governance on the dependent variable e.g. political crisis, also non-parametric correlation (Spearman's Rho) was used to determine level of relationship between each pairs of the dependents and independents variables using IBM SPSS Statistics 20 version software.

### **Hypothesis 1: Bad influence has no significant influence on political crisis?**

The ordinal regression results show a parameter estimate of 13.741 of bad governance (independent variable) with p-value of 0.00 which is less than 0.05 level of probability. This indicates that bad governance is a significant positive predictor of political crisis in Nigeria. Null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Non-parametric correlation was also used to test the strength of the relationship between the two variables and the Spearman's RHO correlation co-efficient was found to be 0.988\*\*, with p-value of 0.00. This indicates a significant level of correlation between bad governance and political crisis. Hence null hypothesis which says bad governance has no influence/effect on political crisis is rejected and concludes that bad governance has significant influence/effect on political crisis in Nigeria. This is in tandem with Okoi and Iwara (2021) that the failure of governance in Nigeria manifest in the declining capacity of political leaders to recognize systemic risks such as election fraud, terrorist attacks, herder-farmers conflict, armed banditry, and the likes. The attainment of leadership was through political violence, bribery, voters intimidation and other predictor of the dependent variable of this hypothesis such as institutional failure, crisis of legitimacy contested electoral outcome and frequency change in policies becomes the features of the society.

### **Hypothesis 2: Electoral malpractice has no significant influence on political assassination**

The ordinal regression result shows a parameter estimate of 13.225 of electoral malpractice (independent variable) on political assassination (dependent variable) with p-value of 0.00 significantly contributing to political assassination. This indicates that electoral malpractice is a significant positive predictor of political assassination in Nigeria. Null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Non-parametric correlation was also used to test the strength of the relationship between the two variable and the Spearman's rho correlation coefficient was found to be 0.990\*\* with p-value of 0.00. This indicates a significant level of correlation between electoral malpractice and political assassination. Hence null hypothesis which says electoral malpractice has no influence/effect on political assassination is rejected and concludes that electoral malpractice has significant influence/effect on political assassination in Nigeria. The other causal factors of political assassination as a dependent variable on electoral malpractice include lack of homogenous population in terms of ethnic landscape, presence of politically deprived groups, territorial fragmentation of the country after the government lost control

over some parts of the nation, leadership authoritarianism and high level of political polarization. Electoral malpractice leads to electoral violence which breeds insecurity as it is characterized by loss of lives and properties, for instance, in November, 2008, over 500 people were killed; thousands displaced and properties worth billions of Naira were burnt, looted and destroyed during a scene of political violence in Jos (Steve, Nwocha and Igwe, 2019).

**Hypothesis 3:** Leadership failure has no significant influence on economic downturn

Parameter estimate of 14.169 was obtained as value of leadership failure contributing to economic downturn. P value = 0.00 and therefore null hypothesis rejected and conclude that leadership failure has significant positive predictor on economic downturn.

The Spearman's rho correlation coefficient was 0.994\*\* with p value – 0.00 indicating a very strong correlation between leadership failure and economic downturn. This also buttress the fact that leadership failure has significant positive relationship with economic downturn. Considering the cause and effect relationship, having determined that leadership failure is a major cause of economic downturn, the other features attached to economic downturn as a dependent variable of leadership failure include high level of poverty, inflation, high unemployment rate, low economic growth and low productivity. Imhonopi and Ugochukwu (2013) submits that Nigeria has not had the good fortunes of being governed well since independence. They emphasize impact of leadership crisis in Nigeria to be poor infrastructural development which brought about lack of power supply, falling standard in education, porous security, stagnant economy and grinding and growing poverty.

**Hypothesis 4:** Leadership Corruption has no significant influence on social insecurity.

Parameter Estimates contributing leadership corruption to social insecurity was found to be 13.401 with P-value = 0.00 indicating that leadership corruption significantly contribute to social insecurity, Hence null hypothesis was rejected and conclude that leadership corruption has significant positive predictor on social insecurity.

