

Political Parties and National Development in Nigeria: A Study of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) 1999-2013

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Abstract

The national economy of most emerging democracies is often in dire straits of growth and development (Thisday live, 2019), thus resulting in the many promises made during electioneering campaign at each election circle. What is more worrisome is that political parties in Nigeria continue to make same promises made in previous campaign period. This paper therefore, interrogates efforts made by the political parties at creating enduring legacies at least, based on their manifesto and campaign promises for national development whose components include infrastructure provision, improved livelihood by the growth of the national economy viewed from the prism of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The People's Democratic Party (PDP) used for the study was in power at the Federal level not only in the Executive branch but also controlled the National Assembly between 1999-2013, in addition to controlling most of the State Governments. The study which relied mostly on content analysis and descriptive statistics found out that internal bickering within the party impacted negatively on national development, just as ideological shallowness perforated stability within the ranks of the party structure, leading to huge exodus and consequent defeat of the party in the national election. Similarly, the dearth of internal party democracy blurred the PDP opportunities and that negatively affected political participation in Nigeria. The disregard of rule of law and imposition of candidates did not help the party in realizing national development.

Keywords: *Political Party, Internal Party Democracy, Gross Domestic Product, Peoples Democratic Party, National Development*

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Background to the Study

The historical antecedent of political parties in Nigeria could be traced to 1923 following the introduction of elective principle in the 1922 Clifford constitution (Ojukwu and Olaifa, 2011; Omotola, 2009; Okhaide, 2012). Since the formation of the first political party in Nigeria that is, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923 under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay, political parties in Nigeria strives to fulfill specific constitutional functions and indeed serve as democratic institution for national development. With the introduction of elective principle in Nigeria by the Clifford Constitution, the tempo for political activities increased among political parties canvassing for elective positions backed with nationalist agitations. Interestingly, the year 1944 witnessed the formation of National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay and later Nnamdi Azikwe. By 1950, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa a Yoruba socio-cultural organisation, transformed into a political party known as the Action Group (AG) under the leadership of late Obafemi Awolowo. In the North, the dominant political party was the Northern People's Congress (NPC). In 1951, the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) was formed as a breakaway faction from the Northern People's Congress (Omotola, 2009). These parties dominated the political landscape of the country particularly in their respective regions and in the march toward independence in the 1960.

While the Second Republic that span from 1979 to 1983 witnessed the registration of more political parties in Nigeria which were basically the reincarnation of the parties of the First Republic under different nomenclature, their structure and development approaches, had great similitude, thus, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), replaced the NPC, AG, and NCNC respectively. In addition to the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), the Great Nigerian People's Party (GNPP) and the Nigerian Advance Party (NAP) that were registered as fresh political parties. The Third Republic on the other hand, saw a radical paradigm shift in the mode and procedure for party formation in Nigeria. Omotola (2009) contended that the Federal Military Government (FMG) formed and imposed two political parties on Nigerians. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republic Convention (NRC), whose political ideological disposition, had nothing much difference between them. In fact, the military oligarchy that brought together these parties determined their membership and officers especially at the national level, and it always appeared problematic in any attempt at distinguishing the two parties.

The decade of the 1990s witnessed the massive spread of what Huntington (1991) referred to as the "third wave" of democratization to Africa, including Nigeria, leading to an unprecedented resurgence of multiparty politics. There is no controversy about the fact that the mere adoption of party pluralism will not automatically advance the cause of democracy without the institutionalization of certain institutional parameters to promote development and sustain due process in theory and practice (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1992; 1997; Sorensen, 1993). One of the most complex and critical institutions of democracy is political party. Political parties, as "makers" of democracy, have been so romanticized that scholars have claimed that neither democracy nor democratic societies are thinkable without them.

They not only perform functions that are government related, such as making government accountable and exercising control over government administration; and electorate related functions such as political representation, expression of people's demand through interest articulation and aggregation as well as structuring of electoral choices; but also linkage related functions, playing an intermediary and mediatory role between the government and the electorates for the purposes of sustainable peace and development (Moore, 2002; Lapalombara and Anderson, 2001; Simon, 1962).

Following from the above (Omotola, 2005a; Egwu, 2005; Saliu and Omotola, 2006) have pointed out that political parties can only cope effectively with these responsibilities to the extent of their political institutionalization in terms of structure, internal democracy, cohesion and discipline, as much as their autonomy. For them, element of party autonomy is very crucial. However, since the return to democratic rule in 1999, it appears that Nigerian political parties are still struggling to meet up with high expectations of the Nigerian people as regards to national development. Thus, the documentation of Nigerian political parties and national development is not only essential but also provides insights on the contradictions that have stultified development in Nigeria after more than a decade of democratic governance.

