



INDIGENOUS COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS
FOR INTRA-PARTY CONFLICTS RESOLUTION:
A STUDY OF NIGERIA'S TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Dissertation Manuscript

Submitted to Unicaf University in Zambia
in partial fulfilment for the requirements for
the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) – Law and Politics

By Akinniyi Irewole SOWUNMI

February, 2024

Approval of the Thesis

INDIGENOUS COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR INTRA-PARTY CONFLICTS RESOLUTION: A STUDY OF NIGERIA'S TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

This Dissertation by Akinniyi Irewole SOWUNMI, has been approved by the committee members below, who recommend it be accepted by the faculty of Unicaf University in Zambia in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) – Law and Politics

Thesis Committee:

Dr Myriam Benraad, Supervisor

Dr Elena Papadopoulou, Independent Chair

Dr Kehinde Oyesomi, External Examiner

Dr Norman Sempijja, Internal Examiner

ABSTRACT

INDIGENOUS COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR INTRA-PARTY CONFLICTS RESOLUTION: A STUDY OF NIGERIA'S TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Akinniyi Irewole SOWUNMI

Unicaf University in Zambia

Unresolved conflicts within Nigeria's political parties deter the progress of African's most populous country. Devastating impacts of intra-party disputes go beyond political instabilities, dislodgments and the pervasive poverty. Resultant widespread denigration of Nigerians and the negative social developments are causes for concern. Nigerians, significant representative of the world's black population, one in every five black persons globally, are hindered from landmark contributions to human advancements by disruptive conflicts. Unending clash of incompatible interests among members of political parties, the platforms for national transformation, stultify efforts to develop Nigeria and its human capacities.

This study explores and prescribes use of African cultural tools, indigenous communication and traditional institutions, the neglected alternatives, as effective panacea for conflicts resolution. It uses Nigeria's two major political parties, All Progressives Congress, APC, and Peoples' Democratic Party, PDP, for the exposition.

It is a qualitatively dominant mixed-method research with data set from key informant interviews, a focus group discussion and questionnaire survey. It deploys social control, development communication and intangible heritage theories to synchronize findings from relationships among identified variables in the quantitative data with thematic analyses of qualitative data. Hermeneutic phenomenological interpretations are used to draw sound and credible conclusions. Results show party members, mainly leaders, shun compliance to resolutions. Many recycle conflicts as commercial products and weaponise disputes for domination. Original contribution to knowledge is prescription of active oaths to seal conflicts resolution treaties. This is to make the agreements binding and enforceable with catastrophic consequences for breaches and renegade acts on all involved persons.

Key Terms: *Conflict, Conflicts Resolution, Culture, Indigenous Communication and Traditional Institutions.*

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

AI ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge that I have not used any AI tools to create, proofread or produce any text or ideas related to any draft or final versions of the dissertation.

COPYRIGHT PAGE

I confirm that I retain the intellectual property and copyright of the dissertation submitted. I also allow UNICAF University in Zambia to produce and disseminate the contributions of the dissertation in all media forms known or to come as per the Creative Commons BY Licence (CC BY).

DEDICATION

This work is respectfully dedicated to **Pa (Deacon) Professor Idowu Akanbi SOBOWALE**, OON, for his steadfast fatherly love, unflinching support and overwhelming encouragement that compelled me to embark on this PhD expedition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I appreciate Dr. Myriam Benraad, my supervisor, for her invaluable guidance and contributions.

All the wonderful research subjects, whose names are cloaked, in line with the research ethics, particularly the hospitable and benevolent state chair persons of the APC and PDP, as interviewees, earn my gratitude. I acknowledge the respondent party members and focus group panelists for making the time to contribute and offer insights that enrich this study, for which no editor, digital or manual, was used.

The debt to my brother, Professor Chidozie Okoro of UNILAG can never be repaid. I got good inspiration and support from: Soji Odedina, Segun Akintade, Jones Okwonkwo and Richard Adeyinka Emmanuel. I thank the UNICAF team, particularly the facilitators at School of Doctoral Studies as well as the faculty. I am grateful to the LASU crew, Professor Rotimi Olatunji for the privilege of his help and boost, Dr. Jimi Kayode for believing in me and late Professor Lai Oso, for nudging me on. I laud Sierra Leone Professor emeritus, Cecil Blake, a venerated scholar and ally to those who stimulated study topic.

My seniors in doctorate studies, Olaperi and Damilola Okuboyejo, always there for me. 'Lape for her varied support and assistance, Damilola for financing one year license of the NVivo Software for my qualitative analysis. I thank 'Yemi and EbunOghene for their 'technical' incentives.

I really could not accomplish much without the backing of my 24/7 running mate, 'Dupe, *Iyawo Pope*, for her ever flowing love, kindness, sacrifices and the nurturing. She give me the peace and space to undertake the project.

Finally and in truth, I cannot do anything outside the Sovereign *Olodumare's* grace. In this case and on this journey for a doctorate study, His abundant favour and enablement are awesome. Total glory is His for this great blessing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>ABSTRACT:</i> -----	<i>III</i>
<i>DECLARATION:</i> -----	<i>IV</i>
<i>AI ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:</i> -----	<i>V</i>
<i>COPYRIGHT PAGE:</i> -----	<i>VI</i>
<i>DEDICATION:</i> -----	<i>VII</i>
<i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:</i> -----	<i>VIII</i>
<i>TABLE CONTENTS:</i> -----	<i>IX</i>
<i>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:</i> -----	<i>XIII</i>
<i>LIST OF TABLES:</i> -----	<i>XIV</i>

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Pages: 1 - 13

Introduction: -----	1 - 3
Statement of the Problem: -----	3 - 6
Purpose of the Study: -----	6 - 7
Research Aims and Objectives: -----	7 - 8
Research Questions: -----	8
Nature and Significance of the Study: -----	9 - 10
Operational Definitions of Key Terms: -----	10 - 12
Conflict	10
Politics and Political Parties	10 - 11
Conflicts Resolution	11
Culture	11
Indigenous Knowledge	11
Traditional Institutions	11
Indigenous Communication	11 - 12
Scope and Limitations Study: -----	12 - 13

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Pages: 14 - 86

Introduction: ----- 14 – 15

SECTION ONE:

Conceptualization of Conflict: -----	16 - 25
Conflicts Resolution: -----	25 - 32
Culture: -----	32 - 36
Indigenous Communication: -----	36 - 41
Traditional Institutions: -----	41 - 45
Politics and Political Parties: -----	45 - 47
Development Communication: -----	47 - 50
Social Control Theory: -----	50 - 55
Cultural Heritage Theory: -----	55 - 59
Gap in Literature: -----	60 – 61

SECTION TWO:

INTRODUCTION: -----	62
Cultural Resources and Conflicts Resolution: -----	62 - 77
Evolution of Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria: -----	78 - 80
Overview of Conflicts in APC and PDP: -----	80 - 82
Intra-Party Conflicts Resolution and Native Resources: -----	83 - 86

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSES

Pages: 87 - 123

Introduction: -----	87
Research Design: -----	87 - 92
Methods: -----	93 - 97
Key Informant Interviews, KII	93 - 94

Focus Group Discussion, FGD	94 - 95
Questionnaire	96
Instrument Pre-Test and Validation	97
Sources of Data: -----	97 - 103
Population:	97 - 98
Sampling:	98 - 101
Data Collection	101 - 103
Data Analysis: -----	103 - 116
Ethical Considerations: -----	116 - 118
Coding: -----	118 - 123

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Pages: 124 - 226

Introduction: -----	124 - 125
Trustworthiness of Data: -----	125 - 131
Reliability and Validity of Data: -----	131 - 134
Results of Findings: -----	134 - 174
Introduction:	134
Research Question One:	134 - 146
Research Question Two:	146 - 154
Research Question Three:	154 - 174
Quantitative Data Analysis Findings: -----	171 - 186
Evaluation of Findings: -----	187 - 190
Introduction:	187
Treatise on Evaluation:	187 - 192
Discussion of Findings: -----	192 - 224
Frequency and Major Causes of Intra-Party Conflicts	192 - 196
Adopted Method for Resolution and Effectiveness	196 - 201
Perception, Potentials and Endorsement	201 - 209
Connection to Literature	209 - 216
Insights on the Application of Active Oaths	217 - 224
Summary: -----	221 - 226

CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Pages: 227 - 273

Introduction: -----	227- 230
Implications of Findings: -----	230 - 242
Intra-Party Conflicts, Causes and Frequencies	231 - 235
Successes and Limitations of the Methods Used for Intra-Party	
Conflicts Resolution	235 - 239
Perception, Effectiveness and Probable Endorsements of Native	
Resources	239 - 242
Study Implications: -----	242 - 245
Recommendations for Application: -----	245 - 256
Recommendations for Future Research: -----	256 - 261
Conclusions: -----	262 - 273
REREFRENCES: -----	274 - 353
APPENDICES: -----	354 – 380

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APC: All Progressives Congress

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage

KII: Key Informant Interview

PDP: Peoples' Democratic Party

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

RTA: Reflexive Thematic Analysis

APC: All Progressives Congress

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage

KII: Key Informant Interview

PDP: Peoples' Democratic Party

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

RTA: Reflexive Thematic Analysis

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1:	Demographic Analysis of Respondents: -----	176
TABLE 2:	Duration of Political Party Membership: -----	177
TABLE 3:	Frequency of Internal Conflict: -----	178
TABLE 4:	Current Intra-Party Conflicts: -----	179
TABLE 5:	Major causes of the Intra-Party Conflicts among Politicians: -	180
TABLE 6:	Methods used to resolve intra-party conflicts: -----	181
TABLE 7:	Effectiveness of the methods used to resolve the conflicts: -	182
TABLE 8:	Need for better conflict resolution methods: -----	183
TABLE 9:	African resources as alternative conflict resolution method: -	184
TABLE 10:	Subscription to the use of African native resources: -----	185
TABLE 11:	Assessment of African methods to be just and effective: -----	186
RTA: Reflexive Thematic Analysis		

CHAPTER ONE:

1.1: Introduction:

Intra-party conflicts in Nigeria is a major cause for concern. It is a threat to the country's evolving democracy and probable trigger of devastating countrywide social and political unrests. Further, the rampant conflicts could distress global black population. Generally, intra-party conflicts in Nigeria upset the well-being of the people. Also, it significantly advances desolation of the world's black community. This is because Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with the largest concentration of black people, estimated to have more than 220 million persons and an annual population growth rate of 2.1% in 2023, *Worldometer* (2023). One out of every four Africans and one from every five persons of African origin is a Nigerian, therefore, a vulnerable or unstable Nigeria poses risk to the entire black population, particularly in West African sub region where Nigerians are half the population (Attama et al, 2022; Basiru, 2019; Egodike & Azuakor, 2022; Joe-Akunnne, Nnamani, Obianyo & Alumona, 2022; *OECD* 2012; *Statista*, 2023).

Many scholars like Hebel-Sela, Hameiri and Halperin (2022) and Ibrahim, Husseini, Mohammed and Jahun (2019) in their different studies submitted that the myriad unrestrained conflicts of diverse complexities between political party members and amidst the rank and file of party leaderships in Nigeria disrupt more than the pursuit of party objectives. Conflicts precipitate unending crises that undermine the holding structures of the social and democratic fabrics of the country. Also, *Africa Research Bulletin (ARB, 2009)* noted politicians and party men, bombarded with sprouting societal problems that threaten their ambitions and schemes, carry their frustrations and unmet expectations over into political parties to foment conflicts.

Troubles within political groups feed national instability and the consequent widespread poverty. These undesirable social scourges are stable produce from the intra-party conflicts because political parties as "markers of democracy" form the institutions that determine the framework which bears the foundations of democratic governance (Ibrahim, Husseini, Mohammed & Jahun, 2019, p.155).

As far back as 2019, the United Nations has been more concerned on the roles of political parties in spreading poverty in Africa. In his October 17, 2019 speech to mark the International Day for Eradication of Poverty, as reported by *Realnews Online*, President of the United Nations General Assembly, Ambassador Tijani Muhammad Bande, identified conflicts as the major driver of ravishing poverty across the African continent and called for appropriate ways to resolve the destructive antagonisms.

It is trite to repeat Bouchat's (2013, p.49) observation that much time is wasted on intra-party acrimonies at the expense of parties' objectives for national development. Antagonistic conflicts within political parties breed crises, the basic roots for "political fracturing". These in turn sprout insecurity, economic disequilibrium and violence that frustrate national development to upshot poverty, anxieties, social divisions and instability.

In Nigeria, where these socio-political blights are in plain sight, the need for a context-specific multi-layered conflicts resolution, management and prevention initiatives that encapsulate broad based native traditional resources with relevant universal ethos in African communities is overwhelming (Sule, Azizuddin, Sani & Mat, 2018; Basiru, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Omilusi, 2016; Sule & Yahaya, 2018; 2019).

Concerned scholars, including Rapatalo (2020), Alimba (2018), Olowu (2017) and Haji (2012), have theorized that for sustainable and lasting peace as well as social solidarity to flourish in African societies, conflicts resolution approaches, particularly in power disputes, would do more than explore the neglected people's cultural assets for harmonious living. It should marry this fundamental requisite with efforts to counter poverty, gender inequalities, rebuild relationships and promote equitable access to resources, education and wealth. This list is nothing short of the purpose and pronounced pursuits of political parties as contained in their manifestoes for endorsements to form governments.

So far, efforts to resolve the ever sprouting intra-party conflicts in Nigeria with litigations and persuasions oftentimes fail, yielding counter-productive and less than desired outcomes. The poor success is not a different story from what Mbagwu (2020) reported in

African countries like Rwanda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Uganda, and South Africa, where the Western models were used to resolve conflicts.

These ineffective and unsatisfactory results can be attributed to application of inappropriate methods that aimed to settle conflicts on the peoples' manifest differences rather than focus on their similarities. Over the years, these methods are noted to have caused pronounced quandary to disputing parties and regularly denied the people what they wanted (Bouchat, 2013; McClelland & Mansell, 2019, p.27).

However, scholars, including Ottoh (2022) and Lundy Collette and Downs (2022), confirm from their findings on conflicts situations in Africa that there are ignored alternative effective procedures. These native conflicts settlement systems within the continent's cultural settings are active and binding communal resources used to resolve most disputes in local communities. Cultural tools in indigenous communication systems and traditional institutions engage actors embroiled in conflicts to cooperatively tackle their incompatibilities, settle their disputes and differences collaboratively in harmonious ways. The tools also satisfy people's cravings for armistice and at same time birth wanted felicity conditions among antagonists (Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015; Morgan, 2016; Oyedele, 2019; Tafese 2015).

This chapter provides a background to this study and conceptualizes the research problem. In addition, it states the research objectives as well as raises research questions to delineate focus of the study. Also, it engages in explication and clarification of key terms.

1.2: Statement of the Problem:

Intra-party conflicts in Nigeria is an existential problem that shatters the political parties and overheat the polity, Inuwa, Hussein, Jamila and Sirajo (2019). The perpetual conflicts make Nigeria's political system unsustainable. Unresolved intra-party conflicts between leaders of the Action Group, which controlled the Western Region of Nigeria, caused collapse of Nigeria's First Republic in 1966. Likewise, internal conflicts in the Peoples' Democratic Party, PDP, hitherto dominating current Fourth Republic, was cashed on by opposition All Progressives' Congress, APC, in the 2015 presidential election to

dislodge PDP from its 16-year national rule (Afinotan & Ojakorotu, 2014; Ajayi & Fashagba, 2014; Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2019; Nyuykonge & Omotola, 2015; Nwabueze, 2014; Obianyo & Alumona 2022).

Unsettled conflicts also kept PDP away from the Presidency in 2023 general elections. Two of the parties' influential members moved out of fold to become opposition presidential candidates in two marginal parties. Both men took away more than half of PDP's accruable votes to keep it out of central government (Aderayo & Olawunmi, 2023; Akinola and Mosunmola, 2023; Esq & Aduku, 2023; Olaniyi, 2023).

Studies by Gambo (2022) found the ruling APC, like other registered 91 political parties in Nigeria, is bedeviled with legion intra-party disputes. APC, unlike PDP, engages contending members on what they shared in common to forge binding resolutions. Still, APC spends much time fixing conflict issues than focus on governance. Ample records show both APC and PDP, like other political parties, rely mainly on unsuitable foreign models, Western tactics and litigations for conflicts resolution (Aleyomi, 2013; Obianyo & Alumona 2022).

The Nigerian court via Honourable Justice Abubakar Dan Yahaya at Appeal Court, Abuja Division, on March 16, 2020 admitted inadequacy of the legal system to settle intra-party conflicts. He openly counselled political parties in Nigeria to explore efficacious alternative conflicts resolution processes outside the judiciary, *Legit.ng* (2020, March17) and *Realnews* (2020, March 17). Prior to this, the Supreme Court of Nigeria in *Ufomba versus INEC & Others* (2017) had affirmed courts have no business with intra-party disputes settlement. Countless evidence show intra-party conflicts have ruined the social cohesion within the rank and file of Nigeria's ruling political elites. Fallouts are derailed national development programmes mainly due to lack of continuity in government (Basiru, 2019; Inuwa, Hussein, Jamila & Sirajo, 2019).

This work, **Indigenous Communication Systems, Culture and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflicts Resolution: A Study of Nigeria's Two Major Political Parties**, is justified by the research gap noted in scant application of African native resources to effectively resolve conflicts, intra-party conflicts, contrary to United Nations' wide

campaign for their use, Smidth (2019). Pascal da Rocha (2018) as well confirmed the throve of neglected opportunities as researchers give scant attention to indigenous communication systems and cultural institutions for conflicts resolution in Africa, a continent where culture dictates the peoples' lifestyles (Howitt 2001; Mahamud, 2020; Nicholson, 2020).

Contrary institutions, out of sync with the peoples' context, traditions and lifestyles, are sure to be irrelevant because effectiveness of a dispute resolution method depends on its fit with source of the particular conflict, Budd, Colvin and Pohler (2017). Apposite intellectual skills and creative capacities to respond to conflict situations require good knowledge of human behavior and an appreciation of the groundswells in peoples' operating environments to effectively manage their disputes. This is submission of Fulaku (2020) from his studies on conflict situations. He stressed that methods of intervention in any conflict must be situated within the nature, causes and dynamics of the dispute. These basic ingredients are lacking in varied ineffective alien attempts to resolve most conflicts in Africa (Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi 2017).

Studies in conflicts resolution strategies abound in the fields of education, business organisation, business ownership and management; even on gender, ICT as well as property. Equally, there are conflicts resolution researches on social stratifications, aboriginal healthcare and other areas. Despite these surfeit of conflicts resolution inquiries, only few scholars cared to look at roles indigenous communication and traditional institutions could play for productive outcomes in the field of study. So far, benefits and potentials of African cultural resources to resolve raging intra-party crises militating against good governance and thrashing the economic as well as progressive socio-political development of many African counties are yet to be fully unraveled (Dike, 2020; Hann, Nash & Heery, 2016; Nguyen, Larimo & Ali, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2020; Oyesomi, Okorie, Ahmadu & Itsekor, 2014; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Taylor & Guerin, 2017; Tina Du, 2017).

This study, in acknowledgement of benefits of African native resources for effective treatment and resolution of conflicts, therefore, aims to explore and unravel ignored native alternatives to close the research gap, Powel (2019). The benefits are not limited to political groups but stretched to culturally regulated peoples of the continent. Like eminent father of

colonialism in Africa, Lord Frederick Lugard, admitted as quoted by legal luminary, Solomon Asemota, *SAN*, “only those institutions will survive which are in harmony with native mentality and tradition,” Asemota (2016, p.8).

1.3: Purpose of the Study:

This study aims to examine how culture, the indigenous communication systems and cultural institutions of a society, particularly of African peoples, can be used to resolve recurring intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. This can be justified on grounds that communication is not just for mutual understanding and interchange of information, Kent and Lane (2021), it is as well a strategic tool for conflicts resolution and disputes management, Asongu et al (2019). The role of communication in conflicts resolution is no lesser than the influence and moderating part played by leadership in resolution of palpable incompatibilities (Ezren & Armagan, 2015; Northouse, 2012).

