



THE ZONING MODEL: ROTATIONAL PRESIDENCY AND PARTY POLITICS IN NIGERIA FRACTURED FEDERALISM

Olamide T. Ojogbede

Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University, Nigeria

Abstract: *It is a fact that the Nigerian federalism is faulty. Nigeria is an aggregation of diverse and pluralistic ethnic society. These groups usually have clashes of interest in the distributions of both political and natural resources, thereby fuelling the embers of disunity. Hence, it has brought about the challenge of national cohesion or integration in its socio-political trajectory. This has become problematic since the inception of democratization process in the country in 1999. However, the phenomenon of rotational presidency has been devised by some of the political parties to bring about unity among the contending ethnic groups. This paper seeks to examine the impact of rotational presidency/zoning model in uniting these ethnic groups. With the aid of historical and comparative methods of analysis and qualitative method of data collection, this paper reveals that ethnic disharmony and its attendant socio-political crises is often precipitated and sustained by political gladiators/elite while scrambling for national cake. The paper recommends that rotational presidency/zoning, if legally entrenched, will engender political stability and communal peaceful co-existence and thus, satisfy the needs of the minority and the aggrieved ethnic groups.*

Key Terms: Governance, Federalism, National Integration, Rotational Presidency, Zoning Model

Introduction:

Nigeria is a country located in West Africa, it is one of the most populous country in the Africa. It is a country with over 250 ethno-linguistic groups (Omilusi, 2019). These ethnic groups were married together as a country without their consent in 1914 by then governor general under the colonial rule by Sir Lord Lugard. Ever since this union, Nigeria as a country has been undergoing unhealthy rivalry among these various ethnic groups. Since independence, Nigeria being heterogenous state, has history of conflicts among the existing ethnic groups. The various ethno-linguistic and regional groups see

themselves more as rivals and engaged in unhealthy competition or rivalry, rather than as brothers or partners in the federation, that can foster progress and development within diversity. The relationship between them has actually been most difficult and often characterized by suspicion, political battle and sometimes bloodshed, controversy and mis-interpretation in most aspects of Nigeria's drive towards unity, development and sustainability (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). To the extent that the Unhealthy rivalry has dominated the thoughts and actions of the various ethnic groups and regions, such that most policy actions, reactions in the state, groups

Academic Journal of Current Research

An official Publication of Center for International Research Development

Double Blind Peer and Editorial Review International Referred Journal; Globally index

Available www.cirdjournal.com/index.php/ajcr/; E-mail: journals@cird.online



and regions are conceived, interpreted, approached or reacted to with the primordial sentiment of rivalry and ultimate objective of dominating or outsmarting the other groups, region. The rivalry has gone even beyond politics, it has accentuated in all the sectors in Nigeria. All sectors has been ethicized and regionalized most especially in recruitment, appointments and promotions in public service, states and local government's creations, etc. Not only that, even in the recruitment of leaders, ethnicity and regionalism since independence has been playing a prominence role in the choice of recruitment of a leader. This has brought about the challenge of national cohesion or integration in its socio-political trajectory.

Even since the first republic there has been issue of ethnic rivalry among the political leaders as to which of the ethnic group will have the control of the central power. This and many other inherent issues led to the collapse of first republic (Akinola, 1996). More so, the subsequent break down of other republics in Nigeria can be conceded to the diversity among the various ethnic groups. In the recent time in Nigeria, this have actually become so problematic since the inception of re-democratization process in the country since 1999. Due to the crisis that surrounds Nigeria state, various administrations has been employing various tools in integrating the people of diverse ethnic groups together in other to put lasting solutions to the unhealthy rivalry among the various ethno-linguistic group. The tools that has been used by the various administrations are state creation, federal character and soon. However, the phenomenon of rotational presidency has been devised by some of the political parties to bring about unity among the contending

ethnic groups in Nigeria. It is against this backdrops, this paper tends to access the impacts of rotational presidency on national integration and to access it extent as either a political check or stabilizing factor to the socio political system. The paper tends to make use of secondary source data analysis.

