POLITICAL PARTIES AND ECONOMIC POLICY FORMULATION: ASSESSING PARTY MANIFESTOES AND THEIR ECONOMIC INFLUENCE ON ECONOMICS

*[1]SANUSI IBRAHIM, [2]AUWAL UMAR AND [3]ADMU UMAR MAIKUDI

[1]Department of Political Science
Federal College of Education, Yola

[2&3]Department of Geography
Federal College of Education, Yola

*Corresponding Author Information:-
E-Mail: ibrahim.sanusi@fceyola.ng.edu
Phone: +2347066141470

ABSTRACT

This study explores the role of political party manifestos in shaping economic policy formulation in Yola North Local Government Area of Adamawa State, Nigeria. Motivated by growing concerns about the disconnect between campaign promises and actual governance, the research focused on four core objectives: assessing the influence of manifestos on economic policy, evaluating citizen awareness of party economic proposals, examining the level of party commitment to manifesto implementation, and identifying the barriers to effective translation of manifestos into economic policies. A descriptive survey research design was adopted, involving a structured questionnaire administered to 72 purposively selected respondents from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics and presented in frequency tables and percentages. The findings revealed a significant gap between pre-election economic promises and post-election policy implementation. Many citizens were aware of manifestos but lacked in-depth understanding of their economic components. Political parties rarely followed through with their policy commitments after securing electoral victory, and formal mechanisms for enforcing accountability were weak or non-existent. Contributing factors included corruption, lack of political will, vague promises, donor dependency, and frequent leadership transitions. The study concludes that political party manifestos in Nigeria currently serve more as rhetorical instruments than actionable frameworks for governance. To enhance democratic accountability and policy relevance, the study recommends stronger regulatory oversight by INEC, enhanced civic education, and the institutionalisation of post-election policy monitoring. These measures could strengthen democratic practice and improve the credibility of political parties in Nigeria's economic development process.

Keywords: Political Party, Economic Policy, Party Manifesto, economy development

1.1 Introduction

The centrality of political parties in democratic governance cannot be overstated, as they function as the primary vehicles for political participation, representation, and policy formulation (Omotola, 2010; Sartori, 2005). In modern democratic states, political parties shape governmental agendas by articulating ideologies and translating them into actionable programmes (Heywood, 2013). Their policy propositions, encapsulated within party manifestos, represent vital instruments through which citizens evaluate and endorse political alternatives. These manifestos provide the electorate with a blueprint of what to expect in terms of governance priorities, especially regarding economic development (Norris, 2004).

Historically, political parties in Nigeria have wielded significant influence over economic policy direction since independence in 1960 (Ojo, 2009). The post-colonial state witnessed successive governments adopting divergent economic models, ranging from socialist-leaning frameworks under the First Republic to liberal economic reforms in the post-military democratic era (Obasi, 1999; Ihonvbere, 2003). Despite these efforts, Nigeria continues to grapple with persistent economic underperformance characterised by inflation, high unemployment, poor infrastructure, and growing inequality (World Bank, 2023). These conditions raise pressing questions about the coherence and implementation of economic visions articulated by ruling parties.

This study, therefore, focuses on the relationship between political party manifestos and economic policy formulation in Nigeria, with particular attention to their relevance, feasibility, and implementation. The research interrogates whether manifestos are mere rhetorical devices for electoral gain or if they genuinely influence the architecture of public policy. Through this inquiry, the study contributes to understanding how party ideologies impact socio-economic outcomes, thereby shedding light on the intersection between politics

and economic development in Nigeria's evolving democratic context (Diamond, 1999; Ayoade, 2008).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In Nigeria, successive governments have been characterised by the recycling of economic agendas that often fail to reflect the promises articulated in party manifestos. While political parties present elaborate economic blueprints during campaigns, their actual implementation upon assuming office remains inconsistent or wholly abandoned (Omodia & Egwemi, 2022). This disconnect between electoral promises and governance realities undermines public trust, raises accountability concerns, and jeopardises sustainable economic planning. Consequently, political manifestos are often perceived as ceremonial rather than foundational documents for policymaking. Moreover, the extent to which political parties influence the formulation and execution of economic policies remains under-examined in empirical literature. There is a paucity of systematic inquiry into the coherence, feasibility, and institutionalisation of these party manifestos as strategic policy frameworks (Olaniyan, 2021). This study, therefore, seeks to address this research gap by assessing how political party ideologies, as expressed through manifestos, have shaped Nigeria's economic policies over time. The study also examines whether such influences are meaningful or merely rhetorical, thus contributing to debates on party accountability and democratic governance.