The spearman's rho correlation co-efficient of 0.989\*\* was obtain between leadership corruption and social insecurity. This shows a strong positive correlation between the two variables, Leadership corruption and social insecurity. Other Features of social insecurity as a dependent variable on leadership corruption include low self-esteem or negative self-image, self isolation, i.e avoidance of social interaction, economic inequality, poor job performance and depression or anxiety. All variants of social insecurity automatically decrease mental wellness. According to Nwagba, Chukwu and Scents (2020), poverty, unequal access to resources, large youth population with limited access to education and jobs and other social-political factors were majorly responsible for social insecurity co-ordinated by the leaders and led to the features attached to social insecurity (Dependent Variables).

**Hypothesis 5:** Tribalism or tribalistic politics has no significant influence on political crisis

The parameter estimates of 11.906 was obtain as contribution of tribalism or tribalistic politics to political crisis with P-value of 0.00, indicating a significant contribution of tribalistic politics to

political crisis. Null hypothesis was therefore rejected has significant positive predictor of political crisis.

Spearman's rho value of 0.991\*\* was obtained when the two variables were ran on non-parametric correlation with P-Value of 0.00 indicating a significant correlation between the two variables, i.e tribalistic politics and political crisis.

Tribalism and politics are scarcely separable in Nigeria. Political argument is largely argument between individuals competing for power, or groups of people quarelling over the best way to share the limited national cake. This is what make tribalism fierce. It is not that different tribes dislike each other (Schwarz, 1966). This argument forms the basis for institutional failure, frequent change in policies, political violence contested electoral outcome and crisis of legitimacy.

## **CONCLUSION**

From the foregoing, one can summarize that bad governance and leadership failure is majorly responsible for political and social crises that brought about colossal loss of the Nigerian society. Unarguably, this study has justified that bad governance breed political crisis that procreate institutional failure, frequency in policy change, political violence, political assassinations, economic downturn, insecurity, unemployment and low self-esteem. It should be noted that the power, authority and legitimacy which the leaders possessed are used in coordinating the various institutions such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the rest for their own interest rather than for the interest of the Nigerian society. The continuous manipulation of these social institutions by the leaders worsened the society economically and aggravate the stability through procreation and polarization of political and other social crises. Since Nigerians are politically intoxicated leading to over politicization of our social life (Ake, 1998), the panacea is the re-definition of politics from social work to social service with drastic reduction of financial attributions to political offices. Finally, immunity clause attached to some political offices should be removed so that victorious candidates in election would know they are elected to work for the development of Nigeria without blunders since the most expensive and invaluable less of political crisis to the Nigerian society is the retardation, stagnation and retrogressivness of social growth and development.

## **Recommendations**

For the numerous loss of politics to be converted to gain for Nigeria, the following recommendations will assist in the actualization:

1. There should be constitutional provision for the re-definition of politics as a social service and not a social work.
2. After changing the nomenclature of politics to social service, the financial attributions should be reviewed downwards so that those engaged in public administration would view it as a call to service.
3. Candidates for political positions without track record of meritorious service in a field of human endeavour should be disqualified.