Statement of the Problem

Political parties are one of these indispensable institutions of democratic governance, the extent a nation's development agenda is implemented is directly linked and measured to the determination and commitment of the political party in power. In Nigeria, there is the quest for political parties to incorporate realistic strategies to ensure sustainable development when voted into power. Thus, researchers have argued that most Nigerians believed that party democracy does not only affect the credibility of the elections, but also the quality of leadership, governance and economic development (Iyare, 2004; Olagunju, 2000; Saliu and Omotola, 2006; Onuoha, 2008).

Indeed, it is important to note that Nigerian parties have basic structural problems. The contradictions that fraught their emergence and non-institutionalization of these parties tend to retard efforts at instilling democratic norms necessary for driving development. Thus, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) which was formed in 1998, and for more than one decade remained in power especially at the Federal level. For many Nigerians, it appears that such condition has not translated into good living standard and empowerment of man to overcome his daily needs. For instance, a report in 2009 revealed that the national unemployment rates for Nigeria between 2000 and 2009 showed that the number of unemployed persons constituted 31.1% in 2000; 31.6% in 2001; 12.6% in 2002; 14.8% in 2003; 13.4% in 2004; 11.9% in 2005; also, in 2006 it was 13.7%; in 2007 14.6%; in 2008 14.9%; in 2009 19.7% (National Bureau of Statistics 2009). The Central Bank of Nigeria Annual Report (2011) still revealed that unemployment rate rose from 19.7% in 2009 to 21.1% in 2010 and 23.9% in 2011 (cited in Ladan 2012). Despite all of these, it is important to note that political parties are crucial actors in every democratic process. Parties can help to articulate group aims, nurture political leadership, develop and promote policy alternatives, present voters with coherent electoral alternatives and pursue specific development agenda.

Objectives of the Study

This study has both broad and specific objectives. First, the broad objective is to examine political parties and national development in Nigeria. In more specific terms, seeks to determine whether party ideology account for economic growth in Nigeria.

Contextual Discuss

Political Parties and National Development

There are tremendous scholarly attempts at defining the concept of political parties and the extent it can contribute to the galvanization of diverse interest in a state and indeed contribute to national development. Scholars such as (Sartori, 1976, Ogundiya, 2011; Shively, 2005, Agbaje, 1999; Appadorai, 1974, Nwanegbo, 2014, Odigbo, 2014) have seen political parties as a cornerstone of every democratic society. Thus, Political parties are easily the most important organizations in any democratic political system. As much as it is equally acceptable that other very important political vectors do exist too, like pressure/interest groups and others, Ogundiya (2011), explained that the functioning of every democratic system depends to a large extent on the nature, character, composition, organization, ideals and institutionalization of political parties.

In this regard, Political parties have long been recognized as essential component of representative democracy. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the governance of modern states could be accomplished without meaningful political parties. By organizing voters, aggregating and articulating interests, crafting policy alternatives and providing the basis for coordinated electoral and legislative activity, well-functioning political parties are central not just to representative government but also to the process of democratic development in transitional democracies.

Hofmeister and Grabow (2011), states that even if definitions of political parties demonstrate some difference in the understanding of political parties, they all emphasize the participation in elections and the interest to gain public offices and mandates as essential elements that characterize political parties. For them, they must meet certain criteria which can be summarized as follows:

1. A party strives to influence the formation of political opinion and aims to have a general political impact. The active influence of political opinion-making is aimed at a longer period of time as well as a wider region and should not be concentrated on a local level or a single issue.
2. A party is an association of citizens holding individual memberships, and shall have a minimum number of members, so that the seriousness of its targets and the prospects of success remain clear.
3. A party has to demonstrate the will to consistently take part in the political representation of the people during elections. It, therefore, distinguishes itself from unions, non-governmental organizations and other initiatives that do not want to carry any political responsibilities for larger sectors but only try to have selective influence, and that do not participate in elections.
4. A party has to be an independent and permanent organization. It shall not be formed

- only for one election and cease to exist afterwards.
5. A party must be willing to appear in public.
 6. A party does not necessarily need to win a seat in parliament, but it has to fulfill all the other criteria. (Hofmeister and Grabow, 2011, 12).

Interestingly, two broad but different views have guided the definitions of political parties. The first view sees political parties as merely groupings of men in a society who pursue a common interest and seek to actualize that through some sort of organization in a form and under the name of political party. Under this group, we situate the definition of Edward Burke which sees political party as “a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interests upon some particular principle which they are all agreed (cited in Nwanegbo 2014).