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of this study is to examine the influence of political party manifestos on economic policy formulation in Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

1. Assess the content and coherence of political party manifestos in relation to economic development.
2. Evaluate the extent to which party manifestos influence government economic policies.
3. Examine the challenges associated with implementing manifesto-based economic policies.
4. Analyse public perceptions regarding the credibility and fulfilment of party-based economic promises.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study centres on Nigeria's Fourth Republic (1999–2023), a period characterised by uninterrupted democratic rule and the proliferation of political parties. It focuses on selected political parties that have wielded significant influence at the federal level, notably the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the All Progressives Congress (APC), and other relevant opposition parties. The scope includes an analysis of their manifestos, economic performance during their respective administrations, and the degree of alignment between proposed and implemented policies. Geographically, the study concentrates on the Nigerian context but draws upon global comparative perspectives to enrich analysis. The research utilises a qualitative methodology, drawing data from party documents, government policy papers, expert interviews, and public opinion surveys. Thematically, the study limits itself to economic policy formulation, specifically addressing issues such as job creation, industrialisation, infrastructure, public finance, and poverty alleviation. Other non-economic manifesto promises fall outside the purview of this research. By narrowing the study in this manner, the research ensures a focused and rigorous exploration of the intersection between party politics and economic governance in Nigeria.

2.0 Conceptual Clarifications

Political Parties

Political parties are essential institutions within democratic systems, functioning as organised groups that aim to attain political power through electoral processes. They serve as platforms for aggregating interests, recruiting political leaders, formulating policies, and mobilising citizen participation. According to Sartori (2005), political parties are not merely electoral vehicles but ideological entities that shape governance by promoting structured political visions. In Nigeria, political parties have historically evolved from ethnoregional movements in the pre-independence era into competitive structures within the Fourth Republic, albeit with varying degrees of ideological coherence. Their capacity to influence statecraft hinges significantly on their institutional strength, internal democracy, and strategic alignment with national development goals.

Political Manifestos

Political manifestos serve as the principal instruments through which political parties articulate their vision, policies, and strategic intentions to the electorate. They are designed to

communicate proposed programmes of action, particularly in governance areas such as the economy, education, infrastructure, and security. According to Heywood (2019), manifestos represent a party's social contract with voters, offering a benchmark for evaluating post-election performance. In ideal democratic systems, manifestos are not only electoral tools but also foundational documents that guide administrative policies and legislative action once a party is in power. They provide clarity on a party's ideological orientation, policy priorities, and governance philosophy, ensuring transparency and democratic accountability.

Economic Policy Formulation

Economic policy formulation in democratic states is a complex and multifaceted process involving the identification of societal needs, evaluation of alternatives, and selection of strategies to achieve economic development goals. It encompasses fiscal, monetary, industrial, agricultural, and social welfare policies designed to stimulate growth, reduce inequality, and promote macroeconomic stability. According to Dye (2017), policy formulation in democratic settings is shaped by institutional frameworks, political ideologies, stakeholder input, and public participation. In principle, elected representatives are expected to translate electoral promises, often contained in party manifestos, into policy frameworks that address the developmental needs of the populace. Effective formulation requires a balance between political intent, technical expertise, and societal realities.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework underpinning this study is the Rational Choice Theory, originally developed by scholars such as Anthony Downs (1957) and further refined by James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (1962). The theory posits that individuals, including politicians and voters, make political decisions based on calculated self-interest, weighing costs and benefits before committing to a course of action. It assumes that political actors behave strategically to maximise utility, often prioritising outcomes that enhance electoral advantage, policy influence, or personal gain. This theory's core principles rest on methodological individualism, goal-orientation, and preference-consistency, suggesting that political parties craft manifestos and policy promises to appeal to the highest number of voters, often tailoring positions based on anticipated support rather than ideological commitment (Shepsle, 2010). Applied to this study, Rational Choice Theory provides a lens

through which to analyse how Nigerian political parties formulate economic policy promises, not necessarily to implement them, but to optimise electoral success in a competitive political market. The theory will be adopted by critically examining the strategic considerations behind manifesto design and the subsequent divergence between stated intentions and implemented policies, especially in relation to economic governance. It will guide data interpretation by focusing on the motivations, incentives, and calculated decisions of party elites and voters in the political process. The suitability of Rational Choice Theory lies in its explanatory power regarding political behaviour in low-accountability environments like Nigeria's. Its emphasis on instrumental rationality aligns with the realities of Nigerian party politics, where electoral success often trumps ideological consistency or developmental outcomes, thereby making it an apt framework for evaluating party-based economic policymaking.