4. Immunity clause attached to some political offices should be removed. This will enable the occupant to be conscious of his/her actions and also be honest and accountable.
5. Misappropriation, mismanagement and misapplication of public funds should be seriously sanctioned for deterrent.
6. There should be periodic review of the building of social amenities by the government.
7. Generation of power for electricity and industrial use should be given priority by the government.
8. The government should initiate an economic developmental plan aimed at reviving dead industries and put in place attractive conditions (tax policies) that will bring most industries that have relocated to neighbouring countries back to Nigeria.
9. Money politics should be discouraged and politicians caught in the act should be disqualified from the election.
10. Thuggery, crises and all forms of struggle introduced into politics should be discouraged through legislations.
11. There should be periodic review of workers' salaries and allowances without labour union controversies. This will reduce workers involvement in partisan politics.
12. Job creation should be an important agenda for the government so that many of the empty hands will stop being available for the devils work.
13. Government should employ all possible means of tackling the series of social crises such as the Boko haram, banditry, kidnapping, communal crisis, farmer' herders crisis etc. that has been lingering in our society which aids and complicates the political process.
14. The independent national electoral commission should be further strengthened for the conduction of more credible election in future.
15. The security personnel should be upgraded in all ramifications; in terms of personnel, ammunitions and modern security gadgets for safeguarding and securing the Nigerian society.
16. It is imperative for the president of Nigeria to meet the elders of the major ethnic groups, the leaders of the social cultural associations attached to major tribes from time to time as a way of checkmating activities of different tribes in political and social activities.
17. Government should endeavour at any point in time run an inclusive government which the various ethnic groups in the country will participate. This will give all component tribes sense of belonging.
18. The government should invest in agriculture massively with keen supervision aimed at improved food production, reduction in consumer prices of goods as a means of reducing poverty.
19. The grievances, demands, agitations and complaints of all aggrieved groups should be squarely addressed. This can start with the most serious cases such as that of the "Independent People of Biafra" (IPOB), the Niger-Delta Militancy etc. Experience has shown that cases of this nature are mostly manipulated by politicians to score political point against the incumbents.



## REFERENCES

- Abegunde, O. (2010). "Politics and governance in Nigeria" in Omotoso, F., Agagu, A.A. and Abegunde, O. (Eds), Governance, politics and policies in Nigeria: Porto Novo: Editions SONOU d'Afrique (ESAF).
- Adamolekun, L. (1985). Politics and administration in Nigeria. Ibadan: Spectrum books Limited.
- Adebajo, K. (2022). Nigeria's Deadly history of electoral violence in Five Charts. Human right watch. [humanglemedia.com](http://humanglemedia.com)
- Adesoji, A.O. (2011). "Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic fundamentalism and the response of the Nigerian State". *Africa Today*, 57(4), pp. 98-119
- Afolabi, A. (2020, June 13). June 12, second most significant national crisis after civil war, says Fayemi. The Guardian Newspaper, Lagos. <https://guardian.ng/news/June12>
- Ake, C. (1998). "Governmental Instability". Nigerian forum, January – March, NIIA publications, Lagos: Nigeria.
- Akinteye, A., Wuye, J.M. and Ashafa, M.N. (2004). "Zango Kataf Crisis: A case study, in Otite, O. and Albert, I.O. (Eds), Community conflicts in Nigeria, Management, Resolution and transformation. Ibadan: Spectrum books Limited.
- Akinwale, A.A. (2011) "Violent crime in party politics and the electoral process in Nigeria's democracy" in Albert, I.O. Danjibo, M.L., Isola O.O. and Faleti, S.A. Nigeria's Democratic elections and Nigeria's national security. Ibadan: John Archers (Publishers) Ltd.
- Albert, I.O. (2011). "Elections and State Fragility in Nigeria's Fourth Republic", In Albert, I.O., Danjibo, N.L., Isola, O.O. and Faleti, S.A. (Eds.), Democratic elections and Nigeria's national security. Ibadan: John Archers (publishers) Ltd.
- Alimba, C.N. and Salihu, N. (2020). "Understanding the root causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria: A perceptual study." *Ethnic Studies Review*, 43 (2),
- Andersen, M.L. and Taylor, H.F. (2005). Sociology, the essentials, (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) USA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Asamu, F. F. (2015). "Theoretical approaches in sociology", in Asamu, F.F. and Babatunde, B.F. (Eds.), Sociology, current and African perspectives. Ilorin: Integrity publication.
- Askari, H. (2022). Political crises and their causes [dunyanews.tv](http://dunyanews.tv)
- Asuzu, O.J. (2007). The politics of being Nigerian. USA: Lulu enterprises.
- Ayinde, E.R. (2008). "Legislature – Executive Relations in Nigeria's Democracy", in Ojo, E.O (Ed), Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria. Ibadan: John Archers (Publishers) Limited
- Babalobi, B. (2020, 22<sup>nd</sup> January). Of Nigeria dying factories and exodus to Ghana. Punch Newspaper. [Punching.com](http://Punching.com)
- Bassey. C.O. (2006). "Legislature – executive relations and the future of democracy in Nigeria", in Ojo, E.O. (Ed.), Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria. Ibadan: John Archers (Publishers) Limited.
- Bello, M.A and Sule, B. (2021). "Party Politics and the fall of the second republic in Nigeria: A reappraisal". *International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Studies (IJHAS)*, 6(2), pp. 37-47.
- Bello, R. and Ajayi, O.O.S. (2000). Research methods and statistical analysis. Ilorin: Haytee press and publishing company limited.
- Best, S.G. and Abdulraham, I. (2004). "The Mangu- Bokkos conflicts on the Jos Plateau" in Otite, O. and Albert, I.O. (Eds.), Community Conflicts in Nigeria, management, Resolution and transformation. Ibadan: Spectrum books Limited.