The second group goes a step further to see political party as organization guided in their endeavour by drive to acquire political power. Here, we merge two close positions and groups into one to achieve harmony from their likely areas of convergence of views. To them, political parties exist only to acquire political power. This has indeed been the popular view of political parties among academics. In his view, Appadorai (1974), sees political parties as a more or less organized group of citizens who act together as a political unit, have distinctive aims and opinions on the leading political questions of controversy in the state, and who, by acting together as a political unit, seek to obtain control of the government. Explaining further, he emphasized the differences that nature created as the fundamental basis of the aspiration for grouping. To him, it is based on two fundamentals of human nature: men differ in their opinions, and are gregarious; they try to achieve by combination what they cannot achieve individually.

In his view, Nnoli (2003), definition of political party is as a group of people who share a common conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. As critically analyzed by Okolie (2004), this idea is sometimes expressed in a different way when it is argued that a political party is an organization concerned with;

- a. The expression of preference regarding the emergence, consolidation and use of state power, in other words about politics; and
- b. Contesting control of the chief policy making offices of government.

However, Nnoli (2003) argued that the important issues to note are that:

- a. All political parties are organization and therefore, differ from unorganized groups of citizens.
- b. Party activities relate to the interest of the society at large.
- c. Political party differ from all other political groups in the society by the fact that they do not only seek to influence government policies, but they also undertake or seek to undertake responsibilities for actually formulating and implementing government policy.

Put succinctly, the purpose of political party is to win and exercise political power especially to gain control of the government. It is this purpose that sets political party apart from other institutions that struggles for power. The members must have both the implicit and explicit interest of controlling the machinery of government. The interest groups on the other hand are band together to try by way of lobbying, campaign contributions, and other tactics to make sure that the government's policies will be in tune with their wishes. Interest groups according to Shively (2005) are distinguished from political parties in that they try to influence which policies are chosen without actually taking power or setting policies; parties, on the other hand, have as their central purpose the acquisition of power and the direction of policy.

In modern societies, political parties are crucial to the sustenance of democracy and governance. As Agbaje (1999), noted that the extent to which political parties aggregate freely, articulate, represent and organize determines the level of accountability in public life including access to and use of power as well as political performance. Merkl (1977), summarized the basic functions of political parties as follows:

- i. Recruitment and selection of leadership personnel for governmental offices.
- ii. Generation of programmes and policies for government.
- iii. Coordination and control of governmental organs.
- iv. Social integration through satisfaction and reconciliation of group demands or the provision of common belief system or ideology.
- v. Social integration of individuals by mobilization of support and by socialization.
- vi. Counter organization or subversion (cited in Osumah and Ikelegbe, 2009: 36).

As can be seen, political parties can serve multiple functions. Based on this, it can be stated that representative democracy is impossible without the existence of political parties and party competition. In fact, without political parties, a modern representative democracy is not conceivable (Hofmeister and Grabow, 2011).

Only, the parties ensure that the citizens are permanently capable to act politically. They articulate and integrate different interests, visions and opinions. They are also the main source for the recruitment of political elites. In order to participate successfully in elections, the political parties have to be the voice of broad sectors of society. Thus, associations, social organizations or citizens' initiatives normally concentrate more on individual and a limited scope of issues. Political parties, in contrast, are expected to take positions on all those questions and topics that are related to public order and the organization of society.

In a liberal democracy, a political party is an association of people with similar interest(s) and common purpose. The interest(s) and purpose shown by them revolve around the objective of using the party to acquire power, share in the exercise of power or to take control of government (Yaqub, 1992). Similarly, political parties are organized instrumentalities through which the citizens not only attempt to influence, but also control and determine the type and direction of public policies and programmes, including the general allocation of resources (Pakis and Inokoba, 2006).

From the foregoing discourse, political parties provide the platform through which party politics is given practical expression. This probably explains why Olaniyi (2001), defines party politics as 'activities of political parties in a democratic environment to seek for the control of political offices through stated norms of elections'. Ogunmefun summarizes political parties in Nigeria as:

A collection of associations or interest groups. As things stand, there is complete mismatch between the quality of party membership and policy evolution. The quality of people who constitute the large majority of the membership of political parties have little or no education and many are unfit to articulate policies for effective governance (Ogunmefun, 2007, 19).

This characterization of political parties is at variance with what obtains in more advance and growing democracies where people join and identify with political parties on the basis of their political beliefs and what policies they stand for in public service.

