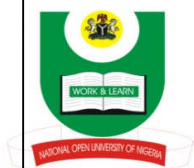**COURSE GUIDE**

POL 424
POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

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CONTENTS   **PAGE**

INTRODUCTION

Welcome to POL 424: Political Parties and Pressure Groups. This course is a three- credit unit course for undergraduate students in Political Science. The materials have been developed to meet global standards. This course guide gives you an overview of the course. It also provides you with relevant information on the organisation and requirements of the course.

COURSE AIMS

The aims are to help you understand political parties, structures, functions merits and demerits in a democratic set-up. The broad aims will be achieved by:

i.   introducing you to the meaning, origin and development of political parties.
ii.   providing you with the knowledge of the political party systems and their structures.
iii.   enabling you to understand that without properly functioning political parties and pressure groups, democracy would be caught stuck in limbo.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

To achieve the aims set out above, POL 424 has broad objectives. In addition, each unit also has specific objectives. The unit objectives are at the beginning of each unit. You should read them before you start working through the unit. You may refer to them in the course of the unit to personally monitor your progress.

On successful completion of the course, you should be able to:

a.   define and understand the meaning, origin and development of political parties
b.   explain the meanings and differences between political parties and pressure groups
c.   realise that each country operates different forms of government whether cabinet or presidential system and that a country decides to adopt a particular system of government because it is suitable for its peculiar circumstances, and also because it has evolved, historically, in response to the specific needs of such society.
d.   use Nigeria as a case study, explain how the different linkage devises   such as political parties and pressure groups developed historically, and function   to   affect   any   political system.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete the course you are required to read the study units and other related materials carefully. The exercises at the end of each unit are to aid you, and to facilitate your understanding of the concepts and issues being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, you will write a final examination.

COURSE MATERIALS

The major materials you will need for this course are:

- Course Guide
- Study Units
- Assignment File

Relevant textbooks including the ones listed under each unit. You may also need to listen to programme and news on radio and television, local and foreign. You need to read newspapers, magazines, journals to broaden your knowledge on the subject.

STUDY UNITS

There are 21 units (of four modules) in this course. Module one is made up of six units while the remaining three modules consist of five units each. They are listed below:

Module 1   Political Parties and Pressure Groups

Unit 1   Meaning of Political Parties
Unit 2   Origin of Political Parties
Unit 3   Party Organisation
Unit 4   Political Ideologies
Unit 5   Features, Functions of Political Ideologies
Unit 6   Political Socialisation

Module 2   Classification of Party System

Unit 1   Single- Party System
Unit 2   Merits and Demerits of Single- Party System
Unit 3   Two -Party Systems
Unit 4   Merits and Demerits of Two-Party System
Unit 5   Multi-Party Systems Features, Merits and Demerits

Module 3   Major Political Crises in Nigeria

Unit 1   Action Groups Crises of 1962
Unit 2   Census Crises of 1962/1963
Unit 3   Federal Election Crisis of 1964
Unit 4   Western Nigerian Election Crises of 1965
Unit 5   The General Election Crises of 1993

Module 4   Pressure Group and Collective Bargaining

Unit 1   Meaning and Origin of Pressure Groups
Unit 2   Classification of Pressure Groups
Unit 3   Techniques Used by Pressure Groups to Achieve their
Objectives
Unit 4   Differences between Political Party and Pressure Group
Unit 5   Collective Bargaining

ASSESSMENT FILE

An assessment file and a marking scheme will be made available to you. In the assessment file, you will find details of the works you must submit to your tutor for marking. There are five aspects of the assessment of this courses the tutor marked and the written examination. The marks you obtain in these two areas will make up your final marks. The assignment must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadline stated in the Presentation, Schedules and the Assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30% of your total score.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

You will have to submit a specified number of the TMAs. Every unit in this course has a Tutor-Marked Assignment. You will be assessed on four of them but the best three performances from the (TMAs) will be used for computing your 30%. When you have completed each assignment, send it together with a Tutor marked Assignment form, to your Tutor. Make sure each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline for submissions. If for any reason, you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor for a discussion on the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless under exceptional circumstances.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination will be a test of three hours. All areas of the course will be examined. Find time to read the unit all over before your

examination. The final examination will attract 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the kind of self-assessment exercise, and tutor marked assignment you have previously encountered. You should use the time between completing the last unit, and taking the examination to revise the entire course.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

The following table lays out how the actual course mark allocation is broken down.

Assessment	Marks
Assignment (Best Three) Assignment out of Four Marked	= 30%
Final Examination	= 70%
Total	= 100%

PRESENTATION SCHEDULE

The dates for submission of all assignment will be communicated to you. You will also be told the date of completing the study units and dates for examinations.

COURSE OVERVIEW AND PRESENTATION SCHEDULE

UNIT	TITLE OF WORK	WEEKS ACTIVITY	
MODULE 1	**MEANING, ORIGIN OF POLITICAL PARTIES**		
Unit 1	Meaning of Political Parties	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Origin of Political Parties	Week 1	Assignment 2
Unit 3	Party Organisation	Week 2	Assignment 3
Unit 4	Political Ideologies, Features, Functions of Political Ideologies.	Week3	Assignment 4
Unit 5	The Franchise	Week 4	Assignment 5
Unit 6	Political Socialisation	Week 5	Assignment 6
MODULE 2	**CLASSIFICATION OF PARTY SYSTEM**		
Unit 1	Single-Party System	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Merits and Demerit of	Week 3	Assignment 2

	Two-party system.		
Unit 3	Two-party Systems	Week 4	Assignment 3
Unit 4	Merits and Demerits of two-party System	Week 4	Assignment 4
Unit 5	Multi-party system-features merits and Demerits.	Week 5	Assignment 5
MODULE 3	**MAJOR POLITICAL CRISES IN NIGERIA**		
Unit 1	The Action Groups Crises of 1962	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Census Crises of 1962/1963	Week 6	Assignment 2
Unit 3	Federal Election Crises of 1964	Week 7	Assignment 3
Unit 4	Western Nigerian Election Crises of 1965	Week8	Assignment 4
Unit 5	The General Election Crises of 1993	Week9	Assignment 5
MODULE 4	**PRESSURE GROUPS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**		
Unit 1	Meaning and Origin of Pressure Groups	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Classification of Pressure Groups	Week10	Assignment 2
Unit 3	Techniques Used by Pressure Group to achieve Objective	Week 11	Assignment 3
Unit 4	Differences between Political Party and Pressure groups	Week 12	Assignment 4
Unit 5	Collective Bargaining	Week 12	Assignment 5
	Revision	1	
	Examination	1	
	Total	17	

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you where to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a reading section. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

1.   Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
2.   Organise a study schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the Assignments relate to the units. Whatever method you choose, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
3.   Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason why students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to help.
4.   Turn to Unit I, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5.   Assemble the study materials. You will need your textbooks as you work, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
6.   Keep in touch with your study center. Up-to-date course information will be continuously available there.
7.   Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet

the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.

8.   Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them, if you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.

9.   When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

10.   When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.

11.   After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

Information relating to the tutorials will be provided at the appropriate time. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must take your tutor-marked assignments to the study center well before the due date (at least two working days is required). They will be marked by your tutor and return to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor if you need help. Contact your tutor if:

-    you do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings
-    you have difficulty with the exercises
-    you have a question or problem with an assignment or with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to- face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn a lot from participating in discussion actively.

SUMMARY

The course guide gives you an overview of what to expect in the course of this study. The course teaches you the meaning, origin, development and structure of political parties. It also acquaints you with the merits and demerits plus techniques used by pressure groups to achieve their objectives.

We wish you success with the course and hope that you will find it interesting and useful.

CONTENTS   PAGE

MODULE 1 MEANING, ORIGIN AND FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Unit 1   Meaning of Political Parties
Unit 2   Origin of Political Parties
Unit 3   Party Organisation
Unit 4   Political Ideologies
Unit 5   Features, Functions of Political Ideologies
Unit 6   Political Socialisation

UNIT 1   MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Some Definitions of Political Parties
        3.2   Features of Political Parties
        3.3   Functions of Political Parties
        3.4   Types of Political Parties
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Political Party and Pressure Group

It is in the nature of man not to live alone, he lives in human society. This is the reason the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle said, *man is a political animal.* Because he lives in a society, he needs to interact with other people, develop rules and regulations that govern his continued existence in the society. It can be safety concluded that man has since engaged in politics. Right from the time of Greek city states, mankind has always lived in communities with various political structures that suit his environment. Political parties and pressure groups are very important in any democratic system of government. Adigun Agbaje in Remi Anifowose (1999:192) puts it succinctly when he said,

> Political parties and pressure groups in a supposedly democratic country is worse than tea without sugar, it is like trying to pass brown water as tea. There can be no meaningful

1

democracy without a properly functioning party
and pressure groups process. It is obvious,
therefore that parties and pressure groups
constitute the heart of democracy - the more
vigorous and healthy they are, the better assured
is the health of the democratic process itself.

The above view is supported by Johari, J.C. (2008:423) when he
remarked that "modern democracy has procreated the system of political
parties and organised interest pressure groups as an indispensable factor
in its operations". It is essential that in any electoral democracy, party
system is crucial for easy conduct of elections in this complex nature of
today's politics. It will be out of place to talk of democracy without
mentioning "participation and representation" (Remi Anifowose, 1999:
193). We cannot talk of democracy without looking at the concept of
participation. This describes the extent of individual participation in the
political activity of his community. There should be opportunity for
people to participate in the political system of the society they live in.
This can be in form of election or selection.

Representation on the other hand is the process by which people
are chosen to act on behalf of the community.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define political party
- mention some attributes of a political party
- explain some functions of a political party.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Some Definitions of Political Parties

There are several definitions on this important topic. It is essential we
examine a few of them. But by and large, a lot of people agree that
political parties are organised group of people who come together to
pursue specific policies and objectives with the motive of taking control
of state power, by acting together as a political unit.

Michael Curtis in (Johari, 2008:423) is of the view that political party is
notoriously difficult to define accurately because Liberal and Marxist
writers differ sharply on this issue. The definition given by Edmund
Burke, an English writer and leader was greatly celebrated. He said a
political party is "a body of men united for promoting the national

interest on some particular principles in which they all agreed" (Chikendu, 2003:42). One thing that is important here is that a political party is a body of men united to promote national interest that they all agreed upon. (Ofoegbu, 1976) gave a clearer picture when he remarked that "a political party is an organisation of like-minded citizen which seeks to promote and advance certain general objectives on which its members agreed", (Chikendu, 2003:42).

Adigun Agbaje (1999:195) said "a political party is a group of persons bonded in policy and opinion in support of a general political cause which essentially is the pursuit, capture and retention for as long as democratically feasible, of government and its offices." He went further by quoting (Wilson J.O. 1992: 138) "that a political party is a group that seeks to elect candidates to public office by supplying them with a label - a party identification by which they are known to the electorate". In his view, a political party should have three clear variables (1) a label in the minds of its members and the electorates (2) an organisation that campaign for candidates seeking elective offices (3) leaders that controls the legislative and executive arms of the government.

It is interesting to note that the views of the Americans are different regarding definition of a political party. They view "political party as an instrument of catching power" (Johari, 2008:424). A political party is a platform or machinery for taking part in the struggle for power. Johari went further and declared that "a political party is an agency to mobilise people's support at the time of elections; it is an instrument for aggregation of interest that demands vociferous articulation" (Johari, 2008:424). Grotty said that "a political party is a formally organised group that performs the functions of educating the public ... that recruits and promotes individual for public office and that provides a comprehensive linkage function between the public and governmental decision makers" (Johari, 2008:424). From the definitions above, it is clear that a political party should have three essential features (1) an organisation of individual who have common interest that they all agreed upon (2) it is an organisation that should struggle for state power and (3) the members must make efforts to implement the policies and programmes of the party through constitutional means.

The view of Curtis is quite essential in the definition of a political party. He remarked, "Essentially, a party signifies a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common or who are prepared to support the party candidate, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power" (Johari, 2008:424). Here Curtis stressed the importance of holding a common belief and support for candidates to achieve electoral success.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Give some definitions of a political party.
ii.   Explain the common attributes to these definitions.

3.2   Features of Political Parties

A political party must have certain features and characteristics that will differentiate it from pressure groups. As political associations develop, they metamorphose into political parties in today's politics. A political party should have clearly stated ideologies. An ideology may be defined "as an action oriented system of ideas or beliefs that identifies the problems besetting the structures and process of a society, and the alternative programmes and strategies for establishing another system that will overcome the observed deficiencies" (Akeke Ayeni, 2008: 168). All ideologies are expected to bring about positive social change to the present condition of the society and even in the future. Some ideologies aim towards changing structures and process of society into something new and better, while others aim at maintaining and preserving the ones on the ground.

Apart from ideology, political parties should aim at contesting elections in order to gain political power and subsequently govern the country. A political party is supposed to air their views on topical issues affecting the country. People who share similar political opinions, interest and beliefs normally come together because political parties are supposed to be associations of people of like-minded interests. It is normally said that birds of the same feather, flock together. Political parties should be organised in such a way that everybody in the society will be aware of. In addition, they always employ persuasive techniques when they want to appeal to the electorates rather than using coercive means, they organise rallies, congresses and conventions as part of their normal duties.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Describe some attribute of a political party.
ii.   Define the term ideology.

3.3   Functions of Political Parties

Having looked at the main features of political parties, let us now look at the functions they perform. In any society, political parties perform the function of interest articulation. They channel the interest of their members and encourage them to contest and win election and ultimately form government. Political parties harmonise interest of their members

in the political process and make efforts to satisfy these various interests so that people would know the direction of voting.

Political parties also arouse interest of their members before and during election. In some way, they serve as a bridge or link that connects people with the government. They also educate the people about government policies and disseminate vital information to the members of the public. It must be noted that political parties mobilise public opinion in favour or against a particular policy of the government. They perform this function by means of mass rallies, flags uniform/vests, slogans and other symbols of unity in order to show the relationship between the people and the party, i.e. the spirit of togetherness.

In socialist states, political party is one of the important organs of mobilising the people in favour of government policies. In liberal democratic states, parties that are not in support of government policies use the same method to mobilise the people against any policy (Akinbade, 2008: 199). It is an avenue for changing government. In a cabinet system of government, the party that wins the majority of votes is asked to form government and the party that fails to win forms the opposition. Besides in the presidential system of government, the candidate that wins the highest number of votes in the general election is elected the president. A political party that wins in the general election seeks to implement policies and programmes stated in the manifestoes and generally provide national direction of the affairs of the country.

Closely related to the above stated function are the issues of political recruitment. It is a known fact that "no modern political system can function without the mobilisation and deployment of highly qualified and dedicated individuals of various kinds engineers, teachers, scientist, doctors, administrators and soldiers to operate the institutions of the state". (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:152). These professionals serve in the administrative cadre on merit.

Political parties help the electorate to actively participate in election. To achieve this, political parties educate the people about crucial issues relating to the political system. Parties may nominate candidates that have very good chances of winning election. They often do this by sponsoring candidates with money, campaign materials, etc. (Ayeni Akeke, 2008: 131). "In sum, parties contribute immensely to the vitality and stability of governments, particularly in competitive, democratic political systems where parties alternate power" (Johari, 2008:424). This enables the smooth transfer of political power from one party to the other in the electoral competition.
Political representation is another major function. In view of the fact that modern states are generally too large in size, population and complex to

permit direct participation of the people in the government of their affairs, political parties appropriately fit-in and adequately represent the views and opinions of the people.

Party organisation is another avenue for leaders to control their members and members of a political party can issue threat against a leader in the next election when such a leader fails to comply with the wishes of their members. (Adigun Agbaje in Anifowose, 1999: 197) puts it this way, "political parties are major "in-putting" devises that ensure that government heed the needs and wishes of the larger society"; this clearly emphasises the enormous power of political parties. Besides the above mentioned fact, political parties serve as a unifying factor for different sectional interest regardless of their ethnic origin or religious affiliation thereby promoting sense of national unity.

Political parties also perform welfare, social and humanitarian functions like provision of jobs for its members and building recreational centers. Some parties even establish business enterprises like hotels, newspapers, etc. to generate fund for the party. It must be emphasised that without political parties, conduct of elections would be tedious, rowdy and outrightly uninteresting.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the various ways by which political parties educate the electorate.
ii.   Discuss the functions of political parties.

3.4   Types of Political Parties

There are two basic types of political parties according to (Maurice Duverger, 1962): the mass party and the elite party. He used membership to differentiate them. The expansion of franchise led to the growth of the mass party. According to J.C. Johari (241:433) this party believes in the principles of election in order to give credence to its legitimacy. One characteristic of the mass party is that it recruits new members to its fold in an open manner. It has workers, traders, artisans and even the bourgeoisie as members. The primary motive of this party is to open its door to all citizens. This party does not discriminate, regardless of tribe, class or religion. Their programmes and policies are developed after due consultation with majority of the people in the party. There are several reasons for the emergence of the mass party. Among them are; demand for reformation of existing institutions in the society, desire to invite various groups in the society under one umbrella, demand for popular participation and self-rule during the colonial era.

As noted by Akinbade (2008:195) the elite party on the other hand, is a party of the important personalities in the society. It is a party of the notables. Members believe in the principle of "selection" (Johari, 2011:432). They take important steps in the formulation of the policies and programmes of the party including nomination of candidates for election, campaigns, fund-raising, etc. The party takes cognisance of candidates who are capable of fighting elections, expert in organisation for the benefit of the party. The conservative party in Brittan started as an elitist party. The party is restricted only to the notables. It should be noted that the increased suffrage made the party to open up several local branches in order to secure political power.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Enumerate some features of mass party.
ii.   Examine the roles of the notables in the formation of elite party.

4.0   CONCLUSION

This unit has given us meaning, features and functions of political parties and we examined a few definitions of political parties and types of political party, i.e. mass party and elite party with some of their characteristics.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we attempted a few definitions from various scholars and we said a political party consists of people who have similar interest on public issues and organised as political unit to control state power through competitive election. The primary objective of a political party is to achieve political power and govern the country.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Define the term political party.
2.   Explain the characteristics of political parties.
3.   Discuss the main functions of a political party.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2   ORIGIN OF POLITICAL PARTIES

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Origin of Political Parties
        3.2   Origin of Political Parties in Britain
        3.3   Origin of Political Parties in the United States
        3.4   The spread of Political Parties to other Nations
        3.5   Impact of Social Structure on Nigeria's Political Parties
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The introduction of electoral democracy brought the idea of political party and party system. But before the advent of electoral democracy, there existed in the advanced nations of the world, i.e. USA, Britain, etc. different types of public offices for smooth administration of these nations (Shively, 2008:248). These public structures were mayors, parliamentary members, etc. and they were filled by heritage, outright purchase, and even bribery (Shively, 2011: 256). There was no yardstick or standard for filling these offices. However, with the introduction of electoral democracy, a new dimension was introduced and people were elected into public offices.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   explain how political party was born
•   state how it spread to other nations across the globe.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Origin of Political Parties

Political parties developed in the late 1600s. The ancient Greeks that pioneered the idea of developing democracy had no organised political parties as we know it today. Two groups represented people of different interests in the senate of the ancient Rome. These were the Patricians represented the noble families while the Plebeians represented the rich

and the middle class. In most cases, these two groups often mingled and voted differently or as parties on issues that were considered relevant to the groups they represented. After the fall of Rome (AD476) the people of Europe had no tangible voice in politics. In this way, there were no true political parties and only groups or factions that supported one noble family or the other. It can be concluded that political parties developed as representative assembly gained power and eventually this change started in England after Popish plot of 1678.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the roles the Patricians and Plebeians in the politics of ancient Rome.
ii.   Describe the changes noticed in politics in England after Popish plot of 1678.