- Centre for Democracy and Development (2023 March 18) Nigeria recorded 109 deaths in three months linked to 2023 elections – CDD [www.premiumtimesng.com](http://www.premiumtimesng.com)
- Centre for Democracy and Development (2023) Nigeria recorded 109 deaths related to 2023 elections, CDD reveals <https://www.thisdaylive.com>niger..>
- Centre for Democracy and development (2023, 17 March). 109 deaths in three months linked to 2023 polls- CDD. [Punching.com](http://Punching.com)
- Coulibaly, M. and Bratton, M. (2013). “Crises in Mali: Ambivalent Popular attitudes on the way forward”. *Stability International Journal of Security and Development*, 2(2).
- Dare, L. and Oyewole A. (2002). ‘A’ level government textbook for West Africa. Ibadan: Onibonjo press and book industries (Nig.) Limited.
- Delani, D. (2014). Nigeria’s political journey. Ogun: Dele-Ade constant ventures.
- Ediagbonya, M. and Aluko, Y.E. (2020). “The fall of the second republic of Nigeria, 1979 – 1983: A lesson for the future”. *International Journal of Scientific Research and Engineering Development*, 3 (2), pp. 807-827.
- Goh, M.H. (2020). Causes of Crises. [Blog.bcm-institute.org](http://Blog.bcm-institute.org)
- Historyville (2022). How Nigeria’s first republic fell in 1966. [thehistoryville.com](http://thehistoryville.com)
- HistoryVille (2022). How Nigeria’s Second Republic fell in 1983. [thehistoryville.com](http://thehistoryville.com)
- Historyville (2022). How Nigeria’s Third republic failed in 1993. [thehistoryville.com](http://thehistoryville.com)
- <https://dj.univ-danubius.ro>article>
- <https://en.m.wikipedia.org>wiki>
- <https://en.m.Wikipedia.orgs,wiki>.
- <https://www.trade.gov>electricity...>
- Human Rights Watch (2011). Nigeria: Post-election Violence killed 800. [hrw.org](http://hrw.org)
- Imhonopi, D. and Ugochukwu, M.U (2013). “ Leadership crisis and corruption in the Nigerian public sector: An albatross of national development”. The African symposium. *Journal of African Educational Research Network*, 78 (13), pp 78-87.
- Isichei, E. (1987). “The Maitatsine risings in Nigeria, 1980 -85: A revolt of the disinherited”. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 17(3), pp. 194-208.
- Isola, O.O. (2010). Mass media and election violence, 1965 and 1983 experiences in Western Nigeria. Ibadan: John Archers (publishers) Ltd.
- Jain, R. (2012). Sociology, An introduction to sociology. India: AITBS publishers.
- Kothari, C.R. (2017). Research Methodology, method and techniques. 2nd edition
- Leme. A.V. (2017). Understanding farmers- herdsmen conflict and the way forward. International Center for Investigative Reporting. ICIR. [Icirmigeria.org](http://Icirmigeria.org)
- Morlino, L., Schlosser, D.B., and Badie, B. (2017). Political science, a global perspective. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Muhammad, M. (2014). “Nigeria’s tortuous transition after independence: The collapse of the first Republic” in Bako, A., Muhammad, M., Ismaila, Y. and Rufai, M.A. (Eds.), *Issus on Nigeria Peoples and culture*. Kaduna: Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited.
- Mustapha, A. (2021). “The causes and consequences of armed banditry, Kidnapping and cattle rustling in some selected communities in Zamfara State” *Bakolori Journal of General Studies*, 12 (2),PP. 3604-3629.
- Nwagba, B.O, Chukwu, C.C. and Scent, G. A.T. (2020). “Social insecurity and the development of tourism in Nigeria: The Niger Delta experience”. *International Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 3(4), pp. 460-497