Concept of National development

The concept of development seems to be in a state of flux since the end of the Second World War. Thus, development as a concept is a victim of definitional pluralism. It is a difficult word to define. Indeed, in the early 1940s the ideological differences between the Socialist East and the Capitalist West appear to have influenced the meaning and the conceptualization of the term (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013). Earlier, Ake (2001) argues that the ideology of development itself became a problem for development because of the conflict between its manifest and latent functions. At the time when development seems to be conceived as the outcome of economic growth, many theorists as (Rostow 1952; Harrod and Domar 1957), among others proposed models of development, generally identifying structural changes, savings and investments as the source of economic development and growth (Otto and Ukpere, 2012). The assumption was that economic growth would generate fund for investment and infrastructural development that would guarantee better living condition of people.

Interestingly, Gboyega (2003), captures development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. It implies improvement in material well-being of all citizens, not the most powerful and rich alone, in a sustainable way such that today's consumption does not imperil the future, it also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced. It seeks to improve personal physical security and livelihoods and expansion of life chances. Naomi (1995) believes that development is usually taken to involve not only economic growth, but also some notion of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential services all with a view to improving the individual and collective quality of life (Naomi, 1995).

Development can be seen as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the wellbeing of people is generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. It is reasonable to know that development is not only an

economic exercise, but also involves both socio-economic and political issues and pervades all aspects of societal life. In this regard, Sanusi (2012, 6) argued:

In an ultimate sense, development must encompass more than the material and financial side of people's lives. Development is, therefore, a multidimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social systems. In addition to improvements in incomes and output, it typically involves radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures, as well as in popular attitudes and in many cases even customs and beliefs.

In general terms, Bellu (2011), posited that the term “development” means an “event constituting a new stage in a changing situation” or the process of change *per se*. If not qualified, “development” is implicitly intended as something positive or desirable. He further explained that when referring to a society or to a socioeconomic system, “development” usually means improvement, either in the general situation of the system, or in some of its constituent elements. Development may occur due to some deliberate action carried out by single agents or by some authority preordered to achieve improvement, to favourable circumstances in both. Accordingly, Bellu (2011) agrees with Alavi, (1973) that development policies and private investment, in all their forms, are examples of such actions.

Thus, the Dualistic-Development Thesis postulates that the world is made up of dual societies, of rich nations and poor nations and, in developing countries, pockets of wealth within broad areas of poverty. This concept of dualism embraces four key arguments:

- i. Different sets of conditions of which some are “superior” and others “inferior” can co-exist in a given space;
- ii. This coexistence is chronic and not merely transitional;
- iii. The degrees of superiority or inferiority do not show any signs of diminishing, but have an inherent tendency to increase; and
- iv. The interrelations between the superior and inferior elements are such that the existence of the superior elements does not pull up the inferior ones.

Interestingly, even if the development of a socio-economic system can be viewed as a holistic exercise, as an all-encompassing endeavour; for practical purposes, in particular for policy making and development management, the focus of the agents aiming at development is almost always on selected parts of the system or on specific features. To this end, “development” is qualified and specified in different ways. A summary (non-exhaustive) list of possible qualifications comprises:

1. **Economic development:** i.e., improvement of the way endowments and goods and services are used within (or by) the system to generate new goods and services in order to provide additional consumption and/or investment possibilities to the members of the system.
2. **Human development:** people-centred development, where the focus is put on the improvement of the various dimensions affecting the well-being of individuals and their relationships with the society (health, education, entitlements, capabilities,

empowerment etc.)

3. **Sustainable development:** development which considers the long-term perspectives of the socio-economic system, to ensure that improvements occurring in the short term will not be detrimental to the future status or development potential of the system, i.e., development will be “sustainable” on environmental, social, financial and other grounds.
4. **Territorial development:** development of a specific region (space) achievable by exploiting the specific socio-economic, environmental and institutional potential of the area, and its relationships with external subjects (Bellu, 2011: 3).

Following from the above, national development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. The concept, national development, in the other hand depicts unending process of qualitative and quantitative transformation in the capacity of a state to organize the process of production and distribution of material benefits of society in a manner that sustains improvement in the well-being of its individual members in order to enhance their capacity to realize their full potentials, in furtherance of the positive transformation and sustenance of their society and humanity at large(Onuoha, 2013).

Political Parties and Economic Development in Nigeria

Prior to the return to democratic governance in 1999 the political economy of Nigeria reflects a state in dire need of reforms. Notably, the long years of military involvement in politics characterized by poor economic management, unbridled corruption and rent-seeking are hostile to both domestic and foreign investments. And ban on party politics tends to have precluded the emergence of political parties to contribute to economic development in Nigeria. This has large-scale effects on the masses. Thus, the unpleasant experience sometimes serves as a panacea for the various pro-democracy activists that fought to unseat the military class for a better deal under the new democratic dispensation. In response to the myriad of problems besetting the Nigerian state under President Obasanjo who was saddled with leadership responsibility in 1999, Nigeria experienced an aggressive session of socio-economic development.