3.2   Origin of Political Parties in Britain

There has been a lot of debates regarding when political parties came into existence in England whether it was during the period of exclusion crisis 1679-1681 or when the terms Whig and Tory were first used as party labels or not until after the glorious revolution 1688-1689 or over the types of the relationship that existed between the court and countries identities and partisan political loyalties. However, the period of Exclusion Crisis in England is usually considered the time political parties came into existence and the struggle between the Whigs who wanted total exclusion of the Catholic heir James II (ruled 1685-1688) from succession on the grounds of his religion and the Tories championed divine right monarchy. In this regard, some believed that the first Whigs were truly a party while Tories were not. Some were of the opinion that neither grouping was a true party because they lacked universally recognisable leader and ideological coherence. It should be noted that the difference between Whigs and Tories in the 16th century was their view of what government should do and how strong it should be. The Tories favoured and wanted rule by a strong king, while the Whigs wanted ordinary people to have access to the control of the government. As events unfold, the parliament had greater control and both the Whigs and Tories eventually emerged into organised political parties.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Briefly examine the origin and growth of political parties from the Exclusion Crisis 1679-1681.
ii.   Analyse the differences in the views of Whigs and Tories in the 1600s.

3.3   Origin of Political Parties in the United States

The first political parties emerged in United States during the period of the country's first president, George Washington. The parties were the Federalist and the Democratic-Republicans. The Federalist Party was created by the Alexandra and Haniton, Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of George Washington. The anti-federalist were then in the opposition and it was organised by Congress men James Madison and Thomas Jefferson.

In the history of United States, there have been two main political parties namely the Federalist and the anti-federalist and the two parties have metamorphosed into what we know as Democrats and Republicans. There is absolute freedom to create new political parties and the newly created parties focus on specific issues even though they lack the capability to win national election. This is because voters believe their votes will count only when they use it to elect a candidate from one or the two major political parties. The Federalist strongly believes in central government backed by the constitution. They equally supported industrialisation, national bank, government aids to build roads, canals, etc. While the opposition or the anti-federalist held opposite views. The anti-federalist supported the right of the state.

In 1854 the anti–slavery forces and free soil forces formed the republican parties. The Republican presented their first candidate, John C. Fremont in 1856. There were four major parties in 1860 and the voters had a wide choice. These parties were - Northern Democrat, Southern Democrat, Republican and the Constitutional - Union party that draw some ex-Whigs. The great anti-slavery emotions favoured the Republican to capture the presidency for Abraham Lincoln. However, in 1861 the Southern state separated and it resulted into the civil war. The United States has a two - party system and nothing in the constitution stipulates two parties. The Democrats and the Republicans have alternated power before the civil war simply because they presented candidates and policies that appeal to the American. The minor political parties focus on specific issues and ideas. In some cases they draw substantial support that affect the outcome of elections.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Briefly trace the origin and growth of political parties in United States of America.
ii.   Examine the roles of the anti–slavery forces and free soil forces in the formation of Republican Party.

3.4   The Spread of Political Parties to other Nations

It was not too long that other countries that are electoral democracies copied the idea of political parties. Political parties had spread to eastern European State; an autocratic state like Egypt has the National Democratic Party and Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front, etc. In West Africa, political parties developed as a result of self-improvement associations with the sole aim of influencing colonial government to grant independence to various countries.

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was formed in Accra, then Gold Coast now Ghana in the early 1920s by Joseph Casely Harford and Dr. Akinbade Savage of Nigeria. The main demand of this body was granting elective principle to various countries. They sent a delegation to London to meet the Secretary of State, Lord Milner. The request was turned down and they came back home with disappointment. But however, the Clifford Constitution of 1922 granted elective principle to the legislative council of Nigeria which was subsequently approved by the new British Secretary of State for colonies Winston Churchill. This gave Nigeria the unique opportunity to adopt the elective principle in 1922. The Clifford Constitution of 1922 created conducive atmosphere for the formation of political parties. Herbert Macaulay seized this opportunity and he formed the Nigeria National Democratic Party in 1923. He was regarded as the father of Nigerian nationalism.

Herbert Macaulay won all the entire three seats reserved for Lagos in the Legislative Council of 1923, 1933 and 1938 respectively. Similar rival political parties emerged on the political scene. These were: The Peoples Union (1923), Union of Young Nigerians (1923), The Nigerian Youth Movement (1937), The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (1944), The Northern Element Progressive Associations (1945), The Northern Element Progress Union (1950) The Action Group (1951), The Northern People's Congress (1951), The United National Independent Party (1953), The United Middle Belt Congress (1955), formed through the merger between the Middle Belt League (1950), and the Middle Belt People Party (1953), Borno Youth Movement (1956), The Dynamic Party (1955) and The National Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons (1958), (Jinadu, L. Adele, 2011:3).

It is however clear that modern political party in Africa is generally off-shoot of parties formed during colonial regimes. One interesting thing about the formation of political party is that beside the original aim of some office holders to maintain their jobs, it has served unification function that binds members of similar views together which Shively calls "miracle glue."

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the formation and growth of National Council of British West Africa.
ii.   Describe the formation of Nigerian National Democratic Party.

3.5   Impact of the Social Structure on Political Parties of Nigeria

The discussion on this unit would not be complete without mentioning the impact of the social structure on these political parties. Shortly after the Second World War, most of the political parties that sprang up can be regarded as "developmental circumstances". This can be divided or grouped into different categories. It could be on "class, religion, language, and ethno-communal, rural/urban divide, ideology and educational levels (Adele Jinadu, 2011: 3). We should note that most of the nationalists that dominated the political scene in the early 60s were a combination of petit–bourgeois, middle class and proletarian strata of the society. In spite of these glaring differences, the spirit of competition, ethno-federal structure, they didn't forget traditional rulers and cultural tradition. For instance, the Action Group that was formed in 1951 metamorphosed from Egbe Omo Oduduwa, a Yoruba Cultural Organisation that was established as early as 1945 in London. Equally, the Northern People Congress (NPC) had its root in the Northerner's Cultural Organisation known as Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa founded in 1949. It was dominated by the Hausa/Fulani.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Most of the political parties that were formed shortly after the Second World War were products of developmental circumstances, discuss.
ii.   Briefly trace the origin and growth of Action Group.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this unit, we remarked that political parties did not just develop until 1600s and the ancients Greek who were the pioneers of modern democracy had no organised political parties. It was the senate of the ancient Rome that had two groups that represented the people's interest, i.e. the patricians and the plebeians. Several years after the fall of Rome in (AD 476) the people of Europe had little say in politics. Political parties developed as representative assemblies gained power.

5.0   SUMMARY

Political parties came into existence in England during the Exclusion Crisis (1679-1681) during the use of the terms Whig and Tory as party labels, others believe it was after the glorious revolution (1688-1689). Whatever may be said about the age of political parties, it is usually dated to the period of the Exclusion Crisis and the struggle between the Whigs who wanted the exclusion of the Catholic heir James II that ruled from (1685-1688) from succession on the ground of his religion and the Tories that champion the divine right of the monarchy. Because of the controversy whether the first Whigs were a party and the Tory were not, some insisted that none of the two groups was a true party. As time rolled on, the parliament took greater control and Whigs and Tory developed into organised political parties.

The United States has a two-party system. The federalist and the anti-federalist which later changed to Democrats and Republicans and they have alternated power since before the civil war. We remarked that the growth and development of the political parties in West Africa started with the introduction of Clifford Constitution of 1922 in Nigeria. Nigeria was the first country to enjoy the principle of election in Africa. The first political party in Nigeria was established by Herbert Macaulay in 1923 when three seats were allocated to Lagos and one for Calabar in the Legislative Council. Other parties like National Youth Movement (NYM) Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and a host of other political parties followed.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Briefly trace the origin and growth of political parties across the globe.
2.   Analyse the functions of political parties.
3.   Explain briefly the formation of political parties in Nigeria.

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UNIT 3   PARTY ORGANISATION

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   The Caucus
        3.2   The Branch
        3.3   The Cell
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION: PARTY ORGANISATION

There is no formal structure or pattern about the way a political party should be organised. Each party is free to adopt the method of organisation it wishes. Take for instance, the United States of America, political parties are loosely organised. It is very difficult to know those who are card carrying members and those who are not. In some countries if one wishes to be a member of a political party, he or she can apply for registration and pay the stipulated dues as prescribed by the party's constitution and the person would be issued a membership card. This is the normal organisational structure which may affect the role of an individual as a political party member. Akinbade puts it clearly "the type of party organisation depends on the kind of methods they employ to realise their objectives. This implies that political parties create certain structures in order to capture political power" (Akinbade, 2008:193).

Maurice Duverger, a popular French political scientist classified party organisation in four basic groups using membership as sole factor of differentiating them. We shall briefly look at some of them and see how relevant in today's political organisation: the caucus, branch, cell, and the militia. We shall examine the ones relevant to our political system.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

• explain the organisation of political parties
• discuss various party organisations.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Caucus

The caucus consists of small membership without permanent structure and is run by a few wealthy notables. Beside, the organisation is highly restrictive in terms of admitting members to its fold. It places emphasis on quality rather than quantity. It is also of interest to note that the organisation is very effective only during the election and immediately folds up when the elections are over. Due to the extension of the franchise, the growth of caucus party organisation has seriously declined. The British Labour Party before (1918) is an example of caucus party (Akinbade, 2008:193).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the various categories of Maurice Duverger's party organisation.
ii.   Outline some of the characteristics of caucus party organisation.

3.2   The Branch

This is a mass party that admits the largest number of people to its fold and is very common in today's politics where all category of people register as members. It has offices in all parts of Nigeria. The party structure is highly centralised with an executive committee as the highest organ of decision-making. The various political parties in Nigeria resemble this structure in terms of recruitment of members. Let us look at the Peoples Democratic Party as an example. Membership of this party can be obtained by applying to the ward chairman through the secretary where one lives and the applicant pays the prescribed registration fees of admission. Nigerians who are eighteen years and above are qualified for admission as party members; membership cards are then issued to registered members with his or her photograph attached. The party is organised and administered at the following levels: (a) Ward (b) Local Government Area (LGA); (c) Senatorial District (d) State (e) Zonal and (f) National. PDP as a party, also create informal units in order to mobilise voters for elections not the State House of Assembly, the Federal Constituency and Senatorial Constituency. A party secretariat is also created at all levels of the party. The party is also divided into various organs right from Ward Executive Congress to National Congress to enhance easy decision-making process.

There is a national working committee that is solely charged with the responsibility of day to day administration of the party and is

responsible to the National Executive Committee. The national working committee is also empowered to act in case of emergency and perform any other function assigned to it by the National Executive Committee. PDP has National Caucus that is composed of the National Chairman, the President and Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Senate President and other high ranking officers. The main function of the national caucus is to harmonise the relationship between the executive and the legislative arm of the government. It also reviews and advice on important policies and programmes of government. It is interesting to note that all officers at ward level, local government area, state and zonal levels have the same powers like their counterpart at national level regarding performance of functions relating to their offices. All party officers shall hold office for a term of four years and may be re-elected for another term and no more.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Describe the hierarchical structure of the organisation of the PDP.
ii.   Discuss the main features of branch party organisation.

3.3   The Cell

This is a work place- based organisation and was established by revolutionary socialists. The activities of this type of party are restricted to the working environment only and that is why people believe that its operations and working are secretive. They take major decisions in the place of work and pass necessary information there also. There is no such kind of party in capitalist countries. It is socialist in nature and origin.

Since we described the set-up and organisational structure of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) above, it will not be out of place to also look at the organisation of a rival party to PDP, i.e. the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). It is even clear now that ACN has teamed up with three other political parties to form All Peoples Congress (APC) in order to be able to dislodge PDP from power and rule the country in the next election in 2015. The two other parties that formed the APC are Congress for Progressive Change and All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP). The organisational structure of this new alliance is still being worked out. So we shall look at the ACN. The party wishes to promote, preserve the sovereignty, unity and progress of Nigeria.

It equally aims at promoting the welfare and happiness of the people based on justice, freedom and equality, etc. The party has the aim of building a new nation, which will provide equal opportunity for all her people, with mutual respect and peaceful co-existence. Admission to the

party is open to all Nigerians regardless of the place of origin, religion or tribe and to be admitted to the party, a person must be up to eighteen years old, register in a ward where he/she lives, pay the stipulated registration fees, possession of the party identity/registration card and must not be a member of another political party.

In terms of organisation and administration, the party has the following levels in ascending order of hierarchy the ward, the local government area, state and national. This pattern of organisational structure is similar to the organisational structure of PDP. It is interesting to note that ACN has provision for zonal political arrangement that may suit peculiar circumstances. The constitution of ACN provides twelve party organs for effectiveness of the working of the party. Some of these are in descending order of hierarchy. The National Convention, the Board of Trustees, The National Executive Committee, The State Congress, The State Elders Forum, The State Executive Committee, to the Ward Executive Committee.

It must be stressed here that each organ has its power and functions rights from the Ward Executive Committee to the National Convention which is the highest organ of the party and each of these organs perform its own function for the general progress and development of the party so that the party would achieve its goal of securing power and subsequently govern the country. ACN had consistently pursued this objective of providing strong and effective leadership   for the country and that is probably why it has team-up with other two parties to form a strong opposition to the ruling PDP government in the next election in the year 2015. The crack in the PDP is a good omen for the APC as a party, but however it is too early to comment on the possibility of success of this new alliance.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the structure of the organisation of ACN as a political party.
ii.   Examine the similarities between organisational structure of PDP and ACN.

4.0   CONCLUSION

There is no formal structure of how a party should be organised. Each party uses its discretion but a party should be organised in such a way that it would realise or achieve its primary objectives of winning in an election and forming the government.

5.0   SUMMARY

Party organisation is very crucial for parties to achieve their aims and objectives. A party should have a wide geographical spread in order to be able to reach the people. We examined the main characteristics of Duverger's classification of party organisation - i.e. the Caucus established by the notables with small membership and emphasises quality rather than quantity. The Branch or the mass party recruits large number of members to its fold with a centralised executive committee as the highest organ of decision making body. The cell is an essentially work-based organisation. It is socialist in nature and origin. We examined the organisational structure of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Action Congress of Nigerian (ACN).

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine the features of Branch party organisation.
2.   Explain the merger of ACN, CPC and ANPP.
3.   Briefly evaluate the performance of the PDP led government since 1991.

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UNIT 4   POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Some Definitions of Ideology
        3.2   Features of Ideology
        3.3   Functions of Ideology
        3.4   Major Political Ideologies
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The term "ideology" has been defined by several social scientists in different ways according to their perception and prevailing circumstances at a particular moment. The term ideology was credited to a French philosopher (Antoine, Destuh de Tracy,1754-1835). The term ideology according to Tracy means "Science of Ideas" (Remi, Anifowose, 1999:74). But later, other scholars gave their own interpretations to the term ideology.

Generally, ideology is supposed to be an organised set of related ideas that modify and support each other.

All ideologies are meant to be futuristic that is to bring changes to the present conditions of the society in the future.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the term ideology
- describe features of an ideology
- explain the functions of political ideology.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Some Definitions of Ideology

Many scholars have defined the term ideology in several ways from their own perspectives and inclinations. Karl Mannheim, a sociologist

defined ideology as "interest based and biased ideas of the dominant class in the society" (Remi Anifowose, 1999:75).

Karl Marx used the term to express class struggle and domination, Reochristians *et al* puts it succinctly when he described ideology as, "The values or principles that those who exercise or seek political power refer to in order to lend legitimacy to their acts" (Remi Anifowose, 1999.75). Naturally, all leaders want to legitimise their actions by using an ideology. Another scholar, Ayeni-Akeke defined it comprehensively when he said "an ideology may be defined as an action oriented system of ideas or beliefs that identifies the problems besetting the structure and processes of a society, and the alternative programmes and strategies for establishing another system that will overcome the observed deficiencies" (Akeke, 2008:168). An ideology should be capable of clearly identifying problems of the society and proffer solutions to the identified problems.

Shively said that an "ideology is an organised set of related ideas that modify one another" (Shively, 2011:20). An ideology should contain ideas that are related to each other and support each other for societal growth and development. Shively went further to say in terms of politics "an ideology, then, while it is an organised ideas, but as it absorbs new ideas in itself, evolves and is slowly modified" (Shively, 2011:21). We quite agree that an ideology should be capable of absorbing new ideas and bringing further ideas in order to ameliorate the living conditions of the people. The definition given by Destuil de Tracy is quite revealing. He said ideology means "Science of ideas or systematic study of origin, nature and development of ideas" (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:168). This definition is all encompassing and comprehensive. Other scholars that have given their definitions built on the foundation laid by de Tracy.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define the term ideology.
ii.   Identify and analyse the most comprehensive among these definitions.

3.2   Features of an Ideology

Having looked at the meaning of ideology, let us now consider some of the features of an ideology. Ideology differs from each other and the extent to which the central issues are woven. The central issue could be economic, religious or cultural. The issues should be identified and clearly explained in simple straightforward language. The circumstance that leads to formulation of ideology differs. Some may be due to prevailing criminal acts in the society, level of poverty, insurrection,

violence, etc. the conditions that gave rise to these problems and the intended solutions are spelt out. Despite the differences in ideologies, there are some common features; one of them is that they tend to develop or arise during the period of social and political change and crisis in the society when all institutional and structural arrangements fails to deal with the prevailing situation (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:169). Most ideologies are stated with persuasive language with a view to convince the people that it is for their benefit and further explain how obstacles and problems would be overcome. Shively is of the view that ideologies tend to take life of their own after being formulated- "ideologies are not simply the creation of those who hold them; they tend to take on a life of their own and guide their holders' political views in unanticipated ways (Shively, 2011:21).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss some features of an ideology.
ii.   Analyse a few similarities that are common to ideologies.

3.3   Functions of an Ideology

Ideologies are useful to individuals and the public as a group. On the individual level, it helps to make reasonable choice from legions of political questions that we daily come in contact with. Shively opined that "an ideology helps us make sense out of politics for ourselves and gather allies for public argument. We develop our ideologies in such a way that they fit our needs and predispositions, reflecting what we want; but they also take on a life of their own and guide our decisions" (Shively, 2011:21). Ideology also helps to explain one's attitudes, beliefs, and values based on strong conviction to other people that one's motives and intentions are not selfish or self-centered.

On the general public, ideology serves the function of mobilisation and integration. Any social group, whether political party, pressure group, ethnic, or communal associations needs to be mobilised and integrated together in order to enhance the objective and goals of the organisation. This is only possible through ideology since it holds or unites members together. Ideology can serve as a dynamic force in the life of an individual by providing them with a sense of "identity, place, motivation and commitment" (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:170). An ideology can equally create awareness, in a group to enable people to evaluate their environments, the changes taking place and what their reactions would be.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Analyse the functions of an ideology.
ii.   Explain functions of an ideology to an individual.

3.4   Major Features Political of Ideology

We have said that an ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and values that guides political, economic and social actions of a nation. It gives direction to political and economic system of the society. People often describe ideologies according to their political inclinations, ideologies to the right or left, reactionary or radical, conservative or revolutionary.

These terms were used during the French Revolution to describe and give meaning to the sitting arrangement of the supporters and non-supporters of the king. Precisely, those who sat to the rights of the king were those who favour the regime of the king and want its rule to continue while those who sat to the left wanted or supported complete overhaul to the institution of the state. Right is often used in economic sense to describe the rich and affluent members of the society who are in favour of private enterprise with little government interference. Those who favour this type of ideology can be considered selfish and weak. They do not want change and they want the existing status-quo to continue so that there will be peace and orderliness in the political system. The leftist on the other hand, are the radicals who are not satisfied with the existing state of affairs in the society. They have positive views of the nature of man and the society. They favour changes in all aspects of human endeavour and that man is social, can reason and should develop all his potentials to realise or achieve his goals. They support government control of the economy. We should bear in mind that the leftist or left wing who wants a change whether by peaceful or violent means to the existing order of the society are radicals. That is why they sometimes advocate for government to take over full control of all productive and distributive ventures of the state so that every citizen can benefit.

Ayeni-Akeke clearly differentiated the radicals and revolutionaries. He said "leftist ideologies who advocate moderate changes in the existing structure of the society or system of government by peaceful means are called "radicals" while those who go further and advocate complete overhaul of the system, if necessary, by violent means, are referred to as revolutionaries (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:171). It is important to note that these ideologies can be classified into three broad groups; Ayeni Akeke classified them as follows: ideologies as left, right and centre. "Socialism, communion and anarchism fall into the left category, conservatism and fascism fall into right and liberalism into the centre"

(Ayeni Akeke, 2008:173). Let us have a brief look at the description of major political ideologies.