The primary purpose here is to explore the application of native cultural resources, the traditional institutions and indigenous communication systems, hitherto neglected and ignored by political parties, as veritable tools essential for intra-party conflicts settlements in Nigeria. The study shall also evaluate the probable roles these traditional native resources could play in conflicts resolution generally (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Tijani, 2019).

This is an original study contributory to peacebuilding with the roles of culture, traditional institutions, indigenous knowledge and communication. Expected benefits include exposition of appropriate methods and processes for effective intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. Other positive yields are robust intra-party concord, improved fidelity and camaraderie among party members as well as the transformation of some politicians into peace agents, conflicts managers and promoters of harmonious relations. These roles shall be natural lifestyles of politicians when party affairs get conducted in line with African native norms; when relationships among party members are maintained and regulated on cultural ethos, Bunikowski and Dillon (2017).

Generally, not a few scholars are agreed with Lundy, Collette and Downs (2022) as well as Gould, Pai, Muraca and Kai (2019) in their findings that peoples' indigenous

worldviews frame their interpretations of social realities. Also, Clark, Gorton and Bentley (2022) as well as Cunningham and Stanley (2003) confirm how people lean on their cultural outlooks for their perception of conflicts. From these submissions, one can infer that continuous grant of insufficient attention to cultural norms in conflicts situations is a sure way to prolong disagreements, complicate matters on incompatibilities and make resolutions difficult, Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue and Durojaye (2006, citing Avruch and Black 1993). It is, therefore, valid and sound, drawing from these, to posit that good working knowledge of indigenous cultures plus use of appropriate cultural codes and methods facilitate conflicts resolution, Haji (2012).

1.4: Research Aims and Objectives:

This study is a mixed-method design to engage, explore and explain how Nigerian political players, prone to and involved in intra-party conflicts, cope with the malaise. It is an explication to unravel and elucidate how African indigenous resources can dampen the triggers of conflicts when party men resort to practicable use of native tools. It is assumed politicians would be able to purposefully acquiesce to and effectively resolve the inevitable conflicts inherent in their political activities and contests for power with cultural legacies. The study is an exposition of roles and uses of indigenous communication systems and traditional institutions to handle and effectively resolve intra-party conflicts by engaging lived realities of those involved to capture their personal takes (McCombes, 2019).

The desired outcome is to expound the worth and usefulness of ignored cultural tools in traditional institutions and indigenous communication systems for dexterous determination of intra-party conflicts. Since major value of social research lies in its utility to solve societal problems, in this case, application of findings to positively improve quality of relationships in groups where conflicts and mutual collaborations are natural residents (Jumriani et al, 2022; Riswan et al, 2022). This goal also compels adoption of prescriptive modelling, Bazerman (2017). The study, then, offers the benefit to translate knowledge to actions by proffering ways, giving tools and raising methods, for effective resolution of intra-party conflicts to aid national development and social felicity (Nolen & Talbert, 2011).

In specific terms, the aims and objectives of the study are to:

Confirm the causes and frequency of intra-party conflicts in Nigerian political parties, using the APC and PDP as models.

Review effectiveness of, and satisfaction levels with, the prevalent conflicts resolution approaches vis-à-vis traditional conflicts resolution methods.

Explicate benefits of cultural resources in ignored indigenous communication systems and discounted African native institutions for effective resolution of intra-party conflicts. Also, to find reasons the alternative traditional resources have been neglected.

Investigate the challenges facing indigenous conflicts resolution mechanisms and suggest ways these can be removed to strengthen, improve and integrate the African native methods into formal adjudication system of society.

Confirm levels of preference for use and adoption of African indigenous methods and native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution by evaluating attitudes and perceptions of members of Nigeria's two major political parties, APC and PDP, to the traditional techniques.

1.5: Research Questions:

We raise three research questions from these proposed research objectives:

What are the causes of intra-party conflicts and how frequent are these in Nigerian political parties?

What methods have the parties been using to resolve their internal conflicts, how effective are the methods and what are the limitations?

What are the perceptions of Nigerian politicians on African cultural tools of indigenous communication and traditional institutions for intra-party conflicts resolution, how efficacious are the native resources and how do politicians favour their application and adoption?

1.6: Nature and Significance of Study:

This exposition is on the application of native cultural resources of indigenous communication systems and traditional institutions to effectively settle intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. It is a descriptive, exploratory, normative and non-experimental study. The explication uses interviews with key informants and players as well as Focus Group Discussion, FGD, to explore the phenomenon. These are supported with the questionnaire tool to collect further data in a survey to make the findings generalizable.

The research paradigm is interpretive and the approach is a blend of deductive as well as inductive reasoning. It is a mixed-method in qualitative data collection and data analysis that is well complemented with quantitative data collection and analysis. This is to make submissions broad, credible and the results transferable.

It is a significant study in its intention to close a part of the wide knowledge space; expand investigations and inflate scholars' interests in the general understanding of inherent benefits derivable from robust application and adoption of peoples' indigenous communication systems and traditional institutions as conflicts resolution tools, particularly in Africa, Moeini (2014). Generally, the study is meant to reduce and better manage political conflicts. It has special focus on intra-party harmony in Nigeria and the consequent large prospects for progress in African political enterprise (Qureshi, 2019).

For Nigerian political parties, the option to explore and adopt more effective and efficient indigenous conflicts resolution methods promises less hostilities, stability and assures greater concord among members. The cultural systems and tools have shared communal norms and mores with inbuilt facilities to address disagreements and disputes. They also spread tolerance and promote sustainable peace and harmonious relationships (Appiah-Thompson, 2020; Macfarlane, 2007; Sultan, 1993; Tafese, 2016).

The study shall engender greater cooperation and collaboration among politicians and breed less distractions for political parties to better focus on their agenda, manifestoes and governance for optimal national progress. Exploring native cultural resources to solve peoples' problems in political parties' shall open fresh vignettes to understand indigenous

cultures. Such unravelling would attract wider interests and clear grounds for possible cooperation and involvement of communities in the procedures. People could also relate and eventually take ownership of the programmes as desired and campaigned for by the United Nations (Hadji, 2012; Salawu, 2015; Smidth, 2020).

Because the study is prescriptive, recommendations made from findings shall deepen global conflicts resolution resource bank and attract contributions for improvements to neglected African traditional system. For scholars, promoting native resources shall attract more studies and engender clarity and better understanding of the processes and procedures. Improved appreciation of the method's efficacy shall in turn endear its probable adaptation, wider applications and possible integration into the general legal framework to douse disputes and promote social felicity (Muluken, 2020).

On concerns with Nigeria's diversity in culture and traditions, it is true politicians do not share homogenous worldviews on ethos; they have multiple methods to disputes settlement based on their ethnicities, varied profiles and religious beliefs. However, their understanding and appreciation of peculiar approaches get cultivated on shared commonalities in native ethical codes of fidelity. Generally, honesty, hospitality, hard work, truthfulness, accountability, loyalty, chastity before marriage, respect for old age, covenant keeping, integrity and good character are traditionally upheld and passed as values to promote sound functioning of the family within communities and to strengthen society.

1.7: Operational Definitions of Key Terms:

1.7a: **Conflict:** Conflicts are forms of friction, disagreements or disputes. They occur when opinions or actions of one or more persons clash with or are resisted by others. People in conflicts within a society have incompatible interests and opposing needs. Conflicts could be over values or claims to status and scarce prospects or resources.

1.7b: **Politics and political parties:** Politics is the science and art of running governments. It constitutes the set of activities for group decision making. It is about power relations among individuals for distribution of resources or status.

Political parties are platforms for leadership recruitments and government formation. They are groups of persons who organise themselves and educate members to acquire power, win elections and run governments.

1.7c: **Conflicts Resolution:** The determination or settlement of incompatibilities and disputes among individuals, families, organizations, communities, nations or any social unit. It involves methods, processes and procedures for settling strained relationships, disagreements and differences to create peace, understanding and social harmony.

1.7d: **Culture:** Culture is the collective programming of a group of people through socialization and enculturation processes that capture characteristic features of their everyday existence in societies. It is an all-encompassing social phenomenon with innate and external features that reflect the definite identity of a group of people and the totality of their heritage. Culture comprises group's legacies, tangible and intangible, in knowledge, language, religion, social habits, music, arts, cuisine, dressing, codes, norms and mores, beliefs, social patterns and forms as well as their unique material traits.

1.7e: **Indigenous knowledge:** Indigenous knowledge contains the resources, materials, gen, solutions, unique tools and skills that native peoples in traditional societies develop for their survival and daily needs. Such knowledge include communal processes in agriculture, animal husbandry, traditional medicine, savings and loans; community development, poverty alleviation and peaceful coexistence.

1.7f: **Traditional institutions** are the evolved and peoples' enacted cultural structures that regulate human behaviours, social interactions and relationships in societies. The family, government, economy, education and religion are the five primary social institutions that encompass other secondary institutions. These permanent structures conserve, interpret, disseminate and educate people on concomitant aspects of their cultures.

1.7g: **Indigenous communication** is the system of mutual interchange of information, messages and understanding transmitted via natural channels and native media of societies. These channels, passed down over generations, are noted for high credibility

and preferred for horizontal exchanges of multiple meanings in the framing of shared messages.

1.8: Scope and Limitations of Study:

The research is on the benefits and use of African cultural resources in indigenous communication and traditional institutions for conflicts resolution. It focuses on intra-party disputes settlement within the two major political parties in Nigeria. Study population is restricted majorly to sampled members of the two main political parties, APC and PDP, as well as a reporter, an analysts and a commentator on political developments in Nigeria.

In the course of the research, some challenges were faced that imposed limitations on the study. Because political activities in Nigeria are mainly dominated by men, the study cannot be said to be gender balanced, though ratio of women to men in the national population is almost equal, 49.1% to 50.9% by 2023 projections. Only one woman was available as key informant for the interviews and though deliberate efforts were made to source women for the panel discussion, only one woman met determined criteria for selection into the group of five discussants.

Another challenge encountered was in logistics. Because study population is spread through Nigeria's vast six geo-political zones, it was not possible to meet the six-week timeline scheduled by UNICAF for the data collection exercise. Instead, the data collection took 10 weeks and researcher was compelled to spend an unscheduled night out station. The data collection exercise coincided with the period political parties had their primary congresses, electing officials for party administration and the flag bearers for government offices. Subject had an emergency engagement that made it impossible to keep booked appointment.

On methodology, though researcher preferred to conduct a qualitative study and intended to restrict data gathering and analyses to the narrow rich, deep and detailed accounts of personal regimes of research elements in order to elaborately share their lived experiences, this could not be. The compulsion for a study of general application to scale requisite academic rigour, needful for a doctorate degree, curtailed this. On another hand,

use of the NVivo qualitative data analysis programme limited the researcher's company for discussions on the analyses. Most scholars in Nigeria are yet to get familiar with NVivo software. Many still resort to manual qualitative data analyses and majority of researchers in the academic environment are engaged in quantitative studies.

CHAPTER TWO:

2.1: Introduction:

This chapter reviews relevant academic literature for current knowledge, theoretical perspectives, contradictions and contested areas on topic issues, less theoretical flaws or parochial foci, to build a foundation for subsequent explication of findings (Aleyomi, 2013; Ibrahim, Hussein, Mohammed & Jahun, 2019; Kucan, 2011; Momodu & Matudi, 2013; Obiora & Chiamogu, 2020; Onwuegbuzie, Collins, Leech, Dellinger & Jiao, 2010; Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2012; Wacker, 2008).

The literature review, or research synthesis, is on relevant studies, mainly in the last decade, across disciplines of political science, communication, sociology, religion, philosophy anthropology and psychology. Selection criteria are credibility, validity and relevance to topic (Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2012; Rowley & Slack, 2004; Torraco, 2016).

The dissertation topic: **Indigenous Communication, Culture and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflicts Resolution: A Study of Nigeria's Two Major Political Parties** was conceived from concerns on observed failures and inadequacies of adopted foreign models of conflicts resolution, mainly litigations, arbitrations and mediations, to settle or reduce incidents of political incompatibilities in Africa, particularly Nigeria, where intra-party conflicts flourish. Results of studies from many scholars like Aderayo and Olawunmi (2023), Akinola and Mosunmola (2023), Esq and Aduku (2023), Olaniyi (2023), Obianyo and Alumona (2022), Duke and Agbaji (2018), Annan (2014), Ajayi and Buhari (2014), Amodu (2012) and others, show frequency of political conflicts in Nigeria is on ascendant with attendant devastating consequences.

Evidence reveal unending political conflicts in Africa deter positive impacts of governments on the people, hinder human progress and abort development efforts. Nigeria is an example of this malaise, Kimemia (2021). Conflicts within political parties, the major platform for national development programmes, have diverted attention of African leaders

and focus of this major institution of growth from development agenda in preference for personal survival, Mbanda and Fourie (2019).

This study explores and exposes effectiveness and benefits of African native resources in culture, indigenous communication and traditional institutions, with supporting theories of development communication, social control and intangible cultural heritage to posit that legacy tools are best for intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. The theories guide study to gather relevant data and assist in explanation of realities portrayed in the generated data. They are significant for giving better understanding to phenomena and in streamlining study to give logical explanations to findings. Generally, theories aid predictions and help identify unexplored areas of research for expansion of knowledge. This study is justified by the research gap noted in wide unfamiliarity with benefits of native resources to tackle political conflicts in Africa as canvassed by the United Nations, Smidth (2020).

Pai, Muraca and Kai (2019), Tijani (2019) and Ajayi and Busari (2014) insist peoples' indigenous worldviews frame their interpretations of social realities, while Lähdesmäki, Passerini, Kaasik-Krogerus and Huis (2019, p.vii) noted cultural heritage as contextual technology of power that regulates relationships on native ethos, Bunikowski and Dillon (2017). These claims reinforce values of indigenous communication systems and cultural institutions as tools for conflicts resolution, Qureshi (2019), to foster cordial relationships and build wanted socio-political development in Africa, Appiah-Thompson (2020).

The chapter is broken into two parts. The first section covers conceptual and theoretical framework. The second section delves into literature on culture, communication and conflicts resolution mechanisms for intra-party disputes as well as other issues of incompatibilities among group members.

The key concepts for elucidation are conflicts, culture, indigenous communication, traditional institutions, conflicts resolution and political parties. The applicable theories are social control, intangible cultural heritage and development communication.

SECTION ONE:

2.2: Conceptualisation of Conflict:

Conflict is a *sine qua non* to human society; a native phenomenon to human communities. Human history is the story of conflicts. As long as humans exist, conflicts fueled by incompatible interests, diverse values, identity differences and struggles to gain power and control resources shall never cease. Conflicts, adversarial relationships and antagonism, are inherent features of humanity, Cooper (2023). Fisher (2020, p.1) asserts “the absence of conflict usually signals the absence of meaningful interaction” in a society (Džuverović, 2011; Martin, Keller & Fortwengel; 2019; Tafese 2016).

The term “conflict” is derived from the Latin word “*confligere*”, meaning “to strike together,” or “to clash or engage in a fight,” Dajwan (2021, p.78). Conflict as a noun means antagonisms, belligerency, confrontation, collusion, contradiction, contention, clash, disharmony, differences, disputes, disagreement, hostility, incompatibility, opposition, prolonged fighting, struggle, strife, war, warfare, etc. Conflicts can be at individual or group levels and may be direct or indirect pursuit of incompatible means and ends by actors involved (EU *T-Kit* 12, 2018; Fisher, 2020; Galtung, 2013).

Dreu (2018) noted that conflicts arise mainly with cravings of some individuals or groups to impose their wills on resistant others who repel such impositions. Major triggers of conflicts include divergent individual and or group interests, unhealthy rivalries; irreconcilable values, goals and needs as well as environments where broken agreements, unobserved norms and unfair rules on access to power and limited resources are rife, Martin, Keller and Fortwengel (2019) Tafese (2016), Afzalor (2011) and Otite (2001). Conflict is a social process; antithesis of cooperation, Allwood (2007). Actors involved in conflicts, unlike in competition, must necessarily interact, have contact and communicate with each other, Karabal (2017).

Definitions of conflict are many. Appropriate definition of conflict depends on the scholar, topic of study and situation. Elements of personal experiences and contexts of operations determine definition the term gets from an academic. Scholar’s perspectives and

interests also play critical roles on how the concept is construed and designated. While conflict may be seen as a state or situation by one individual, another may conceive it as a behavior or process. An earlier and popular definition from the varied list is by Coser (1956, p.8) which says it is “a struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals”.

Fisher (1990) says conflict is incompatibility of goals or values between two or more parties in a relationship. It is about resistance of each other and having antagonistic feelings toward one another. Afzalur (2011) described conflict as interactive dissonance, while Levi (2013) and Mayer (2012), from their observations of conflict situations, surmised it is expressed beliefs, perceptions or understanding of one’s incompatible needs, interests, wants or values divergent to other peoples’ interests and are, therefore, prone to confrontation.

Tafese (2016) and Moore (2014) went further to say conflicts arise as disagreements over values or claims to status and scarce resources. Another scholar, Boulding (1962, p.5), in concurrence, defined conflict as struggle over values and claims to scarce resources, power and status.

Most suitable for this study’s explications are definitions by Wallensteen (2018, p.8) which see conflict as “a social situation in which a minimum of two actors, parties, strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources”. Rahim (2001, cited by Zhang, Fu, Lu and Liu 2023) also sees conflict as interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement and dissonance within or between social entities.

The *Harvard Law School* Conflict Management Programme Glossary (2013, p.8) says conflict is a form of friction, disagreement or discord arising when beliefs or actions of one or more persons could be resisted by others:

“Conflict can arise between members of the same group, known as intragroup conflict, or it can occur between members of two or more groups, and involve violence,

interpersonal discord, and psychological tension, known as intergroup conflict.

“Conflict in groups often follows a specific course. Routine group interaction is first disrupted by an initial conflict, often caused by differences of opinion, disagreements between members, or scarcity of resources. At this point, the group is no longer united, and may split into coalitions. This period of conflict escalation in some cases gives way to a conflict resolution stage, after which the group can eventually return to routine group interaction once again.”

Conflict is essential to political associations. Conflict, like politics, is integral to every society and internal to all systems, Wallensteen (2018). Political party members are in unending struggles and competitions for limited positions, scarce resources and influence, Bob (2019). Politicians conflict in societies when they set opinion against opinions and run interest against interests to achieve individual purposes (Moore, Tetlock, Tanlu & Bazerman, 2006; Obianyo and Alumona, 2022).

On its own, conflict enjoys ethical neutrality, neither good nor evil. It has potentials to destroy or bring creative positive changes to society, Abdelkader (2019) and Kriesberg (1998). How a conflict is handled determines whether or not it would be beneficial or damaging to society, Deutsch and Coleman (2000). Prolonged and unresolved conflicts could breed violence and result into hostilities and war, these however need not be the case, Abushov (2019). As Otite (2001) explained, though clashes are integral to human interactions in a set space; engaging in conflict is a conscious act as there are peaceful ways, opposed to violence, to resolve disputes.

Three basic components of conflict, incompatibility, actors and actions, Wallensteen (2018), must align with the three underlying factors of interdependence, differences in goals and differences in perceptions, as identified by Wall (1985, cited by Mishra, Kumar and Mishra, 2019), to create conflict situations. These affirm and underscore the point that entities with incompatible or inconsistent interests must interact to birth tensions and antagonisms in their relationships (Karaball, 2017; Kolawole, 2019).

One fact ignored by some scholars is that parties in conflicts may wish for same things in inconsistent or incompatible ways due to ineffective communication, Cronin and Weingart (2019). Fisher (2000) avers dismal communication skills cause miscommunication and misunderstanding, sometimes to create conflicts even where there are no basic incompatibilities. People may have different perceptions on facts of a situation and until right facts are presented to clarify issues, resolution may be impossible. To resolve differences, actors must clear up issues, make adjustments and mutually take compatible actions (Duursma, 2022; Kok, de Bakker & Groenewegen, 2017).

Though conflict has the tendency to dislodge a differing party, it functions mainly to produce some form of unity by resolving what Turjeman, (2022) sees as divergent dualism or independent and opposing actions. Amodu (2012) posits this reality, noting that it is not at all times conflicts yield disjunctive process and communication breakdown. This is the way back assertion of Folarin (1998) who insisted that conflicts need not necessarily be negative events, since development hardly happens in the absence of some form of functional or dysfunctional conflicts. Concern then should be on how best to regulate a conflict from deteriorating into a ferocious crisis.