Thus, it appears that the economic fortune of the country changed in 1999, with the return of democratic governance in the country. Democratic governments have introduced series of reforms that were aimed at redressing the distortions in the economy and to restore economic growth following the period of economic decline (Onuoha, 2008). As a result, in 2004 the PDP led government's economic agenda was formally launched and tagged the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).

In spite of the efforts to revamp the economy since the return to democratic governance, Sanusi (2012) argued that the Nigerian economy has grossly underperformed relative to her enormous resource endowment and her peer nations. It has the 6th largest gas reserves and the 8th largest crude oil reserves in the world. It is endowed in commercial quantities with about 37 solid mineral types and has a population of over 150 million persons. Yet economic

performance has been rather weak and does not reflect these endowments (Sanusi, 2012). The major factors accounting for the relative decline of the country's economic fortunes are easily identifiable as political instability, lack of focused and visionary leadership, economic mismanagement and corruption (Sanusi, 2012).

Structurally, Okezie and Amir, (2011) explained that the Nigerian economy can be classified into three major sectors namely primary/agriculture and natural resources, secondary-processing and manufacturing, and tertiary/services sectors. For them, the economy is characterized by structural dualism. The agricultural sector is an admixture of subsistence and modern farming, while the industrial sector comprises modern business enterprises which co-exist with a large number of micro-enterprises employing less than 10 persons mainly located in the informal sector. As argued by Okezie and Amir (2011) it appears that:

The agricultural sector has not been able to fulfill its traditional role of feeding the population, meeting the raw material needs of industries, and providing substantial surplus for export. Indeed, the contribution of the sector to total GDP has fallen over the decades, from a very dominant position of 55.8% of the GDP in 1960-1970 to 28.4% in 1971-1980, before rising to 32.3, 34.2 and 40.3% during the decades 1981-1990, 1991-2000 and 2001-2009, respectively (Okezie and Amir 2011:371).

The fall according to them is not because a strong industrial sector is displacing agriculture but largely as a result of low productivity, owing to the dominance of peasant farmers and their reliance on rudimentary farm equipment and low technology. Another feature of the sector is under-capitalization which results in low yield and declining output (Sanusi, 2010).

The Nigerian manufacturing subsector is made up of large, medium and small enterprises, as well as cottage and hand-craft units. In spite of spirited efforts made to boost manufacturing output and various policy regimes, manufacturing has not made any significant contribution to the growth of the economy. Sanusi (2012) argued that industry as a whole contributed only 29.4% during 2001-2009. Indeed, Agu, Idike, Okwor and Ugwunta (2014) observed that the contribution of the manufacturing component has on average been below 5.0% in the last two decades. Even the relatively high contribution of oil sector to the industrial sector contribution is being driven largely by crude production and not by the associated "core industrial" components like refining and petrochemicals (Agu, Idike, Okwor and Ugwunta 2014). They further contended that the contribution of wholesale and retail trade and services has more or less remained stable while that of building and contribution rose sharply from 5.3% in the 1960s to 8.3% in the 1970s but fell consistently, thereafter, to 1.8% during 2001-2009.

In his view, Sanusi (2012) explained that within the context of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), a medium-term policy framework adopted in 2002 was to free monetary policy implementation from the problem of time inconsistency and minimize over-reaction to temporary shocks. Thus, in 2004 the banking sector consolidation was initiated aimed at recapitalizing the banks and ensuring a sustainable and stable financial system that would support the real sector of the economy.

Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and National Development in Nigeria

One cardinal function of a political party is to make policies in accordance with its manifesto in such a manner that these policies will drive development agenda of the state. In other words, the transformation of the state is anchored within the directional focus of a ruling political party at a particular point in time. In doing this, it is expected that a political party should engage consultations and indeed aggregate variety of interests towards national development.

However, the sixteen years of the PDP government tends to have shown a tendency to approximate party interests to communal interests. In most cases, consultation on issues of general policy, budget proposals, and draft legislations are made on the platforms of PDP fora, without the involvement of a broad section of the populace who are either members of other political parties or non-partisan. This pattern of consultation severely restricted popular participation in governance and limited government opportunity to benefit from other views for the wellbeing and development of the state. The dominant role of the ruling party leadership in policy process is undoubtedly encouraged by what Jost and Napier (2009) describes as the 'tyranny of major actors within the PDP'. A direct consequence of the 'exclusivist and isolationist character of the PDP' in the area of formulation and execution of policies is the entrenching of 'top-down' approach to development.