Capitalism is an economic and political system that allows private ownership of means of production, distribution and exchange. This system allows individuals to own property; while government participation is very low. Private individuals who have economic capability can participate in all sector of the economy. In this type of economic system, profit is the main motive for the individual. All the advanced or developed nations of the world such as Japan, North America and Australia, etc. adopted capitalist economic system. Those who favour capitalism, belong to the right wing in view of the fact that they believe in gradual and peaceful change. They are also very conservative. Those who favour socialism and communism belong to the left wing. In this type of system, there is absolute freedom to participate in all the economic ventures of the state and the few rich people amass huge capital at the expense of the poor. It is an open system that permits inequality of wealth and opportunities among various segment of the society. Some of the features of capitalism include:

Private enterprises are the basis of the economy; the state exercises minimum control over the economy; profit is the sole motive of establishing the enterprises; political power is in the hand of a few individual; freedom of choice to consumers; owners of property to buy whatever they like; there are many producers as well as many buyers and competitive spirit among various producers. In this system also, there is class war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It should be pointed out that for the interest of the public; the government regulates the activities of private companies and enterprises to avoid total monopoly and undue exploitation of the masses.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define capitalism.
ii.   Examine the salient features of capitalism.

Conservatism: those who believe in this ideology, perceives the society from organic point of view. They do not differentiate between the state and the society and the interest of the society is higher and greater than the interest of individuals. The conservatives believe in the preservation of the interest of the society and objectives, and practices of the state should naturally put them into consideration. Conservatism detests individualism of liberal ideology. They place maximum regard on collectivity than individuality. The conservatives also believe that men are not equal and that people are gifted more than each other.

According to conservatives those who are really gifted contributed more to the society and should be given the chance of leadership in the society. The few that are really gifted constitute the minority in the society and they should be honored. This view was supported by Edmond Burke, an English political leader and philosopher, who remarked that "some men are equipped by nature or heredity with qualities and capabilities that make them fit for positions of leadership" (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:174). Long before his view, Plato, Machiavelli to Hobbes had all said the same thing. The people who are not gifted if given the chance or opportunity of leadership would not be able to tolerate those who do not share their opinions and therefore they would be oppressive and wicked.

This would be clearly against the structure of the society. This is the basic reason the conservative rejected any reform that would not allow the few gifted people to rule. Ayeni Akeke posits that "it is for this reason that conservatives are against political reforms or innovations that would dilute the monopoly of governing by the aristocracy" (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:175). This does not necessarily mean that the conservatives accept the domination of lesser mortals by gifted and powerful. The conservative welcomes power not as an end but as a means of reward for anyone who is naturally endowed. People should rely on themselves, work hard and be honest while the government should protect the interest of the people.

Socialism: Socialist ideology began right from the time of Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1712-1778, early nineteen–century thinkers and efforts of philosophers like Claude Henri Saint Simon 1760-1825, Charles Fourier 1772-1837 and Robert Owen 1717-1885. Most people enormously equate socialism with the ideas of Karl Marx. These philosophers were moved by the misery of the people of their time and propounded the ideas of resettling them into smaller communities whereby their basic needs would be met. They believe that by appealing to the conscience of the powerful and influential people around them, the needs of the people can be met without resorting to violence and disorderly behavior. Robert Owen experimented this by organising workers in his factory and he constructed cheap houses for them.

Another type of socialism is what is known as democratic socialism. The main purpose of this was to fight the ills of capitalism. The democratic socialists called for abolition of private ownership of means of production, distribution and control. The democratic socialists limited their activities to public and social ownership of means of production. The main concern of socialism is "opposition to poverty, economic exploitation, social stratification and political domination and oppression" (Akeke, 2008:180). The socialists believe that man can

reason very well and capable of taking independent and rational actions. Socialism is mainly an egalitarian ideology. The socialists believe in equal rights; can govern themselves; overriding interest of the majority over those of the minority.

Liberalism: This concept is not precisely defined but regards human as "partly-social, partly self-centered" but equal, free, reasoning and rational individuals who can determine their own needs and how to attain them"(Akeke, 2008:177). They hold the belief that human life is very important as a member of the society. It places emphasis on the individual that he is intelligent, self-loving, creative who struggle to excel in all possible ways. The liberalist rationalises and justifies individualism based on the belief that self-love is a natural attribute that must be satisfied in order to be happy.

They do not believe that people should be forced to do or accomplish anything since man is capable of reasoning by himself. They contend that those that are put in authority should provide opportunity for individual to excel according to his innate ability. The liberals have the strong conviction that justice will prevail if individuals are rewarded according to his talents, and contributions to the society at large. Freedom of individual is of paramount importance for individual to achieve his or her goal in life so they canvass for right to freedom of speech, association, worship, etc. Liberalism advocate equal opportunities in all state projects like education, welfare services, supported medicals care, etc. so that there will be equal opportunity for everybody to develop his or talents. If there is equal opportunity for development of every citizen justice will automatically follow and every citizen will be rewarded according to his talents and contributions to the society. The liberals also values individual freedom to enable to develop his natural ability to maximum capacity. They liberals also have the notion that individual will excel if he is given freedom to actively participate in what he knows well.

Finally, the liberals argue that it is wrong for a person to claim to know what is good for others or make attempt to dictate to others what they should do. The discussion of liberalism is too brief.

Communism is generally considered to be an advanced stage of socialism. The term was made popular by Karl Marx and Engels. Lenin practiced it in his period. It is essentially a social system whereby there is a common ownership of mass production, distribution and exchange. The sole aim of the founder is the development classless society based on "equality, co-operation, freedom from exploitation" (Alonge, 2005: 35). The general slogan in the communist states is "from each according to his ability and to each person according to his needs."

North Korea and China still practices communism in different version. Some of the features of communism includes: a centralise economy planned and controlled by the party in power; establishment of an egalitarian society where everybody is equal; only communist political party functions very well even though there are other smaller parties; abolition of private property, etc. commission is the highest stage of socialism and the peak of human development. In the communist society, there is no lack and there is abundance of everything. Class disappears and economic basis of their existence no longer hold. There is total end to human exploitation by man. The power of the state fade away and the dictatorship of the proletariat give way to the government of the people. Work naturally becomes a pleasure rather than a burden. In fact, life is more meaningful to the people since oppression is virtually eliminated. Akinbade describes life in a communist state as "communism accomplishes the historic mission of delivery all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from horrors of war and proclaims peace, freedom, equality, fraternity and happiness for all people" (Akinbade, 2008:66). We can then see that life in a communist state gives full happiness and free from oppression of all types.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Enumerate features of communism.
ii.   Discuss the motive behind communism as an ideology.

4.0   CONCLUSION

An ideology is a set of ideas, values and beliefs that guides social and political actions of a nation. There is generally a description of ideology to the right or left to show certain political inclination to a specific ideology. We said that ideology can serve as a dynamic force in the life of an individual or nation. It is an instrument of social mobilisation and integration in a society.

5.0   SUMMARY

We looked at the meaning of ideology as a set of ideas, values and beliefs that shapes and guides political actions of state. We examined conservative, liberalism, socialism, capitalism and communism as ideologies. Conservatism is an ideology that calls for domination of the poor mortals by the rich, powerful and gifted in the society while capitalism is an economic system of production and distribution of goods and services in the hands of private people with the motive of accumulating profit. Socialism is a social political and economic system, in which the state owns and controls the means of production and

distribution of goods and services, Communism on the other hand advocates collective ownership of production of goods and services for the welfare of the poor mortals.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Outline the main features of capitalism.
2.   Examine the salient functions of conservatism.
3.   Explain the term democratic socialism.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5   THE FRANCHISE

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Franchise is the political rights or privilege granted by the state to an individual to vote in an election or referendum. People that are qualified to vote in an election are called the electorate. It must be stated that not everybody can vote in a political system. However, the process through which an individual is granted the franchise is known as enfranchisement while its withdrawal is known as disenfranchisement.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

• explain the importance of franchise
• state the conditions that must be fulfilled before franchise can be granted or withdrawn.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Conditions Necessary for Franchise

There are major criteria for franchise in this modern age but they vary from country to country. Some of these criteria are age, sex, race. Age is of paramount importance and would be voter is expected to reach maturity age before such a privilege can be granted to him or her, etc.
In Nigeria, 18 years, Britain, USA adopts 18 years respectively while Germany adopts 20 years. Citizenship is also another important consideration in suffrage. Only legal citizen of a country are allowed to vote and those that acquire citizenship of a country through naturalisation. A person who wishes to vote in an election must be properly registered by the electoral authority of the country he resides in

and be issued with voter's registration card. Residence is another crucial factor before a person can be allowed to vote. A person must have lived in a place for a specified number of years before he/she can be registered as a voter. Other conditions specified include ownership of property, insanity, criminal records and bankruptcy.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Enumerate the conditions necessary before enfranchisement can be granted to a citizen of a country.
ii.   Explain the term disenfranchisement.

3.2   Restricted Franchise

This means only certain category of people has the right to vote in an election/referendum or people who have special qualification can vote. This system is highly restrictive and only those who meet the stipulated condition are allowed to vote or be voted for. For example, before the apartheid regime was dismantled in South Africa, only the whites were allowed to vote, the blacks were not allowed. Those who favour restrictive franchise base their argument on the following premises that only those who are of sound minds without any criminal records should be accorded the franchise; those who actually know the meaning and importance of voting should be allowed to vote. People who have property and have resided long in a particular locality should be allowed to vote. The supporter of this restrictive franchise also believe that women should not be allowed to vote in view of the fact that they are likely to follow the pattern of voting of their husbands. The critics of restrictive franchise hold the view that the system is discriminatory and undemocratic (Akinbade, 2008:171).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define the term 'restricted franchise.'
ii.   Describe its functions.

3.3   The Universal Adult Suffrage

This system is very popular and generally acknowledged. It is a system whereby all qualified adults of mature age have the rights to vote and be voted for. Since it is not possible to extend the franchise to everybody, some conditions must be met before the privilege can extended. Some of these conditions have been discussed above which include residence, no criminal records, sanity, education, race, etc. Those who favour this system base their argument on the following:

- It enables all qualified adults to exercise their fundamental human rights.
- It considers the interest of the women, i.e. not discriminatory.
- The system is popular and it takes care of the interest of the majority.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Franchise or suffrage is the political privilege granted to an individual to vote in an election or referendum by the state. Not everybody in a country can participate in voting so the needs for adult suffrage become highly important with some conditions or modifications.

5.0   SUMMARY

We remarked that franchise and suffrage are used interchangeably and they mean the same thing, i.e. That is the political rights granted by the state to an individual to participate in an election or referendum. It can also be granted or withdrawn. We also itemised conditions necessary for granting suffrage to the citizens of a country. We also discussed restricted suffrage as limited right or restricted rights only to male adults or people with special qualifications.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Define the term suffrage.
2.   Examine the shortcomings of restricted franchise.
3.   Explain fully the merits of universal adult suffrage.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6   POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Political socialisation is a process through which an individual learn the norms, values, behaviour, skills, and beliefs of the political system of his community. It is a lifelong process that starts from early childhood till death. It is through political socialisation that an individual learn the roles he should play in the political system. Political socialisation is not in born, it is learned or acquired directly or indirectly.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define political socialisation
- discuss main agents of political socialisation
- describe methods of political socialisation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Meaning of Political Socialisation

Political socialisation is a process whereby an individual learn from other people the behavioural pattern and values of his culture. Babawale in Remi Anifowose defines political socialisation as "a process in which individual incorporate into their own attitudinal structure and behaviour patterns, the ways of their respective social groups and society" (Anifowose, 1999: 218). It is through socialisation process that children learn relevant standard and acceptable norms and values of the society and develop personality traits. John Whiting and Irving Child describes the process of socialisation in a comprehensive way they said "in all societies, the helpless infant, getting his food by nursing at his mother's

breast and having digested it, freely evacuating the waste products, exploring his genitals, biting and kicking at will must be chanted into a responsible adults obeying rules of his society" (Anifowose, 1999: 218). As the child develops, he learns new habits and behaviours from members of his immediate environment. The ways and manner through which the political culture of the society is being transmitted from one generation to the other is political socialisation.

Ayeni-Akeke defines political socialisation as "a process of learning by means of which citizens are inculcated with the norms, values, skills, understanding, modes of behaviour and so on that enable them to participate effectively in the activities of their political communities" (Ayeni-Akeke, 2008:76). Political socialisation involves transmitting the values and norms of the society from generation to generation. Gabriel Almond in Anifowose defines it as "the process of induction into the political culture. The end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions, value standards and feelings towards the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of values, affecting and feelings towards the input demands and claims into the system, and its authoritative outputs" (Anifowose, 1999: 219). The essential point is the acquisition and transfer of necessary values, behavioural pattern and expected roles of an individual

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define political socialisation.
ii.   Describe the essential features of these definitions.

3.2   Method of Political Socialisation

We noted above that political social socialisation is a lifelong process that begins from childhood until death. Political socialisation can take place by two methods. Direct political socialisation is the process whereby individual directly and consciously learn the behavioural patterns of his community. A child can learn through the instinct of imitation. Several times, we see children imitating their parents, friends and colleagues. They copy other people's behaviours, values, etc.

It must be emphasised that children are easily influenced by what they see and hear. There is hardly any political system where authorities do not teach and encourage their citizens to learn and inculcate essential values that are regarded as idea. Authorities establish formal structures for training of citizens while parents and teachers inculcate good moral habits in their children and pupils. The importance of political experience cannot be overemphasised. We daily come in contact with people in various fields and we unconsciously learn from them.

Ayeni-Akeke puts it succinctly "while a great deal of political socialisation occurs through formal and overt indoctrination, the more fundamental means through which the components of political culture are grafted into the mental and emotional make-up of individuals is often informal and spontaneous" (Ayeni-Akeke, 2008: 76). We learn many things through daily experience and interaction with others in the society.

Indirect Political Socialisation

Basically, when one learns unconsciously the roles, values, skills and attitudes of his political community, we call it indirect socialisation. It is very different from direct socialisation where one is basically taught the values that are crucial and ideals expected of an individual. It requires learning relevant political behaviours.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Analyse how we unconsciously learn from other people.
ii.   Define direct political association.

3.3   Agents of Political Socialisation

Let us look at some of the agents of political socialisation and these are: the family, educational institutions, mass media, religious groups, peer group, political parties and pressure groups. The most important among the agents of political socialisation is the family. This is because the family plays a great role in the life of the child. It is the first human group that the child would have contact with and particularly in the formative years. The family socialises the child into politics.

Babawale describes it vividly when he said "our first political and politically – relevant learning occurs within the family. The learning are most informal, unintentional and often subconscious" (Anifowose, 1999: 221). Naturally, the family provides the initial basic necessities of the child for his survival, i.e. food, clothing shelter, affection, etc. The family exerts overwhelming and lifelong influence on the child.

Next to the family are the educational institutions. Here the process of political socialisation is formal. Governments all over the word use educational institutions to inculcate necessary political values, skills and attitudes into their citizens through its curriculum and other class rituals. Babawale emphasised the importance of schools in the total development of the child. He said "The school contributes significantly in shaping an individual's political behaviours.

It is in the school that the most formal political socialisation takes place because one is directly taught and trained to obey the rules of the society. Through well defined methods, the school formally inculcates political beliefs into the individual (Anifowose, 1999: 222). The influence of peer group is of paramount importance regarding political socialisation. Naturally, a person is known by the type of friends he keeps. The friends can easily influence his views including his views on politics.

The mass media both electronic and print media plays significant role as an agent of political socialisation. These are radio, television, magazines newspapers, etc. They disseminate information and analyse political issues to listeners and readers alike. Other agents of political socialisation include pressure groups and political parties. Political parties educate the electorate about their manifestoes, campaigns, rallies and give up-to date political information.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this unit, we said political socialisation is a process through which an individual learns the values, attitudes and behaviours of the society in which he lives. This is possible through interaction and association with other people in the society.

5.0   SUMMARY

Political socialisation is a lifelong process that begins from childhood until death. An individual keeps on learning the necessary values, norms, skills, attitudes and behaviour of his immediate environment. This can be done through direct political socialisation and indirect political socialisation. We also discussed agents of political socialisation and we remarked that the family is very important as an agent of political socialisation since the family plays a great role in personality development of the child.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Define political socialisation.
2.   Examine the various agents of political socialisation.
3.   Briefly describe the roles of parents, schools, peer group and the mass media in political socialisation.

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MODULE 2   CLASSIFICATIONS OF PARTY SYSTEM

UNIT 1   SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Shively defines party system "as the set of all parties" (Shively, 2011:266). One clear way of differentiating types of party system is to make reference to the number of parties competing for political power. In this way, we can speak of "one-party" and "multi-party" systems respectively. In one-party system, only one- party functions effectively as permanent government, while power alternates between two major parties in a two-party system. In a multi-party system, there are many parties but no party is capable of winning election alone, and a coalition government becomes inevitable.

Political parties operate in a political environment and how parties interact and relate with each other in the political process is known as party system. Adigun Agbaje puts it this way, "A party system is a network of relationship through which parties interact and influence the political process" (Adigun Agbaje in Anifowose, 1999:198).

The political environment in which political parties operate can be competitive or non-competitive. A competitive political environment is one in which more than one political party is legally and constitutionally allowed to operate by the state. Two-party and multi-party systems are

examples of competitive party system because they are given opportunities to contest elections in the electoral process. But in a non-competitive party system, only one party is legally allowed to be active. There may be in existence smaller political parties, they have to concede to the ruling powers of the dominant party. It should be noted that the behavior of political parties determines the kind of party system in existence for instance in a real competitive party system, parties are likely to engage in a variety of political activities because of the spirit of competition among the political parties whereas this is not really so in a non-competitive party system.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define party system
- differentiate between competitive and non competitive party system
- explain the merits and demerits of Single-Party and multi-party system.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Meaning of Single-Party System

A Single-Party system is a system in which only one party is legally and officially recognised by the state.

There may be in existence other smaller political parties but they have to concede to the authority of the dominant political party. A Single-Party performs better in a smaller country with a small population and landmass. Example of Single-Party state in Africa includes: Guinea under Ahmed Toure, Africa National Congress in South Africa, the Kenyatta's Kenya, and Zambia had operated Single-Party system.

Other examples include People's Action Party in Singapore, Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI) in Mexico. The PRI as a government party won all presidential elections and ruled the country close to seventy years before the system broke down in 1997 (Shively, 2011:267). The strong hold of the PRI was effectively challenged in 2000 by Vicentre Fox of the National Action Party and it won the presidency. This paved the way for a true and competitive electoral victory.

Similarly in Indian, the Congress Party held sway for about three decades after she became an independent nation in 1947. In Israel also,

the Labour Party had an uninterrupted domination of political power right from the time she became a nation in 1948 until 1977 when a coalition of opposition parties called Likud defeated Labour Party at the polls (Shively, 2011:269).In a Single-Party system, the "ruling" party generally functions as government party. The Single-Party is the supreme social institution in the state and all citizens are expected to belong to the single dominant party which is contrary to the spirit of democracy that allows freedom of speech and association on public issues.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the term single-party system.
ii.   Name and describe countries that practice single-party system of government.

3.2   Features of Single-Party Systems

There are many features or characteristics of a single-party system; we will examine a few of them here. In a single-party system, fundamental human rights like freedom of association and speech are generally curtailed. Close to this, no official opposition party is legally allowed. Any opposition party that exists do so at its own risk. The constitutionally recognised party is the ruling party and in most cases, any attempt to form or join any other political party is regarded as treasonable act. The dominant political party can be totalitarian in nature. It is always very difficult to remove the dominant political party from office regardless of how they come to power. In one party system, election results can easily be predicted, there is limited political education for the electorate; the government party controls the instrument of coercion and propaganda. The programmes, goals and ideology of the party are the only ones recognised and enforced in the state.
In the Single-Party system, power and authority is concentrated in the hand of the party's leadership which leads to dictatorship and finally, mass media like radio, television and newspapers are controlled by the state.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Analyse the features of one- party system.
ii.   Name the countries that practices Single-Party system in Africa.