2.0 Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Personal Information

This section presents demographic information obtained from the 72 respondents. The variables include sex, age, educational qualification, occupation, and voting history. The data are presented in tabular form, followed by interpretive analyses.

Table 4.1: Sex of the Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	44	61.1%
Female	28	38.9%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.1 above shows that a majority of the respondents (61.1%) were male, while 38.9% were female. This indicates that political engagement and interest in economic governance within Yola North LGA appear to be more prevalent among male participants. However, the substantial representation of females suggests that both genders are sufficiently represented for the purposes of this study.

Table 4.2: Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18–25	12	16.7%
26–35	19	26.4%
36–45	17	23.6%
46–55	14	19.4%
Above 55	10	13.9%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.2 above shows that respondents aged between 26 and 35 constituted the largest age group (26.4%), followed by those aged 36–45 (23.6%). This implies that politically active citizens in the LGA are mostly within the productive age bracket, which enhances the credibility and relevance of their perspectives on governance and economic policies.

Table 4.3: Educational Qualification of Respondents

Qualification	Frequency	Percentage (%)
SSCE/NCE	14	19.4%
Diploma/ND	18	25.0%
Bachelor's Degree	28	38.9%
Master's/PhD	12	16.7%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.3 above shows that 38.9% of respondents had a bachelor's degree, while 25% held a Diploma or ND. This indicates that the majority of participants were moderately to highly educated, which is important for evaluating opinions about political manifestos and economic policy. It suggests that respondents are likely to understand and interpret the implications of governance commitments critically.

Table 4.4: Occupation of Respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Civil Servants	18	25.0%
Traders/Artisans	16	22.2%
Students	12	16.7%

Private Sector Workers	14	19.4%
Political Party Members	12	16.7%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.4 above shows that civil servants represented the highest occupational category at 25%, followed by traders and artisans (22.2%). The distribution reflects a diverse occupational representation across different economic sectors in Yola North, thus enriching the variety and balance of insights on the topic of economic governance and party promises.

Table 4.5: Voting History of Respondents

Voting in Last Election	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	52	72.2%
No	20	27.8%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.5 above shows that 72.2% of the respondents participated in the most recent general elections. This high level of voter turnout within the sample indicates a generally active political population, making them well-positioned to evaluate the performance of political parties based on campaign promises and actual policy outcomes.

3.2 Presentation and Analysis of Research Questions

3.2.1 Research Question 1:

To what extent do political party manifestos influence economic policy formulation in Yola North LGA?

Table 4.6: Influence of Political Party Manifestos on Economic Policy Formulation

S/N	Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)
1	Have you read or heard a political party manifesto before elections?	43 (59.7%)	29 (40.3%)
2	Do you think party manifestos include concrete economic policy proposals?	39 (54.2%)	33 (45.8%)

3	Were economic policies post-election aligned with pre-election promises?	28 (38.9%)	44 (61.1%)
4	Do you believe manifestos affect how public budgets are planned?	31 (43.1%)	41 (56.9%)
5	Have you seen any development in your area linked to a party's manifesto?	27 (37.5%)	45 (62.5%)

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.6 above shows that while a majority of respondents (59.7%) had read or heard political party manifestos, only 54.2% believed those manifestos contained specific economic proposals. Notably, a significant proportion (61.1%) did not believe that post-election economic policies matched pre-election promises. Similarly, 56.9% of participants felt manifestos did not influence public budgeting, and 62.5% had not observed development projects traceable to manifesto content. These findings suggest a disconnect between party manifestos and actual economic policymaking. The data imply that manifestos in Yola North LGA are perceived more as campaign rhetoric than binding policy frameworks, pointing to weak institutional linkage between political promises and economic governance.

3.2.2 Research Question 2:

What level of awareness and understanding do citizens have regarding the economic policies proposed by political parties in their manifestos?