Party Politics and Elite Consensus on Zoning Arrangement

Political party is very important to the sustainability of any democracy given the fact that it helps democracy to grow and wax strong (Awopeju, Adelusi, Oluwashakin, 2012). It enhances political stability because once a fellow is elected to government under the platform of any political party, constitutionally, it is for fixed period of time, immediately after the tenure ends, there is room for another person's under any of the party platform to represent the people in government again. It is therefore, no doubt that political parties in any democratic system, encourage stability of the governing process (Awopeju, Adelusi, Oluwashakin, 2012).

However, party politics is ineludible to a liberal democratic system. In as much as the practice of democracy is impossible without political parties likewise, party politics is of high importance for healthy democratic practice. Initially, political parties through internal democracy have tried as much as possible to internalize its affairs, by ensuing the principles of participatory democracy is followed. Of particular interest is the aspect of ensuring that members were involved in the decision making process in the party, most especially in the area of making choice of leaders as the party executives and also the area of people that will represent them as



party's flag bearer when the need arises in the national contest. But in the recent time, the reverse has been the case as political parties have failed to internalize the principles of democracy in their choice of candidate for public elective offices, such as governor and president, including party executives (Udeuhele, 2017).

This contemporary time, is the era of party godfathers that imposes their candidates on the party and their usual claim is that, they own and finance the party. Furthermore, the party elites usually have an absolute say in party not regarding the opinions of the party floor members. It is now the period of elite consensus candidacy. This is referred to in the work of (Udeuhele,2017) as a the process whereby party cabal, usually led by the incumbent political executive meet and imposes candidates on the rest of the party, usually bypassing the democratic procedures of politicking, and usually an horse trading which involves give and take.

However, in the case of zoning arrangement, this is an arrangement adopted by the political parties in Nigeria. It is usually a party based thing, which came into reality as a result of the heterogonous nature of Nigeria state. Although, Nigeria is a federation but it is a divided society. Divided in the sense that, it is a country with diversity of ethnic groups, this has brought about disharmony among the various ethnic groups.it has over the years brought about the various military intervention in politics and even the civil war of 1967 that lasted for about 30 months.

Likewise, the recently, Nigeria as a country is going through major challenge of insecurity in the recent time , this can as well be liken to strive for relevance between and among the major ethnic groups. Over the

years, this are real issues Nigeria is been faced with. To find lasting solution to the emerging problems facing Nigeria democracy, political parties are adopting zoning methods.

Zoning is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, most especially in Nigeria party Politics. In Nigerian history, it can be traced back to the activities of political parties in the second republic, where by most of the political parties operated the zoning formula as a new blueprint for the resemblance of the country after civil war (Awopeju, Adelusi, Oluwashakin, 2012). Likewise during the aborted third republic, under the Gen. Sanni Abacha's regime, the members of the constitutional conference during the regime, most especially the southern politicians who were members championed the cause of rotating the presidency among the six geo-political zones. The division of the country into geo-political zones is for the purpose of rotational presidency after the annulment of June 12 elections Zik, 2010 cited in (Awopeju, Adelusi, Oluwashakin, 2012).

By the same token, in 1999, Nigeria was ushered into new democracy after a prolonged military rule. As a result of that, there was an emergence of various political parties with different ideologies, manifestoes, and party constitutions. All these serve as policies, guidelines and principles for these political parties to operate in the arena of new democracy in Nigeria (ibid).However, zoning is majorly a party arrangement. It was majorly a formula adopted by people's democratic party in 1999.it was however an elite consensus. It was an arrangement reached by the party elites, it is majorly adopted by parties to tackle major problem of integration that was ravaging the country as at that period.



Ethno-Religious Crisis and Nigeria's Fractured Federalism

Nigeria is a complex and divided society with a federal system. However, federalism is seen as a formidable mechanism for managing plural societies (Omotola, 2006) especially like Nigeria, that is characterized with inter-ethnic tensions, mutual distrust, bigotry, ethnic cynicism and religious intolerance have invariably and seriously eroded Nigeria's quest for national integration.