In fact, the above approach suggests a more hierarchical and somewhat authoritarian style in which most decisions are made in a fashion quite unacceptable to the people directly affected. It defeats the notion that development is multi-faceted and involved developing or empowering the ordinary man to surmount his daily needs. Eme and Anyadike (2011), explains that the subordination of the PDP to the whims and caprices of 'a few garrison commanders', the indifferent quality of party personnel and poor organization of the party adversely affected the quality of policies formulated and executed in the various state of the federation.

Secondly, within the last few years the security challenges in the country have also questioned the ability of PDP led governments within the time under review to chart the course for national development. For instance, between July 27, 2009 and February 17, 2012, Boko Haram has launched fifty-three (53) attacks in which 1'157 people were killed and hundreds of people injured in the Northern Nigeria (Abimbola, and Adesote,2012). Other crisis of ethno-religious and identity conflicts has remained prevalent in many parts of Nigeria especially in the North. Also, important to note is spreading crisis of Fulani herdsmen in all parts of the country seems to have impacted negatively on national development.

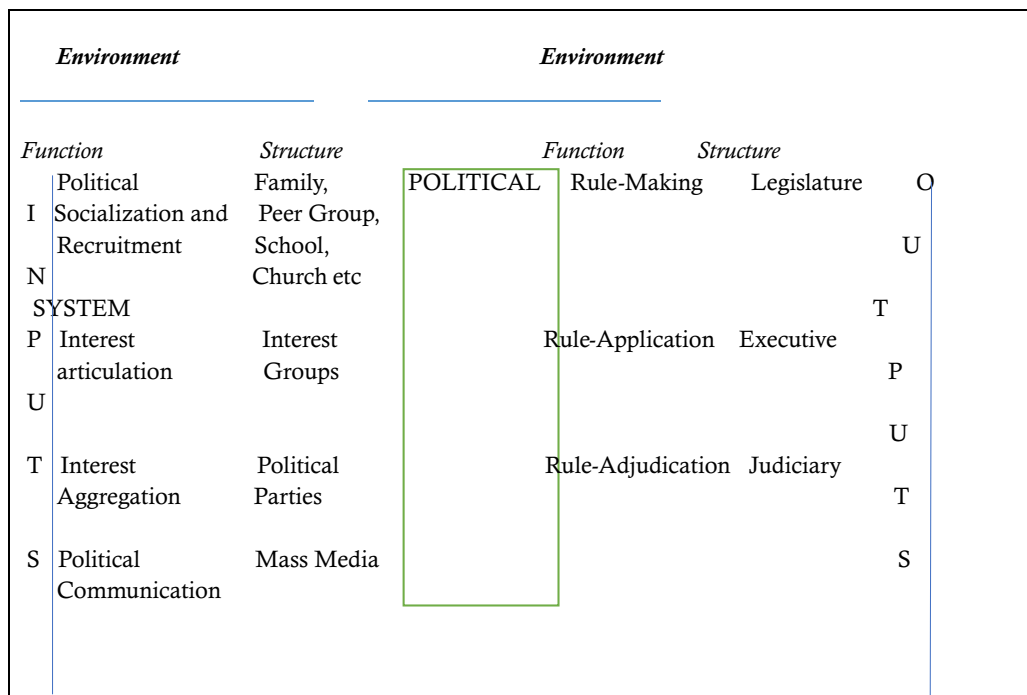
Arguably, while it may be stated that PDP may have failed in several ways, we are not oblivious of the fact that the party had also initiated and implemented some policies that repositioned development trajectories in Nigeria within the period under review. For instance, under the leadership of the PDP, Nigeria secured debt relief from the IMF/World Bank in 2005, bank capitalization and re-capitalization policy of 2003/2005 ensured the emergence of strong, healthy and reliable banks in Nigeria. In fact, the move by the CBN to raise the minimum paid up capital of banks to N25 billion in 2005 was aimed at strengthening the Nigerian banking industry.

The theoretical framework that guided this study is known as structural-functional analysis developed by Gabriel Almond and J.S. Coleman in 1960 and cited in Nwanegbo, (2014). The work identified four characteristics of the political system. In their view, these characteristics include;

- i. All political systems have political structure;
- ii. The same functions are performed in all political systems with different kinds of structures;
- iii. All political structures are multi-functional; and
- iv. All political systems are mixed systems in the cultural sense i.e. they are based in a culture which is always a mixture of the modern and the traditional (cited in Gauba, 2005: 96).