Basically, conflict does not mean struggle and it is distinguishable from contest or competition. Though similar to these concepts, conflict exhibits some of their attributes in an interactive process. Conflict is fundamentally unlike them. Competition and contest are synonyms, both are rival behaviours with divergent foci. Contest entails some measure of antagonism, whereas in competition people try to outshine or do better than others. Competition is a non-violent, continuous, impersonal and unconscious process focused on the goal as guided by rules and regulations of the game (Mondal, 2021).

On the other hand, conflict is a conscious, intermittent and personalized process that could be violent and without regulatory rules of engagement. It may involve some form of threat and attention mainly focused on the opponent, Mondal (2021). Struggle means to strive, labour, fight for or contend in difficulty and through great effort with others. Conflict is to be at odds. It could entail some form of struggle, a disagreement or be incompatible with

others. Conflict means to clash and oppose other individuals or groups, sometimes, but not necessarily, in a violent way.

Conflicts could be synonymous with disputes which according to the *Encarta Online Dictionary* means to strive against, resist, fight or oppose something or someone. Schmidt and Kochan (1972, cited by [Skoog and Svensson, 2022](#)) working on the term's conceptual clarity say conflict means disagreement or difficulties to reconcile different interests; disputes over policies or objectives. This study uses the two terms, conflicts and disputes, interchangeably. Conflicts resolution is basically conceived to mean disputes settlement. Conflict can either be centred on scarcity and power or on perception and beliefs, Avruch (1998).

The German philosopher, Karl Marx, (1818-1883), championed the social conflict theory as mainspring of social development and evolution. He traces conflict source to perpetual class struggles between minority privileged bourgeoisie controlling the wealth as well as means of production and the poor majority working class proletariat. Marx asserted that the bourgeoisie class oppresses the proletariat through ideological coercion and created conflicts by forcing worsening inequalities on the proletariat to fuel perpetual revolts. Temporary truce are recorded whenever the condition were adjusted to address concerns of the proletariat, only for the conflict cycle to eventually repeat itself, Stark (2007).

Moving from Marx, Tsado (2016), citing Imobighe (2003), noted elite manipulation of primordial factors like culture, ethnicity and religion for political and economic gains to obscure social, individual and collective inadequacies that fuel conflicts. Allen and Seaton (1999) however dubbed such atavistic tag on conflicts' root a "lazy shorthand" when taken as central cause of conflicts because critical analyses indicated roots of conflicts go deeper and spread wide; it laid chiefly in clashes for political control, individual and group's economic interests as well as varied values of opposing actors.

The constant pull of human society by conflicts toward lawlessness and anomie was stressed by Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and the tendency to determine it by rationalistic organization, bureaucracy, was addressed by Max Weber (1864-1920). Greek

philosopher, Aristotle, fingered discrepancy in the pursuits of common people, who aspire for economic or political equality, against the desire of oligarchs for greater inequality as conflict sparks. In most societies, different functions of different parts of the group are not necessarily mutually compatible or helpful. At best, a society provides medium within which different and often conflicting tendencies and purposes could co-exist in an imperfect but workable equilibrium (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Schefold, 2016).

The inadequacies of Sigmund Freud and Charles Darwin to pin cause of violent conflicts to inborn human proclivity rose high with Montagu (1968; 1978) and Plibeam (1972, cited by Tadesse, 1999) who reported several peaceful hunter-gatherer societies of Africa. Tadesse on his own says time and circumstances, not biological factors, determine whether or not society or individual would enjoy peaceful existence or be prone to violent conflicts. Tadesse (1999) in his contributions disputed assertion of some ecological functionalists that final determiner of human tendency for violent conflicts are material causes.

The opposing group says that brute material factors as cause of violent conflicts need to be put into cultural and social contexts to determine peoples' actions. Even fraternal relations as posited by Velzen and Wetering (1960, cited in Otterbein, 1994) could not stand as adequate claim or bedrock of support for violent conflicts. The works of Dillon (1980, cited in Otterbein, 1994), show Meta people of western Cameroon, despite their fraternal bonding, would disown any kinsman who engaged in violent retaliation of wrongs.

Nader (1968) escalated the structural sources and functions of conflict with system oriented approach that sees violent conflicts as components of social life. Joined to typify this is Evans-Pritchard (1940). Lewellen (1983) moved to more dynamic analysis with his process-oriented approach, drawing from Leach (1954) who examined political systems as the possible factor for violence. Shifting from what accounts for conflicts in a society into what holds society together, functionalists led by Gulliver (1979) drifted from system based line towards actor oriented studies on violent conflicts in the changing world (Caplan, 1995).

Whichever way the line falls for a conflict to ignite and/or burst into violence, Marx's position that societies enjoy benefits and face threats from intra and inter group conflicts is

widely accepted by scholars across board. At the extremes, conflicts are positive for societal growth and progress on one hand while at the other end negative and destructive when violent. The intermediate fallouts of conflicts could have varied impacts on peoples, organisations and societies. McGuirk and Burke (2020), Mengistu (2015) and Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue and Durojaye (2006) in tracing causes of conflicts in Africa assert rightly that the root causes are complex, including weak or failed states, self-centered and ambitious leadership, authoritarian rule; the exclusion of minorities from governance; acute socio-economic deprivation and cultural alienation.

Generally, major conflicts arise from environmental and demographic inequities, attempts to control and exploit resources as well as the ferocious hunt for power and imposition of unacceptable wish on others. These also comprise the tugs and pulls of different identities, including differing definitions of what is right, fair and just. Ngwu and Ajah (2022) and Fisher (2000) summarise these into economic, values and power conflicts.

Beyond these, colonialism in Africa also left its sparks when most of the independent countries emerged as petty states liable to internal disruptions and external pressures. Many African leaders after independence saw trade unions and student bodies, on whose backs they rode to power, as threats to their interests and national unity. This sprung a paradigm shift from the decolonization struggles into activists-national government face-offs, Olaoba (2005) and Nwolise (2003). Prior, Adekanye (1999) confirmed that slavery, colonialism, foreign religion and new concept of state disintegrated traditional societies in Africa by throwing extant indigenous codes of honour, the conflicts damper, into disuse.

African conflicts are predominantly from “the interaction of political, economic and social instability frequently stemming from bad governance, dictatorial governance or dictatorship, failed economic policies, fundamental human rights abuse and inappropriate development programmes stemming also from exacerbated ethnic and religious differences in society.” Dajwan (2021, p.78).

There are also records of intertribal wars, access to political and economic power, factional rifts, misunderstandings, family and market brawls as well as skirmishes; public

insurrections and assaults, chieftaincy, boundary and land disputes; disputes over nature and mineral resources.

Beyond these, Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue and Durojaye (2006) listed lack of socio-political unity, absence of genuine access to national institutions of governance, reliance on centralized and highly personalized forms of governance, economic inequality and discrimination as other factors (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014).

Duke and Agbaji (2018) noted wide and diverse causes of conflicts and Annan (2014) and Amodu (2012, citing Folarin 1998) classified conflicts into divergent conflicts, when group members pursue varied individual goals; symmetrical conflicts in emergence of factions with different agenda and the complementary conflicts. Parallel conflicts occur when each faction or individual reserves legitimate right to make and execute decisions.

The structure and dynamics of conflicts are hardly linear and predictable, though there is a clear conflict cycle. Reality is, conflict events hardly follow definite patterns and as such not subject to mechanical modelling. It is difficult to prepare a conflict transition pattern. For example, Ryan (2017) enumerated its main stages as pre-violence stage, conflict escalation and persistence stage, then de-escalation stage followed by post-agreement stage. Amodu (2012, following Sandhole, 1993), identified initiation, escalation, controlled maintenance, abatement and termination or resolution as main stages of conflict. Other theorists and groups have different lists on the stages, depending on situations and their field encounters.

The Conflict Prevention Network of the European Commission sets the conflict cycle to run through stable peace, to unstable peace, high tension and open conflict, witnessing moments of stability to escalation, crisis, war, de-escalation and back to stability. Wohlfeld (2010) noted that once conflict ensued in a community, the likelihood of recurrence gets high. However, for a conflict to evolve into violence, the interconnected warning signals that could be analysed and interpreted to avert impending hostilities would have been patent and ominous, but usually did not get addressed.

Conflict outcomes are either peace or violence, though a conflict process is hard to chart. As simmering conflicts could be subdued through negotiated settlement, so can peace be replaced by sudden outbursts of violence. The Wallace and Wolf's (2006, cited in Isaac, 2023) functionalists' argument that interdependent people in groups and societies pursue best ways to peace and avoid conflict triggers is not always true with Nigerian political parties. Reality is some political actors use conflict levers for covert desires.

Generally, conflicts motivated by ideological, ethnic or religious beliefs and survival needs within groups are difficult to resolve. Intra-party conflicts are nothing short of intergroup disputes, they are disagreements and antagonisms over goals or procedures between members of associations or teams, Hogg (2023) and Simon (2020). This type of conflicts are usually multi-dimensional, they could be emotional and double-edged, actual or based on divergent perceptions and issues on ideologies. They also could be due to miscommunication in the competitive interdependent ecosystem.

Described as wars within groups by Hogg (2023) and labelled as "conflict within a conflict" by Harel, Maoz and Halperin (2020, p.52) when fueled by ideological incompatibilities, intragroup conflicts, are intrinsic to the lives and dynamics of political parties and they are habitually present in interpersonal relations, Konrad and Morath (2022), Lundy, Collette and Downs (2022) and Krajcsák (2021).

Personality differences, diversity of opinions, inconsistent expectations, power struggles and perceived uneven contributions among party members are causes of intragroup conflicts. Other reasons include incidents of favouritism, non-compliance to set standards and rules, large group size, gender and age differences, etc. Helplessness, distrust, superiority complex, vulnerability, bias, sundry injustices, task or goal uncertainties and unequal availability of opportunities and resources to members are others (August, 2022; De Dreu and Weingart, 2003; Filindra and Harbridge-Yong, 2022; Krajcsák, 2021).

While cordial intergroup relations in political parties assure progress and amiable solutions to social and political problems of state, intergroup political conflicts, the politicised disputes, according to Simon (2020), cause instabilities, disruptions and disunity among

party members. Dysfunctional intergroup conflicts, the disputes within, disintegrate parties with mistrust, widespread intolerance and factional silos. On the flipside and in tandem with the double-edge paradoxical nature of intergroup disputes, factors that antagonise members from seeing eye-to-eye on some issues also ignite fresh ideas and collective actions. These finally create salutary conditions for innovations, better performances and quality decisions that spur group's development and progress, Konrad and Morath, (2022).

Jehn (1995, cited by De Dreu and Weingart, 2003) identified two types of intragroup conflicts, task conflicts and relationship conflicts. The third, value conflicts, are about culture, upbringing, religion, personal philosophy, life experiences, education, profession and beliefs, De Dreu and Van de Vliert, (1997).

While democratic relationship conflicts, caused by ideological differences, get embedded in web of political interests and rows, August (2022), task conflicts that involved divergent viewpoints, ideas quality and innovation could be about sharing resources, procedures or guidelines and on interpretation of facts. Relationship conflicts about interpersonal incompatibility like annoyance and animosities are disagreements sparked on values, personal or family norms and tastes, etc., Gan, Chen, Wang and Zang (2023).

Catastrophic consequences of conflicts compel employment of diverse methods. Ajayi and Buhari (2014) in their studies posited that conflicts could be managed with strategies and by institutions; with formal state structures as well as by informal native institutions, like the African resources. Since conflicts routinely put lasting peace in Nigeria's political groupings at bay, thrust of this study is to highlight efficacy of native African resources in settlement of intra-party disputes. This starts from prevention, based on Wohlfeld (2010, cited by Grech, 2018) recommendations on sensitivity to decipher when or at what stage efforts at conflicts resolution should begin (Babalola, 2018; Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019).

2.3: Conflicts Resolution:

Conflicts resolution, alternately referred to as disputes settlement, gained much interests in the 1950's and by the 1960s had credence as a course of study. Generally,

efforts at peace have been found to give yields with prevention of conflict incidents. Rodehau-Noack (2022) in culture of conflict prevention concept endorses new thrust to determine outcomes of global conflicts for peace and development as listed in the Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2011) considerations, viz:

1. Multilevel analysis of intra-personal, interpersonal, intergroup, international conflicts and their composite interplays.
2. Multidisciplinary, cutting across many fields of study, including, philosophy, international relations, sociology, religion, psychology, politics, communications, development and strategic studies, etc.
3. Multicultural, drawing from global pool of resources across cultures to tackle conflict challenges at wherever location and in whatever situation.
4. Analytic and normative with systematic investigation of the conflict situations and efforts to transform potentially violent circumstances into non-violent socio-political environments.
5. Theoretical and practical study of conflict situations with analytical interplay of theoretical understanding and practical experiences.

Conflicts resolution goes beyond peace building, it encompasses deal making to douse hostilities, negotiating amity among antagonists, seeking cooperation for social and industrial peace plus harmony as well as brokering agreements to resolve organizational conflicts between employers and employees (Abdelkader, 2019; Abushov, 2019).

Conflict precedes conflicts resolution. Conflict is an internal feature of societies, particularly political systems. Conflicts resolution as a concept draws ideas from modern theories. It is a developing process; less coherent and in tandem with trends in social science thinking and cross-cultural traits. Humans create conflicts; humans make attempts to settle conflicts with strategies like rule of law, political agreements, consensus building, negotiations and mediation by religious, political or traditional authorities as well as force of arms. Conflicts resolution today has evolved into a social science study (Kriesberg, 2015 and 2007; Salla, 2000; Vassallo, 2019; Wang, 2020).

Tafese (2016) defines conflicts resolution as the process of handling disputes and strained relationships to create peace among individuals, groups or within a family. Gonstead (2021) and Michael (2006) in their various submissions agree the concept is a process that involves listening to and providing opportunities to meet and address needs of opposing actors for satisfactory outcomes. Conflicts resolution involves building consensus, negotiations, mediations and arbitrations (Kestner & Ray, 2002). It could be between two parties talking to one another or a go-between negotiator with the parties in dispute, Babbitt (2006) and Hampson (2006).

Consensus building is interest-based negotiation and mediation on utmost good-faith principle to incorporate the concerns of all actors in conflicts determination for unanimous agreement. For instance, parties could be faced with three clarified and acceptable options, but all must adopt only one, therefore, a consensus vote could be called and all agree to abide by the outcome. Consensus building is used to manage uncertainty and controversy. All stakeholders agree at table to cover their interests with reciprocal incentives (Ziolkowski, Giscione & Schwabe, 2020; Innes, 2004).

Arbitration is a formal alternative to litigation where conflict actors present cases to neutral third parties for verdicts. Resolving conflicts through arbitration is cheap, fast and less complicated than court proceedings, Egbunike-Umegbolu (2021) and Stipanowich and Lamare (2014). Negotiation involves bringing conflicting parties to a deliberated agreement, while mediation is a voluntary process. It allows disputing parties discuss their interests and reach satisfactory settlements or gain new perceptions about the situations as facilitated by intermediaries or mediators (Gonstead, 2021; Kestner & Ray, 2002; Schellenberg, 1996).

Clayton (2017) reviewing the *Thomas Kilmann Conflict Mode Inventory*, TKI, noted conflicts resolution is based on the assumption that differing people would embrace cooperative resolution principles on five strategies of avoidance, defeat, compromise, accommodation and collaboration to agree on their interests. But, some actors are noted for hard line competitive conflict behaviors that erode rather than give base for satisfactory solutions.

Prior to this take, Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue and Durojaye (2006) gave insights to beneficial pioneer efforts of Morton Deutsche (1949 and 1973) on cooperation of parties in conflicts with team works that defused irreconcilable differences on principle of good social relations for resolution agenda. This followed Fisher and Ury (1981) submission in *Getting to Yes*, a book used to posit that 'soft' positional bargaining in conflicts could make weaker actors yield too much while 'hard' bargaining could be combative. Outcomes of either approaches are undesirable on interests of weaker parties and could brew further conflicts.

Interest based conflicts resolution created moral and social justice issues as pursuits of selfish interests resulted in problematic outcomes. John Burton (1990) noted best approach to conflicts resolution for win-win outcomes should be on human needs. These, being fundamental, are not negotiable and cannot be compromised, unlike human interests that could cause lose-win outcomes. Burton relied on John Dollard's 1938 precept that violent conflicts would not necessarily occur if interests are denied, but violent conflicts are assured when needs are unmet.

However, both the Burton's needs based as well as Fisher and Ury's (1981) interest based models of conflict resolution relied more on cooperative outcomes to a conflict, which could be easily defied by an aggressive party. Bush and Folger (2004) in attempt to resolve dissatisfactions with the interest and needs based approach shifted to conflicts transformation.

While hitherto problem solving approaches emphasized capacity for finding solutions with mutually acceptable settlements of conflicts, conflict transformation saw light in empowerment of parties to better understand various perspectives that caused discords. Both scholars averred understanding a conflict source would primarily bring changes in attitudes and perceptions of warring parties to issues at stake and towards each other. This development, they assumed, could reframe narratives on conflicts.

Stein (1993) disagreed with this approach. He insisted from observations that formed enemy images get deep and festoon conflicts even when an adversary offers peace. He argued that providing effective communication tools to develop win-win solutions to

conflicts was a short-term solution. What was needed, he averred, was radical change of underlying emotions and perceptions that influenced behaviors of actors in conflicts. Identifying peoples' respective feelings, needs as well as perceptions and seeking ways to improve on these is good to resolve substantive issues in a conflict.

From this, Rosenberg (2002), says empathy is fundamental to conflicts resolution. Attempts to acknowledge feelings and needs of conflicting actors without judgment facilitate resolutions. Earlier, Mayer (2000) in revolutionary idea on emotional appeal to conflicts resolution stressed the power of empathy to alter perceptions and feelings that fueled conflicts. Empathy dispels strong negative emotions and creates interactive process that destroys conflict behaviors. It connects conflict actors to recognize each other's humanity.

Limitations here is that people can only scratch surface in attempts to identify emotions and needs that underscored as well as influenced perceptions of conflicts. Like McLaughlin and Malik (2017) cautioned, unless ingrained conflict behaviors like those produced from parenting and socialization are tackled, one cannot probe deep enough to unmask the feelings and thoughts of an individual that determined conflict behaviors.

Though conflicts transformation may alter relationships, it did not address underlying sources of conflict behavior. Ensuing from this, Salla (2000, np) introduced the term "conflict transmutation" based on principles and techniques in alchemy. A contemplative practice with promise to transform deeply covered feelings and thoughts stored in human cells that could cause destructive conflict behaviors. This genetic insight to disputes settlements says individuals could develop innate abilities for conflicts resolution, Zartan and Vukovic (2023).

Subsequent studies by scholars like McLaughlin and Malik (2017, p.12) refuted claims that conflict behaviours could be genetically programmed in human beings because "it remains unclear" in genetics whether or not "parent-of-origin DNA" could reproduce continuous cycles of cells that predisposed humans to certain behaviours, thoughts and feelings outside their socialization processes.

Conflict unfolds over time. It is a multidimensional phenomenon that involves the interaction of intrapersonal incompatibilities with social or relational ones. These are usually influenced by higher level political and economic changes, based on power distribution among contending parties. Since conflict normally erupts owing to multiple concerns, some realistic and others not realistic, conflicts resolution are best done with multi-pronged approach, Biswaro (2013).

Lederach (1996), also identified two ways in which conflict resolution could be done. He tipped prescriptive approach that listed culture as a technique in the resolution of conflicts and the elicitive approach that understood culture as foundation from which best methods could be sourced by people involved in the resolution of conflicts.

While prescriptive model equated conflicts resolution to universally transferable techniques and skills, without consideration for cultural context, the elicitive model insisted deep knowledge of local culture was vital for conflicts resolution. Either way, these approaches to resolution are prone to disappointments as standalone methods. Neither approach harmonizes sundry incompatible interests, concerns or pursuits of conflict actors solely, Suetzi (2016).

Another scholar, Vassallo (2016), presented two strategies for conflicts resolution. First is war, elimination of opponent, coercion, negotiation, retreat, etc. to end episodes of hostilities and the second is any approach that ushers in not only peace, via the absence of violence, but also brings social solidarity among the parties hitherto in conflict. The first approach is conflicts management while the second is genuine conflicts resolution.