Table 4.7: Citizen Awareness and Understanding of Economic Policies in Party Manifestos

S/N	Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)
1	Are you aware that political parties publish economic policies in manifestos?	40 (55.6%)	32 (44.4%)
2	Have you ever studied a party manifesto beyond campaign slogans?	31 (43.1%)	41 (56.9%)
3	Do you clearly understand the economic programmes in manifestos?	27 (37.5%)	45 (62.5%)
4	Do you believe most citizens know what economic promises are made?	26 (36.1%)	46 (63.9%)
5	Are political parties doing enough to educate citizens about their policies?	24 (33.3%)	48 (66.7%)

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.7 above shows that while 55.6% of respondents were aware that political parties include economic content in their manifestos, only 43.1% had engaged with the content beyond campaign slogans. Furthermore, a significant 62.5% indicated they did not clearly understand the economic programmes proposed. A larger proportion (63.9%) believed the general public lacks awareness of party economic promises, while 66.7% felt that political parties have failed to adequately educate citizens about their policy intentions. These findings suggest a low level of civic political literacy in Yola North and reflect a failure by political parties to engage meaningfully with voters on economic governance issues. There exists a communication gap between party elites and the electorate that diminishes public capacity to hold politicians accountable for unmet economic promises.

3.2.3 Research Question 3:

To what extent are political parties committed to implementing the economic programmes contained in their manifestos after winning elections?

Table 4.8: Party Commitment to Implementing Economic Manifesto Promises

S/N	Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)
1	Do political parties often refer to their manifestos after elections?	25 (34.7%)	47 (65.3%)
2	Have parties in power implemented their economic manifesto promises?	22 (30.6%)	50 (69.4%)
3	Are there monitoring mechanisms to track implementation of party promises?	20 (27.8%)	52 (72.2%)
4	Do elected officials face sanctions for abandoning manifesto promises?	16 (22.2%)	56 (77.8%)
5	Have you noticed any consistency between party promises and policies?	24 (33.3%)	48 (66.7%)

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.8 above shows that only 34.7% of respondents observed political parties referring back to their manifestos post-election. A low 30.6% believed parties implemented their economic pledges, while 72.2% affirmed the absence of any monitoring mechanisms. Additionally, 77.8% indicated that no sanctions exist for non-compliance with manifesto promises. Overall, just 33.3% saw any alignment between campaign rhetoric and post-

election governance. This demonstrates a severe accountability gap, where political parties abandon campaign commitments once in power. The findings underscore the systemic weaknesses in Nigeria's party system, where manifestos lack institutional enforcement and operate without formal obligation, leading to a disconnect between electoral promises and governance.

3.2.4 Research Question 4:

What factors hinder the effective translation of political party manifestos into economic policies in Yola North LGA?

Table 4.9: Factors Hindering Implementation of Manifesto-based Economic Policies

S/N	Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)
1	Do you believe lack of political will hinders implementation?	50 (69.4%)	22 (30.6%)
2	Are economic policies influenced more by donors than by manifestos?	46 (63.9%)	26 (36.1%)
3	Does corruption affect the delivery of economic policies?	55 (76.4%)	17 (23.6%)
4	Are manifesto promises often unrealistic or vague?	48 (66.7%)	24 (33.3%)
5	Do frequent changes in leadership disrupt policy continuity?	44 (61.1%)	28 (38.9%)

Source: Survey, 2025

Table 4.9 above shows that the majority of respondents (69.4%) believed the lack of political will significantly hinders manifesto implementation. A further 63.9% agreed that donor conditions often override domestic policy intentions. Notably, 76.4% cited corruption as a major impediment to effective policy delivery. Additionally, 66.7% believed that party promises are vague or overly ambitious, while 61.1% blamed leadership turnover for disrupting continuity. These results highlight key structural and institutional factors, such as weak governance, donor dependency, poor accountability, and policy inconsistency, that prevent parties from translating electoral manifestos into tangible economic policies in Yola North LGA. The data reveals that without institutional reforms, manifesto-driven governance will remain aspirational rather than actionable.