They further identified four input functions and three output function with various structures performing specific roles in the environment. These structures and functions are shown in the diagram below:

Figure 1: Model of Structural-Functional Analysis



Source: Gauba, (2005)

Following from the above conceptual framework, Almond and Powell (1966) assigned several functions to each structure. Though Almond paid special attention to input functions which are performed by non-governmental structures or institution, which notwithstanding political party plays a crucial role in the functionality of the system. This is because it aggregates all interest within the system. Thus, interest aggregation is the process whereby various divergent

interests are collated and translated into concrete demands of a very large section of society (preferably appealing to all sections of society), policy proposals and programmes of action etc. (Gaubu, 2003). Political parties are generally seen as most suited institution to perform these functions in the political environment. Essentially, the theory of structural functionalism views the state from the standpoint of input and output matrix and places political parties at the fulcrum of organizing the generality of interest arising from different structures in the political environment. This theory is fundamental to this study because it has been able to explain the role political parties play for the sustenance of every political system. However, given the inadequacies that fraught the existence and functionality of the PDP, it appears that the PDP is definitely created to fail hence the development failures that have confronted the Nigerian state in the last sixteen years of PDP rulership.

Economic Growth in Nigeria

Nigeria's economic aspirations have remained that of altering the structure of production and consumption patterns, diversifying the economic base and reducing dependence on oil, with the aim of putting the economy on a path of sustainable, all-inclusive and non-inflationary growth. The implication of this is that while rapid growth in output, as measured by the real Gross Domestic Product (GDP), is important, the transformation of the various sectors of the economy is even more critical. This is consistent with the growth aspirations of most developing countries, as the structure of the economy is expected to change as growth progresses.

For instance, it is clear that the economy has not actually performed to its full potential particularly in the face of its rising population. In general, economic growth and population growth rates are very close that the margin cannot induce the required structural transformation and economic diversification. In this regard, Sanusi (2012), concluded that the Nigerian economy has grossly underperformed relative to her enormous resource endowment and her peer nations. Though, it has the 6th largest gas reserve and the 8th largest crude oil reserve in the world and indeed, endowed in commercial quantities with about 37 solid mineral types and has a population of over 150 million persons, yet economic performance has been rather weak and does not reflect these endowments (Sanusi, 2012).

However, the scenario changed in 1999, with the return of democratic governance in the country. Democratic governments have introduced series of reforms that were aimed at redressing the distortions in the economy and to restore economic growth following the period of economic decline. In 2004 the government's economic agenda was formally launched and tagged the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies, (NEEDS). The Nigerian apex bank, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), also launched a medium-term policy framework adopted in 2002 to free monetary policy implementation from the problem of time inconsistency and minimize over-reaction to temporary shocks. However, periodic amendments are constantly made to the policy guidelines in the light of developments in the financial markets and performance of the economy. Thus, in 2005, some new reforms were introduced as "amendments and addendum" to the 2004/2005 monetary policy circular. Even though, emphasis on techniques and instruments to achieve these objectives continually

changed over the years, the authority has continued to sanitize and restructure the financial sector. Thus, in 2004 the banking sector consolidation was initiated aimed at recapitalizing the banks and ensuring a sustainable and stable financial system that would support the real sector of the economy.

Earlier, the annual GDP grew from a negative 0.6 per cent in 1987 to 13.0 per cent in 1990. However, the average growth rate of real GDP dropped to 1.9 per cent during 1991-1998. This was in spite of the favorable developments in the agricultural and services sub-sectors of the economy. According to Enweremadu, (2014) the real GDP growth rate rebounded to 8.3 per cent during the period 1999-2007, reflecting improved economic policy of NEEDS era. For him, despite the decline in real GDP growth rate to 6.3 per cent in the period 2008-2009, the major drivers remained agriculture, wholesale and retail trade, and services sectors. Indeed, the last decade has been a period of rebirth as affirmed by almost all macroeconomic indicators. But the growth rate has not been high enough to push down the poverty profile.

Table 1 shows microeconomic indicators between 2003 and 2009.

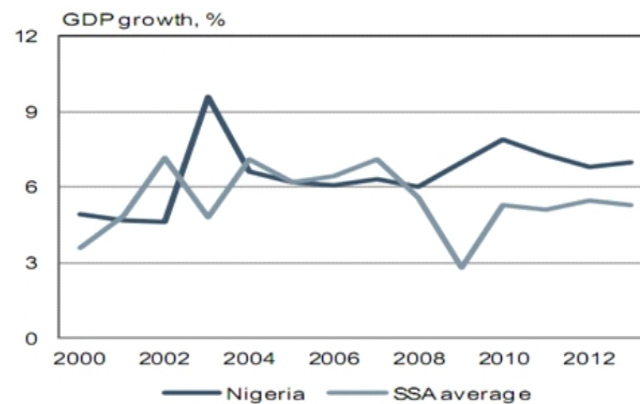
Table 1: Selected Macroeconomic Indicators