However, ethno-religious crisis can be seen as a situation in which relationship between members of different ethnic groups is characterized by tensions, fear, suspicions and violent confrontation (Egbefo, 2015). It is a severe demonstration of conflict in the crisis of identity. In the different parts of Nigeria, people are finding it difficult and/or impossible to coexist with themselves that is Nigerian mostly finds it difficult to live outside their region in the same country. Ethnic and religious sentiments are rising and the country is daily challenged by these forces. The character of the Nigerian state is responsible for the country's deepening ethno-religious contradiction that are presently threatening the fabric of the country, and which has become a clog in Nigeria's attempt to develop her economy (Mohammed, 2013), not only that and brings about national integration. Religion has in a way manifested itself as a potent force in the political development of the Nigerian state from time immemorial. Nevertheless, it is burdensome to separate the state from religion, with the individual voting behavior to the extent that individual political office holders that has ascended to the political offices are able to get to the positions on the basis of religious

affiliation (Kukah, 1994; Danjibo, 2009; Omotola, 2010 cited in (Aleyomi, 2012).

Ironically, Nigeria being a religious society, the citizens are expected to live in unity and harmony, but paradoxically, the studies have recently revealed that the role of religion in Nigeria is in negative light than its positive contribution (Aleyomi, 2012). Nigeria's federalism has over the years been confronted with a serious crisis as a result of the impacts of religion and ethnicity to the survival of federal democracy and sustainable development.

It is important to understand the concept of ethnicity and religion. Ethnicity according to Osaghae cited in (Aleyomi, 2012), is refers to a communal formation resting upon culturally specific practices and a unique set of symbols and cosmology. In this sense, ethnicity denotes a group of individuals who consider themselves, has having a share common features which make them different from other categories of people within a society (Aleyomi, 2012). These categories of people usually have distinct cultural behaviors. Ethnic groups majorly, can be identified in terms of religion, politics, occupation, or language. Likewise, Despres (1975) defined ethnicity as largely a subjective process of status identification. In this case, ethnic groups are formed to the extent that the actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for the purpose of interaction. This become apparent in the case of Nigeria. Ethnic groups tend to have myths of common origin, and they nearly always have ideologies, which may nevertheless be of highly varying practical importance. Ethnicity is the quality of belonging to an ethnic group (Aleyomi, 2012). While Religion according to Egwu (2001) he is of the opinion that religion is a difficult subject of inquiry.



To him, it is the belief that there is an unseen order, and that our supreme good lies in harmoniously adjusting ourselves thereto. According to Adeniyi cited in (Aleyomi, 2012), religion is a body of truths, laws and rites by which man is subordinated to the transcendent being. This means that religion deals with morals, norms and rules, a behavior, process or structure whose orientation is supernatural i.e. emanated from the supreme being, which is ‘God’ and which must be followed by the believers that believes in the existing faith.

Nigeria is undoubtedly a very tense country, insofar as ethno-religious relationships are concerned. The reason for this assertion is not farfetched, as it has been earlier described that Nigeria is indeed a multicultural state that is characterized by a lack of cordiality, by heightened mutual suspicions and fears, by quarrelsomeness and by a tendency towards violent confrontations. As a matter of fact, Nigeria from time immemorial is a state that has been experiencing ethno-religion tension and as a result of this, is usually on the verge of violent eruption, and perpetually insecure and instability (Idike and Okechukwu, 2015). Any minor misunderstanding between two people that belong to different ethno-religious group could have a catalytic effect and push things beyond the precipice. For example the crises that erupted in Sasha market in Ibadan, it was a mere misunderstanding between the Cart pusher who is an Hausa man and a Yoruba man who is a cobbler, this little misunderstanding led to a major ethnic violence in February 2021 in Ibadan, it led the destructions of lives and millions worth properties (Adejumo, 2021). Nevertheless, there are inherent contributing factors to the perpetual ethno-, religion crisis in Nigeria since