3.3 Problems of Party Politics

Despite the enormous benefits of party politics, there are negative consequences of political system. Some of the problems include:

- Party politics may lead to the division of the society along different ideologies and programmes since they would make efforts to lobby the electorates along their programmes and activities. The parties can use all persuasive means and tricks to woo candidates to its fold.
- Since party system is based on winners-take-all, highly intelligent and wealthy individual may be excluded from the system.
- It can lead to political instability in the sense that it can divide the opinions of the electorates in a dangerous way that will not augur well for the political system.
- Any opposition party that feels unjustifiably edged out of power, can resorts to any subversive means including destruction of the ruling party.
- The freedom of the electorates and the legislators are usually sacrificed at the expense of the party. Parliamentary members are expected to tow the party lines when it comes to the issues of voting in the parliament.
- The ruling party does not usually tolerate the views and opinions of the opposition party and this leads to political clashes, thuggery, victimisation and infringement on fundamental human rights.
- Political parties may use any means to access power including foul means. This is very common in African politics. For instance, the 1983 general election in Nigeria was alleged to be massively rigged in favourof the NPN and Mr. Tunji Braithwaite called it electoral "coup d'état."
- Party politics can lead to corruption and nepotism since political appointments, contracts, and other fringe benefits are given out on the patronage and loyalties to the party.
- Party system leads to neglect of some areas of a country that failed to vote for the party in power. This is very common in Nigeria party politics and leads to uneven development in the country.
- Public funds are usually expended in sponsoring political parties, their members and other miscellaneous expenses.
- It breeds partisan politics and inculcates party loyalty instead of patriotism.
- Party members in most cases, usually fight for their interest. Members consider every important issue from the party's point of view instead of national or community interest and the consequence is that the national or general interest is sacrificed

on the altar of sectional interest and eventually narrows the vision of the members since they are more concerned with the interest of their party.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain how party politics can bring division in the society.
ii.   Analyse how party politics can bring corruption in the society.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The network of relationship by which parties interact and influence political system is known as party system. There is a single-party system, two-party system and multi-party system. The type of system a country adopts depends on the political environment, type of structure of government whether presidential or parliamentary system of government, etc.

5.0   SUMMARY

Competition is the only common variable that can be used to explain the relationship and structure of political parties. A single-party state tend to have strong and dedicated leaders, basic fundamental human rights like freedom of association, speech are curtailed in this system.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Define party system.
2.   Enumerate problems of party politics.
3.   Explain how these problems can be tackled.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2   MERITS AND DEMERITS OF SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Merits of Single-Party System
        3.2   Demerits of Single-Party System
        3.3   Reasons for One- Party System in Africa
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Having considered the features of a Single-Party system as enumerated above, one simple techniques of classifying different party system is to put them in three groups; one-party system, bi-party system or two-party system and multi-party systems respectively. Parties are the crucial organs through "which responsibilities of the rulers are enforced" (Johari, 2011:443).

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain various advantages of Single-Party system
- enumerate demerits of Single-Party system.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Merits of Single-Party System

- Single-Party system is naturally in accordance with African traditional political system whereby opposition is considered illegal.
- It removes problems associated with tribalism, ethnicity and unite the people together.
- It leads to the development of the spirit of patriotism and consciousness in the people and it makes it easy to mobilise the people to elect their leaders during election.

- It helps to muster efforts together to get the best personal and human resources to run the affairs of the country.
- Single-Party system provides opportunity for political stability and national unity by not polarizing the society into various groups that may lead to clashes and violence.
- It allows pooling together the national resources of the country for progress and development. When there is no division in the political system, and harmony prevails, resources can be used for the development of the country.
- It reduces waste and duplication of efforts that are characteristics of two-party and multi-party systems
- Single-Party system leads to the emergence of strong leadership for instance, in the period of late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. The Convention People's Party (CPP) was firmly under his control and in Tanzania under Nyerere's Tanzania African National Union (T.A.N.U), he had full control.
- It gives opportunity for easy and quick decision making process particularly during periods of national emergency or crisis or war.
- The system is cheap and not expensive; and generally election in one party-state tends to be free and fair due to lack of competition from opposition party.
- Only one ideology is put forward by the party. The only ideology may not be acceptable by the generality of the people in the state.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Enumerate the advantages of a single-party system.
ii.   Identify and discuss countries in West Africa that had practised one-party system of government.

3.2   Demerits of Single-Party System

The various reasons in support of Single-Party system may not be convincing to those who do not support it on the ground that single-party system is antithetical to working of a democratic system. In actual fact, it is another pattern of a totalitarian system. Rodee, puts it succinctly when he remarked:

> The one–party state is founded on assumption that the sovereign will of the state reposes in the leader and the political elite. The authoritarian principles found expression first in monarchies and more recently in dictatorship. Needing a monopoly of power to survive, the dictatorship abolishes all opposition parties. In order to adopt techniques of physical coercion such as purge and liquidation and

to employ measures of psychological coercion through extensive and vigorous propaganda campaigns (Johari, 2011: 437).

Let us examine other aspect of the demerits of Single-Party system:

- It limits the choice of the electorates in term of candidates and programmes. They have to choose among the limited candidates given by the political party.
- Single-Party system offers limited political education since there is no opportunity for alternative views and programmes.
- It does not make for peaceful change of government. Since there is no alternative political party that can take over the government, instability may result in the political system we should note that it is very difficult for the electorates to change an unpopular government without resorting to violence and destructions.
- The chief distinguishing factor of a single political party is that it does not tolerate opposition party. It considers any opposition party as threat that should be eliminated.
- Single-Party breeds corruption, nepotism and other negative vices, and it is not uncommon for the leadership of party government to enrich themselves at the expense of the State.
- Curtailment of personal liberty. In this system, fundamental human rights of association, speech, expressions are placed under serious watch, the leadership often use the apparatus of state machinery to punish their perceived "enemies."

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the merits of Single-Party system.
ii.   Discuss demerits of Single-Party system.

3.3   Reasons for One-Party System in Africa

It is appropriate to examine a few reasons why one-party system is common in Africa.

- A Single-Party system is in line with Africa democracy and it conforms with African traditional system of government. There existed in Africa even before the advent of Europeans that partitioned Africa into several countries, communal democracy in traditional African society. The bi-party and multi-party system were alien to Africans. There was no opposition to various traditional rulers in their domain unlike Europe where the rule of parliamentary behaviour based on simple majority was the

natural order while in Africa democracy was based on consensus of opinion (Alonge, 2005:174).

- It leads to a greater number of people participating in the political process without cut-throat competition that are the major characteristic of two and multi- party system respectively. For instant, Madeira Keita of Mali once said that being in public authority is clearly in accordance with the will of the people.

- Generally, African leaders want to hold tenaciously to political power and they tend to deal seriously with any attempt to strip them of such political power because it is the only means of acquiring wealth and popularity.

- Majority of African states cannot afford the huge expenses of financing multi- party system and therefore consider it to be too expensive and complex and these generates unhealthy rivalry and frictions among the electorates.

- It is believed that one-party system will quicken the level of social and economic development of the people and will raise the standard of living and any attempt to frustrate this effort is seriously frown at.

- Most new states in Africa have no class division in their present state of development to warrant the existence of rival political parties like the advanced industrial societies. Julius Nyerere once remarked that "Europeans and American parties came into being as a result of internal, social and economic divisions and the monopoly of power by the aristocratic group which did not exist in Africa society. Moreover, there are no sharp ideological differences between the government party and the opposition as between the capitalist and the socialists in the western and eastern blocs. Therefore, opposition is regarded as an unnecessary dissipation of energy" (Alonge, 2005:173).

- One party system is prevalent in Africa because it is expected to foster national unity and integration. In Africa, society with various tribal and ethnic coloration only Single-Party system can adequately bring them together and promote the sense of togetherness among them.

Julius Nyerere once asserted that "a one party system eliminate a kind of political warfare and wrangling which are common features of European multi- party and two-party systems" (Alonge, 2005:173).

It must be noted that the tendency towards one-party state has become more pronounced in the French speaking countries, the process of absorption by government party removed or eliminated the opposition party and they use drastic laws on the leaders of the opposition and imprison them without trial. One-party system was not restricted to French speaking countries only, we also note Ghana under Kwame

Nkrumah. He destroyed and imprisoned all his political opponents. He used the Preventive Detention Act of 1958 to deal ruthlessly with the opposition when he led the government of Convention Peoples Party (CPP). We should equally note Dr. Hilla Limann of Liberia 1980-1981 when he led the government of the Peoples National Party (PNP). He suppressed the opposition parties until Ft Lt J.J. Rawlings terminated his regime in a coup of December 4, 1981. Siaka Stevens and other opposition leaders of People Congress were charged with libel, conspiracy, sedition and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this unit, we highlighted various merits and demerits of single-party system and we remarked that Single-Party system leads to dictatorship and does not easily provide for a smooth change of government. It does not tolerate opposition and the system encourages misuse of power.

Regardless of these shortcomings, it enables easy mobilisation of the people by their leaders and ensures political stability.

5.0   SUMMARY

A single-party system is in line with the average African political system and tends to enhance national integration and unity. The trend towards one party-system is more pronounced in French speaking countries than the English speaking countries. A single-party system leads to rapid economic development in an atmosphere that is free from political violence and political bickering.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine the reasons for the formation of political parties.
2.   Explain the main characteristics of political parties.
3.   Discuss why one- party system is common in African countries.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3   FEATURES OF TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1   Features of Two-Party System
       3.2   Political Opposition
       3.3   Factors that help Electoral Success of a Political Party
       3.4   Zero Party System
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In a two-party system, there are two major political parties of almost the same strength and a few minor political parties too small to make any tangible impact in the outcome of an election. It does not imply that there are only two political parties in a two-party system. They can be more.

Only two main political parties are dominant and officially recognised. Only two political parties were legally allowed to operate in Nigeria during the aborted third Republic 1992-1993. The two dominant political parties were. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC), in Britain two dominant parties exist – the Conservative and the Labor party even though there is liberal party and it operates in the same political system but it is not officially recognised. In USA, there is the Democratic and the Republican parties. Other countries that operate two-party systems include Canada and New Zealand, etc. Britain and USA are the two leading countries that practices two-party system of government, the two political parties in Britain can be distinguished by their policies and programmes. This is not strictly so when we talk about the two parties in USA because their ideologies are similar.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the major characteristics of a two-party system
- discuss countries that operate two-party system of government in Africa and in Europe.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Features of Two-Party System

In this party system, the following features are clearly recognisable:

- Two major political parties are constitutionally allowed to operate and a few other minor parties may also be represented in the parliament.
- The two-party system can operate in both cabinet and presidential system of government.
- With or without the support of the minor political parties, one of the major political parties in a cabinet system should be able to form a stable government until the next general election.
- In the cabinet system of government one of the political parties that wins majority of the vote forms the government and takes over the affairs of ruling the country while the other party that is defeated forms the opposition and examines in details policies and programmes of the party in power.
- The two major parties always compete for the approval of the majority of the electorate by "strategising" before and during the election.
- Party ideologies are not emphasised a great deal in the two-party system.
- Each party tries to avoid internal wrangling and dispute so that they can put forward a combined strength and secure victory in the election.
- There could be independent candidates during elections, i.e. candidates that are not sponsored by any political party.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the features of two-party system.
ii.   Define two-party system.

3.2   Political Opposition

This is a party or group of parties that is not form part of the ruling party in the parliament. It is normally considered as the second largest party in parliament or a group of coalition parties that fails to capture majority seat to form government. It is more common in the parliamentary system of government and the opposition party has different programmes and ideology they hope to implement with the intention of securing better life for the people. It is noteworthy that political oppositions are quite tolerated in western democracies of Europe and

America but not so in African countries where they are suppressed by the party in power.

Political opposition performs laudable roles in politics. They check the abuse of power and dictatorial tendencies of the ruling power or government. It makes the government to be responsible and accountable to the people. It is naturally a salient feature of a democratic government.

Criticisms are not the sole duty of the opposition; they co-operate with the ruling party at committee meetings and contribute to debates on crucial issues of national importance. The oppositions also protect the interest of the minority and serve as an alternative ruling government when there is need particularly in a parliamentary system of government. The opposition also co-operate with the ruling government during national crises emergencies, war, etc. When criticisms from the opposition are not constructive, it tends to create confusion, and weaken government. However, a responsible government should tolerate the existence of the opposition party in order to keep the ruling party on track.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the term opposition party.
ii.   Discuss the advantages of opposition party.

3.3   Factors that Aid the Electoral Success of a Political Party

To be successful in an electoral contest or competition, certain factors and conditions must be fulfilled and some of them are:

- Credible leadership with good records of achievements that is capable of mobilising members of the party to achieve the desired goal.
- Organisation/large membership; the party should be well organised and with a wide geographical spread and clearly stated objectives that people can easily understand and follow.
- Good programmes/manifestoes: The programmes and manifestoes should be able to enhance the status of the people. All promises made should be fulfilled.
- There should be effective discipline in the rank and file of the party. This will encourage a lot of people to follow the party.
- The party should have strong financial base. Money for publicity, tours, campaigns, etc.

- Effective publicity: The activities of the parties must be publicised in both the electronic and printed media, i.e. TV, radio, newspapers, etc.
- Rallies should be held regularly in order to mobilise the people and create necessary awareness.
- Quality of candidates presented for election is very crucial. Past records of candidates must be carefully scrutinised so that they can be accepted during election.
- Impartial umpire in form of an electoral body that will uphold the electoral rules.
- Security should be provided for officials of the electoral body, for materials, the voters, etc.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Enumerate the factors that can help political party to succeed.
ii.   Examine the functions of electoral commission.

3.4   Zero Party System

Zero party system is mainly based on candidate individual's merit rather than party line. Any interested candidate who satisfies the necessary conditions laid down by the electoral body is simply voted for by the electorate. Various groups in the society have opportunities to participate in this system since it compromises the military, civil service workers, traditional rulers, etc. This system has its own merits:

Time is well managed and electoral malpractices are reduced to the barest minimum. This system is not expensive in terms of cost of conducting elections. The electorates have ample opportunity to choose candidate of their choice from several candidates presented for elections. The demerits in the system are that those elected may not be responsible political leaders and the conduct of the election could be very poor; this system is capable of breeding political violence and instability. These systems can succeed in a society where there is an acceptable national ideology, programmes and tolerance.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss the demerits of zero-party system.
ii.   Examine its advantages and disadvantages.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Two-party system prevents dictatorship that is common in Single-Party system and also provides the electorate with clear choice between two

different parties, policies, programmes. It engenders strong opposition that is able to form government when the ruling party fails to win in an election.

5.0   SUMMARY

A two-party system may be defined as a political system in which only two political parties are constitutionally allowed to operate and power alternates between the two dominant major parties in the country. It is the only venue in which the people can choose its government at the election period. It is also known as a bi-party system.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Define two-party system.
2.   Explain the benefits of a two-party system.
3.   In what ways are two-parties better than one-party system?

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4   MERITS AND DEMERITS OF TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

A two-party system refers to a situation whereby two-political parties dominate the political system. The two dominant parties have equal chance and opportunities of winning elections and forming government alternatively. There may be other political parties but only two parties have the advantage of forming government. Two-party system exists in Canada – the Liberals and the Conservatives.

It was in the early year that Canada was characterised by a two-party system in which the Conservatives and the Liberal parties dominated electoral politics. Beginning in the 1920s, national politics in Canada began to move away from a strict two-party system to a multi-party or "two-and-the-half" system (Rise of new parties) (See Maplelea/web.com). In Britain there are labor and conservative parties respectively while in USA there are Democratic and Republican parties and in the aborted third republic in Nigeria, the social democratic party and the national republican convention existed. Let us briefly look at the merit of two-party system.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the merits of a two-party system
- explain the demerits of a two-party system.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Merits of Two-Party System

1. This system gives opportunity to the electorate to choose between two parties, manifestoes, policies and candidates.
2. It prevents dictatorial tendencies of one-party system by giving opportunity to express ones views on crucial issues.
3. It gives ample opportunity to criticise policies and actions of the ruling party and offer alternative suggestions.
4. This system paves way for political stability by reducing ethnic rivalries and tribalism by taking care of the need of the various groups in the society.
5. It allows the ruling party to be accountable and responsible because the electorate would know where to direct their complaints and criticism. When a ruling party fails in its expectations to the people, it risks its chance in the next election.
6. It allows peacefully change of government. This is because the opposition party acts as a very good alternative government. This in turn gives room for healthy competition.
7. A two-party system helps to protect the interest of the minority because the opposition would always highlight the interests of the minority groups that are not adequately represented.
8. It prevents the abuse of power by the party in power for instance, any legislation that is against the interest of the people are normally thrown out during the passage of the bill in parliament through reasonable and constructive criticisms of the opposition party.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i. Describe the functions performed by opposition party.
ii. Enumerate the merits of a two-party system.

3.2   Demerits of Two-Party System

Some of the demerits of two-party systems are the following:

• Two-party system may not be suitable for a community with deep religious and ethnic problems. It may not present wide range of choices for the electorate because the parties may exaggerate their differences and give false impression of national unity. The interest of the minority may not be taken into consideration especially in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria since it tends to divide the society into two different factions.

- Since both major parties are not having the same ideology, the electorate may find it difficult to choose between the parties in terms of programmes and policies unlike one party system where the voters are compelled to concentrate on candidates rather than principles and programmes.
- The system is often based on winner-takes-all and this can lead to exclusion of the best brain from the government
- A two-party system often creates chaos and violence because the ruling party may want to perpetuate itself in power and use all power at its disposal. This unhealthy rivalry does not augur well for the peace and development of any nation.
- The system is highly expensive when it comes to issues of fund and time particularly during election.
- It does not give opportunity for growth and development of minor political parties.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine some demerits of two-party system.
ii.   Specify the roles of opposition in a two-party system of government.

3.3   Two-party System in Nigeria National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP)

National Republican Convention and Social Democratic Party as examples of two-party system in the aborted third republic of Nigeria 1993. In the Second Republic in Nigeria which started in October 1979 and came to an abrupt end in 1983, the republic was based on multi-party system, although two dominant political parties dominated political system then. These were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). Alhaji Shehu Shagari was declared the winner of the presidential election by the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO). His opponent, Chief Obafemi Awolowo of UPN went to court. It was a legal battle between the two political parties regarding the interpretation of two-third of nineteen states as stipulated in the electoral laws. The court eventually declared Shehu Shagari the winner of the election. In the aborted third republic of 1993, two-political parties were imposed on Nigerians by the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida. These parties were the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC). These parties were structured in a way that they appeared broad based.

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) like we remarked earlier, was established by the then Federal Military Government in 1989. The Party

had Alhaji Baba Gana Kingibe as the first Chairman and was later succeeded by Chief Tony Anenih. Other members include late Chief Solomon Lar, late Major General Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, and Chief M.K.O. Abiola. The party had welfarist ideology as its objective. It is interesting to note that the party won majority of the votes in the elections to the local, state and both Houses of National Assembly between 1991 and 1993.

National Republican Convention (NRC) - This party was also a creation of the Federal Military Government. The party has Chief Tom Ikimi as the first Chairman and was later succeeded by Dr. Hamed Kusamotu. Other leading members included Alhaji Bashir Tofa who eventually became the party's presidential candidate in the annulled June 12 1993 election. The party's ideology was "a little-to-the-right" which was not well stated. In the election conducted between 1991 and 1993, the party won mine states out of twenty-one (Akinbade, 2008:396).

Nigerians were free to choose from any of these parties. It must be noted here that the military government initiated and funded these parties. This arrangement was highly welcomed by Nigerians since it was devoid of ethnic colouration and people turned out in their thousands to vote for candidates of their choice. National Electoral commission under the Chairmanship of Professor Humphrey Nwosu adopted option A4. It was a device or method by which voters lined up behind the portraits or pictures of candidates of their choice. And the results were announced as they came out. State electoral commissioners in each state were empowered to announce the results. It was presidential result that was being awaited from some states when an unsigned statement announced the cancellation of the election even though the result of the states already released showed that Chief M.K.O. Abiola won the election. There was no reason given for the cancellation of the election. The Chairman of NECO, Professor Nwosu was subsequently arrested and detained by the military authority.