INDICATOR	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Average
Real GDP growth rate	9.57	6.58	6.51	6.0	6.5	6.4	6.7	6.2
inflation(y-on-y)	13.9	15.4	17.9	8.5	6.6	15.1	12.0	13.3
Growth in M2	24.97	12.26	34.61	30.6	44.2	58.0	17.1	31.8
Current account balance/GDP	6.95	17.62	28.23	18.5	11.8	17.5	11.9	13.4
FDI(US\$ billion)	2.0	1.86	4.98	13.9	5.6	5.8		4.3
External reserves (US\$ billion)	7.47	16.95	28.3	42.3	51.3	53.0	42.4	27.0
Exchange rate (end-period)	129.4	133.5	132.15	128.2	117.9	132.5	149.58	125.8
External debt(US\$ billion)	3.3	3.5	2.0	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.9	3.21

Source: Sanusi, (2012: 20)

Obviously, Nigeria has sustained an economic growth rate averaging about 7% in the last decade. Economic data shows that Nigeria not only grew far above the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) average of 5.6%, but was also the third-fastest growing economy in the group of Ten Emerging Markets referred to as EM10, behind only China and India (Enweremadu, 2014). Furthermore, Enweremadu (2014) explained that for the 2009-2011 period alone, Nigeria's average growth was 7.5%, compared to a world economic growth rate of 2.8% for the same period. In addition, Nigeria's population is flourishing, and now stands at about 167 million, with a burgeoning middle class, discussed more fully below (Enweremadu, 2014). The table 5 below shows Nigeria's GDP growth record between 2000-2012.

Figure 2: Nigerian GDP Growth Record: 2000-2012



Source: Enweremadu, (2014:9)

Improved Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which reached \$264billion in 2012 against \$46billion in 2000, has also brought multiple spill-over effects. Per capita income increased from \$390 in 2001 to \$1,657 by 2012. For Enweremadu (2014), this economic growth has led to a revitalization of Nigeria's middle class: two studies carried out in 2007 and 2010 estimated the size of Nigeria's middle class at 16% and 30% of the country's population, respectively. This is very significant given that the middle class almost completely disappeared before the country returned to democracy in 1999, a situation largely blamed on the structural adjustment programme (SAP) policies and other excessive measures under the Ibrahim Babangida military administration (1985-1993).

Thus, between 2000 and 2012, the Nigeria's improved economic position especially before the current economic recession has been brought about by massive increases in oil revenue, but also by the application of some well-conceived economic policies, designed and implemented by a team of relatively competent officials. This implies that Nigeria's earlier problems were not just the result of lack of ideology, 'bad politics', corruption, political instability and territorial fragmentation of the country following a bitter civil war, but were also the result of 'flawed policies'. It is in the light of the above that we accept and can safely validate that the party ideology has failed to account for economic growth in Nigeria.

Conclusion

We have to reiterate that we evaluated the political parties and national development in Nigeria: A study of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) 1999-2013, and to this end the study found that in the Peoples Democratic Party internal bickering has impacted negatively to national development. The ideological shallowness has perforated stability within the ranks of the party structure. This is also responsible for huge exodus that ensures the failure of the party in the national election and persistent conflict among members. It is based on the above analysis that we state the following findings:

1. That dearth of internal party democracy has blurred the PDP opportunity to sustain and maintain its position in power. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, is the fact

that such development has also affected political participation in Nigeria. The clear negligence of rule of law and imposition of candidates has made internal and external elections within the party mere formalities. Hence, the emergence and upsurge of political god fathers.

2. That in spite of the return to civilian rule political as well as democratic actors within the PDP has failed to recognize the need to deepening democracy by opening the democratic space for collective decision. At the local level, it is the contestation for scarce resources among peasants and political god sons with little or no interest of the people. Finally, there is feeling of disillusionment and despair among the people for poor performance of the leaders after over a decade of democratic struggle.

Recommendations

In the light of the above findings of this study, we put forward the following recommendations for policy makers or decision makers in the Peoples Democratic Party: Given the above situation; it is germane to devise a means of averting this trend so as to avoid the total collapse of Peoples Democratic Party. The starting point would be to revisit the ideological foundations of the party. There must therefore be first, an aggressive and sustained system of social mobilization at all levels of the party organization and society, socializing and educating people of the ills that befell the party over the years and their willingness to evolve curative measures. It must be a part of a larger reform programme that addresses very decisively the crisis and contradictions hindering party progress and by extension national development in Nigeria and this action should embrace every segment of the party hierarchy.

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