the attainments of self-government in Nigeria. It is important to understand and analyze its underlying causes. However, there are many causes of ethno-religious crisis in Nigeria. One major factor is high level of poverty in Nigeria. Poverty has conditioned the minds and attitudes of entire masses in Nigeria, and made them vulnerable to the elite manipulation and mobilization of negative vice. Due to the inability of the state to satisfy basic needs of the people as a result of corruption on the part of the ruling leaders, they in turn withdrew from the sphere of the state, into ethno-religious and communal cocoons. Jega, 2000 cited in (Idike and Okechukwu, 2015). Most of the ethno-religious and communal crisis in Nigeria can be traced to the high level of poverty that is ravaging the entire nation, and this can be explained by the higher degree of joblessness and intense competition over scarce resources and services both in the urban and rural contexts. The mass of unemployed youth in both the rural and urban areas of Nigeria need little motivation or mobilization to partake in riots and ‘reprisal attacks’, given the inducement or ‘opportunity’ for looting that often accompanied these. Thus, poverty and joblessness, especially amongst the youth, are important casual and facilitating factors in violent conflicts. Such objective economic conditions nurture the subjective conditions of frustration and aggression, which create conducive atmosphere for violent conflicts to erupt Ayoade and Jega, 2000 cited in (Idike and Okechukwu, 2015).

Furthermore, alleged dominance of a particular religion or ethnic group at the central, where power is being shared. Usually, the ethno-religion crisis become prevalent in Nigeria as a result of the claims and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination,



exploitation, victimization, discrimination, including marginalization, nepotism and bigotry of a particular groups against the other (Onodugo, Amujiri and Nwuba, 2015). Due to the diversity in nature of Nigeria in term of religion and ethnicity, there has been diverse interests on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among the different categories of individuals and groups in the country. During the time of national discourse or debate there have always been one tribe or one religious group feeling agitated and usually feeling deprived, as a result of that this groups are clamoring for power sharing, these have led to different episodes of ethno- religion crisis in Nigeria since independence (Onodugo, Amujiri and Nwuba, 2015).

In the same vein, heterogeneous nature of the Nigeria state is also an underling factor that spring out the ethno- religious crisis in Nigeria. Basically, Nigeria is multiethnic state that predominately has the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa Fulani ethnic groups. However, there are some minority group that usually feels cheated and this feeling makes them most at times rife and struggle for existence, hence it degenerate into conflict, crisis and when it well managed, it degenerated into war (Onodugo, Amujiri and Nwuba, 2015).

Religion and ethnic intolerance, most of the ethnic groups in Nigeria, since the amalgamation in 1914 have been unable to tolerate themselves. There is hostility in their relationship with one another. Indeed, when this kind of relationship exist, it brings about tension, discord, hostility, violence and confrontations which metamorphose into ethno-religion crisis in Nigeria (Onodugo, Amujiri and Nwuba, 2015).

However, ethno-religion crisis has to a large extent weaken the Nigerian federal structure and it has also reshaped the mindset of the entire citizens in their relationship with one another. There is high level of nepotism, chauvinism and bigotry among political elite. This being propagated by the political elites majorly in order to achieve their selfish political interest and to a large extent, it has affected the federal structure and equally make the integrative mechanisms put in place by the various political administration in Nigeria impotent.

Rotational Presidency as Political Settlement or Stabilizing Factor?

Since the attainment of independence in 1960, the fear of domination by one ethnic group over the other has defined the Nigerian political system and this has continued to promote unhealthy rivalry among the major ethnic groups in the Nigeria (Olayemi, 2018). Following the historical trend, multi-ethnic competition in Nigeria is always characterized by constant suspicion, fear, and constant doubts of one another resulting in tension and deep resentment Uwaifo, 2016 cited in (Olayemi, 2018). This interminable suspicion led to the search for a method that could bring about equal representation for political power in governance. Owing to the tense nature of ethnic rivalries and the need to promote ethnic inclusiveness in politics especially at the presidential level in Nigeria, various strategies have been devised by the political elites among which is the idea of the rotational presidency (Olayemi, 2018). Although, in the time past, there various mechanism that has been put in place to bring about unity in the country, mechanisms such as federal character, state creation to mention but few that has been put in place



by various administration to ensure that the various ethnic groups in the country are living in peace and harmony. As a result of the incessant fear of domination and mutual suspicion, the strife for power at the central becomes inescapable and among the various multi ethnic groups in the country. In an attempt to ease these tensions in the country, due to the fact that military has ruled the country for a very long period of time, the political elites introduced zoning principle, this was introduced majorly to ensure equitable distribution of power among the various ethnic groups in this recent forth republic.