As a result of this annulment, violent demonstrations, chaos, looting, killings and complete breakdown of law and order ensued. On August, 26th 1993, President Ibrahim Babangida stepped aside and handed over to an Interim National Government headed by Chief Shonekan to pilot the affairs of the nation. Chief Shonekan was subsequently removed from office by General Sani Abacha.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain option A4 as a system of voting.
ii.   Describe the roles of the two-presidential aspirants in the election of 1993.

3.4   Unending Debate of Two-Party System for Nigeria

For quite some time now, there have been series of debates about the best party-system that is most suitable for Nigeria. A lot have been written that two-party system is appropriate for Nigeria on account that it would serve as a credible opposition party while the supporters of multi-party system says it is most democratic because it will cater for the interest of the minority. Let us begin by saying that the older democracies, i.e. America and Britain have two dominant political parties - Republican and Democratic parties while Britain has Labor and Conservative parties. Any of the parties that fail to win election in these two countries automatically serves as alternative power holder.

The coming on board of All Progressive Party (APC) to the political system in Nigeria is considered a welcome relief to the perpetual domination of the PDP government for the past fourteen years without any concrete achievement. All Progressive Congress came into existence because of the misgovernance and the alarming corruption that is rampant in the PDP led administration at the Federal and State levels. At the special convention of PDP held in Abuja, August 2013, some leaders of the party including seven governors serving under the platform of PDP walked out of the meeting. They complained bitterly about lack of internal democracy and dictatorial attitude of the chairman of the PDP Alhaji Bamanga Tukur and his colleagues in the party.

The new PDP and the seven governors are mainly from Niger, Kano, Adamawa, Rivers, Sokoto, Jigawa and Kwara States. The splinter group (new PDP) is headed by Kawu Baraje. Meanwhile, there is no end in sight to the crisis in the People's Democratic Party (PDP) because of the confusion ravaging the party. The internal crisis in the PDP is good for the political health of Nigeria and for all Nigerians and the concept called democracy when there is a power opposition to check the excesses of the party in power.

The imposition of the two-party system on the nation in 1989 by General Ibrahim Babangida can be considered a misnomer. These parties were the Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention. Several political transition time-tables were not followed and in the end, the free and fair presidential election conducted was annulled in an unsigned statement of June 23, 1993. One crucial observation is that the older democracies that operate two-party system developed from their different societal perspectives and were not imposed on the people like Babangida did in 1989. The older democracies referred to base their politics on ideology particularly during the cold war and after the cold war, shifted ground to "issues-based politics".

It is even not very clear whether All Progressive Congress (APC) is having a clear cut ideology from that of the ruling PDP regarding how the country should be governed and re-position the economy. The APC have a duty to convince Nigerians that they are totally different and can deliver if given the opportunity at the polls by the electorate.

Minor political parties have the right to exist and be represented but their major constraint is primarily money politics that has dominated Nigerian political system. But as times goes on, the country would begin to appreciate and respond to the sophisticated politics that any progressive party offers.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The type of party system that is probably suitable for Nigeria is a party system that the people develop by themselves taking into consideration her history, past political experience of multi-party system. It is our opinion that we should still try bi-party system that gives room for credible political opposition.

It is not the type of system adopted that matters, but the willingness and sincerity of the operators to make the system a success.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit we examined at the merits and demerits of two-party system and we observed that two-party system ensures political stability and prevent arbitrary rule of a Single-Party system even though the system is not conducive for a political community engulfed in ideological problems, deep religious crisis and ethnic squabbles. We also took a quick look at the performance of the PDP and the All Progressive Congress.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain the type of party structure you think is suitable for Nigeria.
2.   Attempt an appraisal of the performance of the PDP- led government in Nigeria.
3.   Analyse the performance of two-party system in Nigeria.

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UNIT 5   MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
      3.1   Features of Multi-Party System
      3.2   Factors that Lead to Formation Multi-Party System
      3.3   Merits of Multi-Party System
      3.4   Demerits of Multi-Party System
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

A multi-party system is a political system where there are many political parties big and small contesting in an election with the motive of winning political power and subsequently governing the country. In a multi-party system, it is very rare that a single-party win a clear-cut majority to gain the control of the parliament, so, a coalition government is invariably inevitable. Each of these parties stands a good chance of winning a number of seats in the parliament. It is interesting to note that minor political parties can emerge shortly before the election and disappear immediately after election. The crucial thing is that more than three or more political parties can come together to form coalition government. These parties have narrow interests, i.e. no broad based ideology and a time they operate like interest groups. Countries that operates multi-party systems include: Germany, Italy, France, Sweden, Switzerland, India, Iceland, Belgium and back home in Nigeria during the first Republic 1960-1966, and second Republic 1979-1983. Immediately after independence in 1960, no Single-Party had absolute majority to control or form the government. There was a coalition between Northern People Congress (NPC) and National Council of Nigeria Citizen (NCNC) they won the election and controlled the government.

Equally in 1964, there was an alliance between Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) which later metamorphosed into Nigeria National Alliance (NNA) The United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) comprises National Council of Nigeria Citizen (NCNC), the Action Group (AG) and the Northern Progressive Front which was a combination of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt (UMBC). The

Nigeria National Alliance (NNA) won by a wide margin and controlled the national government. These alliances and other political issues combined together brought the first Republic to its knees and the military took over the control of the government in January 1966. These alliances showed clearly that no party was very strong enough to win clear cut majority of the seats in the parliament and therefore a coalition was inevitable. Multi-party system is an extension of two-party system.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   define multi-party system
•   enumerate the merits of multi-party system and cite a few countries where it is practised
•   describe some of the demerits of multi-party system.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Features of Multi-Party System

•   Generally, in a multi-party system, there are several political parties contesting for the control of state power and the chances of a sole party winning a clear majority is unlikely, therefore, there is a necessity for a coalition government. One glaring features of this system is that powers are shared between various parties in the coalition.
•   Each political party represents or stands for a clear definite principle and may find it difficult to compromise in respect of such principle.
•   Voters join the party which represents their interest and opinions.
•   There is abundant choice of programmes that voter can choose from.
•   Multi- party system enhances and widens political education of the electorates.
•   The process of decision-making entails wider consultation of different shades of interest.
•   This system does not give room for dictatorship and abuse of power that is very common in one party system.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the features of multi-party system.
ii.   Discuss the most glaring features of multi-party system.

3.2   Factors that Lead to Formation of Multi-Party Systems

- An essential condition necessary for the formation of multi-party system is the division of the society along ethnic, occupation, class and other similar consideration. Ayeni-Akeke puts it succinctly, "Perhaps the most important condition favourable to a multi-party system as mentioned above, division of a society's population into communal, ethnic, religious, class, occupation regional and other cleavages that find it difficult to form broad coalitions. A multi-party system is often the product of the tendency of each of such cleavages to constitute itself into a political party" (Ayeni-Akeke, 2008:137).
- The stratification of the society along different lines in terms of ethnicity, tribal affiliation, language, occupation, ideology, further leads to formation of multi-party system.
- It is of interest to note that the more a society is stratified, the more likelihood that multi-party system will spring up there.
- The type of voting system adopted may lead to formation of multi-party system particularly if proportional system of voting is adopted whereby every segment would be represented.
- Powerful groups and individuals who are not properly represented in the legislature can also form political parties.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the impact of the roles of the French revolution of 1789 in the formation of multi-party system.
ii.   Account for the factors that led to the formation of multi-party system.

3.3   Merits of Multi–Party System

Multi-party systems have several merits and let us look at a few of them here:

- This system gives ample opportunity for voters to choose any political party that represents their opinions, beliefs and even ideology.
- Voters can equally make choices between candidates and programmes of each party.
- It prevents arbitrary rule and dictatorship in view of the fact that no party is strong enough to suppress other political parties.
- Multi-party system gives opportunity for political opponent to express their views and contribute to the debate in the parliament.
- It widens the political education of the voters.

- Multi-party system caters for the interest of both majority and the minority of the people and allays the fears of the minority.
- It allows the citizen of a country to exercise their fundamental human right of political association rather than being lumped together in one-party system and it gives opportunity for freedom of expression.
- This system encourages the formation of coalition government because no party is able to win on it own.
- It also encourages democratic principles and rule of law.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain some merits of multi-party.
ii.   Compare and contrast multi-party system with two-party system of government.

3.4   Demerits of Multi-Party System

Multi-party system has several demerits some of them are: it produces unstable government since it is a product of necessity and when any party in the coalition feels dissatisfied with such an alliance, it may break up easily.

The alliance of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) in the second republic could not be sustained for long due to incompatibility of programmes and policies. The system is quite expensive to run unlike one party system. It leads to unhealthy rivalry which in turn breeds factionalism and fragmentation in the society. Members that are not satisfied with the working of the alliance may pull out and those that remain take over the full control of party policy and programmes.

Multi-party system gives room for fraudulent practices, election rigging, violence and other electoral malpractices a case in point was the crises that arose from general electoral of 1964 in Nigeria.

Multi-party system is not in line with African traditional political system where there is no formal opposition in the political system.

It can even make the electorates to be confused when it comes to making meaningful choices between candidates and programmes of several political parties. In multi-party system, it is difficult to hold any party responsible and accountable for their actions in the parliament.

Decision making is often times slow because the executive always look at issues from the angle of their parties. Multi-party system breeds weak

and in effective political parties that are localised in nature and character since some of them are based on ethnicism, religion and sectionalism instead of national unity. Action Group (AG) was based mainly in the Western region while the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) was in the North, and the National Council of Nigerian Citizen (NCNC) was also based in the Eastern region. This is one of the reasons for the collapse of the first republic in Nigeria 1963-1966. The parties were based on regions and it encouraged tribal politics and sectionalism since no party had national outlook.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss the argument against multi-party system.
ii.   Explain how multi-party system can lead to national disintegration.

4.0   CONCLUSION

We have looked at various party structures; it is safe to say that single-party system is despotic, tyrannical and undemocratic while two-party systems are better and democratic. The same thing cannot be said about multi-party system. The type of party system a country adopts depends upon local condition and above all, the most important thing is that whatever system is adopted, the success of its operation should be of great importance.

5.0   SUMMARY

We examined, difference political parties and their structures and we also looked at the merits and demerits of one party, two-party and multi-party systems. A single-party system is one, in which only one political party is constitutionally allowed in a country although there may be in existence other minor political parties only the dominant party is legally recognised while in two-party system, power alternates between two recognised major political parties and in the multi-party system, there are many political parties, big and small that struggles for control of state power. It is always difficult for a single-party to win a clear-cut majority in the election to form a government and therefore a coalition of two or more parties becomes a necessity in order to form government.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Explain the features of multi-party of government.
2.   Discuss the conditions for a coalition government.
3.   Examine the arguments against multi-party system of government.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 3   MAJOR POLITICAL CRISES IN NIGERIA

Unit 1   Action Group Crisis of 1962/63
Unit 2   The Census Crisis of 1962/63
Unit 3   The Federal Election Crisis of 1964
Unit 4   Western Nigerian Election Crises of 1965
Unit 5   General Elections of 1993

UNIT 1   ACTION GROUP CRISIS OF 1962

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Causes of the Crisis
        3.2   Nature of the Crisis
        3.3   Main Actors in the Crisis
        3.4   Consequences of the Crisis
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has witnessed a number of political crises since independence, for example, the Action Group crisis of 1962, the census crisis of 1962/63, the Federal election crisis of 1964/1965 and the civil war of 19966-1970, and annulment of presidential election of June 1993.

In this unit, our focus will be on the Action Group crisis of 1962. It is interesting to note that intra-party disagreement and mutual suspicious were the remote causes of this crisis.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   explain the remote and immediate causes of the crisis of 1962 in the Western Region
•   mention the role played by the principal actors.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Immediate Causes of the Crisis

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of Action Group party failed in the federal election of 1959 and his ambition to become the Prime Minister was frustrated. He was still nursing this anger when the Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa requested him to form government of national unity which he turned down. The reluctance of Chief Awolowo to support his Deputy, Chief Samuel Akintola as the premier of western region, when the former was made leader of opposition in the Federal House of Representative in Lagos.

The newly appointed premier, Chief Akintola took independent decisions without consulting his leader who was then at the centre as leader of opposition.

This did not go down well with Chief Awolowo. The adoption of democratic socialism by the party as its ideology was not well received by the premier of western region Chief Akintola. Other issues include serious objections of Chief Awolowo to Balewa's domestic and foreign defense pact. The constant and regular criticisms of Chief Awolowo on Balewa's government did not go unnoticed by the federal government and the stage was set to "hit" him back.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1.   Discuss the causes of Action Group crisis of 1962.
2.   Explain the role of the Prime Minister in the crisis.

3.2   Nature of the Crisis

Before the crisis started, Chief Awolowo earlier made a suggestion foe a nation-wide political campaign to create sufficient awareness for the electoral preparatory to the federal elections of 1964, this was turned down by his deputy Chief Akintola who wanted the campaign to be restricted to western region alone. This increased the suspicion between the two leaders and Chief Awolowo believed that his deputy wanted to overthrow him as the leader of the party.

The Premier of the western region and a few of his ministers failed to attend the Annual Congress of the party held on 2nd February 1962 in Jos. The party broke into two factions and Chief Akintola was advised by the leader of the party to resign following the recommendation of the committee set up to investigate his activities. He refused to resign and was consequently sacked by the Governor of the Region, Oba Adesoji

Aderemi on 21st May 1962 and replaced by Alhaji Dauda Adegbenro as the new Premier.

Akintola did not stop there he requested the Prime Minister to revoke the appointment of the Governor and the Governor was replaced with Chief Odeleye Fadahunsi. He went to court to challenge his removal as the premier of Western Region. When the newly appointed premier convened the meeting of the House of Assembly fracas broke out and the mace was destroyed. The police was called to maintain order and lock up the House of Assembly but before then, violence issued between the two factions and there was widespread killings and burning of houses.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Examine the outcome of the 1962 Jos Convention of Action Group.
2. Discuss the issues that led to the sack of the Premier of the western region in 1962.

3.3   Main Actors in the Crisis

The main actors in the Action Group crisis of 1962 were the following:

1. Chief Jeremiah Obafemi Oyeniyi Awolowo, leader, Action Group and also leader of Opposition in the House of Representatives.
2. Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the Premier of the Western Region and deputy leader of Action Group.
3. Oba Adesoji Aderemi, the Ooni of Ife and the Governor of the Region.
4. Chief Ayo Rosiji, Secretary General of the Action Group who was expelled along with Chief Akintola.
5. Alhaji Soroye Adegbenro, the Premier nominated by the Governor to replace Akintola during the crisis.
6. Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister who introduced in the House of Representatives the motion for the declaration of a state of emergency in the Western Region.
7. Dr. M.A. Majekodunmi, Administrator of the Western Region who implemented the emergency programme and was said to have worked in favour of the suspended government. Source (Odumosi 1963 in J.A. Akinbade, 2008:517).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Identify the person that replaced the sacked governor.
ii.   Examine the roles played by the emergency administrator of western region.

3.4   Consequences of the Crisis

The result of the crisis was not good both for the leaders and the followers. For the first time in the history of the country, the federal government invoked the emergency powers according to the relevant provisions of the constitution.

The A.G. leaders and twenty of his aides were arrested and sentenced to various prisons terms for treasonable felony. The crisis further portend that our political leaders cannot tolerate the opposing views of their colleagues. It was the crises that blew open the hatred they had for each other. Chief Awolowo could not tolerate Chief Akintola while Alhaji Balewa was intolerant of Chief Awolowo in the arena of party politics. The division in the rank and file of Action Group led Chief Samuel Akintola to form Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) after the collapse of Action Group. The crisis led to the breakdown of law and order in the Western House of Assembly. It should be noted that the crisis weakened the power of the official opposition in the House of Representative and made a mockery of the parliamentary system of government.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the circumstances that led to the imprisonment of Chief Awolowo and some of his followers or aids.
ii.   Briefly trace the formation of NNDP after the Action Group had split into two factions.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The Action Group crisis was primarily due to intolerance within the rank and file of the leaders that later spread to other members of the party. The accusation and counter-accusation of the leaders clearly revealed a deep seated hatred they had for each other.

5.0   SUMMARY

We have examined at some of the causes of the A.G. crisis of 1962 and we said the leaders were not tolerant of each other and we looked at the nature and consequences of the crises which triggered off rigging of

elections and led to riots, pandemonium and destructions of unquantifiable magnitude. These crises led to series of events and subsequently the country before the military took over in 1966.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Discuss the causes of 1962 A.G. Crisis.
2.   Critically examine the various consequences.
3.   Explain the roles of some of the principal actors in the crisis.

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UNIT 2   THE CENSUS CRISIS OF 1962/1963

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Major Causes of the Census Crisis of 1962/1963
        3.2   Nature of the Crisis
        3.3   Consequences of the Census Crisis
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Usually, census figures have been the subject of controversy in Nigeria from the time the country was split into three regions during the period of Macpherson constitution. The figures from the census were used as basis for sharing revenue, delimitations of constituencies, allocation of seats in the parliament etc. with all these; each region wanted a significant share of the head count.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   explain the importance of census figures
•   explain why census figures are always controversial
•   enumerate some of the causes of 1962 census crisis.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Major Causes of Census Crisis of 1962/1963

Crisis was a common occurrence in the first republic of Nigeria. One of the crises that really rocked the foundation and corporate existence of the country was the census of 1962. Nigeria is one the largest countries in Africa with a population of 133 million in 2005. Nigeria has over 250 different groups and over 400 different languages and dialects. The major ethnic groups are Hausa, Fulani, Ibo, Yoruba, Urhobo, Efik, Edo, Ijaw, Tiv and Kanuri; with several other smaller different ethnic communities. About 65 percent of the population is made up of Hausa – Fulani of the North, the Yoruba of the West, and the Ibo of the East (Bill Geddes 2010:01).

The population figures of 1952 gave the Northern Region a great majority seat in the House of Representatives. When there was another opportunity for a new census in 1962, the two Regions felt they would have a better representation in the House of Representative come what may. The census was officially held in 1962. As a result of ethnic bias, the figure gave rise to wide spread accusations. The distribution patterns of the figures were as follows: Northern Region 22.5million, Eastern Region 12.3million, western region 10.5m Lagos 0.8million (Remi Anifowose,1982:60).

Due to complaints arising from the census figures, the census was cancelled. The rancor and dispute that followed the census crisis was of great magnitude due to inter-ethnic and regional rivalry. The Northerners vehemently rejected the population figures on the ground that it was the first time that the combined population of the South was higher than the North. They called for a re-count which did not go well with the Easterners. In the re-count which was conducted by a British official in 1963. The figure was reversed considerably reducing the figure of the Eastern Region, but maintaining the figures of the North and Western Region including Mid-Western Region. This created great animosity between the Northerners and Easterners.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the factors that led to the cancellation of the census of 1962.
ii.   Explain the purpose of census.

3.2   Nature of the Crisis

From the re-count of the census, the southerners had hope that they would be favoured but they were disappointed when the results were announced and gave the North additional 9million allegedly missed in the first count. It was submitted and accepted by the government. The NCNC challenged the result in the Supreme Court accusing the government of Northern Region of falsification of census figures. The Prime Minister of the Federation and the Premier of Northern Region vehemently denied any fraudulent or malpractices in the census figure. The final figures of 55.6 million were finally accepted as follows: Northern Region 29,777,986, Eastern Region 12,388,646, Western Region 10,278,500, Mid-Western Region 2,533,337 and Lagos city 675,352 (Alonge, F. 2005: 417). The controversy from the census greatly sharpened regional rivalries because it couldn't enjoy unanimous approval. Ojo puts it succinctly "The census dispute intensified inter-regional rivalry and was followed by virulent inter-tribal recriminations which in turn resulted in the breakdown of the NPC/NCNC Federal

Government and precipitated new political alignments in Nigeria. By 1st of December, 1964, the NCNC described the NPC/NCNC coalition in a derogatory manner as a daft government without a sense of purpose" (Ojo Emmanuel, 2012:07). This further shows that the alliance of the two parties could no longer continue.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the causes of the census crisis of 1962/63.
ii.   Account for the controversial nature of census figures in Nigeria.