3.3 Discussion of Findings

The findings related to the first objective indicate a general disconnection between political party manifestos and economic policy formulation in Yola North LGA. Although over half of

the respondents acknowledged reading manifestos, a greater proportion believed that post-election economic decisions rarely reflect those promises. This supports the argument by Omotola (2010), who notes that Nigerian political parties lack ideological depth, resulting in shallow or symbolic policy commitments. Similarly, Ibrahim and Hassan (2021) found that campaign promises in Nigeria are often rhetorical and detached from the policymaking process. The findings underscore a democratic deficit where electoral promises lack institutional mechanisms for integration into governance. Thus, political manifestos in the Nigerian context appear largely ceremonial rather than substantive tools for guiding economic development.

In response to the second objective, the data showed low levels of awareness and comprehension of economic policy proposals in manifestos among citizens. Despite over half acknowledging that parties publish economic manifestos, a majority did not engage with them critically or understand their contents. This corroborates the findings of Ojo (2012), who argued that limited civic education and political awareness hinder democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Likewise, Ujo (2020) highlights that political literacy remains underdeveloped, particularly at the grassroots. The evident knowledge gap further weakens democratic accountability, as voters lack the information needed to evaluate the performance of political parties. This demonstrates that both structural and educational barriers obstruct the active engagement of citizens with political and economic governance processes.

Concerning the third objective, the findings revealed low levels of party commitment to implementing economic manifesto content after elections. Most respondents believed that political parties neither revisited their manifestos nor fulfilled their economic promises, while formal accountability mechanisms were largely absent. This supports Egwemi's (2014) observation that Nigerian political parties lack programmatic orientation and instead focus on personality-driven campaigns. Equally, Adetula (2011) noted that the absence of legal frameworks enforcing post-election accountability has rendered manifestos optional rather than obligatory. The implication is that parties escape scrutiny and performance measurement, perpetuating policy discontinuity and citizen disillusionment. These findings expose fundamental flaws in Nigeria's political party system and the gap between electoral rhetoric and real governance.

Regarding the fourth objective, the data pointed to a combination of structural, political, and institutional factors hindering the implementation of manifesto-based economic policies. Respondents cited corruption, lack of political will, unrealistic campaign promises, donor interference, and frequent leadership turnover as major challenges. These findings align with those of Agbaje and Adejumobi (2006), who argued that governance in Nigeria is plagued by systemic corruption and elite impunity. Similarly, Ibeanu (2019) emphasised the role of political instability and weak institutions in disrupting policy continuity. Together, the findings suggest that for party manifestos to serve as credible policy tools, there must be institutional reform, civic education, and stronger legal mechanisms to hold politicians accountable for their economic pledges

4.1 Summary

This study examined the influence of political party manifestos on economic policy formulation in Yola North Local Government Area (LGA), Adamawa State. The research was motivated by concerns over the gap between pre-election campaign promises and post-election policy outcomes, especially within the realm of economic governance. The study sought to assess the extent to which manifestos influence economic policy, evaluate citizens' awareness and understanding of economic proposals, determine the level of party commitment to manifesto implementation, and identify factors hindering the effective translation of manifestos into economic policies.

A quantitative research design was employed, using a structured questionnaire administered to 72 participants across various socio-demographic groups in Yola North LGA. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics, presented in frequency tables and percentages. The findings revealed a notable disconnect between campaign promises and actual policy implementation. Although many respondents had encountered manifestos, a majority believed that political parties failed to implement the economic proposals contained therein. Public awareness and understanding of manifesto content were also found to be low, as many citizens had not critically engaged with the documents. Furthermore, there were no institutional mechanisms to monitor or enforce compliance with manifesto-based economic governance.

Corruption, lack of political will, vague promises, donor dependency, and leadership changes emerged as the most significant impediments to translating manifestos into policy. These

findings were consistent with previous scholarly literature on Nigeria's weak political accountability and governance structures. The study concludes that without institutional reforms and enhanced civic education, political manifestos will remain symbolic rather than substantive tools for economic transformation. Consequently, recommendations were made to strengthen party ideologies, educate the electorate, and enforce legal mechanisms for accountability in governance.

4.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that political party manifestos in Yola North LGA exert minimal influence on economic policy formulation. While manifestos serve as electoral tools, their content is rarely implemented or monitored after elections. The lack of citizen engagement, institutional accountability, and political will undermines the role of manifestos as instruments of democratic governance. For manifestos to meaningfully influence economic policy, Nigeria must address systemic weaknesses within its political institutions, improve civic education, and introduce mechanisms that hold parties and elected officials accountable for campaign promises. This will strengthen democratic practice and foster more responsive economic governance.