Power rotation or zoning principle can also be referred to as a means of sharing critical political appointments among the elite in a multi-ethnic society Awopeju (2012). Likewise, Robinson ,2014 cited in (Olayemi,2018) views, power rotation or zoning as the movement of political power from one zone to the other with the much hospitable characterization that guarantees each zone equal and inevitable access to the presidency, irrespective of size, location or political pedigree. The opinion of Robinson on zoning principle has described the notion of Nigerian political elites. Indeed, the adoption of rotational presidency in Nigeria is to ensure equity in the distribution of political power. In the work of Salawu & Hassan (2011) they rightly sees zoning of presidential power as one of the expressions of ethnic nationalism in Africa most especially in heterogeneous society like Nigeria. In a simple way, zoning to them, especially that of the president depicts that political offices are shared and rotated from one part to the country to the other parts of the country that is within the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. This could be ethnic, regionally or religion based, ranging

from the North to South or East and West or Muslims and Christians or vice versa. Based on this arrangement, a former Nigeria Senate president (Okadigbo, 1999 cited in Olayemi, 2018) expressed his understanding that the zoning formula was adopted among Nigerian political parties with a view of ensuring rotational arrangements in the presidency and other significant offices like Vice President, secretary of the federation and permanent secretary at the executive level. Even at the legislative level, offices including that of the Nigerian Senate President, Speaker of the House of Representatives are also zoned. Akinola (1996), sees, zoning as an attempt that seeks to formalize a pattern whereby the geo-ethnic origin of the national leader alternates from one election to the other. It is a way of addressing the important question of peaceful co-existence with unity and stability through consociation practices. Rotational power sharing in the Nigeria context refers to the sharing of key political offices as identified by the constitutional conference which includes the office of the President, Vice President, and Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Senate leader and Speaker of House of Representatives by the six zones created. They are North- East, North West, Central Nigeria, South West, South East and Southern minority on a rotational basis. In a nutshell, the purpose is to ensure that all the zones (six geo-political zones) have the opportunity to participate in government at all capacity Haruna 2013 cited in (Abdul Rauf and Ahmed, 2016).

There was a re-emergence of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, after about sixteen years of military uninterrupted rule. To usher in the country into this



new era, there were policies, guidelines and principles adopted by political parties as at that time. Rotational presidency was an ideology adopted by The People's Democratic Party (PDP). It was a mechanism adopted by the political party to manage the problem of presidency among the majority ethnic groups in Nigeria. This provision gives the Southerners a sense of belonging after the North had produced the nation's President/Head of State in quick succession. The People's Democratic Party(PDP) decided to zone the presidency to the South to compensate the Southwest due to the annulment of June 12 presidential elections in 1993. The Article 7 subsection 2(c) of the PDP constitution states how elective and party offices should be shared or zoned (Awopeju, Adelus, Oluwashakin, 2012). The party constitution states poignantly that: In pursuance of the principle of equity, justice and fairness, the party shall adhere to the policy of rotation and zoning of party and public elective offices, and it shall be enforced by the appropriate executive committee at all levels PDP Constitution, 1999 cited in (Awopeju, Adelus, Oluwashakin, 2012).

However, to some extent since the inception of the recent fourth republic in Nigeria, it can be said that zoning is a stabilizing factor. There is a common notion that democracy and political stability would be difficult to achieve in multi-ethnic societies like Nigeria, behind this notion is the assumption that deep social divisions and political differences are elements, which would ensure chronic instabilities and breakdown of democracy Orji (2008). On the contrary, the emergence of rotational presidency has to some extent challenged this notion because rotational presidency can facilitate democratic

stability in plural societies like Nigeria (Suberu, 1998). The adoption of rotational presidency since the inception of fourth republic, even though is a party arrangement, is an idea that tends to eradicate the upsurge caused by marginalization. It can also reduce deprivation. In a way, it has enhance stability in the country's political system since 1999. Looking at the first, second and even the aborted third republics, the collapse of those republics can be attributed to the ethnic rivalry and fear of dominance of one ethnic groups at the expense of the other ethnic groups.