3.3   Consequences of Census Crisis

The aftermath of the census was that it created a long standing tension and suspicion between the coalition party of Northern People's Congress and National Council of Nigeria Citizens. It also increased the struggle for political domination between the regions particularly the North and the East which eventually laid the foundation of the first military coup in the country.

Throughout the country, there was political intolerance among the three political parties that existed and the atmosphere was really charged with tension. Each political party nursed negative attitude towards the other and this led to the outbreak of political violence.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Briefly analyse the distribution pattern of the census figures.
ii.   Discuss the conditions that necessitated a recount of 1962 census figures.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Census, as we see it in Nigeria, is not just about head count but about struggle for political power, i.e. the control of state power. It is also an instrument for sharing national revenue instead of concentrating on how to generate revenue for the country. We also remarked that the census figures are used as basis for the projection of development purposes, boundary adjustment, etc. and as a result, the census figures were over politicised.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we have attempted to analyse purpose of census, cause of census crisis as struggle to maintain political power and have lion share

of the national revenue. We looked at the effects of the census crisis as main engine of tension and suspicion between the various regions.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Enumerate the causes of 1962 census crisis in Nigeria.
2.   Enumerate the reasons for the controversial nature of census crisis in Nigeria.
3.   Examine the consequences of the census crisis of 1962/1963.

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UNIT 3   FEDERAL ELECTION OF 1964

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The elective principle introduced in 1922 by Clifford Constitution could be said to be the beginning of party politics. It was in this period that four seats were however allocated to Nigerians – three seats for Lagos and one to the coastal town of Calabar. Some restrictions were placed on the electorates, i.e. only adult males could vote and must have been living in the area for not less than one calendar year and finally should have annual income of nothing less than one hundred pounds. There were a lot of debates regarding the acceptance of Clifford constitution because of the inherent nature of the constitutions. This led to the formation of Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) on June 24 1923. It is on record that the 1964-1966 were the most turbulent period in terms of party politics in Nigeria. The electoral battle was between Nigerian National Alliance and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe the causes of federal election crisis of 1964.
- describe the nature of the crisis and the roles of UPGA and NNA.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Historical Background

The founding fathers of NNDP were Thomas, Horatio Jackson, Bangan Benjamin, and Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay. Herbert Macaulay was born in 1864 to Rev. Thomas Babington Macaulay, the founder of C.M.S. Grammar School Lagos. He was a Civil Engineer. The first president of NNDP was Egerton Shyingle even though Herbert Macaulay was more popular than Shyingle. Macaulay enjoyed a lot of popularity among the electorate; his party won the elections of 1923, and 1933 respectively. Macaulay did not contest election into the legislative Lagos town council because of two criminal cases he was involved with. There were allegations of misuse of fund and plot to assassinate the then exiled Oba of Lagos, Oba Eshugbayi Eleko (West Africa Pilot 28 August and September 22, 1928 (Richard Sklar, 1963:46).

The National Congress of Nigerian and Cameroon was formally launched in August 1944 and later became National Council of Nigerian Citizens, while the Action Group was formed in 1951 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and some notable Yoruba leaders in order to protect the interest of the Yoruba in Western Nigeria. Similarly, the Northern People's Congress was launched in Kaduna on 1st October 1950 to protect and pursue Northern goals. It should be noted that the NCNC was dominated by Easterners. With the above scenario, we can easily conclude that ethnicity was the hall mark of Nigerian party politics. At the general election of 1959, NPC and NCNC formed the government and the alliance did not last due to serious disagreement based on ideological differences. The NPC wanted a policy of alignment with Western capitalist bloc and NCNC wanted non- alignment but canvassed for United States of Africa. (Ojo Emmanuel, 2011:06-17) the census of 1962 blew open inter ethnic rivalry between the NPC/NCNC and there were "accusations and counter accusations" (Ojo Emmanuel, 2011:06-17) over the figure of the census released which was cancelled and later a re-count was ordered. The census figure refueled the inter-ethnic rivalry and eventually brought down the coalition of NPC/ NCNC.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the roles of the founders of NNDP.
ii.   Discuss the breakdown of the alliance between NPC/NCNC.

3.2   Formation of UPGA and NNA

These two majority political parties developed from the collapse of NPC/NCNC alliance. The NCNC in their own wisdom turned to AG and formed what was then known as United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) on 3rd June 1964. Samuel Akintola, who was then premier of western region under the AG from 1959-1962 left the party and formed United Peoples Party (UPP). He later re-named the party, Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). Chief Akintola used several uncomplimentary languages to describe the UPGA as "Useless People Godless Alliance" (Ojo Emmanuel, 2011:06-17).

The Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) comprises several minor political parties these were NPC, NDP, Dynamics Party, and Mid West Democratic Front Niger Delta Congress (NDC). Lagos State United Front (LSUF) and Republican Party (RP). On the other hand, the following parties formed what was known as UPGA: NCNC, AG, Northern Progressive Front (NPF) it consisted Northern Element Progressive Union, United Middle Belt Congress, Kano People Party, (KPP) and Zamfara Commoner Party. The candidate that contested 1964 Federal election did so under these two major party alliances. Some of the reasons for forming UPGA vary and they include on the part of NCNC, political necessity. The NCNC believed that they were regarded as junior partner in the alliance with Northern People Congress (NPC) the result of the census did not favour them and felt that they should try another political partner. The Action Group had internal structural problems. The friction between the leaders of the party was quite grave and it affected the fortunes of the party. Several times Chief Awolowo who was the leader of opposition in the House of Representative over ruled the decisions of the Western Cabinet which the Premier, Chief Akintola didn't like. Chief Awolowo believed that Akintola wanted to usurp his authority as the party leader (Alonge, 2005:415).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the conditions that led to the collapse of NPC/NCNC alliance.
ii.   Briefly trace the internal crisis in the Action Group.

3.3   Causes of the Crisis

The Federal election crisis of 1964 was between United Progressive Grand Alliances (UPGA) whose candidates were mostly people from the East while the Nigerian National Alliance candidates were mostly from the North. Some of the causes of the crisis include the 1962 controversial census result that generated ill-feeling between the two

major political parties. The ill-feeling was carried to the election of 1964 as a way of testing political strength and supremacy. The two major political alliances further paved way for the division existing in the country instead of serving as a unifying factor. The alliances were based on regions. This accounted for destruction, irregularities and spate of killings before and after the election. It must not be forgotten that the crisis was also as a result of internal crisis in the Action Group that led to the crisis in Western Region in 1962 when the leader of the party Chief Obafemi Awolowo was charged and sentenced to ten years imprisonment for treasonable felony with some of his close associates.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain some of the causes of 1964 political crisis.
ii.   Discuss its consequences.

3.4   Political Instability of 1964

The 1964 general election was characterised with fraud, irregularities and falsification of figures and added to this was the census dispute that greatly increases inter-regional rivalry that eventually led to break down of NPC/NCNC federal government (Ojo Emmanuel, 2012:7). It was clear that the NCNC was no longer interested in the coalition and labeled the government as "a daft government without a sense of purpose" (Ojo Emmanuel, 2012:8) the NNA alliance made use of power of incumbency. It was a common phenomenon for political opponent to be arrested without reason, members were jailed and detained, and members were even prevented from filing nomination papers. A glaring case was in Bauchi South West, the constituency of the Prime Minister. One Azi Nyako an UPGA filed a suit and claimed that he was not allowed to file his nomination papers. Justice Negel who heard the case on 3rd April 1965 dismissed it on the ground that it was "Inspired by malice "Nigerian Daily Times and Nigeria Daily Express 4th April 1965. It would not be out of place to cite an instance out of several instances of electoral malpractices. Though it was obvious that all the alliances engaged in violence, thuggery and arson, the experiences of late Alhaji Aminu Kano the leader of NEPU and a member of UPGA had this to say:

> The merciless beating up of supporters of opposition parties and compelling them to join the party in power or else face series of brutality and prosecution is beyond common sense. At present, August 1964 there are over 200 member of NEPU jailed on various pretext in Sokoto Province. Thousand of UMBC supporters are languishing in

> prison in Tiv division while over 100 people have lost their lives. Thousands upon thousands of our party supporters were dumped into jail like bundle of wood or animal; some were killed … wickedness in its highest magnitude was let loose and the ordinary mass of men were terrorised, stunned to silence and fear … law and order were raped .… It was the most wicked and devilish doctrine which could not be conceived in hell itself … it was an example of sadism from which even a barbarian can shrink. To give full account of this barbarian invasion of justice and democracy will need a volume of over five and one thousand pages. Nigerian citizen 'August 26 1964 and March 24 1965'

The situation was not much different in the East where the NCNC had control of governmental powers and similarly in the Western Region the NNDP formed the government, the AG used retaliatory power. Before the election and particularly during the campaign, a lot of crude and obnoxious methods were used, all in the bid to grasp state power. Due to wide spread riggings and irregularities in the election, the President rejected the result on the ground that it would bring bitterness and promote disunity. Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe refused to call on any of the parties in the alliance to form government. The great confusion created by the United Progressive Grand Alliance and Nigerian National Alliance created constitutional crisis that made Nigeria not to have "legally constituted government" for more than three days.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain some of the consequences of political instability of 1964 general election.
ii.   Examine the roles played by the principal actors.

4.0   CONCLUSION

From the discussion so far, it is safe to conclude that political instability in the first Republic was due to ethnicity, greed and selfish interest. Most of the political parties were regionalised and the issue of winner-takes-all worsens the already bad situation.

5.0   SUMMARY

We examined the alliances of the two major political parties, i.e. the UPGA and NNA respectively. We said that one of the causes of the

electoral crisis of 1964 was primarily due to the census crises of 1962 and intra-party crises as a result of personality clash in the Action Group which eventually snowballed into 1965 crisis. The crisis led to killings and destruction of properties.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine the conditions that led to the rejection of 1965 census figures.
2.   Discuss the causes of electoral crisis of 1964.
3.   Identify a few principal actors and explain the roles they played.

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UNIT 4 WESTERN NIGERIAN ELECTIONS CRISIS OF 1965

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
      3.1 Causes of the Crisis
      3.2 Nature of the Crisis
      3.3 Consequences of the Crisis
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

We would recall that the Action Group was firmly in control of the government of western region until 1962 when the party ran into personality clash. Chief S. L. Akintola formed Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) during the crisis of the Action Group (AG) in 1962. The crisis in Western region is traceable to serious electoral malpractices. The election was held on 11th October, 1965. There were reports of ballot papers being smuggled into ballot boxes before the election took place, burning of opponent ballot boxes, and unfair counting of votes coupled with the shoddy manner the then Electoral Commission conducted the election under the chairmanship of Chief Eyo Esua.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the events that led to the Western Nigerian Election Crisis
- explain the roles of Chief Adegbenro one of the leaders of UPGA and Chief S.L. Akintola deputy leader of Action Group and Governor Odeleye Fadahunsi in the crisis.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Causes of the Crisis

Internal crisis in the Action Group (AG) was one of the factors that led to the crisis in the Western region in 1965. Before then, the leaders of the Action Group Chief Awolowo and his deputy Chief S. L. Akintola

were suspicious of each other. The rivalry between the two political alliances, i.e. United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) was crucial to the crisis. In the Western region, AG stood for (UPGA) while NNDP represented NNA. Because Action Group was not represented in the broad-based national government of 1964, they shifted the electoral battle to the western region and we would recall that Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) was in power in Western region from 1962. The party imposed a curfew in order to destabilise the plans and activities of the Action Group (AG) in the region. This did not go down well with members of the Action Group (AG) and the stage was set for a convenient time to retaliate.   When it was time for election, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) used all its power to block the chances of members UPGA to file their nomination papers. The election was characterised with massive rigging and inflation of election figures and unfair counting.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss immediate and remote causes of western region crisis in 1965.
ii.   Briefly examine the roles played by NNDP and AG in the crisis in western region.

3.2   Nature of the crisis

We would remember that the actions taken by the NNDP controlled government were inimical to the members of UPGA represented by A.G in the region. Shortly after the dissolution of the Western House of Assembly, member of the Action Group were not allowed to collect nomination forms and where they struggled to collect nomination forms, electoral officers disappeared from their duty posts in order not to receive the nomination forms. The campaigns in the region were characterised with violent acts like looting, arson, killing, etc. Alhaji D.S. Adegbenro, the leader of UPGA wrote a protest letter to Governor Odeleye Fadahunsi regarding the malpractices observed. His protest letter was ignored. At last, the election took place on the 11th October 1965 under a tense atmosphere and it was characterised by massive rigging, burning of opponents' ballot boxes and a host of other electoral malpractices. At the end of the election, NNDP was declared the winner with 88 out of the 98 seats. Members of the UPGA did not accept the result announced and in a swift reaction, Adegbenro summoned a press conference in the house of the jailed leader Chief Obafemi Awolowo and announced UPGA the winner of the election winning 68 out of the 98 seats. He subsequently declared himself the Premier of the region and set up his cabinet of eight members.

With two parallel governments in the same region, the stage was set for serious political battle. Chief S. L. Akintola was subsequently sworn-in as the Premier of Western region. Chief Akintola announced his fifty member cabinet on 22 October 1965 (West African Pilot, 23rd October 1965). This eventually led to series of demonstrations and chaos throughout the region.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Briefly trace the origin of the crisis in the western region.
ii.   Describe the major events that sparked off the crisis.

3.3   Consequences of the Crisis

The two major political parties in the crisis, i.e. the NNDP and A.G in the western region regarded the election as a do or die affairs. It is easy to conclude that the western region election crisis of 1965 was not different from the Federal election crisis of 1964 because the elections were characterised with killing, arson, thuggery and hooliganism. The Chairman of the Electoral Commission, Chief Eyo Esua confirmed the irregularities in the conduct of the election in an open letter to the then governor of western Nigeria Sir. Odeleye Fadahunsi. Other members of the Commission were Chief N.D Oyerinde, Dr. Adegbite, Dr. J. A. Akintola, Rev. S.T. Ola-Akande, A. O. Fadugba, Alhaji Jimoh Bamigbola, Ayo Ojerinola (a senior civil servant) served as the secretary (see Daily Times 20, and 22 Nov, 16th December 1965) the Chairman of the Commission further remarked that some electoral officers bluntly refused to accept nomination papers of certain candidates and the loyalty of the region's commissioners was to the NNDP and that his Commission was "utterly helpless".

As a result of these glaring anomalies, he therefore advised that the election should be nullified (See Daily Express and Daily Times, 23 November 1965). NND members believed that Esua was under pressure from UPGA members to discredit the election he conducted since these revelations were coming out forty days after the conclusion and submission of the results to the Governor. Esua later said he did not submit election results to anyone (See Daily Times 24 November 1965). It can then be argued that Chief Esua had the sympathy of UPGA or was bought over by them. In the midst of these allegations, he was forced to resign on 15th December, 1965 (Ojo Emmanuel, 2011:12). People who were frustrated and deprived politically would use any means including bullet to achieve what they could not achieve through the ballot.

The UPGA members and their sympathisers believed that they had been deprived of the election, this result while the NNDP and their supported

wanted to defend their victory in the election; this resulted in violence, destructions, killings and burning of houses. The destruction in the region continued until the Jan. 15th 1966 when the army took over the affairs of the country.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The crisis in Western Nigeria was due to serious electoral malpractices in the conduct of the election that took place in October 11, 1965. There were allegations of rigging of the election by NNDP and their supporters. The position of the Electoral Commission was questionable since it was alleged that he took side with NNDP. Because of several allegations against the Commission, the Chairman was forced to resign. The UPGA that felt deprived and frustrated wanted justice at all cost and the NNDP members were determined to fully defend their victory which resulted in violence, protest and destructions.

5.0   SUMMARY

The aftermath of broad-based national government of 1964 federal election was one of the remote causes of the crisis in Western Nigeria since no member of A.G was included in the cabinet of the national government. Members of the AG believed that they would be able to make up for the loss at the Federal level. The poor handling of the election by the Electoral Commission and the Action Group crisis of 1962 led to the outbreak of violence and civil disorder in Western Nigeria in 1965.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Describe the crisis that erupted from the western region in 1965.
2.   Examine the consequences of the election in western region in 1965.
3.   Discuss the role played by the chairman Electoral Commission.

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UNIT 5   THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1993

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
         3.1   Background to the Formation of Political Parties
         3.2   Main Parties Involved
         3.3   The Conduct of the Election
         3.4   The Conditions Factors that Facilitated Manipulation of the
                  Election
         3.5   The Consequence of the Annulment of June 12
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

General Ibrahim Babangida became Head of State on 27 August, 1985 after a palace coup that cleverly removed his predecessor, General Mohammad Buhari. It would be recalled that the regime of Buhari was highly repressive, draconian and authoritarian in nature. He declared that political programmes would be set aside for the economy to take proper shape. He issued draconian decrees which Nigerians are not likely to forget. These decrees were decrees: Nos. 2 and 4 that empowered the Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters to detain anybody for any kind of offence, while decree 4 had to do with censoring of the press and two journalists from the Guardian newspaper were the first victims. When Babangida came on board, he immediately abrogated the draconian decrees and also set up Constitution Review Committee to draft a new constitution for the third republic. He gave several endless political transition time-table and programmes which he did not fulfill, but eventually, the report of the committee was accepted by the Armed Forces Ruling Council with some modifications.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   explain the nature and consequences of June 1993 election
•   enumerate the roles played by principal actors.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Background and Registration of Political Parties

The National Electoral Commission had the full authority to conduct election into local Government, State House of Assemblies, House of Representative, Senate, Governorship and Presidential elections respectively. There were many political associations that applied to NEC for registrations but only thirteen were registered as political parties due to difficult requirements stipulated. In spite of this, the military government registered and established two political parties from the thirteen political associations that National Electoral Commission approved. These were National Republican Convection (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP). These two parties were just imposed on the nation without any valid reason other parties were not allowed to participate in the election. However, most of the elections were held in 1991, inauguration of National Assembly and State Assemblies and swearing-in of governors commenced. The presidential election was postponed several times before it was eventually fixed for June 12, 19993.

The anomaly was easily noticed; the elected representatives of the people had to operate under an unelected president. The people took consolation in the fact that the transition was expected to be brief. But the Babangida regime kept procrastinating on handing over to a civilian administration.

We should note that handover to the civilian regime was initially fixed for end of 1970, later moved to 1991 then again to 1992 and at last to 1993. While the country was witnessing changes in the political transition/time-table, Babangida regime changed the leadership of NEC Professor Eme Awa and replaced him with Professor Humphrey Nwosu who was a former commissioner for Local Government in Anambra State.

This period was also characterised with banning of several politicians who were alleged to have taken part in the failed Second Republic government. But by and large, it was not within the portfolio of the military to ban any politician but the sole responsibility of the electorate to reject any politician not wanted at the polls.

This clearly shows that Babangida had an undisclosed motive for Nigerians. In 1992, in an unexpected move, twenty-three presidential candidates were disqualified, people like Major Gen. Yar Adua, Olu Falae, and Bamanga Tukur, etc. (Akinbode, 2008:534). This paves way for a new crop of politicians to enter the political race. In 1993 Chief

M.K.O. Abiola joined the presidential race on the platform of Social Democratic Party (SDP).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Account for the disqualifications of the presidential aspirants in 1993.
ii.   Critically examine the roles of the two presidential candidates in the aborted third republic.

3.2   Main Parties Involved

The two main parties in the presidential election of 1993 June were National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP). They held the presidential primary in Jos in March 1993. During the primary, Chief Abiola won the election defeating his rival, Alhaji Babagana Kingibe a business man of great repute. Alhaji Basher Tofa won the primary on the platform of National Republican Convention which was held in Port Harcourt and his running mate was Dr. Sylvester Ugo from the South-East. We should not forget that the constitutions and the manifestos were produced by the military and formally launched by General Babangida himself at the Nnamdi Azikiwe Press Centre in Dodan Barracks on Monday, December 4, 1989. He said in his broadcast to the nation on October 9th that:

> The draft constitution of these parties as approved by the Armed forces ruling Council shall be identical. The National Electoral Commission shall submit (these) draft manifestos to the Armed Forces Ruling Council for preliminary approval within two weeks from today. The draft manifestos may be amended at the National Convention of each party subject to NEC guidelines. They shall then be sent to the Armed Forces Ruling Council, which shall approve the amendments, after which the draft becomes a manifesto.