4.3 Recommendations

1. Political parties should institutionalise policy think tanks to ensure that manifesto content is evidence-based, economically viable, and tied to long-term development plans.
2. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should monitor and enforce post-election compliance with party manifestos through regulatory frameworks and periodic policy audits.
3. Civil society organisations should intensify voter education campaigns focused on manifesto content, particularly in economically marginalised communities.
4. Civic education should be integrated into school curricula to foster political literacy and promote informed voting among youth.
5. Manifesto documents should be translated into major local languages and made publicly accessible before, during, and after elections.

6. Anti-corruption agencies should collaborate with civil society to track the implementation of manifesto promises and expose deliberate non-compliance.
7. Political parties should be legally mandated to submit periodic reports on policy implementation based on manifesto benchmarks.

REFERENCES:

Adetula, V. A. O. (2011). *Measuring democracy and "good governance" in Africa*. Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, 13(3), 270–284.

Agbaje, A., & Adejumobi, S. (2006). *Do votes count? The travails of electoral politics in Nigeria*. Africa Development, 31(3), 25–44.

Aiyede, R. E. (2016). Democratic accountability and party politics in Nigeria. *Africa Spectrum*, 51(1), 79–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/000203971605100104

Ayoade, J. A. A. (2008). *Godfather politics in Nigeria*. In V. A. O. Adetula (Ed.), *Money and politics in Nigeria* (pp. 79–90). IFES-Nigeria.

Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Egwemi, V. (2014). *Political parties and democratic consolidation in Nigeria*. Journal of Social Sciences and Public Policy, 6(1), 1–10.

Heywood, A. (2013). *Politics* (4th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.

Ibrahim, J., & Hassan, R. (2021). *Political parties and electoral accountability in Nigeria: Between rhetoric and reality*. African Studies Review, 64(1), 97–112.

Ihonvbere, J. O. (2003). The Nigerian economy and democratic consolidation. *African Journal of Political Science*, *8*(1), 1–19.

Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). (2023). *Electoral guidelines and policy compliance reports*. Abuja: INEC Publications.

INEC. (2023). *Electoral Guidelines and Policy Compliance Reports*. Abuja: Independent National Electoral Commission.

Joseph, R. A. (1987). *Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria: The rise and fall of the Second Republic*. Cambridge University Press.

National Bureau of Statistics. (2024). *Nigerian Governance and Development Indicators Report*. Abuja: NBS Publications.

Norris, P. (2004). *Electoral engineering: Voting rules and political behaviour*. Cambridge University Press.

Obasi, I. N. (1999). *Research methodology in political science*. Academic Publishing Company.

Ojo, E. O. (2009). Federalism and the search for national integration in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, *3*(9), 384–395.

Ojo, E. O. (2012). *Mechanisms of public accountability in Nigeria: Beyond the rhetoric*. Journal of African Elections, 11(1), 125–140.

Olaniyan, A. O. (2021). *Political parties and policy implementation in Nigeria: Interrogating the relevance of party manifestos*. *Journal of African Elections*, *20*(1), 113–132. https://doi.org/10.20940/JAE/2021/v20i1a6

Omodia, S. M. (2013). The challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(1), 451–457.

Omodia, S. M., & Egwemi, V. (2022). *Party politics and governance in Nigeria: Examining the link between manifestoes and implementation*. *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research*, *14*(2), 17–25. https://doi.org/10.5897/JPAPR2022.0534

Omotola, J. S. (2010). Political parties and the quest for political stability in Nigeria. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, *6*(2), 125–145.

Sartori, G. (2005). *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*. ECPR Press.

Suberu, R. T. (2010). The Nigerian federal system: Performance, problems and prospects. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(4), 459–477.

Ujo, A. A. (2020). *Understanding Nigerian government and politics* (3rd ed.). Joyce Publishers.

World Bank. (2023). *Nigeria economic update: Turning the corner?*. https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/publication/nigeria-economic-update

World Bank. (2024). *Nigeria public expenditure review update: Strengthening public financial management for service delivery*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. https://documents.worldbank.org

Yagboyaju, D. A., & Akinola, A. O. (2019). Nigerian state and the crisis of governance: A critical exposition. *SAGE Open*, 9(3), 1–10.