Impacts of Rotational Presidency on National Integration

Not many scholars subscribed to the adoption of rotational presidency in Nigeria. Rotational presidency has done more good to the polity than harm. Therefore, this section of this paper intends to examine the impacts of rotational presidency on national integration. Since the inception of this present fourth republic, it has to some extent hence political stability. Prior to this period, Nigeria as a state experiences couples of political instabilities which was basically as a result of one ethnic group challenging the other for political ascendancy (Akinola, 2006). Due to the aftermath of the fracas within the political parties in the first and second republics, the faceoff between politicians within and outside political parties led to the collapse of those republics. Rotational presidency has brought about peace and tranquility in this presence fourth republic, to the extent that for the first time in Nigeria political system is experiencing a republic that have lasted for about two decades, it is as a result of rotational presidency that have been adopted by various political parties in Nigeria.



Likewise, it has also enhanced peaceful coexistence which as in a way helped in integrating the political system together. Since Nigeria attained self-rule in 1960, the major problem Nigeria has been facing is the problem of dis integration. Realizing these fact, various administration tried as much as possible to integrate the different ethnic groups together. Prior to this period, there has been disintegration in the polity that has led to the collapse of first republic, basically, the collapse was as a result of election crisis in 1963 as a result of ethnic rivalry, constant suspicions, fear and the likes, all these led to the collapse of the first republic. Not only that, it also led to the outbreak of the civil war that lasted for about thirty months in Nigeria. All these boils down on the unhealthy multi-ethnic competitions in Nigeria. But, adoption of rotational presidency has reduced the tension of suspicion that was ravaging the polity.

Rotational presidency cannot be said to be so perfect in integrating the multiethnic Nigeria state together. Some Scholars are of the opinion that some of the operators of the concept are using it for their own personal gain at the expense of the entire masses. Likewise, they are those characters that have been participating in the Nigeria enterprise right from her inception as an independent state or even beyond. They have participated actively in the running and ruining of Nigeria enterprise (Bello, nd). They comprise of representatives from every interest group in Nigeria be it tribal, religious, social, professional etc. Therefore, in that type of situation little or nothing is expected from them other than their previous ruinous characters. Therefore, there could be no improved changes in the lives of great number of the masses who are in majority (Bello, nd). And this

exactly is what is happening in Nigeria today despite power shift from North to South, the situation looks worse with an increase in the religion intolerance, fear of domination of one ethnic groups at the expense of the other, continuous rising in ethnic based insurgences. All these can be acknowledge to the fact that the b production method that has been in place since the creation of Nigeria state has not changed. It remains that of primitive accumulation with wide spread poverty and corruption in the land. With rotational presidency, Nigeria is the one of the most corrupt nation of the world, and over 70% of her population is below poverty line. The notion of power sharing (shift) then becomes an ideology, an exercise in false consciousness meant to create a feeling of power dispersal in the face of power concentration. A feeling of symmetry even as the formation and perpetuation of asymmetrical relations between people, groups, institution in which one partner in the relationship dominates or exploits the other continues (Human and Zaiman, 1995).

Conclusion

Rotational presidency is an informal arrangement devised by the political party elites (Orji, 2008), believing that such will help to stabilized the political system. However, Rotational presidency can be said to only emphasize the difference among Nigerians. In a way, it has to some extent created ethnic heroes than national heroes which was the initial framework, this ethnic heroes will take pride in taking the larger part of the national loot back to their regions. It will not stabilize Nigeria and therefore the often-talked national integration will be futile. However, what will stabilize Nigeria is what has always stabilized great nations, such as responsible and accountable



government, a strong infrastructural base and good education for the citizenry. There is no guarantee that rotational presidency could automatically solve the problem of poverty, ethnic rivalry, fear and tensions among ethnic groups, technological-backwardness, debt burden, mass illiteracy, diseases, injustice, fairness, political participation and many more that confronts all Nigerian ethnic groups. From the foregoing, this paper is not condemning the concept of rotational presidency or power shift in its totality, but it has argued that it cannot solve the problem of integration that has continuously ravaging the Nigeria state since independence. The canvassers of the concept as seen in Nigerian case are nothing other than tribal cabals and sectional jingoists as rightly put by (Bello,nd). However, if rotational presidency is legally entrenched, at least with the impact when been used rightly, with the example of the present fourth republic.it will engender political stability and communal peaceful co-existence and thus, satisfy the needs of the minority and the aggrieved ethnic groups.