The irony of the manifestos was that the parties had no real contribution to it and the ordinary voters were denied the choice of programmes because the parties had similar manifestos that they could not amend.
The political field was cleared for Chief M.K.O. Abiola to contest the election. Babangida banned those who previously held public offices and wanted to become presidential candidates.

This ban did not augur well with the politicians and they continued with their political protests. They were arrested and arranged before the

transition to civil rule tribunal in order to frighten them. These politicians include- major General Shehu Musa Yar Adua Rtd, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Chief Bola Ige, Chief Solomon Lar, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, Chief Christian Onoh, Dr. Olusola Saraki, Chief Arthur Nzeribe, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu, Mr. Paul Unongo and Alhaji Lawal Kaita. The way was clearly paved for M.K.O. Abiola due to the warm relationship he had with his friend Babangida (Abubakar Siddique Mohammed, undated).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Evaluate the roles played by the military that initiated and founded the two political parties?
ii.   Examine a few reasons why some politicians were banned from contesting the election.

3.3   The Conduct of the Election

The National Electoral Commission was fully prepared for the election by providing 209,000 voting centers nationwide. Voting was done publicly by using Option A4. This is a device in which eligible voters lined up behind the portraits of their preferred candidates. The counting of the votes were done publicly also. The elections were adjudged by most people to be free and fair even including the International Observers. The National Electoral Commission empowered the electoral commissioners in each state to collate and announce the results in their respective states. Going by the install mental release of the result of the election by 15th June, it showed that M.K.O. Abiola was leading by a wide margin and Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) obtained a court order to stop further announcement of the results (Akinbade, 2008:535). The National Electoral Commission had to comply with the court order and it stopped further announcement. Tension had started to build up because of the stoppage of announcement and nobody knew the next line of action of what was going to happen.

It was on June 23 1993, that the military government announced the cancellation of the election without reason. One should note that there was no time for election petitions because the results were cancelled before any formal announcement was made.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Describe the activities of ABN in the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election.
ii.   Explain the term Option A4.

3.4   The Conditions/Factors that Facilitated the Manipulation of the Election

- The administration of General Babangida was not willing to handover to an elected civilian government hence the frequent changes in the terminal date of the transition and the banning of the politicians. All these showed that he was not prepared to handover to any democratically elected government.
- The use of an un-registered association known as (ABN) to stop the installmental announcement of election results was an indication that he was also unprepared to relinquish power.
- The SDP as a party and its presidential candidate under-estimated the power and the strength of the rival political party, the NRC so when the heat was turned on Chief M.K.O. Abiola he left the country.
- The wrangling and divisions within the Social Democratic Party called for attention in view of the fact that not all members of the SDP supported Chief M.K.O. Abiola as a presidential candidate so when the election was canceled they "celebrated" and fully backed the military to install an Interim National Government (ING).
- The presidential candidate of SDP did not take into consideration the leadership position and the enormous influence the Hausa/Fulani wields in the political game of Nigeria right from the time of independence in 1960.
- The electoral umpire, i.e. National Electoral Commission (NEC) was closely monitored and was loyal to the government that appointed it. Its independence was curtailed and could not function as expected of an independent body.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the factors that facilitated the manipulation of the election?
ii.   In your own opinion, is the June 12 1993 election free and fair? Give reason(s) to support your argument.

3.5   The Consequence of the Annulment of June 12

A vital consequence of the election seems to have been that the victor in the election of June 12 was not the candidate preferred by the leadership of the military. There were two options available - one was to accept the result of the election and lose control of government and the other was to declare the result null and void. In his wisdom, he chose the second option and he unwillingly relinquished the control of government to a

Interim National Government with a responsibility of organising fresh election.

There was wide spread strikes, protest, killings and looting particularly in the South-West. And in November 1993, General Sani Abacha led a military take over and sacked the Interim National Government imposed on the country by General Babangida.

National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) was formed in 1994 with primary motive of forcing the then military government to announce the result of the remaining election of June 1993 presidential election. Several human right organisations and de-democracy of the election. Late Chief Michael Adekunle Ajasin, former governor of Ondo state was its Chairman. The NADECO embarked on several types of civil disobedience to force the federal military government to install Chief M.K.O. Abiola as the president. The military government arrested several members of this group and clamped them into detention, while a few managed to escape and fled the country. Unfortunately, Alhaja Kudirat Abiola, wife of Chief Abiola and Chief Alfred Rewane, another leader of NADECO were killed by the then military government (Akinbade, 2008:538).

When he took over from the Interim National Government, he quickly replaced the elected governors with appointees from the military, sacked the elected National and State Assemblies members and banned all political activities. In fact, he had in mind of perpetuating himself in power. The second consequence of the annulment of the 1993 election was that it brought the country to the verge of disintegration. There were disturbances and protests in several parts of the country it was reported that more than two hundred and thirty four people died in Lagos alone (Akinbade, 2008:537) and several people went back to their states of origin. In the midst of the confusion and uncertainty that followed, General Ibrahim Babanginda was forced to step aside on August 26, 1993 and other top military officers from the army, navy and air force were compulsory retired.

When Chief M.K.O. Abiola came back from self-imposed exile, on June 11th 1994 he declared himself as president of Nigeria at Epetedo playing ground on June 12, 1994 and was arrested by the military on June 24th 1994.

The annulment of the acclaimed free and fair election of 1993 and the death of the Presidential candidate in detention under spurious circumstances, led to a compromise between Northern and Southern leaders to have power shifted to the South (Akinbade, 2008:238). This was done in order to placate the Southerners who were seriously

aggrieved and this subsequently brought Chief Olusegun Obasanjo again to the political arena of the country in 1999 having ruled the country as a military president between Feb. 14ᵗʰ 1976 to October 1ˢᵗ 1979 when he handed over to President Shehu Shagari as the first Executive President of the Second Republic of Nigeria. The death of Abacha led to Abdusallami becoming Head of State. He instituted a credible transition programme that culminated in the inauguration of the 4th Republic in February 1999.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The two leading parties then were and still leading are Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), although ACN and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and a host of other minor parties merged together now known as All- Progressive Congress (APC) to dislodge PDP out of power come next election in 2015. It must be clearly emphasised that it is not the system that was operated that is faulty, but the people that operated the system did not make the system successful. There is absolutely nothing wrong with two-party system or multi-party system but its operators.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we looked at the palace coup that cleverly removed General Muhammed Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon from office in 1985 and we examined background to the formation of political parties and several endless political transition time-tables which were not fulfilled until the imposition of two major political parties Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention on the country. The two parties contested the election which was annulled without any tangible reason. The aftermath of the election was protests, riots, lootings and killings in South Western Nigeria (Akinbade, 2008:537). Gen. Babanginda was forced to step aside and Interim National Government was installed with the motive of organising fresh election. The Interim National Government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan was terminated by General Sani Abacha who was the second-in-command to General Babanginda. Gen. Abacha died under mysterious circumstances and General Abdul Salam became Head of State and organised fresh elections in 1999 ushering in fourth Republic in 1999.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine a few conditions that encouraged manipulations of election?
2.   Explain the circumstances that led to the chosen of Chief Obasanjo as compromise candidate.

3.	Account for the reasons why Chief MKO Abiola unilaterally declared himself as a president-elect at Epetedo on June 12 1994.

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MODULE 4   PRESSURE GROUPS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Unit 1   Meaning of Pressure Groups
Unit 2   Classifications of Pressures Groups
Unit 3   Techniques Used by Pressure Groups
Unit 4   Comparison of Pressure Groups and Political Parties
Unit 5   Collective Bargaining

UNIT 1   MEANING AND FEATURES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Meaning of Pressure Group
        3.2   Features of Interest Group
        3.3   Functions of Pressure Group
        3.4   Demerits of Pressure Group
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Every group in the society has its-own interest to protect and preserve so also individuals. Bentley (1908), the author of group theory remarked that "a group means a certain portion of men of a society taken, however not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men but as a mass of activity which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in many other group activities" (Johari, J.C. 2011:444). All groups in the society participate in diverse of activities to further their interests. Truman said that "a group is a collection of individual who on the basis of one or more shared attitudes makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied in the shared attitude … the shared attitude constitute the interest" (Johari, J.C. 2011:444).

A group that has common interest would normally pursue such interest in order to achieve its goal. The theory of group clearly emphases the group is very crucial in the study of politics rather than individuals.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the relevant features of pressure group
- explain functions of pressure groups.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Meaning of Pressure Groups

A pressure group is an organised social interest group formed solely to pursue its objectives/interest and influence government policies. The main aim or objective of any social interest group is not to take over state power but to influence government machinery to its own advantage.

Akinbade defined pressure groups as "an association of individuals whose main objective is to influence government in a manner favorable to the interest of its members. Unlike political parties, a pressure group has no interest in becoming the government. Rather, pressure groups are organised groups seeking to achieve defined goals" (Akinbade, 2008:210) Oyeleye, Oyediran remarked that pressure groups "exerts pressure on those

who have responsibility for making decisions on behalf of the community. They struggle to influence decision makers and make them to adhere to their objectives. "In general, pressure groups come into being to enhance or protect the interest of their members or groups" (Oyeleye, 1998:61).

From these definitions we can conclude that the goal of any pressure group is to protect the interest of their members and influence government. Adigun Agbaje is of the opinion that any group of people that exerts pressure or influence the decision makers or government in a democratic set up can be regarded as a pressure group. He remarked that "a pressure groups in a democracy is any group of person which tries to get government or other bodies to take notice of certain things or do something by bringing pressure to bear on such government or body" (Anifowose, 1999:199) pressure group can also be described as "interest groups" lobby groups or protest groups" (Anifowose, 1999:199).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define the term pressure groups.
ii.   Examine the primary motives of forming pressure groups.

3.2   Features of Pressure Groups

The most important features of a pressure group are:

- They influence the government but do not form government.
- Pressure groups have limited objectives and they pursue the objectives with all vigour.
- It may support candidates nominated for election but it does not contest any election or nominate candidates for elections.
- Pressure groups can use any legitimate means at its disposal in order to achieve its objectives
- They exert pressure on legislators to vote in a way it suit the association and if such legislator fails, anytime he seeks re-nomination, he will not be nominated.
- The size of groups differs due to several factors like numbers of members, intensity and type of organisations.
- They are persuasive organisations that are common in all modern political system, Ayeni-Akeke remarked that "the number of them that can be found in any political system depend on various factors such as degree of openness of the political system, its level of development, system of government, prevailing political culture" (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:110). An open political system is one that recognises and protect fundamental right of the citizen and pave way for the people to people to exercise the fundamental rights publicly.
- They blend and modify public opinion and make it more exact. If the opinion is specific and exact, the easier it is for the political leaders to act on the wishes of the people. Some people even refer to this as interest articulation.
- The activities of pressure groups are usually regarded with suspicion, while trade unions are viewed with greater suspicion than employers' association or union simply because orientation of business elites and governing elites are not in the same direction.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the major characteristics of pressure groups.
ii.   Discuss what you consider to be the major objectives of pressure groups.

3.3   Functions of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups serve purposive functions in the society and we shall examine some of them here:

- They serve as a powerful link between the people and the government. This is done by officials of the pressure group consulting with the representatives of the government and presenting the views/demands of the people to the representative of the government.
- They assist the government in the execution of some of its functions. Government do delegate pressure groups that are expert in certain fields to handle its programme e.g. Nigerian Medical Association gives government inputs on the reduction of the dreaded AIDS and HIV ravaging in some parts of the country.
- Pressure groups help legislators and officials of the government with statistical data, inputs on some important and technical issues which they cannot ordinarily handle for the implementation of government policies.
- Even though pressure groups are not elected by the people, they give support to the government so that they may be acceptable by the people.
- They criticise unpopular government policies and prevent maladministration and checks dictatorial tendencies of any government.
- Pressure groups like the Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Mining, etc. contribute greatly to the growth and development of the country. They also serve in different arms of government, e.g. on tribunals, committees, etc.
- They educate people about their fundamental rights and also provide political education to the public and in some cases; they promote welfare services to the public especially Nigeria Medical Association (NMA) and Nigeria Bar Association (NBA).
- They also represent diverse interest of the society since membership of such groups comes from different background which may not be represented in the government.
- Pressure group may influence member of the executives, who have law making input and who can rightly decide the effectiveness of law enforcement.
- They can even assist nominated candidates before election with funds, time and election materials, etc.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the functions of pressure groups in the society.
ii.   Pressure groups serves as "watchdog" to the activities of government, discuss.

3.4   Demerits of Pressure Groups

In spite of the benefits derivable from the activities of pressure groups, there are also several short comings. We shall examine a few of them here:

- Some pressure group tends to articulate a narrow range of interest. This may create confusion in the mind of the people because when pressure group articulate say for example the welfare of the retirees or prisoners instead of focusing on important political issues that affects the generality of the people, this breeds hatred and antagonism among their members and create confusion among the people. They are mostly concerned with specific and not general issues and they tend to advance the interest of the few instead of the general interest.
- Another shortcoming of pressure groups is that they may sponsor narrow interest of a few members at the expense of the majority they claim to be working for. These narrow interests may be forced on those who have power to make decisions by using illegal tactics and this does not augur well for the health of the political community.
- Pressure groups do not have formal structure and they are dominated by unelected officials that run the affairs of the group and this makes it difficult for members to control the group.
- When pressure groups tries to influence government on policy issues, and government accede to the demands of the group, similar bodies in the same trade or organisation may put up their own demands for instance, if government yields to the demand of Doctors on strike, the Nurses, Pharmacists, etc. may put up pressure on government for their own settlement, so, the demands would be endless in the place of competing demands for the limited resources of the government.
- The objectives of pressure group are in most cases not submitted to the members for their endorsement or approval but they are developed by officials who are paid for their services.
- One of the greatest strategies of pressure groups is lobbying and this has been abused because of secret operations which may lead to suspicion of pressure groups.
- Pressure groups are alleged to engage in hero-worship of those in position of authority to enable them get approval for their demands.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Despite the good intentions of pressure groups, their activities are undermined by narrow and selfish interests coupled with overzealousness of the unelected officials that runs the affairs of the group which makes the organisation of the group undemocratic.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we looked at the meaning of pressure groups and we said it is an organised group of individuals who have similar views on topical national issues with the motive of influencing the people who actually have power to make decisions. They do not look for power for themselves, but seek to influence those who hold political power. We equally looked at the features and functions of pressure group and we remarked that they serve as a link between the people and the government, they criticise unpopular government policies. We are of the opinion that the disadvantages of pressure groups are in most cases insignificant compared to the advantages. But by and large, pressure groups have been accused of selfishness, corruption, betrayal of trust and sponsoring   interest of a "few" members.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine the demerits of pressure groups.
2.   Examine various ways pressure groups sponsor narrow interest of their members.
3.   Discuss some functions of pressure groups.

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UNIT 2   CLASSIFICATIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
         3.1   Institutional Pressure Groups
         3.2   Associational Groups
         3.3   Non-Association Groups
         3.4   Anomic Group
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

There is lack of agreement about classifying and defining pressure group among political scientists due to imprecise nature and multiple forms of associations. Adigun Agbaje (Remi Anifowose,1999:202) remarked that a number of factors should be considered. Should we concern ourselves with groups or interest they serve and represent? Or should we bother with groups that are united and better organised with similar shared interest without consciousness? Do they serve their own selfish interest or pursue public objectives and goals? Whatever may be said regarding the activities of pressure groups they perform crucial role and functions in the political system and in the society.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

*   explain the various functions of the four categories of pressure groups
*   give two examples from each category.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Institutional Pressure Groups

G.A. Almond (Johari, 2011:447) classified pressure groups into four basic categories; institutional groups, associational groups, non-associational groups and anomic groups. We shall examine each of these groups one after the other.

Institutional pressure groups are made up of legislatures, executive the civil servants and the judiciary.

These institutions are created to achieve some objectives in the political system. The purpose they serve is crucial in the society. G.A. Almond even remarked that "even an organ of government can create "input that may have" "output" for instance, the bureaucrats may influence the ministers and then a decision is taken so as to protect and promote the interest of the administrators" (Johari, 2011:447). It is important to note that institutional pressure groups are part and parcel for an organised structure of the society. They can easily articulate their own interest in the structure of an organisation for example the ministry of education can lobby other bureaucrats on behalf of the interest of teachers (Alonge, 2005:211).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the functions of institutional pressure groups.
ii.   Describe some key groups within institutional pressure groups.

3.2   Associational Groups

These are well organised body and registered with appropriate authority in the country. They have constitutions, registered offices; they are the leading pressure groups. Example of these groups includes Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Nigeria Medical association (NMA) Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) Nigerian Teachers Union (NUT). They have formal procedures of registering their members. Others in this category include Business and Farmers Organisations, Trade Unions. They struggle and fight for better conditions of their members. They draw their members from particular organisations and professions. These Associational Groups can also be divided into several types like business, labour, professional and agricultural (farmers) association.

The main motive is to protect and promote the interest of their members. They are also called economic pressure groups.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss some of the functions of Institutional pressure groups.
ii.   Discuss three types of organisations in the associational pressure groups.

3.3   Non-Associational Pressure Groups

This refers to informal organisations. They are brought together by virtue of kinship or family ties, religion, tribal affiliations, social traditions, etc. This type of groups does not have permanent existence, they appear when there is need for it and as soon as the need is met, they fold up immediately. There is no formality and procedure in their organisations. Example of this group includes tribal unions, religions, philanthropic associations, etc. They provide social and economic functions for their members. These groups have highly educated members in its fold and they also work for the entire community they represent. Examples of this group are the Red Cross Society, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Committee for Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) founded by late Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti, etc.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss some activities of non-associational pressure groups.
ii.   Analyse the factors that bind these informal groups together.

3.4   The Anomic Group

Consist of organisation whose behavior and actions cannot be predicted. They act according to the spur of the moment. They are not guided by any rules of behavior of any type. They are easily recognised in violent situations such as demonstrations, protests, mob rioting, strikes and revolutions. These groups develop when they feel that the decision making authorities have alienated them and therefore feel that the only way they can make their impact felt is through mob action or violence.

A times, they may be organised and pull their resources together to carry out spontaneous action. But by and large, they disappear immediately after each action.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Regardless of the classifications of pressure groups, they perform essential functions in their area of jurisdiction by protecting and promoting the interest of their members, Truman puts it succinctly, "the essential fact remains that pressure group play their part in the political process of every country whether modern or traditional, democratic or totalitarian. Their role affects the working of the government, and in turn, the government function to establish and maintain a measure of order in the relationship among group" (Johari, 2011:449).

5.0   SUMMARY

We examined various classifications of pressure beginning from institutional group which is the legislature, bureaucracy, judiciary as presented by G.A almond and they are created to achieve certain objectives in the political system while associational groups are well organised with offices in the society. They fight for better conditions for their members. The non-associational groups are informal organisations do not have permanent structure; they appear when the need arises and disappear after the needs have been met. They provide social, economic, and philanthropic functions for their members. The anomic groups can be said to be erratic since their behavior cannot be predicted. They respond to the spur of the moment.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Account for the erratic behaviour of anomic pressure group.
2.   Examine the functions of associational pressure groups.
3.   Explain a few groups under this association.

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UNIT 3   TECHNIQUES USED BY PRESSURE GROUPS

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   Lobbying
        3.2   Publicity/Propaganda
        3.3   Strikes/Boycott
        3.4   Public and Peaceful Demonstration
        3.5   Riot/Violence
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Let us turn our attention to tactics and techniques employed by various pressure groups to achieve their goals and objectives. Since these pressure groups vary, they also have different methods and tactics they use to pursue their objectives.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

*   explain some of the techniques used by pressure groups to achieve their objectives
*   discuss why dialogue is a better option than violence or demonstration.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Lobbying

Lobbying means to try and influence a politician or the government, for example to persuade them to support or oppose a change in the law.