Resolving intragroup conflict entails accepting and acknowledging that some group relationships are not as genial as desired. Intragroup conflict by its dual nature harms and helps, therefore, suppressing intrinsic group conflicts could curtail commitment to communication fidelity, consensus as well as quality group decisions and strategic planning. Scholars, including Filindra and Harbridge-Yong (2022), Krajcsák (2021), De Dreu and Weingart (2003) plus Jehn (1995) confirmed resolution involved tapping into inherent prospects of the natural occurrences for group's growth and improved collaboration among

hitherto contending members. Reconnoitering these relationships give better understanding of conflicts for solid resolution strategies, [Krajcsák, 2021](#). They direct steps to locate persons involved in the conflicts, confirm cause and favour disputants' one-on-one talks to hit base.

However, new advocacy of Čehajić-Clancy and Bilewicz (2021) for intragroup conflicts resolution with use of moral exemplars within the group was reported to trump popular recommendation of socio-psychological interventions. Still, empathising with adversaries on their standpoints is not failing in preparing grounds for amity to get disputants focused on shared goals and need to bridge dividing lines for collaboration. A high level and effective member's socialisation remains a primary means to limit intragroup conflicts. Reason Filindra and Harbridge-Yong (2022) insisted high level affective commitment curtails relationship conflicts and positively impact self-esteem that inclines harmonious relations.

While one style in intragroup conflicts resolution demonstrated how a person could take higher ethical compass to drive purpose with remedies to incompatibilities, the second approach equally has promise. It gingered adversaries to seek practical and fair ways to align themselves with team's goals to reach binding resolutions they could harmoniously commit to for collective success. Unbroken cordial communication within the group could also prevent similar conflicts in future (August, 2022; Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2021; Gan, Chen, Wang & Zhang, 2023; Harel, Maoz & Halperin, 2020; Hogg, 2023; Jehn and Mannix (2001; Konrad & Morath 2022; Lundy, Collette & Downs, 2022; Medina, Munduate, Dorado, Martínez & Guerra, 2005; Simon, 2020).

In effective conflicts resolution, previously hostile and adversarial parties develop friendly, peaceful and positive relationships. According to Murithi (2006, p.13), conflicts resolution is not just pervading peace by the absence of violence, but the presence of social solidarity. Achieving social solidarity means members of society once again recognise each other as fellow human beings and share concerns on common welfare and well-being.

Avruch, one of the early theorists, in typology of conflict resolution recommended use of “ergo”, or getting participants to adopt the elicitive approach in conflict resolution. He says sharing local knowledge available for conflicts resolution, like *Ubuntu*, *Gacaca* and

Lekgotla models in Africa, “ethnopraxis”, would aid effective conflicts resolution. Also, that local notions of root causes of the conflicts, “ethnotheories”, must be understood and treated for best results, Ghebretkle and Rammala (2019) and Avruch (1998, p.133). His reason is that culture is a lived experience that moderates conflicts. Culture as “perception-shaping lens or still metaphorically, a grammar for the production and structuring of meaningful action” confers meanings on conflicts, Vassallo (2016) and Avruch and Black (1993, p.132).

Exposed pretense of Western scholars led by Auguste Comte (1798–1857) on universality of concepts, which were all but offshoots of Western cultures in scholarship, as opposed to African or Asian traditions, is real. Culturally neutral approach to conflict resolution is hardly practicable. Culture determines many things, including notion of universal concepts which are products of Western philosophy. People create conflict situations and meanings they ascribe to issues; connotations are connected to knowledge; as knowledge is rooted in culture (Ikhejirika & Asike, 2017; Lederach, 1996; Vassallo, 2016).

The submission of Vassallo (2016) therefore, stands true. It is not feasible to solely use cultural tradition or stay culturally neutral in conflicts resolution. Fusion of both tactics is best. Approaches to conflicts resolution with neutral or objective mediation are inadequate; sole use of native means to settle disputes could also be futile. Lessons from indigenous communities and associations in Africa show how cultural tools in native institutions and engagements of indigenous communication codes have at many times and in many volatile situations effectively doused conflicts (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Bayer, & Neupert-Wentz, 2019; Burch, et al., 2019; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Ikpe, 2012; Mundy & Lloyd-Laney, 1992; Herranen, 2020; Holzinger, Haer, Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon, 2021; Nwolise, 2005; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenankaya & Busari, 2022; Oyesonmi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Sattar, 2020; Suetzi, 2016).

2.4: Culture:

Attempts to capture precise definition of culture bewilder scholars who struggle with several terms to denote the concept. Vassallo (2019) held culture could not be easily summarized into one short definition. Before her, Johada (2012), faced with diverse

multifaceted aspects of culture summed attempts at definitions of culture as sketchy, vain and useless because a single definition is inadequate to encompass the concept.

Reading through varied efforts to define and describe culture, what emerges is a wide demonstration of how culture itself has shaped each and every study about it. Individual scholars and groups merely treated aspects of the character and essence of culture their enquiries covered. This fact has lured scholars to agree that the import and connotation of the term 'culture' is complex, expansive and dynamic. Best scholars can do is to denote and explicate features of culture relevant to their works. Culture has no universal definition, Ikejirika and Asike (2017).

Sociologist, Mazumdar (1966) says "culture is the totality of human achievements, material and non-material, capable of transmission, sociologically, i.e., by tradition and communication, vertically as well as horizontally." Hofstede (2001, p.367) avers "culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another" and Ikejirika and Asike (2017, p.4 citing Peil, 2004) see culture as "everything passed down by human society except its biology".

These scholars unite on the transmissible nature of culture as shared heritage which distinguishes and categorises people. Hofstede went further that culture exerts enormous influence on peoples' behaviors. The unity on nature of culture has been noted by Lederach (1966, p.9) that says culture is "the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing and responding to the social realities around them."

From this short list of definitions and descriptions, we see culture as end product of intense human interactions in shared assumptions and understanding. The term 'culture' is from the Latin word '*colere*', which means to cultivate. Culture as a concept connotes collective indoctrination of minds of a group of people which distinguishes them from members of other groups or categories. Culture thus is totality of cultivated behaviors of people that are socially transmitted and accumulated by experience or learning. The learned

behavior, enculturation, passed down through generations, is considered to be the people's tradition (Atkinson, 2017; Hofstede, 2001).

Culture consists learned and shared standards of behavioral patterns in thinking, feeling and ways of doing things, as established and accepted by society. These cultural elements, or cultural universals, transmitted by symbolic communication, particularly in verbal and non-verbal languages, like rituals and artefacts, consist of explicit and implicit materials and non-material elements. Culture has normative elements, cognitive materials and other features like abstract ideas and physical objects, *Dictionary.com* (2021) and Donders (2020).

Culture is viewed by scholars as cumulative deposits of two basic social components. The material elements are mainly artefacts, technology, tools and objects, while none-material elements comprise ideas and symbols such as knowledge, skills, experience, beliefs, values, motives, norms, customs, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, goals, religion, languages, jargons, metaphors, stories, myths, legends, festivals, rituals, ceremonies, celebrations; music, food, technology, art, architecture, craft, traditional economy, holidays, pastimes, education, customs, manners, work ethic, lifestyle, social behaviour, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, principles, philosophies, social institutions, political organisations, literature, cultural heritage as well as possessions, etc., acquired by groups of people in course of generations through individual and collective strivings (Donders, 2020; Gerber & Marie, 2011; Kangal, 2021).

Culture embraces patterns of behaviour that could be products of actions and as conditioning influences upon further actions. It includes distinctive achievements of human groups. People within same culture carry layers of mental programming that span regional, national, generational, gender, social class or corporate levels. Culture is foundation upon which variable human structures, relationships and experiences that always get updated, are perpetually erected. Culture to Avruch and Black (1993, p.34) is “the *sine qua non* of being human” (Bowen & Gleeson, 2019; Hofstede, 2001; Kangal, 2021; Vassello, 2019).

Because cultures learned from earlier generations are discharged on present members of society, to be passed on to succeeding generations, anthropologists and sociologists regard culture as the created lifeways of a people or the group's ever evolving social legacy that is generationally bestowed and transmitted, Bowen and Gleeson (2019).

As social legacy, culture consists of all habits and capabilities acquired by man as member of a society. These include influences to individual's thought processes and behaviour, but does not comprise inherited predispositions and responses. Culture is transmitted by the brain, not biologically via genes. Cultural practices over time however affect heredity. The way people eat, cook, explore and interact over time affect their genes. Widespread human tolerance of lactose is example. Prior civilizations record adult humans could not digest milk (Goldman, 2014; Ihejirika & Asike, 2017).

From these, we see culture as all-pervading phenomenon and marker of identity that is everywhere there are people and groups. Culture is ubiquitous. Cultural prescriptions do not cover appropriate behaviours, instead, they set essential boundaries for individual thoughts and actions in ways that are natural for people in societies to think and act in accordance with their cultures without overt awareness (Biswas-Diener, Thin & Sanders 2019; Ellemers, 2017).

Culture presents itself diversely as indicator of social differences which identifies individuals and confers distinctiveness on people by creating peculiarities between them and other groups. Culture is pervasive idealistic and gratifying way of society that shapes lives. It is bonding glue that elicits individual member's commitment to community by forging a sense of belonging to the society, hence, culture ensures social stability, Atkinson (2017).

Culture varies from one society to another. It is an interconnected and integrated phenomenon, a systematic way of life people get accustomed to that is superior to nature and mainly conveyed by the vehicle of language which makes effective social interaction possible, Avruch and Black, (1993, cited in Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue & Durojaye, 2006). Cosmetic universal cultures have been known to impede progress and development of indigenous cultures. They also aid diverse conflicts and crises by alienating peoples from

their roots, natural mores and codes for resolving incompatibilities. This observation is mostly true with Africans (Ikhejirika & Asike, 2017; Oyesomi & Okorie, 2013).

Scholars like Sibani (2018) say culture is social capital of the identity and distinction of a people. It is collective programming or indoctrination of minds on shared heritage, traditions and behavioural schemes, a distinguishing factor in human relations. Respect for cultural diversity generates trust, cooperation, social progress and harmony. The indigenous knowledge in culture meets physical and social needs of environments to advance consciousness, moral value and virtues. Culture guides behaviour, it is flexible, adapts to new ideas and absorbs better lifestyles. Stable environs keep a culture same while changing settings trigger its dynamic essence (Popoola, 2016).

Culture shapes lives, influences how people conceive of concepts and objects. It determines peoples' views of conflicts. Factors that affect and influence culture include the society itself, geographical location, family, language and dialect, climate and weather, religion, age, gender, wealth, fashion, food, music and festivals, levels of education and literacy, exposure and contacts, general living standards and occupation (Bowen & Gleeson, 2019; Brettell & Sargent, 2009; Donders, 2020; Jahoda, 2012; Schneider & Silverman, 2010).

2.5: Indigenous Communication:

Communication is the giving, receipt or exchange of ideas, signals or messages, including body-language, speaking and writing, through appropriate media and technology that enable individuals or groups persuade, seek and give information or to express emotions (Ibagere, 2020; Monyozo, 2018).

Indigenous communication, also referred to as traditional or horizontal communication, is mutual interchange of information and meanings with little or low level technology, via native channels and media that are local, informal and available to people within a community. The communication engagement, sharing of messages and understanding, is participatory, not the dominant top-down style and people involved are

central to the activities (Nnaemeka, 2013; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenakeya & Busari, 2022).

The word “indigenous” is derived from two Greek words ‘*endo*’ within and ‘*genous*’ birth. Together, indigenous mean born within or native to, Ihejirika and Asike (2017). Indigenous communication is a complex network of systems native to the people within a defined environment. It is vital to co-existence and span all aspects of the people’s everyday life. Ideas and knowledge are shared seamlessly by individuals and groups involved across various levels, whether or not they could read or write, because the channels and media in use are natural and original to the people.

Informal native media are major channels of indigenous communication, not newspapers, television or extension organizations. These media are effective resources for persuasion and culture transmission. Community radio, widely used by rural dwellers for sharing messages has been integrated into contemporary indigenous media. *Cultural Survival Organization*, advocate of indigenous people’s right, sees radio as major channel for cross communication in aboriginal communities of Africa and Asia (*culturalsurvival.org*, 2018; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Ikpe, 2012; Mundy & Lloyd-Laney, 1992; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenakeya & Busari, 2022; Oyesonmi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017).

Indigenous communication media are particular to regions, environments or communities. They are developed locally, owned and controlled by the people and passed to succeeding generations. They are major vehicles for cultural adaptation in sharing and preservation of indigenous knowledge; they have high degree of credibility and value. Unlike externally controlled mass media, they hardly run government propaganda as messages. People prefer and use these traditional media to ensure ‘their ears are to the ground’ to receive and share information in their communities, Ibagere (2020).

Messages in indigenous communication are transactional, non-alienating, integrative and definitive. Sources are credible, authoritative and embody people’s social conventions and practices, Popoola (2004). Indigenous communication media are low cost and accessible with unlimited range for the less organized. They transmit mostly oral and

interpersonal messages. These meaningful and relevant media are in specified cultural and linguistic contexts of their grassroots bases (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Giorgadze, 2001; Gumucio-Dagron, 2014; Ojebode, 2002; Wilson, 1987).

Indigenous communication is a never static cultural resource, it is adaptable to changing circumstances. It embeds, preserves and shares peoples' accrued wisdom, knowledge and experiences across generations. The mostly oral channels are ubiquitous traditional conduits of change deployed in interpersonal engagements within and across families, at meetings, during events, in organisations, at village squares, market-places, as well as in teaching and learning environments. The media encompass transmission of values, norms, peoples' ways of life, entertainment, news, persuasion, announcements and social exchanges of every type, Salawu (2015).

Scholars agree communication is an integral component of culture and indigenous communication is a major vehicle to transmit and sustain culture, Akpan (2012). Humans are compulsive communicators; their listening skills are important. Indigenous media messages support sustainable lifestyles in various ways. Meanings are made on how people stay silent, the way they make statements, how they dress, people they befriend and their work styles. This also reflects in how they send assortment of messages, share ideas and understanding to network of peoples like elders, priests, youth organisations, traditional rulers, group members, women associations, etc. The channels used are equally important, Kuli and Degefa (2020).

Indigenous communication is categorized into verbal, non-verbal and esoteric codes. Esoteric communications can be instrumental, demonstrative, iconographic, extramundane, visual, institutional and venue-oriented exchanges. Others are myths, legends, names, folktales and proverbs. The esoteric mode also involves metaphysical and intra-personal activities that transcend physical realm and are often viewed with suspicion in modern societies. They comprise evocations, verbal and non-verbal cues via dream messages, telepathy, clairvoyance, divinations, etc. (Ibagere, 2020).

The verbal communication mode is wide in spoken language. Songs, folk media, dance, puppetry, storytelling, poetry, chants and incantations are examples. The non-verbal mode comprise body language, body adornment, hair styles, marks and masks as well as symbology which encompasses various forms of writings, codes and cues. In these modes, indigenous communication lends itself to either create or resolve conflicts in communities with its facility for multiplicity of meanings from same utterance, signs or symbols (Ibagare, 2020).

Generally, peoples' indigenous worldviews and knowledge govern their realities. It guides how they frame, encode and interpret social actions for meanings. Culture and meanings intertwine just as messages in indigenous communication are context specific, never universal. The apt verbal, non-verbal and esoteric codes are, therefore, open to easy distortions, deliberately or inadvertently, due to their heterogeneity of meanings, Ibagare (2020) and Oyesomi and Okorie (2013).

Studies by Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenakeya and Busari (2022), Oyesomi, Salawu and Olorunyomi (2017), Oyesomi and Okorie (2013) and William and Udo (2012) confirm indigenous communication helps to effectively curb communal inter-tribal wars and conflicts. It also promotes brotherhood, communal peace programmes, understanding and team-spirit. Use of indigenous communication system for conflicts resolution in Africa affirms potentials of the resource and proofs the tool is effective and efficacious. Values of indigenous communication in local skills, methods and knowledge show it is optimal resource on sound judgement.

Indigenous communication is valued as a strategic tool for managing societal challenges and to promote empowerment and development programmes. It was used to control menace of tsetse flies ravaging villages in Democratic Republic of Congo and for irrigation challenges in Ethiopian Western Showa region. In Nigeria, it has been useful in enlightenment on family planning. It is on record that European agricultural revolution was birthed by farmers' use of indigenous communication methods to disseminate original knowledge that sustained food production. It is valuable for education and entertainment and remains a veritable communication vehicle for indigenous organisations like the traders'

and *esusu* groups, mutual-help work groups; religious, prayer and ritual groups, cultural troupes, etc. (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Gumucio-Dagrosn, 2014; Kelen, et al., 2020; Leal Filho, et al., 2022; Mundi & Lloyd-Laney, 1992).

Indigenous communication is also of great value in deliberate instructions, teaching and learning at informal settings. Though often ignored by some development experts, it is veritable tool for records keeping, skills acquisition and training of trade apprentices by masters. Elders guide youths by introducing them to the corpus of community codes with memorized historical epics and genealogies of their societies. These interactions seamlessly aid diffusion of messages and information for enculturation process (Gumucio-Dagron, 2014; Ibagere, 2020).

Malhotra, Sharma, Srinivasan and Mathew (2018) in India and Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005) in Africa argued that integration of indigenous communication into information and communication technology, ICT on the global information super highway is critical to human development in local communities of the future. Great influence of social media in the 2011 Arab Springs confirms this. Further, Nwabueze's (2006, p.236) submits that indigenous communication is one of the "identifiable ways of sharing ideas, meanings, opinions and facts of all kinds between and among Africans." (Abdelghaffar & Sameer, 2013; Wolfsfeld, Segev & Sheafer, 2013).

Navarrete Zohar (2021), in article focused on native approaches to viable development noted indigenous communication impacts politicians, political activities and the masses. Further, Nnaemeka (2013), argued that combining indigenous knowledge and grassroots approach to communication cause attitude changes in politically exposed persons, particularly in antagonistic situations.

Importantly, adequate knowledge of peoples' communication system facilitates integration of the media into their communication repertoire. It prevents possible mismatch of contextual information and messages to target audience and aligns cultural dialectics to peoples' worldviews. In Nigeria, many grassroots politicians source bulk of their information

from indigenous communication channels and media which are confirmed to be in sync with communities from where majority of electorates are drawn, Nnaemeka (2013).

Generally, when people are familiar with and have access to its friendly channels, there is an unbroken feedback mechanism for smooth and free engagements. These benefits from indigenous communication, plus its protection of established norms and values of societies, gave several communication scholars confidence on its adequacy for passing contextual socio-political realities. Its distinct character and uniqueness as the bearer of context specific communal messages with cultural meanings was never in doubt (Akpan, 2012; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Fransisco, 2020; Kuli & Degefa, 2020; Malhotra, Sharma, Srinivasan & Mathew, 2018; Monyozo, 2018; Navarrete, 2021; Oyesomi & Okorie, 2013; Shakya, 2014).

Despite the ease to transmit and receive messages, ideas and attitudes between peoples with signs and symbols, indigenous communication is restricted and confined to particular localities of operation. It is not a universal vehicle and lacks global recognition, Ibagere (2020). While its entertaining use is favoured for enlightenment, its esoteric features are downplayed and mostly ignored in policy messages (Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenankeya & Busari, 2022; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Oyesomi & Okorie, 2013)

Critics of indigenous communication like Cooke and Kothari (2001) and Hilyard, Pandurang, Wolvekampand and Somasekhare (2001) opined that participatory paradigm of horizontal communication is a subterfuge by established power blocs in communities to manipulate and court grassroots' approvals for imposition of their fixed agenda. Added to these, Killen et al, (2022) and Udoakah (1996) say indigenous communication is limited by its narrow functions and its messages are subject to distortions by agencies like the town criers who might not fully grasp import of issues in messages they conveyed.

To counter these criticisms, Nnaemeka (2013) argued that points raised by critics of indigenous communication merely put up the need to refine methods of the native tool to eliminate distortions and aspirate the benefits. To him, the points never disputed values and

efficacy of indigenous communication as useful participatory resource for information dissemination, message transmission, attitude change and conflicts resolution.