- Oche, O.D. (2008). "Nation building and its crises", in Salihu, H.A., Jimoh, I.H., Yusuf, N., and Ojo, E.O. (Eds.), perspectives on nation-building and development in Nigeria. Lagos: Concept publications
- Okeke, G.S.M, (2017). "Nationalism and political development in Nigeria, 1930-1960", in Ologbenla, D.K. and Okeke, G.S.M. (Eds.), Nigerian politics: Issues and perspectives, Lagos: University of Lagos press and bookshop Ltd.
- Okoi, O. and iwara, M. (2021). "The failure of governance in Nigeria: An epistocratic challenge". Georgetown Journal of International Affairs
- Okojie, J. (2022, 23 November). Socio-economic political factors heighten farmer-herder crisis. Business day newspaper. [businessday.ng](https://businessday.ng)
- Olasupo, A. (2018, June 12). Victims of June 12 Struggle demand compensation. The Guardian Newspaper Lagos <https://guardian.ng/news/june12>
- Olayiwola, R.O. (1991). "Political Communications: Press and Politics in Nigeria's Second Republic". *Africa Media Review*, 5(2), pp. 31-45.
- Omodunbi, O.O., Adeyeye, A.I. and Ige, R.A. (2021). Boko haram insurgency in Nigeria: Advancing policy option for a lasting solution. *Danubius Journal*
- Omostoso, F. (2010). "Federalism, Politics and Governance in Nigeria", in Omotoso, F., Agagu, A.A. and Abegunde, O. (Eds), Governance, politics and policies in Nigeria: Porto Novo: Editions SONOU d'Afrique (ESAF).
- Onah, E.I and Okeke, G.S.M. (2017). "Military rule, the civil war and national integration in Nigeria", in Ologbenla, D.K. and Okeke, G.S.M. (Eds.), Nigerian Politics: Issues and Perspectives. Lagos: University of Lagos press and bookshop Ltd.
- Oyediran, O. (2007). Introduction to political science. Ibadan: Oyediran consults international.
- Palinkas, L.A., Horwitz, S.M., Green, C.A., Wisdom, J.P., Duan, N. and Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and policy mental health and mental health services research*, 42 (5), pp. 533-544.
- Punch Newspaper (2022, 3<sup>rd</sup> June). Addressing root causes of banditry, Terrorism in Nigeria. [punchng.com](https://punchng.com)
- Sahara Reporters (2021). How several June 12 protesters were killed by military officers in Lagos. New York.
- Schaefer, R.T. (2012). Sociology (13<sup>th</sup> ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Schwarz, W. (1966). "Tribalism and politics in Nigeria". *The world Today*, 22(11).
- Sekaran, U. and Bougie, R. (2016). Research methods for business: A Skill building approach. John Wiley & sons
- Sirohi, A. (2021). Fundamentals of Sociology. New Delhi: DPH.
- Steve, A., Nwocha, M. and Igwe, I. (2019). "An appraisal of electoral malpractice and violence as an albatross in Nigeria's democratic consolidation". *Beijing Law Review*, (10), pp. 77-97
- Zubair, G.A. (2021). Assessment of Communal conflict, resolution in Nigeria: A comparative analysis of Offa-Erinle and Ife- Modakeke conflicts Kwara State University, Ilorin Kwara State, Nigeria. Unpublished.