Lobbying is a crucial method used by pressure group. They lobby those that are directly concerned with their demands, may be a legislator or a minister. They can even go through their spouses so that their needs or demands can be met. This can also be done through sponsoring of bills in the legislative assembly or it may take form of testifying before relevant committee or even talk to individuals in the parliament to

facilitate easy passage of a bill. They may even circulate leaflets, circulars, etc. to create favorable atmosphere for the proposal they wants approval for. This also includes direct personal contact by the group to convince public officials to support their claims or demands. Lobbying also involves using persuasive argument backed with necessary data to influence those in the position of authority over a policy they are interested upon. Pressure Groups may even lobby through advertisement in popular mass media in order to create and curry the favour of public on topical policy issues.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define the term lobbying.
ii.   Account for how pressure groups lobby legislators to support their claims or demands.

3.2   Publicity and Propaganda

Pressure groups can use mass media like the press, radio, television, bulletins, and hand bills to persuade those in authority to accede to their demands. They have successfully done this in the past for instance, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) used press release to force the government to drop the Abortion Bill in the second republic in Nigeria. Similarly, the Nigerian Medical Association used press release when they demanded for better condition of service and government was forced to agree to their demands. The Nigeria Union of Teachers opposed the handing over of schools to voluntary organisations and agencies. It is of interest to note that all the major professional organisations in the associational pressure group normally use this medium.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the importance of the media as an instrument in the hands of pressure groups to achieve their goals.
ii.   Examine a few organisations that have used this medium in the past.

3.3   Strikes/Boycott

This is an effective method that pressure groups use to force government or those in authority to yield to the demands of their members. It is the last resort. In this situation, the employees would down tools and refuse to carry out their legitimate duties. First, they give the concerned group notice of strike and when nothing concrete is done, they may give ultimatum again before finally embarking on strike action. It may even

be sit down strike in which case, they can go to work but refuse to work. When it is total strike, the workers would stay at home waiting for directives on the next line of action from their leaders. It may take a few days, weeks or months, like the Academic Staff Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU) strike of 2013 demanding government to implement the agreement reached with them since 2009. When workers go on strike, the machinery of government is paralysed resulting in huge losses of financial revenues.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss how strike and boycott can be effective as a means of forcing   government or employers to yield to pressure group
ii.   Outline a few recent examples.

3.4   Public and Peaceful Demonstrations

Pressure groups have used this method successfully thereby forcing the government to drop certain policy or the other; the groups normally organise themselves in strategic location with their members. A case in point was the one organised by Nigeria Labour Union (NLC) against the Federal Government because of increase in the prices of petroleum products in year 2005. A few civil society groups joined the protest which was carried out in almost all the cities in Nigeria, and in Lagos, the protesters trekked from Ojuelegba in Surulere to Lagos State Secretariat at Alausa to deliver their protest letter to Governor Ahmed bola Tinubu for immediate dispatch to the then President of Nigeria Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. Similarly, another protest was held in January 2012 at Abiola Garden in Lagos over increase   in the price of petroleum products and it lasted for a whole week and the soldiers were called to disperse the protesters before they could reconvene the following week and the president   personally announced the pump price of petrol to ninety-seven naira per litre. This is to show that demonstrations are very useful only when it is peaceful and not hijacked by areas boys.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine the importance of pressure groups in the society.
ii.   Explain the consequences of their demonstrations.

3.5   Riots/Violence

When pressure groups have used all known methods at their disposal and no meaningful success is achieved regarding their goals and objectives, they may at times resort to violence. The violence can take several forms. It can be arson, destruction of property, etc. Violence is

most probably due to lack of patience among the leaders of the pressure groups or insensitivity on the part of those in authority to yield to the demands of the groups. But destruction and arson are not solutions to any disagreement. Solutions lie in persistent dialogue to be able to reach a level of compromise and understanding.

Other techniques of pressure groups include underground activities of the press. The printed media like magazines, newspapers can go underground and print whatever it feels appropriate and the government will be all out for them. This happened during the regime of Gen Sani Abacha when the Tell Magazine and Tempo went underground for fear of arrest and prosecution by the maximum ruler. Radio Kudirat was also used by National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) to express their views on topical issues in 1994 and the military then banned both the radio and the NADECO and they went underground (Akinbade, 2008:218).

4.0   CONCLUSION

We have seen that pressure groups used several methods to achieve their aims and objectives. All the methods and tactics employed by these groups are legitimate. What is not appropriate is the use of violence and riots to pursue any aspiration or goals. Dialogue is crucial as a means of finding solutions to any societal problems and not violence or riots.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we examined several methods used by pressure groups one of which is lobbying. A group can lobby the legislator or those in authority to support its policy or demand, pressure group can go on strike to press for their demand and can use boycott method or sit down strike. They may even use peaceful demonstrations and various organs like, radio, television, newspaper, posters, etc. and in extreme cases, they sometimes use violence and riot which are not legitimate.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Examine some important techniques through which pressure groups can achieve their objectives.
2.   Explain why these methods are illegitimate.
3.   Suggest method that can be employed when those in authority or government cannot peacefully reach an agreement over pressing issues.

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UNIT 4   COMPARISON OF PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTY

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Pressure groups and political parties are organisation that tries to achieve different goals and objectives. The goal of pressure group is to influence government decisions to the advantage of its members while the main goal of a political party is to struggle to win elections and form government. The organisation and method by which they go about pursuing their goals and objectives are dissimilar. Let us now look at differences between the two organisations.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the goals of pressure groups and political party
- discuss the comparison between political party and pressure group.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Comparison of Pressure Groups and Political Parties

- We have said that pressure group tries to influence people who actually have the power to make decisions on behalf of the people. They do not look for political office for themselves but tries to influence decision makers while political parties struggle to win election with the motive of forming the government and controlling state power.

- Pressure groups fights for the protection and promotion of specific narrow interest like better conditions of service, reduction in the prices of agricultural commodities, etc. Political parties aggregate interest of everybody in the state, i.e. farmers, businessmen, lawyers, accountant, doctors and others in the society.
- Political parties conduct their affairs openly while pressure groups indulge themselves in "hide and seek" game.
- The machinery of political parties like constitution, offices, flags, records, can easily be accessible. It is not strictly so with pressure groups, they tend to be neutral while they are very much active trying to influence decision makers or those who have political power to yield to their demands.
- Pressure groups do not have highly developed organisational structure like political parties. Membership of pressure group are restricted to a few qualified people in medical line, political parties are open to all segment of the society regardless of educational qualification or financial position
- Pressure groups do not present candidates for election while political parties do so in order to "capture" political power as earlier remarked.
- Pressure parties have clear and definite ideology, pressure groups do not have.
- Parties have manifestoes and programmes that they use to appeal to the electorate to vote for them, pressure group only depend on leaflets, bills, stating their goals and objectives.
- Pressure group simplifies the work of political parties by mobilising and integrating the people
- Political parties do organise rallies, debates, symposia, lectures seminar all in bid to educate the electorates. This is not so with pressure group as soon as they are able to achieve their objective they may be silent or even disappear.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i. Compare and contrast the functions of political parties and pressure groups.
ii. Explain how successful they have been performing these functions.

3.2   Factors that can Aid Operation of Pressure Groups

Having looked at the comparison of political parties and pressure groups, let us now turn our attention to factor that aids the effective operations of pressure group.

If pressure group are well organised with good strategies, they will make good impact on the society and government will accord them due recognition and may consider their demands. Availability of fund is also crucial for execution of the plans and working of pressure group. They require money to print their aims and objectives, maintain their offices, and pay their staff. Effective and dynamic leaders are important for the successful operation of pressure groups. Leaders that can make impact and contribute meaningfully to issues at stake, leaders who will not compromise with those in position of authority and betray the confidence repose on them by their members; leaders that are dedicated to the goals and aspirations of the groups. The importance of effective and bold leadership in the operations or working of pressure groups cannot be over emphasised.

Other factors include the attitude of the government of the day towards the various pressure groups. If government of the day is democratic and tolerant of the activities of pressure groups, they will go a long way in the pursuance of their objectives, enhance and promote the welfare of their members.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Examine factors that contribute to the success of pressure groups.
ii.   Outline various suggestions that can lead to the improvement in the performance of their duties.

3.3   Constraints on the Power of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups may be unable to perform their operations successfully due to a number of factors.

They may not be able to properly articulate their aims and objectives if they lack cohesion and effective mobilisation of members. The group goal and objective may not be clearly stated and it will be difficult for members of the public to embrace the activities of such groups. Poorly organised groups are not likely to have large followership and localised pressure groups would equally suffer the same fate. The political culture in which pressure groups operates is very crucial. Ayeni Akeke remarked "the political culture of the society limit the freedom of interest groups by stipulating in a general way, the boundaries and methods within which those groups may legitimately pursue the narrow claims of their member" (Ayeni Akeke, 2008:125). The methods and techniques that pressure groups may choose to advance and promote their objectives are limited to the acceptable prevailing cultures of the community. Lack of unity and disciplined leadership of the pressure groups seriously limit the operation and success of the groups. Members

of the pressure groups may not be dedicated and committed to the objective of the group and this will affect the general performance of the group. Government policy and intervention in the activities of pressure group is another hindrance towards effective performance of their duties.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the constraints of pressure group in the performance of their activities.
ii.   Describe how these constraints can be eliminated.

3.4   Target of Interest/Pressure Groups

The specific target of pressure group is naturally dictated by a number of factors: these are the political system, the type of issues, timing, etc. We should not lose focus that the basic objective of any group is to secure the interest of its members. All pressure group seek to take full advantage of those who are in control of state power and its machinery.

In a unitary state, major decisions are taken by the leader and other bureaucrats at national level, this is not so in a federal state while in a federal state many interest groups with target in local, state and national levels may be able to exert influence. Interest groups are more or less centrally organised in a unitary state and decentralised in a federal state where they have branches at the state and local levels. The Nigerian Labour Congresses (NLC) Nigerian Unions of Teacher (NUT), Nigerian Medical Associations (NMA), are few examples of important interest groups in Nigeria and they all reflect federal structure of the country in their organisation. It is of interest to note that various pressure groups in order to facilitate and enhance their operations and avoid wasting time, energy, do move close to the seat of political power or to those who are sympathetic to their aspirations and objectives.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss and identify the targeted audience of pressure groups in a unitary state.
ii.   Explain how they achieve their goals and objective.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Pressure groups are very essential in any democratic society because of the vital roles and functions they perform. They influence those in authority using various techniques and tactics. They also serve as an important forum in which individuals can achieve his or her objectives.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we said pressure group exert pressure on those in authority with the aim of influencing them to agree to their demands and also members of pressure groups come together so as to protect the interest of their members or groups. They do not aspire to form government but to influence government decision to their advantage. We mentioned four types of pressure groups-associational pressure groups, non-associational pressure group, institutional and anomic pressure groups. We also discussed various methods they use to achieve their aims and objectives.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Compare and contrast the functions of political parties and pressure group.
2. Describe the factors that aid the operations of pressure groups.
3. Examine the factors that work against the success of pressure groups.

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UNIT 5   COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1   Definitions/Meaning of Collective Bargaining
       3.2   Characteristics and Functions of Collective Bargaining
       3.3   Conditions Necessary for Collective Bargaining
       3.4   Types of Collective Bargaining
       3.5   Strategy for Bargaining
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Collective bargaining is a process of decision making between employers of labour and employees regarding set of rules that governs working relationship and payment of wages and salaries plus other conditions of service between the two parties. Workers found it necessary to protect themselves from the harsh working environment as a result of new industrial machines, new methods of production and stiff competitions that are being used in the economy. They felt it was necessary for them to team up and form formidable associations that would protect and enhance better working conditions. Such association should be capable of representing the interest of members vis-a-vis employers. At the initial stage, only skilled labourers were able to survive the harsh and poor conditions of the business circle coupled with the hostile policies of the state (Ogunyomi Kolawole, 2008:145) remarked that "the craftsmen were fortunate enough to have material, administrative resources and effective leadership to build strong institutions". These craft-men organised themselves for different purposes; some restricted entry to the trade to avoid the saturation of the market by many qualified men while others built up organisation to protect against loss of jobs, income, and ill-health and other industrial hazards and dispute. They made regulation of salaries and wages top priority and other conditions of employment very crucial. Some of these associations did not make any concrete step towards realising these objectives and on the side of the employer; some of them engaged in defensive tactics while others refused to deal with workers.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   define collective bargaining
•   explain the functions of collective bargaining.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Definition and Meaning of Collective Bargaining

The term collective bargaining was first used toward the end of 1891 by Beatrice Webb (1911) an Economic theorist. Collective negotiations and agreement had existed since the trade unions in early 18th century. Ogunyomi defined collective bargaining "as a process by which a trade unions and management try to resolve their differences through joint negotiation" (Ogunyomi, 2008:149). He went further to say that "collective bargaining takes place when a group of people with common interest and common grievance through their selected or elected representatives meet with the opposing party, could be government or private employers or any other master-servant relationship, for that matter, enter into a negotiation process with the objective of reaching an acceptable agreement on the condition of dispute or disagreement: (Ogunyomi, 2008: 148). This definition is comprehensive because it consists of people who share similar grievances and express such grievances through their selected or elected representative and meet with their employers which may be private or public for the purpose of negotiations and reaching acceptable agreement on the issue at stake.

The International Labour Organisation defines collective bargaining as "negotiation of working conditions and terms of employment between employers, a group of employers or one or more employers organisation on one hand, and the representatives of workers organisations on the other hand with a view to reaching an agreement" Ogunyomi (2003:149). This definition leaned much on the side of labour probably due to the fact that the organisation deals with labour and related issues.

Another embracing and all encompassing definition that actually captures the real meaning of collective bargaining is given by Dafe Otobo (Ogunyomi, 2003:149). He said "collective bargaining as a phase which stands for or represent the totality of relationship among and between all the actors in industry, how these relationships arise, and how rules, regulation and conventions are developed to govern the conduct of all parties." The essential point is for negotiation to take place between all the stakeholders with the motive of resolving the issue or grievances.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Define the term collective bargaining.
ii.   Examine the crucial elements in these definitions.

3.2   Characteristics and Functions of Collective Bargaining

Let us quickly look at some salient characteristics and functions of collective bargaining. (Professor Neil Chamberlain, 1951) suggested three basic features of collective bargaining

- It regulates terms and conditions of payment.
- It is a form of industrial government.
- A method of government.

Collective bargaining should consist of three characteristics suggested above because they are the fundamentals upon which any bargaining power or agreement rests. Collective bargaining process is based on "give and take", compromise concession and disagreement as dictated by circumstances, time and situations" (Ogunyomi, 2003:161). Both sides in an agreement should be able to shift positions in order to reach favorable agreement or strike a balance and pave way for industrial harmony. The functions of collective bargaining can be looked at from the angle of employer and employees. From the perspective of the employees we shall look at economic, legal, social and democratic functions. The workers union used this as an instrument to secure better wage increase from their employers by collective action. This method eliminates differences in the wages of workers that performs similar duties. The legal function of collective bargaining entails   rules and regulations governing individual workers   and the rule are jointly made by the representatives of the workers and the management and it becomes binding on both sides.

The social function contains agreed conditions and procedures for the settlement of dispute and grievances emanating from the interpretation of the agreement. When workers participate in the management negotiation through their elected representatives on issues   affecting their welfare, it can be said to be actually democratic. The employers also benefit a great deal from this type of negotiation because it saves time, cost and prevents avoidable strikes and enhance industrial harmony. On the government side, the following benefits accrue to it:

1.   It prevents conflict and political instability.
2.   Avoidances of loss of revenue arising from unnecessary strikes and work-to-rule actions.

3.   It eliminates biases incase government decides to intervene in
        industrial disputes.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Discuss the characteristics of collective bargaining.
ii.   Explain the main functions of collective bargaining.

3.3   Conditions for Effective Collective Bargaining

When both parties in a negotiation of bargaining sign an agreement, it
can then be regarded as effective instead of endless and time wasting
negotiations. The following points are of paramount importance to such
effectiveness:

- There should be freedom of association for the workers to operate
  and they must not be threatened with bans.
- The employers must give legal backing or support to unions so
  that they can freely operate in the system.
  Collective bargaining can only succeed in an atmosphere of
  peace, there should be political stability for both parties to grow
  and flourish.
- The union must be financially strong and both sides should have
  their facts and figures ready when going for negotiation so that
  their negotiation would not be a mere talking shop.
- The two parties in the negotiation process should be able to shift
  positions so that they can reach reasonable compromise. The
  spirit of "give and take" should be their watch word for the
  benefit of both parties.
- Both parties should be involved in drawing up the rules
  governing the collective bargaining process so that no party will
  suspect the other and there will be no ill-feeling during the
  process of negotiation. It is of great importance that the two
  parties should be highly knowledgeable in labour laws, possess
  necessary negotiation skills, facts and experience.
  This is because when inexperience people are in the negotiation
  team, they may be too rigid when they should be flexible or shift
  position.
- Finally, both parties should come to negotiations table in good
  faith and intentions so that amicable solutions and agreement
  would be reached and in case of lack of agreement from the two
  parties, a new date should be fixed by both sides to continue the
  negotiation. And if agreement is however reached, both parties
  should jointly sign the agreement.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Enumerate the conditions necessary for negotiation.
ii.   Explain why the parties in a negotiation should reach a compromise.

3.4   Kinds of Collective Bargaining

There are different kinds of collective bargaining; we shall briefly look at each of them:

- Distributive bargaining is a situation where one party takes full advantage of the other party and in most cases, important issues come under this category like salaries and wages, hours of works, allowances, overtime, etc. only a party benefit greatly here at the expense or to the detriment of the other party.
- Co-operative bargaining is a system whereby each party relies on the other and can benefit more from each other when they co-operate together. The real emphasis here is common interest (Chamberlain and Kuhu, 1965) wrote extensively on co-operative bargaining.
- Integrative bargaining involves reaching amicable agreement on productivity, lay off, overtime, redundancies, and other important issues affecting both parties.
- Another kind of bargaining is fractional bargaining in which a group of worker who by virtue of their work, are strategically located or because they have special skills required by the job, seeks extra agreement for their group alone. Professor Kuhu (Ogunyomi, 2003:168), advised that this type of group should be ignored if it is against general interest.
- Individual bargaining involves an individual worker seeking better conditions of service for his service alone, and a times an organisation may require the services of an individual because of his skills or expertise in a particular area, the organisation may need to bargain with such a worker and the package of such worker may not follow the structure or the usual pattern in the organisation.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

i.   Explain the different types of collective bargaining you know.
ii.   Describe their demerits.

3.5   Strategy for Bargaining

A strategy is the intended plan to achieve an objective or goal while tactics are the action taken during the actual process of bargaining.

Both sides in the negotiation team have their different strategies and tactics which they always perfect before going for negotiation. Let us look at a few strategies from the perspective of labour.

- Avoidance of detrimental clauses that would retain the position of the management in the contract.
- Adequate information about progress and outcome of all bargaining sessions.
- Union leaders should be able to develop and maintain the agreements where they recorded "success" in the bargaining sessions with the management.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Pressure groups are groups of individuals that have similar views, values and beliefs and try to influence public policy especially governmental legislations about specific issues.

They use a variety of techniques to achieve their aims and objectives. These are lobbying, strikes, violence, informal contact, public education, peaceful demonstrations and boycotts. Pressure group is very useful in any democratic society.

Collective bargaining is the process of decision making between employer of labour and employees concerning the rules and regulations about their working conditions including wages/salary and other remunerations packages.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we examined a few definitions of pressure groups and we looked at some of the functions of pressure groups. We said that pressure groups essentially performs social functions, encourages democratic concept of representative government and also represent the interest of the minority. Their main goal is to influence those who hold political powers but not to form government.

We took a brief look at collective bargaining and we remarked that it is a process of negotiation between employers and a group of employees with the motive of reaching agreement that regulates their working conditions.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Critically examine the functions of pressure groups.
2.   Explain the methods they use to achieve their objectives.
3.   Explain the term collective bargaining.

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