2.6: Traditional Institutions:

Traditional institutions are societies' native socio-political structures arranged to preserve the peoples' customs and mores. They define and regulate human behaviours, relationships and shared knowledge in communities. These conventional establishments effectively bind members of the community together in a dynamic manner; standardise individual actions and group activities within the Society for communal survival (Burch, et al., 2019).

The varied socio-political authorities in existence with indigenous peoples prior to external influences are their traditional institutions. These native institutions designate a broad range of heritage establishments and customs. Some are tangible like museums, libraries, archives, churches, mosques and shrines, etc. Others like beliefs, peculiar attitudes, norms, standards or rules about acceptable behavior, etc. are intangible (Herranen, 2020; Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon, 2021).

These aboriginal institutions grow around basic human and societal needs and they are in use since time immemorial for consistent activities. As Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) observed, a study of social institutions is the study of human activities in the society, Sattar (2020). The institutions embed enduring patterns of norms that define behaviours in social relationships; they address fundamental activities and specific group functions of people who have come together for a common purpose (Burch, et al., 2019; Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon, 2021; Sattar, 2020).

Communities hold traditional institutions as lawful symbols of peoples' customs, rights and privileges. Considered in abstraction, the institutions have objective and subjective features that structure human relationships and exchanges. They embed people's cultural systems of beliefs, social philosophies, values, world views and positions that date back to antiquity. These include issues like rule of law and government bureaucracies, etc. (Holzinger, Haer, Bayer, Behr & Neupert-Wentz, 2019).

Religion, the family, government, economy and education are the five primary social institutions that encompass other secondary institutions. The family institution provides for new members, socializes and enculturates them for group life. Marriage institution regulates sexual relationships; just as education provides for the learning process. Kinship institution is for tracking relationships and links between individuals while religious institution regulates society's belief systems. Economic institution is for production and distribution of wealth while political institution regulates power structure (Anderson & Bidner, 2021; Burch, et al., 2019; Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon, 2021; Hodgson, 2006).

Institutions naturally evolve or get enacted. Evolved institutions develop insentiently and spontaneously. Family and marriage institutions are examples. Enacted ones, like the banking institution, are established consciously and in a planned way for specific purposes (Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon, 2021; Hodgson, 2006).

Traditional institutions, the symbols of indigenous people's rights, privileges, laws and customs, are run by leaderships installed by appointments, elections or in hereditary capacities. These include traditional authorities like paramount rulers, chiefs in council, council of elders, title holders, etc. The leadership resorts to the peoples' indigenous knowledge and social mores to achieve communal equilibrium. Basically, two methods, social influence as well as customs and laws are employed by traditional institutions to accomplish their objectives, Holzinger, Haer, Bayer, Behr & Neupert-Wentz (2019).

In pre-colonial societies, including Nigeria, traditional authorities governed, exercised power and wielded influence over communities. Their roles covered managing and resolving conflicts based on tribal, ethnic and religious principles. After independence, the new Nigerian government viewed traditional establishments as threats to its authority and subsequently reduced their powers, consigning them to advisers on their domains with the 1976 local government reforms (Olusola & Aisha, 2013).

Despite erosion of their influence by colonialists and successor regimes in Africa, these native institutions have remained resilient and are integral to modern political systems. Evidence abound in Africa that the three political institutions of society, the legislature,

executive and judiciary, rely on traditional authorities, which are accessible to the common man, to manage protracted challenges within communities (Dansoh, Frimpong & Oppong, 2020).

Traditional institutions in Africa impacted modern institutions with the peoples' peculiar time worn features. The legal institution, for instance, is rubbed with mechanisms for accountability, truth telling, healing and reparations. It also aids security management with intelligence gathering. We also have the marriage institution, seen in most modern societies as an exclusive union of man and a wife. When operated within the framework of traditional families, with the attendant mores of African societies, a marriage embraces seamless recognition of other women as co-wives to same husband. These facts illustrate the influence and prospects of traditional institutions on societies (Ekane, 2013).

African native institutions are cherished for grassroots mobilization and trusted to promote ethical values of society in their legitimate roles as keepers of customs and custodians of traditions. As curators of indigenous knowledge systems, the lived experiences of people gained through centuries from their environment, traditional institutions preserve and spread collective heritage of the community through generations. They incorporate how societies create and communicate meanings through ascribed visual signs and linguistic symbols, as well as practical ways communities have survived, cultivated livelihoods and pursued wellbeing (da Rocha, 2018; Holzinger, Haer, Bayer, Behr & Neupert-Wentz, 2019; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Sultana, Muhammad & Zakaria, 2018).

Naturally, traditional institutions run on indigenous knowledge, which the World Bank says comprise information and skills developed outside the formal system for planning, environmental assessment, resource management, local conservation of biological resources and conflicts resolution, Settee (2019). Tafese (2016, citing Boven and Morohashi, 2002), posits that such knowledge includes particular communal processes in agriculture, animal husbandry, traditional medicine, savings and loans, community development, poverty alleviation and peaceful coexistence. Indigenous knowledge is used to find solutions to challenges of daily living and for development concepts in traditional societies (Sultana, Muhammad & Zakaria, 2018).

Indigenous knowledge or the local knowledge is native information stored in culture, traditions, folk stories, songs and dramas; legends, proverbs, myths, etc. They are transferred verbally across generations. Akabogu (2002) says indigenous knowledge includes the local folks' non-formal information, wisdom, technical and ecological knowledge. It comprises physical or conceptual understanding of phenomena particular to a community for appreciation of their environment, resources, skills and tools (Settee, 2019; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019).

Chepchirchir, Kwanya and Kamau (2019) consider indigenous knowledge as unique resources of a given culture or a society, rural or urban, for its survival. Indigenous knowledge helps societies make decisions on acceptable lifeways and plays vital roles in agriculture, education, medicine, sustainable practices, land and resources management, eco-tourism, climate change, disaster and risk reduction; environmental development and conservation, particularly the forests (Settee, 2019; Sultana, Muhammad & Zakaria 2018).

Fiseha, et al, (2011) acknowledged that indigenous knowledge differs in societies and Regassa, et al, (2008) added that the traditional gen rooted in different ethnic groups arose from age-old practices that regulate relationships of peoples in the communities. When a society combines indigenous knowledge with Western-based knowledge, culturally acceptable development solutions get created (Sultana, Muhammad & Zakaria, 2018).

It is noteworthy that scholar's like Oyesomi see traditional institutions as part of indigenous communication. This is not true for this study. Traditional institutions, construed here, is a sociological concept about structures societies use for intellectual capital to meet needs and provide solutions. It is not about how people mutually share understanding or how they interchange information (Borzaga, Galera, Franchini, Chiomento, Nogales, & Carini, 2020; Konno & Schillaci, 2021; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenankeya & Busari, 2022; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Oyesomi, Okorie, Ahmadu & Itsekor, 2014).

2.7: Politics and Political Parties:

Politics is about group decision making activities. It is the art and science of resource and power relations among individuals with divergent interests and values to make collective

decisions for the common good. Natural diversity of human interests, conflicting needs coupled with scarcity of resources and opportunities in the Society demand a mechanism on acceptable distribution for the commonwealth. Politics is centered on managing these relationships and differences, some adversarial, for public good (Garmer, Ferdinand and Lawson, 2020; Rodman, 2020).

Harold Laswell, 1936, in efforts to explain these challenges declared politics to be activities centered on who gets what, when and how in the Society. The Greek philosopher Aristotle, 384 to 322 BC, the acknowledged father of political science, declared man to be a political animal and insists politics is the master science involved in the education, legal issues and reward aspects of governance. Though political activities have varied meanings, some pejorative, implying corruption, intrigues and power play, the noble purpose of politics cannot be denied in the honourable efforts of governments to improve people's general welfare (Rodman, 2020; Noury and Roland, 2020).

Political parties, the integral functioning arms of democratic systems, are associations of people who share ideologies, common interests, values and particular objectives on how countries should be governed. These people, as a group, influence public policies and direct government affairs by producing candidates to vie for elective offices on the platforms of their associations. When they win, they acquire legitimate and lawful power, *de jure* and *de facto*, to administer the machinery of state as well as control and run governments. Political parties have rights and obligations enshrined in the constitutions of democratic societies. Eligible persons, by universal adult suffrage, are free to join and become card bearing members of any political party they like (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Jinadu, 2011; Yahaya, 2019).

Basiru (2019) defines political party as “an entity made up of people whose aim is to translate the agenda that unites them into policy-based actions after gaining political power via the electoral process” and Edmund Burke, cited by Danjibo and Ashindorbe (2018, p.87), asserts political party is “a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principles in which they all agreed”. Yahaya (2019) on his own sees political parties as the engine rooms and pillars of democracy; the podia

for sundry political activities. The three scholars agree that political parties are platforms to promote members' interests to run governments within democratic settings (Basiru, 2019; Husted, Moufahim, & Fredriksson, 2022; Jinadu, 2011).

Also, Section 229 of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution gives the operative definition of a political party as applicable in the country. The document since its inauguration avers:

“Political party includes any association whose activities include canvassing for votes in support of a candidate for election into the office of President, Vice President, Governor, Deputy Governor or member of a legislative house or a local government council”

The functions of political parties, listed by Basiru (2019, citing Agbaje 1999) are categorised under three broad umbrellas of organizing electorates, running governments and linking people to governance. The major purpose of political parties is to win elections. Others are to run governments for specified periods of time, produce the political class, make laws, protect the constitution, formulate policies, implement programmes and social services which address the needs of the people to improve public welfare in line with their manifestoes, values and agenda. The parties also dispense patronage and offer alternative administrations to societies (Yahaya, 2019; citing Norris, 2005).

In multi-party democracies, the political parties, financed with public fund and membership fees, are platforms to recruit and train citizens for roles in government. The parties conduct voter education and mobilization, shape and represent public opinions, debate issues, articulate social needs and welfare concerns of citizens. Also, parties carry out civic education on national issues and provide fora for citizens to express their interests, needs as well as aspirations. Political parties, as key institutions of democracy, facilitate and promote unbroken interaction between people in the society, the government and its agencies (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Basiru, 2019; Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Yahaya, 2019).

2.8: Development Communication:

Development communication is the process of mutual interchange of ideas with principles, practices, techniques and technologies of communication. It is the reciprocal sharing of understanding for human development. Moemeka (2012) explains that development communication is for harmonious association and human development; the transformation and socialization of individuals within groups. It is also a conceptual tool for settlement of reoccurring disputes, which could disunite society, for win-win outcomes.

Development communication is far broader than diffusion of information, which is majorly dissemination of messages. Development communication involves initiation, participation and understanding of positive changes and feedback within socio-cultural contexts of events to find solutions to problems (Yudarwati & Gregory, 2022; Rogers, 1983).

Development communication is about top-down, bottom-up and horizontal interactions on development projects, power equilibrium and contextual issues. It is systematically linked to policy sciences in use of power and politics to resolve conflict issues and solve social problems. Regarded as fifth theory of the press by scholars like Moemeka, it uses mutual understanding to facilitate social development with stakeholders and policy makers as well as facilitates interchange of ideas on conflict issues. It is a systems model approach to problem-solving with the ultimate goal to generate positive behaviors for social transformation (Nwoga, Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020; Waisbord, 2005).

The fusion of development communication with policy sciences is purposive, value-laden and pragmatic for social change. Studies from scholars like Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker (2021), Head (2019) and Lemke as well as Harris-Wai (2015) show development communication makes great impacts by facilitating engagement and participation of stakeholders in agenda setting. This packaging of challenges confronting society into front burner of decision makers' attention sets the tone for appropriate policies. It makes engagements in development communication useful for intra-party conflicts resolution.

Development communication with its joint problem-solving approach shows potential to meet needs of society with worked out indigenous solutions. The settlement of disputes and resolution of incompatibilities are examples of getting people to interact, unravel and apply native panacea to their local challenges by exploring the inextricable linkage between communication and culture. It is this connection between communication and culture to advance social growth and positive changes that explains the support UNESCO accords development communication to promote its doctrines for social advancement (Flor, 2015; 2007; 2002; 1991).

The utilitarian concept, application of development communication matrix for effective resolution of conflicts, is a relevant, valuable and contextually rooted theory critical for intra-party disputes settlement and treatment of incompatibilities. According to Moemeka (2012), development communication entails working with the people to seek and share solutions, meanings and understanding to the problems of daily living. When the art and science of communication are applied to treat the challenge of intra-party conflicts, then, the issue gets appropriately framed for apposite panacea.

Conflicts in development communication get presented for mutual resolution in the process of knowledge and ideas sharing with tools of communication. This empowers people who co-exist in-group for harmonious lifestyle improvements. This progression, as Meisner (2022) confirms, favours horizontal solidarity and linkages against vertical authorities that may clash unanimity in decision making (Gardner, Leask & Ecker, 2021; Head, 2019; Yudarwati & Gregory, 2022).

Critics have thrown jabs that development communication is a backdoor propaganda package by governments, political leaders and elites to influence people's behaviours. Nothing could be further from the truth. The multi-level communication engagement is not about dissemination of information but robust sharing of meanings for rapport and collaborative actions.

Scholars, towing that line, have said elites are prone to take advantage by using communication tools to corner, hoard and ration information for undue benefits to

manipulate and exploit others, because information is power. What these critics do not see is that communication for conflicts resolution oftentimes involve total stakeholder community who would probe and review submissions to reach decisions for harmonious co-existence. A party that withholds needful information to disadvantage others can only poison agreed outcomes to imperil future cooperation (Flor, 2015; 2007; Moemeka 2012).

At another level, the possibility of globalization retarding African culture via the application of development communication has been noted, from the works of many scholars, including Bakare-Aremu, Mustapha and Bakare-Salisu (2021), Idakwo, Awogu-Maduagwu and Abiodun-Eniayekan (2017) and Ibrahim and Ainuddin and Abdullah (2017), as not founded on sound logic.

Integration of Africa into the global ecosystem is a mutually beneficial contact with diverse cultures. Evidence of imposition is yet to be found. Only uncritical assimilation of foreign values by any group, including Africans, can erode legacy cultural ethos. Africans in native settings are never cultural isolates. It is attempts to alienate Africans from their indigenous lifestyles that have caused failures in past efforts to resolve many conflicts in African societies.

Importantly, development communication for conflicts resolution gives premium to socio-political environments of conflicts for contextual understanding and interpretation of conflict triggers. The possibility of cultural imposition or further relegation of African culture is remote. Fact is deployment of development communication unearths indigenous African alternatives, the native approaches, to disputes settlement. This move promotes rather than retard African cultures (Moemeka, 2012; Nwoga Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020).

Finally, on implementing agreements reached at resolution sessions, some scholars resting on sloppy programmes' execution, prevalent with most African governments and associations, opine that enforcing agreements might be easier discussed than effected. This skeptical assumption needs a firmer base. Continuous engagements for peace depend on collaboration. Faithful execution of agreements in environments where all engaged participants are empowered, involved and committed stakeholders, with

well-defined roles, for optimal functioning of the society nullifies this claim because there are people assigned duties to ensure effective implementation of reached agreements.

Failure of anyone in his or her responsibilities could create challenges to sustain the process and compromise social relations. However, individuals agreed on communal coexistence are unlikely to buckle on their charge with ways that would curtail incidents of conflicts. This avoidable process negation is not reported from past efforts in development communication events as attested to by Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker (2021), Lemke and Harris-Wai (2015) and Moemeka (2012) and many others in their studies.

2.9: Social Control Theory:

Social control is the regulation of individual actions by society or associations. It is a mechanism used by communities to make members follow acceptable standards of behaviour and to co-exist in peace and harmony with others, minus threat to their welfare and progress. Social control involves a system of measures, suggestions, persuasion, restrains and coercion, including physical force and discipline that society uses to establish order and discourage deviant behaviours (Vinson, 2021; Ross and Ross, 2017).

Conflict is integral to every group, more so in political associations. Social order, part of a group's socialization process, aids internalization of values that make people conform to acceptable social norms. It curbs deviant tendencies and systemic dissatisfaction. Social order aids conformity, solidarity, stability and perpetuation of groups (Akindele, 2010; Busari, 2018; Soetana & Osadola, 2018).

Advocates of social control theory, led by Travis Hirschi (1969, cited by Nader and Robinson, 2023) submit that people get involved in deviant behaviours and break laws when there is breakdown in social bond. The theory traces people's misconducts to lack of meaningful connection to society. Hirschi said people get the motivation to break laws and engage in undesirable conducts when they lack control over their environment and conditions. He submitted that getting people involved with and connected to their societies, bonding, curtails delinquencies. Four ways people get involved with societies are by attachment, commitment, involvement and through beliefs (Crawford, 2014; Vinson, 2021).

Groups enculturate members via socialization, education and coaching processes. Effectively socialized members conform to group norms. Internal revulsions with groups cause deviant acts. Aberrant behaviours beyond certain degrees of tolerance, considered as threats to communal wellbeing, are therefore resisted by society. Generally, individuals crave sociability and have sense of justice; they cooperate with others for group welfare and cherish their reputations in the community by avoiding behavioural and moral stains. However, self-seeking impulses and ambitions of some people call for social control, order, discipline and sanctions, if they must stay in line (Ross & Ross, 2017).

This study is focused on the utilitarian values of social control. Man as a citizen has a sense of responsibility, duty and obligation based on her or his relationship with society. The focus on prevention of conflicts and settlements of unavoidable disputes are premised on assumption that an individual's connection to society will motivate him or her to pursue communal well-being, desire harmony and spurn conflict behaviours. When people internalise ethics of their communities, they voluntarily shun deviant acts via social control in learning and labelling behaviours. Consequence of these is conformity and bonding through formal, informal and technical processes of social control.

Usually, when social control does not discount individual wellbeing for public welfare, to suit collective convenience, there is natural desire for conformity. In fact, conformity is positive fashion in organisations that enculturate to get members' involvement and participation in the groups' affairs. These based on agreed terms and fair basis, through robust communication engagements, douse conflicts and make it easy to resolve unavoidable differences (Greenberg, 1999; Vinson, 2021).

Nader and Robinson (2023) and Crawford (2014) explaining Hirschi's social control/social bond theory, assert that control can be direct, as families control members, or indirect by secondary groups through customs, traditions and rationalised behaviours. Social control prevents groups' disintegration and helps in conflicts resolution because it is voluntary, mutual and natural. It can be elastic when exercised within cultural values. Spontaneous social control is by ideas, rules and regulations, while non-spontaneous social control is direct in-group experiences, aspirations, decisions, desires, etc.

Operations of hierarchical organisations, like political parties, require high degree of social order for less hostile encounters to prevail in environment of contending interests. Globally, political parties, unlike many in Nigeria, are generally homogeneous on ideology. Politicians have diverse social status, class, ethnic and religious affiliations. Their free social intercourse with minimum interference into personal affairs, in settings that harp on equality, is natural hot bed for conflicts on socially determined contending interests (Nader & Robinson, 2023; Ross & Ross, 2017).

Since best regulator of human behaviours, after religion, is enlightened self-interest through education which builds character for inward self-regulation, conformity to social norms is a learned behaviour. This happens when communal values are etched on individual consciousness while people pursue their purposes to build better futures as members of communities. Jury is, acceptance of order is best voluntary through conviction to synchronize personal pursuits with group's objectives (Nader & Davies Robinson, 2023).

A person's inclination to break norms in pursuit of personal interests is determined by his or her mental make-up. Peace loving people avoid conflicts owing to their mental conditioning while aggressive and ambitious people barge against barriers to conflicts. These opposing incompatible individual attitudes are never out of place in political parties (Crawford, 2014; Greenberg, 1999; Vinson, 2021).

Conflict is a form of disorder. Ambitious people, like scheming party leaders and conflict entrepreneurs, may see social bonding and social control as schemes to clip their forays than enlist them to safeguard social properties and equilibrium. The spiritual and political assets of society, including the inventions and discoveries in arts, medicine and the sciences are legacies, like the social organisations, for group identification. Social control and bonding, as groups' distinguishing factors, mainsprings for eliciting appropriate actions, can be levers to induce peoples' honor, self-respect and sense of belonging to protect and defend these social assets (Nader & Robinson, 2023; Ross & Ross, 2017).

Social control could be positive, with policy rewards for best possible manners or negative on fear of punishment and humiliation against unacceptable behaviours.