REFERENCES

- Abdul Rauf, A. and Ahmed, M. (2016). Sustainable Democracy and Political Domination: A Rotational Presidency among Nigerian Ethnic Groups. *Journal of Administrative Science* Vol.13.
- Adejumo, K. (2021). INSIDE STORY: How Artisans' Fight Led To Ethnic Violence in Oyo. Premium Times. Accessed online, July 6, 2021
- Akinola, A (1996). The concept of a rotational presidency in Nigeria. *The Round Table*, 85:337, 13-24, DOI: 10.1080/00358539608454292
- Akinola, A. (1996). 'A Critique of Nigeria's Proposed Two-Party System'. *Journal of African Studies*, 27(1): 109-123.
- Aleyomi, M. B.(2012). Ethno-Religious Crisis as a Threat to the Stability of Nigeria's Federalism. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* Vol.14, No.3.
- Awopeju, A. Adelus, F and Oluwashakin, A.(2012).Zoning Formula and the Party Politics in Nigerian Democracy: a Crossroad for PDP in 2015 Presidential Election. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*Vol.2, No.4.
- Bello,K.(nd) Rotational Presidency and its Aftermath in Nigeria
- Despres, L. A. (1975). Towards a Theory in Ethnic and Phenomenon. In A. Heo, & L.A. Despress (Eds.), *Ethnicity and Resource Competition Impaired Societies*. Haugues: Monton Publisher.
- Egwu S. G. (2001). *Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria*. Jos: St Stephen Inc. Book House.
- Egbefo, O.(2015). Leadership and Ethno-Religious Crises: Implications for National Integration in Nigeria. *An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia* Vol. 9(4), Serial No. 39.
- Human, P. and Zaaiman, A. (1995). *Managing Towards Self-Reliance: Effectiveness of Organizations in Africa*. Dakar: The Goree Institute.
- Idike, A. and Okechukwu, I.(2015). Ethno-Religious Identities in Nigeria: Implications for Governance in Nigeria. *Journal of Policy and*



Development Studies Vol. 9, No. 5, November 2015.

Mohammed, A. A. (2013). Leadership and ethno-religious crises in Nigeria: A challenge to national development. *Lapai International Journal of Politics*, Vol.1, No.1, pp.172-176.

Onodugo, C. Amujiri, B. and Nwuba, B. (2015). Ethno- Religious Crisis and Nigerian Democracy. *International Journal of Innovative Science, Engineering & Technology*, Vol. 2 Issue 5

Omotola, J. S. (2006). Sustaining Nigeria's Federal Democracy: Constitutional Imperatives. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development*, 6(2).

Orji, N. (2008a), "Power-Sharing the Element of Continuity in Nigerian Politics". A Dissertation Submitted in Partial fulfilment of Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Unpublished) Central European University, Department of Political Science

Olayemi, E. O.(2018). "An Assessment of Rotational Presidency as a Mechanism

For Political Stability in Nigeria's Fourth Republic." A Dissertation Submitted in Partial fulfilment of Requirements for the Master Degree in

Political Science (Unpublished) at the School of Social Sciences, College of Humanities, and University of KwaZulu-Natal .

Osaghae, E. and Suberu, E.(2005).A History of Identities, Violence, and Stability in Nigeria, CRISE Working Paper.No 6.Oxford,Center for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.

Omilusi,O.(2019), Buhari's Change and Challenges: Democratic Transition and Governance Assessment in Nigeria, Human and Organisational Resources Development Centre, Lagos, Nigeria.

Salawu, E. T., & Hassan, B. W. (2010). *Theories of political system*, Englewood Cliffs, New York.

Suberu, R.T. (1998). State creation and the political economy of Nigerian federalism. In (K. Amuwo, A. Agbaje, R.T. Suberu & G. Herault, eds.) *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, Spectrum Books, Ibadan, 276–295.

Udeuhele, I. (2017). Party Politics and Internal Democracy: The Dilemma of Political Development in Nigeria. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research* 25 (6).