Conscious forms of social control are through laws, propaganda and education. The unconscious forms are by institutions like religion. Governments use formal social control with regulations and sanctions. Peoples' customs, belief systems, norms, values, folk ways, mores, ideologies and art constitute informal means of social control and bonding. The technical means involve use of equipment like surveillance cameras, GPS tracking, biometric access codes, drug testing, DNA analysis and other technologies. to monitor and influence behaviours (Nader & Robinson, 2023; Ross & Ross, 2017; Greenberg, 1999).

This exploration proposes that social bonding sparks patriotic feelings in peoples with calls to national honour, way sports and music fire passionate energies in multitudes for collective deeds. It posits that a policy that taps into communal native resources in customs, with tools of traditional institutions and indigenous communications for intra-party social control, would ignite politicians' commitments to social order.

On its own, the major thrust of social control is to elicit positive drives in people. General assumption is that well-integrated people in societies are in default mode for harmonious relations, they routinely seek peaceful resolutions to given incompatibilities of coexistence. The social bonding, innate in social control, makes individuals shun conflicting behaviours to benefit positive sanctions in inclusion, rewards, praises, material and pecuniary gains.

Main concern of this study is focus on restraining factors to conflict acts. Social bonding and religion are major. Braun and Clarke (2013) findings show it is easier to resolve conflicts in groups and communities with binding social networks. Communities without obligatory social connections harvest deviance and flourish of hostile relations from natural incompatibilities. However, this research is not about deviant behaviours as with Albert Bandura's (1925-2021) study or on social learning which fails to recognize possible reversal of deviant tendencies via apposite socialization processes, Moran (2017).

With these stated, imposition of inhibiting social controls on humans can breed deviance. Individuals cherish their liberties. Studies show people resist interferences or intrusions into their privacies more than injustices and tyranny, Fisher, Abel and McCann

(2023). Still, many human actions are beyond state regulations and diffusion of control. Working with the people is chief security against excesses; individual's social bonds are fluid and could change with situations.

Limitations of the theory include inability to expose motivations for crimes in societies, though physical and moral forces regulating conducts deter aberration and laud conformity to norms. Theory's explanatory power fails to account for complexities and nuances of human behaviour. It is also deficient on factors that promote social deviance and delinquencies. These make its assumptions inexact. Emphasis on bonds, relative to independence and impulsiveness, downplays people's autonomy and personal choices that influence delinquent behaviors (Ross & Ross, 2017).

In addition, negative social control in pressure, supervision, threats and coercion systematically restrict people's independent choices. The informal negative sanctions of mockery, shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism and disapproval violate human rights and freedoms of individuals. These could cause indoctrination, mental health problems, traumas and even ignite conflicts. When social control becomes impositions, living becomes less worthwhile. Basiru (2018), Jinadu (2011) and Sule and Yahaya (2018) record Nigerian politicians' passionate pursuits of freedom from disagreeable party controls that make them turn *laissez faire* into dogma, skepticism to creed and egoism into norms to breed greater levels of individualism, resistance to mores and widespread internal conflicts.

Though Marxian view insists society could bond marginalised people into unfair social relations and make them compliant victims of insufficient opportunities. This claim is hardly true to political parties in democratic societies. It is difficult to suppress individual voices in associations where members enjoy free entry and exit, where multi-varied consequences, some positive and desired, prevail (Vinson, 2021).

Other weak points of the theory include danger of conformism to adopt same attitude at the expense of living life fullest in liberty. Also, negative social controls can restrict individual freedom and rights. But, issues like these deviate from the United Nations' Convention on Human Rights. They are not sustainable in liberal democracies where

individual freedom and inalienable rights are fervent mantras. Importantly, study's intent is on tools for effective conflicts resolution, not a probe into conflicts creators.

2.10: **Cultural Heritage Theory:**

The cultural heritage theory says people get life roadmap, orientation and emotional connection from groups where they share identities, bonding and sense of unity, Blundell (2020) and Ferenczi and Marsha (2013). Also, that deep understanding and rich perspectives on nature, ownership, the values, meanings and significance of peoples' cultural heritage enrich them with lessons from previous generations. These knowledge, in appropriate settings, inspires people for peaceful coexistence and harmonious handling of incompatibilities in their communities and with other group members (Rosetti et al, 2022).

The *Council of Europe* 2011 report noted the value of cultural heritage to resolving conflicts, "heritage is a means for people to understand each other. It contributes, through tolerance, to the prevention of conflicts". Prior to this, the *Faro Convention* (2005) shares that cultural heritage is good to foster mutual understanding and settlement of disputes when its potential, as a resource to impart messages of reconciliation, are engaged to drown historical grievances, Viejo-Rose (2011b: p. 214).

Premium paid to heritage and identity makes culture the "niche" to stimulate contextually appropriate global best practices. Culture has intrinsic and instrumental values. People understand themselves better from experience and learn to improve qualities of their lives by leaning on social memory, heritage items in stories, events and myths on evolution, practices and interactions.

Heritage forms part of social values created and reworked in everyday contexts. They are passed through generations for spiritual associations and social relationships that convey identities, power relations and transformation of meanings for contextual integrity, coping attitudes and harmonious coexistence in societies (Rosetti et al, 2022; Jones, 2016).

Inclusive national narratives on cultural heritage promote natural humanism and commitment to global solidarity. These facilitate conflicts resolution. Associations that

express human identities in cultures become dynamic with truth of history to connect and reconcile people rather than fan divisive historical submissions. Even dissonant heritage that gives people opposing views, including past wrongs suffered and represented by legacies, get purpose based intentions, sometimes with remediation, to heal (Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007; Clack & Dunkley, 2023; Rosetti et al, 2022, Wollentz, 2014).

Heritage comprises natural and man-made elements of past legacies passed to posterity, the transmissible shared bequests which distinguish and categorise people. These inheritance are categorised into tangible and intangible elements. Physical legacies, natural and built environments, are in tangible domain. Intangibles are categorized into five domains of oral traditions and expressions, including language as vehicle for heritage transmission. The performing arts; social practices including rituals and festive events. Knowledge and practices on nature and universe as well as traditional craftsmanship and skills, including music, dance, literature and food (Alves, 2018; Blake, 2018; Siregar, 2018).

This study on values of intangible cultural heritage to resolve intra-party conflicts noted that engagements on intangible cultural heritage, ICH, linked to local bases or issues connected to significant persons become relevant and attract attention of critical and noteworthy individuals. These people participate in the dialogue for great ideas, values and thoughts with meaning(s) shared (Alves, 2018). ICH in this regard compels significant beneficiaries to align their worldviews to continuous creation of multiple perspectives, connecting past legacies, to which their identities and essence are somehow interlinked.

The sharing and ownership of such culturally diverse legacies in values, beliefs and customs distinguish people for mutual respect in the era of globalization. When these cultural assets are transmitted through theater, storytelling and time travels, they breed understanding and tolerance of others' lifestyles and legacies, thereby prepare fertile grounds for possible conflicts resolution (Blake, 2018; Rosetti et al, 2022).

Diverse studies by Clack and Dunkley (2023), Rosetti et al, (2022), Blundel (2020), Wollentz (2014), Filippucci (2012), Holtorf (2011) and others variously noted that cultural heritage elicits a moral sense of duty; an acknowledgement of legacies and

remembrance of past heroes for their great bequests. These assets induce sense of reassurance in people faced with rapid changes of present settings. They confirm the view that addressing the past, not as “absent present”, gives lessons that inspire people to thrive over discordances (Alves, 2018; Siregar, 2018).

Like globalization, idea of applying values of ICH for political parties’ ideologies could be argued by Marxian and Gramscian scholars to be a form of colonialism, cultural hegemony or mortification of cultural diversity. This could happen only when archetype interests of dominant ethnic groups are promoted over that of minorities or disadvantaged others. Colonial remnants and eastern cultural incursions hampering African character in guise of uniformity illustrate these. Evidence exist of aborted efforts by foreign elements to imperil unique cultural identity of Africans by curtailment and absorption (Siregar, 2018).

This is reason UNESCO in Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity stands against decreasing cultural variety of humanity for uniformity. The body decries loss of uniqueness in encumbering the rich culture of plural group identities. Despite this safeguard, Foster (2020) admits cultural absorption and eclipse are realities of life that could be hard to resist by some societies in peculiar settings.

Response to this points to ICH in Africa centering on living conditions transmitted across generations as immaterial manifestations of human heritage. The worth of ICH lies in community involvement. Its dynamic essence is subject to changes by recreation. This invaluable interchange and understanding bring humans closer through the ICH cycle of production, dissemination, transmission, reception, participation as well as consumption. These imply people create and curate their heritage (Blake, 2018; Siregar, 2018).

Survival of people, the masters, creators and depositories of ICH, whom UNESCO noted are carriers, living heritage, agents of transmission and the primary instrument of its enactment, must therefore be safeguarded. This starts with protection from devastating conflicts for ICH to subsist. When carrier of the heritage is deceased, then, heritage disappears, but when carrier is dispersed and in contact, then, the dynamic nature of ICH, as universal values and virtues, spread because ICH has no natural location for

enactment. Unlike tangible heritage which can be destroyed over time, ICH survive longer, outlive individuals and groups by generational evolution, transformation and recreation (Abu Bakar, Osman & Bachok, 2011; Foster, 2020).

Critics of ICH's applications for conflicts resolution say meanings evolve constantly and there is no fixed truth to be presented on how cultural heritages can be used for reconciliation. Points missed here are on value of ICH for individual self-preservation and guiding role of history, particularly to the vulnerable. In another breath, evolution of meaning is contextual and resolution of conflicts is never a static operation that can be insulated from social or denotative advancements in language use.

More, citizen participation in the promotion of ICH is self-advancement, a resource rooted in continuity and a factor for communal interaction. ICH is source for respect and social cohesion that can be used to foster social harmony, an integral element in conflict resolution (Alves, 2018; Blake, 2018; Blundell, 2020; Clack & Dunkley, 2023; *Faro Convention*, 2005; Rosetti et al, 2022, Siregar, 2018; Wollentz, 2014).

Further on these, the important point is universal values have development possibilities, their impacts on social, cultural, economic and political processes are discursively constructed on grand narratives, Sall (2021). The opportunities for conflict resolution here are on socially transformative global values that give sense of security and equip groups and political formations to justify intellectual engagement for peace, development and disputes settlement.

The potentials of ICH to resolve incompatibilities and dissolve rigidities among people in multi-ethnic settings like Nigeria lies in promotion of intercultural engagements. This is attested to by the European Union. The agency from its findings averred that ICH engender "people's interest not only in themselves but also in others", consequently, facilitating "mutual understanding and respect" among diverse groups of individuals, Lähdesmäki (2019. p.26). Thus, commitment to cultural legacies smoothens power relations for tolerance, inspires forbearance and predisposes political groups for restraints at conflicts resolution sessions (Geo-Jaja & Zajda, 2020; Parashar & Schulz, 2021)

2.11: Gap in Literature:

Though there is a growing body of scholarly literature on African culture, tradition, institutions and indigenous communication, etc., not many studies address probable values and roles culture, traditional institutions and indigenous communications could play in effective resolution of destructive intra-party political conflicts. While many studies have been done on conflicts resolutions generally, scholarly investigations on use of African native cultural resources, indigenous communication systems and traditional institutions, to settle the ubiquitous and unending political conflicts in Africa are few.

Consequence of this is dearth of effective culture based veritable conflicts resolution mechanisms and institutions to manage as well as settle the recurrent upsetting political conflicts in Africa. As result, widespread social unrest, political instability, genocide, economic alienation, large scale poverty, environmental degradation, human sufferings and stagnated human, physical and technological developments are routine, despite reports that conflicts in Africa now get less intense

Focus has been more on conflicts resolution strategies across fields like business organization, management, education, agriculture, land tenure, resource control, etc. (Dike, 2020; Hann, Nash & Heery, 2016; Nguyen, Larimo & Ali, 2016). Studies on culture and native resources in property and social stratifications are done by Obeng-Odoom (2020); value of culture in ICT was examined by scholars like Tina Du (2017), while Oyesomi, Salawu and Olorunyomi (2017) and Oyesomi, Okorie, Ahmadu and Itsekor (2014) studied effects of indigenous communication on cultural institutions and gender. Taylor and Guerin (2017) did effective use of cultural tools in aboriginal healthcare.

The growing interests and scholarship in conflicts resolution studies, now popular with research communities, is confirmed by Pascal da Rocha (2018) who noted recent multi-various approaches to dispute settlements in Africa. Also, there is surfeit of works on devastating political conflicts in Nigeria, Africa's most populous country (Busari, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Johnston, 2020; Mahamud, 2020; Sandowicz, 2011; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Sule, Sani & Mat, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

Despite these, studies are few on best effective native strategies and techniques to resolve intra-party conflicts, or better still, nip them at bud. This research gap justifies study topic in line with Powel (2019) recommendations for exploration of local tools to meet the challenge. It is also a positive response to call by the United Nations, the global agency for world peace, for studies on indigenous knowledge pack for African political problems (Appiah-Thompson, 2020; Smidth, 2019; Vinson, 2021; Qureshi, 2019).

Treatment of the topic: **Indigenous Communication, Culture and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflicts Resolution: A Study of Nigeria's Two Major Political Parties**, is mainly geared to enhance better understating of African native resources and techniques for efficient treatment of political conflicts in Nigeria and Africa generally. It is to expose the begging to be explored values and possible applications of African cultural tools and traditional techniques for further practical use to advance knowledge horizon.

Presumed benefits of native resources to tackle African problems contextually are good reasons to explore replete opportunities in the cultural heritage like indigenous communication systems and traditional institutions that frame Africans' worldviews. The interpretations of social realities to evaluate what roles native resources and cultural ethos could play in conflicts resolution in Africa would also be a plus in the knowledge store (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Gould, Pai, Muraca & Kai, 2019; Tijani, 2019).

This study is significant to cover part of knowledge vacuum with experiential probes that shall inflate scholars' interests and excite studies for better understanding of inherent benefits that robust application and adoption of the "contextual technology" of power, the African native tools, have for conflicts resolution, Lähdesmäki, Passerini, Kaasik-Krogerus and Huis (2019, p. vii).

The latent values and benefits of the resources as well as their probable applications for effective conflicts resolution by politicians and political parties are expected revelations from the study (Algoe, 2016; Alhadeff-Jones, 2013; Anyanwu, 2016; Babbie, 2010; Kowalczck and Scalia, 2020; Qureshi, 2019; Singh, 2019; *UNICAF NOTES, Western Sydney University* Zarah, 2020).

SECTION TWO:

Introduction:

This section presents treatise for in-depth understanding of relationships between culture, native resources and conflicts resolution in Africa. It treats the exploration of culture across communities for effective conflicts resolution. Also, it provides robust overview on evolution of Nigeria's two major political parties, the APC and PDP. When pieced together, the subheads give articulate background to the study.

2.12: Cultural Resources and Conflicts Resolution:

Cultures have their social mechanisms for conflicts resolution. Nwolise (2004) affirms traditional African communities hold secrets to peace making and peace-building in their customs and norms. Conflicts resolution in African native communities involve elimination of root-causes of disagreements and genuine reconciliation of disputing parties. Traditional African societies promote good governance, preserve law and order, ensure harmony and involve everyone in happy resolution of conflicts for peace by setting right milieus for truth and reconciliation, Okhogbe (2021).

Native tools and aboriginal properties of Africans for conflicts resolution include cultural resources in mechanisms of indigenous communication and facilities of traditional institutions. These are integral assets for disputes settlements at the executive, legislative and judicial levels of traditional authorities, prior to advent of contemporary governments. Even in today's modern communities and political systems, resilient traditional tools are available to people for the management and resolution of disputes (Akinola & Uzodike, 2018; Dansoh, Frimpong & Oppong, 2020; da Rocha, 2018; Inyvesi, 2018; Muhammad & Zakaria, 2018; Olowu, 2017; Oyesomi, Salawu and Olorunyomi, 2017).

The home grown traditional systems use indigenous communication in liberal and effective processes to settle disputes, offer justice and create social harmony. The institutions incentivize corrective collaborative mediations to get hitherto antagonistic individuals negotiate their differences for amity. The approaches and strategies suit the people when they act in pure faith; on group identity and cultural loyalty. Agreements

reached and endorsed are based on social influence; the customs and laws of their communities. Nevertheless, conflicts resolution methods at some places do not apply at other cultural settings because traditional systems are needs based, context specific and never universal (da Rocha, 2018; Inyuvesi, 2018; Muhammad & Zakaria, 2018; Oyesomi, Salawu and Olorunyomi, 2017).

The longstanding customary conflicts resolution systems in Africa, driven by custodians of culture, respected women and men, in societies make disputing parties reach acceptable settlements without legal compulsion. All stakeholders are involved in the processes, discussion and clarification of goals for win-win outcomes. Community youths monitor peace and enforce compliance on negotiated terms. When agreements are not reached at a sitting, more sessions are scheduled to negotiate desired resolutions (Akinola & Uzodike, 2018; Dansoh, Frimpong & Oppong, 2020; Olowu, 2017; da Rocha, 2018).

African communities use customary laws and invoke institutional rituals for resolutions. Lately, acceptance of rituals as cultural features depends on appropriate management of tension between tradition and modernity. The aesthetic dimensions of appropriations also determine conflicts resolution processes. In Nigeria, customary approaches to social control such as communal solidarity, traditional oaths, rewards, vigilantes, informal settlements, checks and balances, effective communication and good governance endure. Mostly in informal modes, they get good results in disputes settlement at the community levels (Akov, 2017; Lamidi, 2019; Okafor, 2020; Olusola & Aisha, 2013).

Traditional institutions for conflicts resolution in Africa embed robust legal structures and are some peoples' first resort. While aspects of the legal systems may differ from modern constitutional norms, bulk of the rules align with basic human rights doctrines and are jurisprudentially correct. They have apt limitations, checks and balances. There are also rooms for appeals by dissatisfied persons. Miscarriage of justice is rare and there are redeeming underpins. In addition, the customary protocols are flexible; have grown with the communities and people have ownership (Olawale Albert et al, 2013; Olowu, 2017).

These traditional mechanisms are value oriented. They incorporate elements of truth telling, accommodation of others, collaboration, compensation, rehabilitation. Also, they reintegrate affected persons; allow interaction of native elders and peers of disputants for amicable settlements. Formal court proceedings lack such opportunities. Disputants are not free in courts as they could be at the native fora. Parties in disputes may probe previous grudges and narrate past good relations because native judicial processes marry justice administration with reconciliation and peacemaking. Generally, there is wider tolerance of concession for oneness to restore social order (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Alimba, 2018; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Rapatalo, 2020; Uchime & Okpara, 2019).

The moral ideals held by communities and power of compulsion stamp superiority of society over individuals to heal ruptured relations. Penalties like the curse, banishment and denial of favors are very effective because human beings have natural urge to belong. People denied social relationships get disturbed. Inherent normative determinism of native conflicts resolution institutions mentally condition and regulate peoples' relationships and actions in societies (Brennen, 2005; Haji, 2012; Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015).

Psychic investigations with extra-judicial protocols are used in knotty matters. Invocation of the supernatural, divinations, oaths taking and resort to dreaded deities are common under native conflicts resolution frameworks. These approach are reported to be effective and found to be more efficient than police operations to extract truth, end hostilities and halt proclivity to breach agreements. Scholars, Herranen (2020), Makwudo and Obijekwum (2020), Ghebretেকে and Rammala (2019), Basiru (2018), Ujumadu, (2015) and Idumwonyi and Ikhidero (2013) confirm these in documented exploits of Africans with *Alalwn, Ajilekege, Arochukwu, Ayilala, Essa, Gacaca, Lekgotla, Okija* and *Tor-bue*.

New World Encyclopedia (2018) in its review of Max Herman Gluckman (1911-1975), South African-born British social anthropologist's submissions on African traditional institutions for conflicts resolution, averred that human beings through better understanding of their environments developed common traditions and methods to overcome conflicts of their daily lives. It also noted greater violent social relations in quests for material needs

with peoples in communities where ruling elites and colonialists jettisoned indigenous traditions and codes (Amodu, 2012).

Resolving conflicts is a way of life with Africans who believe unresolved conflicts antagonise the Supreme Being, deities, ancestors and society. It is anarchical with the people to handle incompatibilities with force. African age long comprehensive disputes resolution methods incorporate the spirit world into home-grown consultative solutions. Apology, compensation and restitution to injured parties are parts of the processes to deter further offences and wrongs (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014; Akinola & Uzodike, 2018; Akinwale, 2010; Ghebretেকে & Rammala, 2019; Kpae, 2018; Lamidi, 2019; Woko & Osagie, 2014).

Generally, African conflicts resolution processes value collaboration over victim centred models that get discounted in negotiation of incompatibilities. Forgiveness is expected from wronged victims and reparations worked out. Repentant offenders may get rehabilitation instead of being shunned. The win-win scheme is about restorative justice instead of retribution. Usually, dispute frames get broken down with apt cultural codes for mutual goodwill and social solidarity. Needful next steps for native disputes settlement processes that cherish honesty, openness, empathy, solidarity and loyalty is to get the mechanisms modernized and structured on global standards for systems on conflicts resolution (Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue & Durojaye, 2006; Aremu, 2010; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Ghebretেকে & Rammala, 2019; Kwaku & Morena, 2010; Lawal, Orunbon, Ibikunle and Faduyile, 2019, citing Brock–Utne, 2001 and Fred-Mensah, 2005; Nwolise, 2005; Stewart & Wilson, 2021, Tafese, 2011, citing Kestner and Ray, 2002; Vassallo, 2016).

Globally, two mechanisms are typical in disputes settlement. First is direct face-to-face dialogue or negotiation. It could be formal, with third party moderating proceedings or informal when disputants mutually sort out their matter. Second is court or arbitration panels. Further, three factors aid successful disputes settlement. One, forum must be recognized by all involved. Two, resolution process must be transparent, with impartial judges in open processes and three, verdicts must be acceptable to all. If not, there must be room for appeal. These are basic processes of native conflicts resolution institutions in Africa. Beyond these, Asano (2002) noted the traditional institutions safe time, reduce

costs, promote rehabilitation, discount proof of evidence and facilitate multiplex social ties (Collins, Demeter & Sussan, 2021; Saleem, 2019).

Till recent, most African countries allowed hegemonic Western traditions, considered global cultures, to subjugate native methods in conflicts resolution. Only aspects of indigenous methods that align with Arabic and Western ideas of justice and morality are employed to guide resolution procedures. Except in serious matters beyond capacities of African governments, like settlement of Yoruba sub-ethnic conflicts that deteriorated into longest civil war in history, 16-year-long Kiriji War, 1877-1893 and the 67-year long Umurebo-Umokuzu and Umuleri-Aguleri hostilities, the indigenous methods were hardly resorted to, Egbunike-Umegbolu (2021).

By its nature, as espoused by sundry scholars, culture has a pervading influence and predisposes people to certain views and actions. It programmes and determines the way individuals view conflicts as it affects their reactions to conflict situations. Culture shapes perception; it structures and produces eloquent actions. People make meanings and enact identities through culture. In conflicts resolution, cultural resources couched in language are normally explored in universal schemes for conflicts settlement. These help to gain balance and ensure efforts are not derailed by probable contradictions of some sub-cultures (Avruch 1998; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017).

For example, a cultural group, like Vassallo (2019) explained, could share race, ethnicity or nationality, but diverse in socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, ability and disability, political and religious affiliations, language, gender and across generations, etc. While particular cultural ethos could resolve whatever basic incompatibilities there are, when trending universal norms are ignored on matters like freedom in sexual orientation, gender and rights to self-determination, another set of conflicts could be ignited. These imply some vexatious issues could not be treated solely from cultural prisms (Murithi, 2006).

Conflict to John Paul Lederach (1996, cited by Vassallo 2019), is a socially constructed reality that does not occur by happenstance, but caused by contextualised agents, people who created the incidents. Culturally neutral approach to conflict resolution

is, therefore, not attainable. Even the well praised universal model is fed by Western Enlightenment culture of Auguste Comte (1798–1857).

Conflicts and culture are intertwined. Culture by itself does not cause conflicts, people do; based on their cultural outlooks, the indigenous worldviews that govern their realities, ethos and interpretations of social situations. While it is unsafe to relegate culture in conflicts resolution processes, particularly in multicultural societies, where culture orders how information and language are processed for bargaining and negotiations, it is striking that culture does not cause conflict behaviours, violence and aggression because cultural grounds are not same as causal source (Ghebretekle & Rammala, 2019; Vassallo, 2019).

Exploits in African traditional conflicts resolution methods are well-documented in the use of *Gacaca* tribunals in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide. The native judicial panels were set up to heal wounds of the inter-tribal war and decongest regular courts. The *Gacaca* panels ensured reparation for victims and rehabilitation for perpetrators, instead of retribution. Government and local communities involved stirred the culprits of war crimes and hostilities to acknowledge their errors and apologise to victims. Elders created settings for people to speak freely and seek settlements to limit odds of further hostilities (Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue & Durojaye, 2006; Kwaku & Morena, 2010; Seay, 2017).

Major shortcoming of the *Gacaca* tribunal, which cleared and resolved backlog of cases, was inability to serve justice in severe crimes like rape, murder, etc. Critics see handicap of this model as compromise. Valid as their submissions are, *Gacaca* system is an African conflicts resolution technique meant to restore relationships than reprisal. Also, it was not originally designed to punish high crimes but to repair damaged affiliations; to rehabilitate and reintegrate offenders into society. Importantly, application of *Gacaca* in settlement of disputes is not same as administration of justice (Kirkby, 2006; Oyeniyi, 2017).

In South Africa, *Lekgotla* conflicts resolution mechanism treats incompatibilities and disputes via the people's councils. It was mainly designed to promote social harmony, unity, peace, order and filial restorations in disputes settlement. *Lekgotla* is applied under royal authority to engage in a process of sustained dialogue to resolve conflicts. It created

opportunities for mutual communication between parties in conflicts to rebuild relationships and broaden perceptions. The *Kgotla*, gathering of members of *Lekgotla*, listens to the disputants to mediate and repair broken bonds with mutually worked solutions. Oftentimes, family members were involved to negotiate and decide matters fairly and amicably (Ghebretেকে & Rammala, 2019; Kwaku & Morena, 2010; Seay, 2017; Vassello, 2019).

Major setback to *Lekgotla* is that any party could terminate the process by discontinuing discussions at any stage. Also, treatment of issues vary at various communities. Mediators do not employ uniform approach to determine the cases. Despite these, the customary method to conflicts resolution is not supplanted because the South African formal judicial system regularly refers knotty native cases to it for resolution. The people also prefer the panels to settle their disputes (Ghebretেকে & Rammala, 2019; Kwaku & Morena, 2010; Seay, 2017).

The *Ubuntu* code of the Bantus in South Africa is another popular example of native cultural conflicts resolution facility to reconcile disputants and promote social accord. *Ubuntu* fosters peace and heal wounds suffered in wrongs to maintain communal amity. *Ubuntu* means a person is a person through other people, Makulilo (2016). In *Ubuntu* communities, all members are involved in solutions to problems of incompatibilities. The *Ubuntu* way also reduces possible re-occurrence of conflicts with equal attention to victims and offenders. However, as with human systems, *Ubuntu* way is not always successful in conflicts resolution. Some wrong doers and conflicts perpetrators may refuse to admit their wrongs as expected. Other victims of crime refused to forgive offenders, causing the community to seek further ways for resolution (Murithi, 2006; Vassello, 2019).

Like the *Ubuntu* code, the *Omoluabi* noble communal lifestyle of Yoruba people in Nigeria undergird their native conflicts resolution structure. This doctrine promotes humanity above Western individualism. It stresses utmost civility, mutual respect, care and protection of others. The *Omoluabi* principle, as a way of life, caters for the welfare of every member of society. An *Omoluabi* is obliged to safeguard interests of his fellow men; group wellbeing precedes personal survival (Ibagere, 2020; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Ghebretেকে & Rammala, 2019; Lähdesmäki, 2019; Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019).

Three major traditional authorities dominate conflicts resolution in Nigeria. Other ethnic based systems, like Canoe Houses of the Niger Delta, are localized to smaller regions. In the Northern Hausa/Kanuri/Fulani zone, feudal system predominates, it runs on centralized power. A decentralized authority run by the republican Igbo dominate Eastern Nigeria and the Yoruba people, dominating Western Nigeria, run ad-mix of guided monarchy. In Africa, kings-in-council, chiefs-in-council, elders-in-council; the priests and other constituted authorities and committees operate within various traditional structures of their societies to resolve conflicts. Expectedly, decisions, based on moral and social solidarity on collective identity of the people, are binding. Nweke (2012) holds that traditional rulers were sovereign authorities on disputes settlements in their domains before colonisation (Ayodele and Adebuseyi (2023); Akov, 2017; Lamidi, 2019; Okafor, 2020).

In northern Nigeria, colonial authorities maintained peace and security through settlement of conflicts by reliance on traditional institutions at three committee levels. At the base, village heads, Fulani and farmer leaders resolved issues by mediation and payment of compensation. Few disputes moved to second middle level, committee that comprised district head, Sarkin Fulani or Seriki Hausa and branch chairman of the farmers' association, take charge. The final and highest level comprises the emir, *galadima*, leaders of associations and other members of emirate councils. Verdicts here were final and conflict actors must acquiesce (Akov, 2017; Lamidi, 2019; Okafor, 2020; Olusola & Aisha, 2013).

Another Nigerian community with well-developed system of traditional conflicts resolution, with pronounced use of both indigenous communication scheme and traditional institutions, are Yoruba people. This ethnic group relishes verbal art of committing essential corpus of their knowledge systems and survival worldviews to memory. Normative, proverb-driven traditional jurisprudence are used to settle disputes. Oftentimes, the coded information when issued amid initiates compel instant acquiescence to terms of resolutions (Ajayi, 2014; Akinwale, 2010; Ayodele & Adebuseyi, 2023; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Olowu, 2017, Stewart & Wilson, 2021).

Customarily, only the initiates have access to some codes, sacred procedures and rules of the adjudication procedures. These are encapsulated in objects, totems and

indigenous communication art forms, usually performed as chants, songs, aphorisms, signs, graphic sketches, poetry and proverbs to make them lively for comprehension and easy recall. It is important to affirm that the Yoruba people are custodian of *Ifa*, a major African legacy, kernel of knowledge and divination which predates Western philosophy (Ayodele & Adebuseyi, 2023; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Ofuasia, 2019; Ofuasia & Sunday, 2021; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Ogunnaike, 2020; Olajide, 2011).

Yoruba people generally resolve conflicts by tiers of community units. The *Idile*, family households on bloodlines headed by *Olori Ebi*, who could be female. An *idile* comprises the extended family of relatives and assimilated members. Heads of communities are *Baale* or petty chiefs assisted by the *Olori Ebi* that normally form the Household Councils for community conflicts resolution. Minor household, family and communal conflicts are resolved by *Olori Ebi*, while *Baale* handles major conflicts.

Primary duty of *Baale* is to maintain communal peace and harmonious social relations in his domain. A *Baale* runs regular sessions for disputes settlement and resolution of incompatibilities among members of his community (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Akinwale, 2010; Ayodele & Adebuseyi, 2023; Brennen, 2005; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Haji, 2012; Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Olaoba, 2011; Olawale Albert et al, 2013; Olowu, 2017).

Appeals from *Baale's* court go to *Ile Ejo Igbimo Adugbo*, the area tribunals, made up of committee of *Baale* and High Chiefs. These tribunals have authority to investigate crimes before transferring them to the township councils, *Igbimo Ilu*, a committee of eminent persons presided over by kings. The king also runs his or her courts, *Ile-Ejo Oba*, to treat knotty civil cases (Akinwale, 2010; Ayodele & Adebuseyi, 2023; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Olaoba, 2011; Olawale Albert et al, 2013; Olowu, 2017).

The king's court with *Igbimo Ilu* are highest traditional institutions for conflicts and disputes settlements in Yorubaland. They gave the death sentence in pre-colonial era. Generally, the king's court and *Igbimo Ilu* are final courts for trials and conflicts resolution. However, among Egba and Ijebu people, in Ogun State, there are *Ogboni* and *Osugbo*

courts, made up of noble men and women, chiefs and traditional rulers, presided over by chief priests that take appeals on cases from the king's court (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Ayodele & Adebuseyi, 2023; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Oguntomisin, 2004; Olaoba, n.d.).

Yoruba people have varied spiritual beliefs and religious affiliations. Some are Christians, many Muslims and others adherents of aboriginal beliefs. The people balance exposure to modern education with cultural doctrines. The community focuses on ingraining values of *Omoluabi* on the society to manage conflict situations, avoid violence and maintain peace. The *Omoluabi* concept, expected human virtues and noble values embedded in culture to foster dignity, love, integrity and harmonious lifestyles, accord prime attention to collaboration and connection of all members in the community to a live and let live code of honour (Adebayo, 2022; Akinjogbin, 2003; Akintayo, 2021, Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Oguntomisin, 2004; Olayinka, 2020).

The Yoruba culture has inbuilt systemic norms for navigating antagonisms and provocations to retain peace and ensure focus on the primary objectives of social contacts and cordial relationships. It is common saying among the people that “*aki ti ile ojo de ka di ore*” which means the aftermath of retributive courts is never friendship (Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Olayinka, 2020).

In treatment of conflicts, the utmost aims are to reconstruct social bridges, secure friendships, facilitate interactions, make peace and amicably restore social harmony. Fines and penalties were sparsely imposed, though fair restitutions are made to those who suffered losses to avert injustice. At the sessions, it is imperative to pour libations to deities and ancestors. Usually, kolanut is freely passed round and all present share in gin, which they usually drink from same cup during the sessions. Goodwill feasts are not uncommon to close sittings (Makwudo & Obijekwum, 2020 & Oguntomisin, 2004).

Ezekiel and Abdulraheem, (2022) noted superiority of these native methods for conflicts resolution as lately accepted by the Western world. Regrettably, hegemonic domination of colonialism compelled Yoruba people to alternate restorative model with

castigatory European justice system, Ayodele and Adebuseyi (2023). Current renaissance of African culture implies the world faces impacts of renewed understanding of the African way as key and prelude to progress in effective and efficient conflicts resolution.

The peace agreement that follows the 100 years internecine revolutionary wars of Yoruba kingdoms, 1789–1880 and the 16 year long violent conflicts, the Kiriji war, show the power of traditional institutions to end violent conflicts. Akinjogbin (2003) recorded termination of devastating Kiriji War that ravaged Yorubaland for decades with native conflicts resolution resources, the *Omoluabi* code of honour and active oaths. Yoruba kingdoms by tradition have different political systems. For example, Ibadan people are republicans, Ijaye folks run military dictatorship, Egba people are federalists and Ekiti societies are confederates.

On Thursday September 23, 1886, the people agreed on Peace Proclamation to end hostilities that had engulfed entire Yoruba kingdoms for decades. This followed end of Ibadan dominance after imperial Oyo Empire disintegrated. Leaders and war generals of various Yoruba clans publicly covenanted and swore to oath of eternal amity and friendship in Imesi Ile, Osun State. Immediately the oaths were taken, the ravaging Kiriji war ceased. Elusive peace, harmonious co-existence and brotherhood returned to entire Yorubaland (Akintayo, 2021; Akinjogbin, 2003; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Olayinka, 2020).

One more model example of African traditional institution for conflicts resolution is the *Tor-bue* of Gwara people in Ogoniland, Nigeria. This native resource involves all elements Africans employ for disputes settlement and resolution of incompatibilities. These include the Supreme Being, deities, ancestors, the community, particularly elders, leaders and rulers as well as the conflict actors with their relatives and peers. Kpae (2018) explains the social inclusion is basically to secure compliance, elicit participation, commitments and make the peace agreements sacred and binding.

Disputing parties comply with and obey decisions of the *Tor-bue* to avoid wrath of the deities, believed to have capacity to inflict punishments on those who breach covenants and their households. Involvement of deities and ancestors of the clan bond people to the

institution. Presiding traditional ruler, priest, elder or household head reminds all concerned in the conflicts, particularly disputants, of the implications of defiance to terms of resolutions (Ajayi, 2014; Ekhaton, 2018; Idumwonyi & Ikhidero, 2013; Kpae, 2018).

To institute the *Tor-bue*, a report must be lodged by an aggrieved person or a concerned individual. Eldest males preside in disputes within families, while council of elders treats conflicts among members of the community. If dispute is outside family or between families, community chief in council of chiefs presides. When dispute is between two communities, paramount ruler of the clan with chiefs' council preside.

Family members assemble in their courtyards for *Tor-bue*. Town criers summon the community to *Tor-bue* at village square. Parties in dispute sit opposite each other. Children and youths are allowed to attend *Tor-bue*, as observers, but they cannot talk at the sessions, unless specially allowed as witnesses on a matter (Kpae, 2018).

Proceedings start with libations and prayers. Opening remarks are made to set ground rules. Parties are advised against offensive words and council members cautioned not to take sides but get amicable settlement to reconcile disputants. Proceedings begin when the totems are hoisted to beckon ancestors and deities to the assembly. Family, clan or community totems are used to administer oaths, as in law courts. This makes people speak the truth and help councils resolve issues amicably. When matter is introduced, parties are invited to make their cases and state expectations, elders and concerned parties get opportunities to speak under oath and proffer settlement terms. Matters are decided by negotiations; giving and acceptance of apologies with agreed restitutions (Kpae, 2018).

To end deliberations, blood sacrifice, from chicken or goat, is made and drinks shared. Deities and ancestors that might have been offended by the disputes and hostilities appeased and their blessings sought on decisions. Parties in conflicts normally provide food for attendees. Hardly are family disputes taken outside homestead to avoid washing dirty household linens in public glare, unless a party lacks confidence in family ruling to settle the case or family head is not available (Ajayi, 2014; Akinwale, 2010; Kpae, 2018).

In cases of theft, land disputes or murder, priests are involved. Deliberations and settlements are done at shrines. Culprits and suspects would have to swear before deities. The ruler normally appoints a panel of four. The chairman, secretary, a messenger and judgment reader, to resolve such matters. False or wrongful allegations are usually tabled before deities to reveal culprits or exonerate suspects (Ajayi, 2014; Kpae, 2018).

Purification rituals are required when a felon confesses, seeks forgiveness and there is restitution. In some cases involving clansmen at regular courts, the *Tor-bue* has been known to approach such courts to withdraw the matter for native settlement to protect community image from disrepute. Results of such resolutions are later tabled before courts for adoption as judgments (Alimba, 2018; Kpae, 2018).

Like Yoruba people, traditional institutions for conflicts resolution among Igbo in South East Nigeria include family and *Amala* or council of elders, the *Okpara* or eldest male, the *Umuanna*, clan and *Umuada* or female born in a town but married out. Age grades, assembly of the people and the king or *Ohanaeze*, the hunters' association and *Agbara* or local deities and oracles. Successful settlement of the 67-year long seemingly intractable Umurebo-Umokuazu and Umuleri-Aguleri, Imo State, dispute on Otuocha land is one of the best examples of effectiveness of African native resource in harmonious resolution of conflicts (Ezenwoko & Osagie, 2014; Makwudo & Obijekwum, 2020).

All efforts to resolve the six-decade land dispute, ignited since 1933 failed. Elders of Obokwu's did not succeed with mediations. Intervention by *Nwanwa* men's group failed. Efforts of autonomous traditional ruler, *Obinze*, and his cabinet were also futile. Formal courts, political intervention, government bureaucracy and even military intervention could not stop the communal anarchy among people who shared same *Eri*, ancestral origin. However, when chief priest of *Obinze* and messenger of *Alanlwn*, the big Earth deity, publicly announced the deity's anger with the bloodshed and warned against further hostilities, he got all concerned to acquiesce (Ekhatior, 2018; Ezenwoko & Osagie, 2014).

All affected actors were summoned to peace meeting and pronouncement made on immediate cessation of hostilities. Total compliance with the deity's order on the

protracted bloody dispute is sufficient evidence here of effectiveness and efficacy of native resource in resolution of perplexing conflicts. Traditional resolution procedure was the call that all acknowledged representatives and leaders of each of the five communities involved in the belligerences should take sacred oath, endorse a peace treaty and publicly declare an end to the hostilities (Ezenwoko & Osagie, 2014).

These representatives were assembled for peace meeting at the market square with symbols of their local deities. In addition, they were each asked to present two goats, kola nuts and many bottles of gin by the chief priest. Each and every one of them took turn to swear publicly to cease hostilities in the presence of assembled deities and the chief priest, *Ezemmo*. Even Christian leaders from Catholic and Anglican churches in the communities were called out to swear according to their doctrines, using the Bible. Goats were sacrificed to conclude the binding peace ritual, libations poured and drinks shared (Ekhatior, 2018; Ezenwoko & Osagie, 2014; Makwudo & Obijekwum, 2020).

Evidence abound that deep-rooted traditional institutions and native mechanisms for conflicts resolution in Africa have locked into them secrets for peace making. One of these methods is how the Amasiri clan in Ebonyi State of Nigeria uses oath-taking ritual for conflicts resolution. Active oath taking in Africa is linked to mystical powers of deities and ancestors whose totems are used as symbols to support peace processes. Failure to comply with whatever peace agreements are reached, following invocation of active oaths, routinely attracts dire consequences (Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019).

The Amasiri clan in Eastern Nigeria uses native resource of *Essa* to resolve conflicts. *Essa* through *Ichie Amasiri*, elders emeritus, use proverbs for counselling and to address matters. Conflicts over land, which has ancestral linkage, are rife and active oaths are used to resolve them. When oath is administered on parties disputing over land, whoever is wrong or making false claim would exit the earth to the ancestors within a year, as pronounced and affirmed in the oath, while rightful owner is spared. If both are spared after a year, then, the land gets shared (Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019).

The oaths are often taken at shrines where priests warn all concerned on dangers of perjury, which usually heralds disasters into families of the perjurer, aside the grievous outcomes, death of wrong doers. Disputants in matters considered serious get invited by the *Ichie Amasiri* when a complaint is lodged. All concerned parties state their cases, call witnesses and settlement made. When this fails, or evidence is scarce and an agreement could not be reached, then, such matters are settled with psychic forensic media; the invocation of active oaths. Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime and Okpara (2019) reported effectiveness and repeated efficacy of this native method. It was noted to reveal wrong doers by inflicting severe punishments. This is dreaded by members of the Amasiri clan and predisposes them to settle disputes amicably.

Criticisms of traditional institutions for conflicts resolution include lack of codified body of laws. Resorts to use of archaic rituals. Laying punishments at variance with modern legal schemes, like curses and banishments. Having some rules that are incompatible with dominant notions of justice. Gender discrimination and conferring enforcement powers on all members of the community. Also, some rulings, hardly recorded, could be discretionary, making appeals difficult. Further, traditional institutions oftentimes lacked coercive means to enforce decisions (Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015; Simojoki, 2011; Ubink, 2011).

Naturally, tradition requires justification. African traditions and reason, as Alimba (2018) insists, are not mutually exclusive. Communal efforts that involve all concerned persons, families, priests and traditional rulers to re-enact order in the society reduce intensity of conflicts. Also, they aid perception reviews in the joint search for solutions. Yoruba maxim for balance, fairness and good sense of justice, associated with cross examinations illustrates this. The people say “*agbejo enikan da, agba osika*”, only the wicked and iniquitous gives a judgement based on the evidence of one party to a dispute. It is trite that African traditional practices are rational and subject to reviews as “power of society”. The cries against the methods are at best calls to get them modernized and improved for contemporary relevance, Ghebretkle, (2017, np)

Better appreciation of native resources for conflicts resolution calls for analysis of limitations in the African way. The inherent contradictions and undesirable practices and

iniquities, due more to ignorance, are no longer vogue, Fiseha (2013). Guardians of traditions like elders, priests and sages are influential on their abilities to interpret ritual truths and meanings of sacred symbols in communal rituals. They are not experts on modern lifestyles. These form good cases for paradigm shift; integration and synergy of modern and traditional ways for paired legitimate conflicts resolution models. (Ajayi, 2014; Alimba, 2018; Ghebretেকে, 2017; Olaoba, 2011; Rapatalo, 2020).

In Nigeria, negative attitude to traditional conflicts resolution methods by some elites and religious persons, particularly Christians and Moslems, exists. Relish of public opposition to native rituals like oaths taking and purification rites are real. Also, traditional justice system is degraded by some politicians in favour of malleable foreign judicial methods. Displacement of extended family system by modern nuclear families also erode positive regulatory and moderating influences of family members on kin (Rapatalo, 2020).

High costs of running and maintaining traditional institutions, unlike officially funded state disputes settlement systems, depress development of native conflict resolution methods. Lastly, in traditional African societies, elders used to be wealthiest set of people and as could not be easily induced or compromised, having acquired material wealth like land and livestock over the years. Today, some elders depend on others, who have better access to wealth, for their livelihood. They are therefore open to unedifying influences and inducements. These realities could make operations at native conflicts settlements sub-par. (Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019; Kpae, 2018).

Stern and Druckman (2000) evaluating conflict resolution mechanisms averred success is achieved whenever purpose of an intervention is accomplished and course of events altered from violent to nonviolent interactions in conflict environments. While positive peace that decisively ends hostilities and violence is best, progressive peace that transforms relationships to yield mutual understanding among disputants is equally central to success, Ajayi (2016). Also, Olofinbiyi (2018) noted victory in conflicts resolution is when actors hitherto opposed to peace shun violence and engage in nonviolent conducts, the acclaimed situation rife in post conflict Rwanda (Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015).

2.13: Evolution of Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria:

Nigeria's first political party, formed in 1923 under British colonialists, Nigerian National Democratic Party, NNDP, was birthed to take political power at independence by fielding candidates for legislative seats in Lagos and Calabar under the 1922 Clifford Constitution. NNDP had exclusive political space until 1938 when NYM, National Youth Movement was formed (Agbu, 2016; Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017).

Both parties were provincial, drawing provenance from socio-cultural and ethnic associations. The promoters, educated elites, made them extensions of their town and regional unions. Nigeria remained a multi-party state since 1960 independence, except for brief three years, 1989 to 1992, when it tried a two-party system. Nigeria moved from parliamentary governance to presidential arrangement after the military interrupted its First Republic in 1966. The country has had intermittent military regimes engulfed by the Second Republic 1979 to 1983 and Third Republic 1987 to 1993. Current Fourth Republic began in 1999 (Agbu, 2016; Basiru, 2018; Egboh & Aniche, 2015; Jinadu, 2002).

The three major parties at independence were the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, NCNC, rooted in Igbo east. The Northern People's Congress, NPC, was northerners' Hausa-Fulani party that emerged from *Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa*, Association of People from the North, and Action Group, AG, arose from pan-Yoruba socio-cultural organisation, *Egbe Omo Oduduwa*, a gathering of descendants of Oduduwa (Agbu, 2016; Basiru, 2018; Egboh & Aniche, 2015; Jinadu, 2002).

These political parties got regional autonomies and ran provincial governments. They gripped their bases and pally for national outlook with minority ethnic-based political associations outside their native areas. Intra-party crisis in NPC led to formation of Northern Elements Progressives Union, NEPU, while marginalised minorities formed United Middle Belt Congress, UMBC (Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018; Ibrahim, Hussein, Mohammed & Jahun, 2019; Jinadu, 2011 & 2002).

The Second Republic political parties were reincarnates of First Republic parties in ethnic and regional identities. The National Party of Nigeria, was for Hausa north. UPN,

Unity Party of Nigeria, was Yoruba and NPP, Nigeria Peoples' Party catered for Igbo east. The PRP, Peoples' Redemption Party was NEPU reborn and GNPP, Great Nigeria Peoples' Party was for minorities like the UMBC (Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018).

The ethnic factor in Nigeria's practice of democratic federalism underscores the salutary role identity politics could play in deepening democratic governance. It illustrated Lile Trosset and Caulkins (2020) findings that group identity, shared ancestry, language, norms and mores are positive determinants of institutions and relationships for culture development. Nwachukwu, Aghemalo and Okebugwu, (2014, p.159) also found from studies on influence of cultural drivers in politics that "ethnicity determines the choice of votes and voter's decisions on electioneering in Nigeria. The electoral choice of Nigerians are ethnically coloured as party formations are ethnically designated and motivated."

Igbini (2020) and Onuoha (2013) in their studies found cultural organisations were umbrellas for ethno-nationalism and transformations of social groups into political platforms. In Nigeria, political leaders remained champions of their ethnic groups. As Jinadu (2011) noted, daring efforts by military to discourage ethnic-based political associations in the longest democratic transition programme in Nigeria's history, 1989 to 1993, failed.

Nigerian military had a stillbirth two-party state. It formed the Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention on ideological lines of socialist left and republican right. Soldiers drafted the parties' constitutions and manifestoes. Government financed and structured them. Party offices were built in the 774 local governments. This elaborate political design crashed with annulment of 1992 presidential election, won by a southerner, for reasons not clear of ethnic bias (Jinadu, 2011; Yagboyaju & Simbine, 2020).

The two dominant political parties in Nigeria by August 2023, APC and PDP controlled 33 of Nigeria's 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, FCT. The APC that controls central government won 21 states and FCT. PDP members serve as governors in 12 states the party won at elections. All Progressives Grand Alliance, APGA, Labour Party, LP, and New Nigeria People's Party, NNPP, control a state each with their elected

governors. Other 87 of the 93 registered political parties lacked national significance (Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018; Yagboyaju & Simbine, 2020).

Interestingly, the two major parties in 2023 were offspring of conflicts. The APC, formed in February 2013 was child of unresolved internal conflicts in hitherto ruling PDP. PDP itself was formed in August 31, 1998 by statesmen, retired military officers and leaders of civil associations, opposed to self-succession of late General Sani Abacha from military head of state to a civilian president (Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018; Egboh & Aniche, 2015).

2.14: Overview of Conflicts in the APC and PDP:

Conflicts, clashes of interests among party members, feature in political groups of liberal democracies, Bashiru (2019). The platforms for political contests for power and positions cannot but be arena of disputes, Honig (2023). The most debilitating intra-party conflicts are over leadership and fielding of candidates for elective offices. Attempts to impose candidates for elections are routine with Nigerian political parties. Contentions over resources, party machinery and opportunities usually raise tempers to boiling points during political party conventions and at election seasons (Bashiru, 2019; Egboh & Aniche, 2015).

Intra-party conflicts assumed crisis dimensions in Nigeria's Forth Republic on issues like internal rules for discipline, accountability, parochial and personal interests as well as attempts to dislodge officials and usurp policies. Other bugs are high handedness and unnecessary rigidity of party leaders. Attempts to dominate members, greed, godfatherism and misapplication of agreed zoning agreements also trend. Narrow social values within groups on prestige, wealth, positions and recognition also stimulate conflicts (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Yahaya, 2019).

The running democracy in Nigeria, since 1999, has not exorcised ghost of elite fragmentation and citizens' mobilization along primordial fault lines. APC and PDP, despite their national outlooks, are bogged by factional wrangling of ethno-religious dimensions. Simbine (2015) confirms from Jinadu (2011, p.5) that "party reform to deepen democracy in the country remains an unfinished progress". Studies found party leadership kept their ranks and files divided to consolidate their influences and entrench themselves deeper.

Oftentimes, they merged idiosyncratic criteria with politicized ethnicity and used political vagrancy as tested strategy. Basiru (2015, p.92) dubbed this “institutionalized indiscipline.”

Unending intra-party bickering and ceaseless litigations aid defections. They birth subdued national integration and flourish of unhealthy political culture. Political parties that should promote ideological consensus, stability and tolerance botch the noble ideals. They fail to create true national identity on pleasant ethnic pacts (Basiru, 2018; Omotola, 2010).

This situation was worsened by retired soldiers, with military culture, dominating political parties. These war professionals, unable to transit into democratic modes, impose command regime dicta on the parties. During the Olusegun Obasanjo era, a retired general and first president in Fourth Republic, more than 100 top PDP members, plus Obasanjo’s vice president, decamped to oppose leadership dictatorial bents (Egboh & Aniche, 2015).

Two scholars, Basiru, (2018) and Simbine (2015), probed antecedents of major promoters of the PDP in their studies and agreed their only shared interest was removal of military from power. Soon as this was done, tension amongst them became apparent. The PDP from then reeled in internal dictatorship. The scholars’ further found the PDP to be an assemblage of motley individuals of diverse values and ideologies. Egboh and Aniche (2015 in citing Ofoeze, 2001) puts the situation in perspective:

...in the course of transforming itself into a political party, the group simply threw its door open and allowed itself to be invaded by large number of people and groups most of whom were / are neither committed to the original ideals of the group nor the country’s overall socio-political and economic wellbeing.

“Indeed, some of these invaders were / are those persons / groups who either assiduously worked for the Abacha’s self-succession bid and / or those who had, in the past, created or immensely contributed to the country’s socio-political and economic miasma. Given the huge financial and numerical strength of these

invaders, the original patriots and founders of the group easily got overwhelmed and sidelined in the affairs of the party

The Abacha referred to was late General Sani Abacha, who died in office in bid to transit from military head of state into a civilian president. Aftermaths of the internal conflicts were violations of principles of party politics and rise in anti-party activities. These finally sealed PDP's fate in 2015 presidential election. It lost its 16-year nonstop governance at the centre to arch rival, APC (Sule & Yahaya, 2018).

The story of APC was hardly different. Its leaders were found to marginalize members on nominations for appointments and tickets to contest elections. They favoured their select candidates, not necessarily popular, at primaries. The impositions caused disenchantments and conflicts. Outcome is some APC members constitute themselves into opposition within the party. These stumbling blocks escalate crises and push party cohesion and amity to back burner (Basiru, 2018; Sule, Azizuddin, Sani & Mat, 2018; Sule & Yahaya, 2018; Omilusi, 2016; Jinadu, 2011; Yahaya, 2019).

Aside these, many state governments and state party executives have conflicts with national leadership of the party whom they see as domineering. Not less than 180 senior APC members decamped to opposition PDP and other rival parties, between 2022 and 2023, a tale akin to fate of PDP in 2015 (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Omilusi, 2016; Sule & Azizuddin, 2018; Sule & Yahaya, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

Though flourish of internal democracy in political party affairs does not guarantee absence of conflicts, it gums and carries members in unison for harmonious relations in the fiery political game. Tainted intra-party relations in PDP and APC are reasons for ineffective handling of disputes. Because the parties' disputes settlement machinery are weak, conflicts thrive (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Babalola, 2018; Omilusi, 2016; Yahaya, 2019).

2.15: Intra-Party Conflicts Resolution and Native Resources:

Intra-party rivalries top list on political conflicts in Nigeria, but the hostilities are not principled disagreements on issues of ideology, politics and governance but for reasons previously stated (Akindele, 2010; Aleyomi, 2013; Basiru, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Sule, Sani & Mat, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

High cost of party operations, particularly for elections also cause conflicts. Few members have capacities to finance their political goals. Party membership fees and levies are never enough to cover election costs. Consequently, rich members fund party activities as political entrepreneurs. These merchants of power get bossy and dictate conditions for their money. They name favoured candidates for party tickets and impose loyalists for appointments (Aleyomi, 2013; Basiru, 2018; Sule, Sani & Mat, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

Efforts by military regime of Ibrahim Babangida to the halt ethno-religious cycle and curtail influence of moneybags' in Nigeria's political landscape by promoting a two-party system of equals derailed as the military also could not divest itself from playing the master puppeteer (Jinadu, 2011; Sule, Sani & Mat, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

The widely expounded African cultural unity also does not translate to expected flourish of national identity with political parties. Rather than lever diversity for national cohesion, Nigerian elites in unfettered competition for power use ethno-religious sentiments as cover for strangleholds to screw equal opportunities (Agbaenyi & Ibebunjo, 2022; Ebunuwele, 2022; Tyoden 2013).

The impunity, regular violations of party rules and greed by powerful members also breed conflicts. Dominant politicians input contrary clauses into party constitutions for wily maneuvers in breach of democratic process. For instance, PDP had three constitutions: 1999, 2006 and 2012 during its 16-year dominance, 1999-2015, to swing party affairs in favour leaders (Agbaenyi & Ibebunjo, 2022; Aleyomi, 2013; Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Basiru, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Omilusi, 2016; Onyishi, n.d.).

Aside these, holders of executive positions in government statutorily are party leaders, even when unpopular. Most initiate changes to party rules for firmer control to push personal agenda. Nigerian constitution grants the President, vice president, governors and deputy governors' immunity from prosecution while in office. This further emboldens office holders with incumbency powers to be autocratic. Past presidents like Olusegun Obasanjo, Mohammadu Buhari and some state governors turned demagogues, dislodging opponents from relevance. Dissenters in turn create factions in the parties or join opposition (Akindele, 2010; Busari, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Sule & Yahaya, 2018).

Fallouts of these are constant alteration of party structures and membership compositions. Popular candidates who lose party tickets for elective offices often seek alternative platforms, some with contrary ideology, to vie for elections. This shifting demographics in political party memberships are used by some leaders to curtail rights of some members to appointments or to determine outcomes of party primaries. Members lose positions in parties' executive committees whenever their cliques or sponsors stumble in the power games. Consequently, widespread distrust and antagonistic party factions flourish to overheat the polity (Akindele, 2010; Obi, 2018; Onyishi, n.d.; Soetana & Osadola, 2018).

Resolving internal conflicts is an obligation of party executives, but some of the officials in Nigeria have been unable to perform this function. Rather, they create more conflicts. Because party structures are fastened to government control, presidents and governors, elected on party platforms, as party leaders, take on the toga of party executives. What party officials do, in most cases, is placate masses at grassroots to endorse and approve policies or actions decided from government offices outside party secretariats (Akindele, 2010; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

Nigerian political parties are structured to use caucuses to solve problems. This schemes management of parties' internal processes with riddles. Result is embedded bile, alienation and sometimes threats to lives. When the rifts get complex and hot for elected party officials to handle, resorts are usually to unelected theocrats and elders' committees, without statutory authorities and backing, for reconciliation. When these fail, as they do often

because such persons are biased, law courts are next options (Akindele, 2010; Onyishi, nd; Soetana & Osadola, 2018).

Both APC and PDP are found to display low conflicts resolution capabilities on internal disputes. Neither party has effective disputes settlement schema. Members' resort to adversarial lawsuits polarises the parties with winners and losers. Litigations cut fresh wounds than heal; shutting doors on disputants from dialogue. This weakens political party's optimal functionality. Also, going to courts for redress cost time and money (Akindele, 2010; Busari, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Obi, 2018; Onyishi, nd; Soetana & Osadola, 2018).

The crushing sum of litigations, lowest number filed in law courts as recorded by Okoye (2015) was 574 during 2003 elections and highest was 1290 in 2011. These lawsuits weakened internal party cohesion, damaged interpersonal relations among members and drained litigants financially. In addition, party administrators get burdened with court processes. Since trials are statute barred, sometimes party officials, at behest of powerful interests, withheld documents some candidates would need as evidence in their lawsuits to create fresh conflicts (Ashindorbe, 2022; Dickson & Ita 2022; Obi, 2018; Onyishi, nd).

Resident conflicts in political parties could either be used for development or to damage social relations. Inadequacies of formal legal system in effective resolution of intra-party conflicts call for worthwhile alternatives. A co-operative problem solving model, like the use of African native resources, recommends itself as a probable option and solution to socio-political problem.

Studies show effective application of native resources can quench the seemingly intractable intra-party conflicts. This work explores and proposes use of African cultural systems of indigenous communication and traditional institutions as extant measures fit to settle the disputes. Obi (2018, p.29) in noting this particular challenge "highlights the need to pursue an internal dispute management system that emphasises voluntariness, collaboration, participation, relationship building, reconciliation, compromise and healing."

Guiding Nigerian politicians, who for partisan expediencies and self-propagation schemes shy from public appreciation of African native tools for conflicts resolution, but resort to the corpus of African resources for personal survival, promises better results from devastating intra-party disputes (Alimba, 2018; Appiah-Thompson, 2020; Diagboya, 2019; Ekhtor, 2018; Idumwonyi & Sandowicz, 2011; Ikhejirika & Asike, 2017; Ikhidero, 2013; Joe-Akunne, Nnamani, Egodike, & Azuakor, 2022; Kelen, et al., 2020; Leal Filho, et al., 2022; Kpae, 2018; Mahamud, 2020; Makwudo & Obijekwu, 2020; Popoola, 2016; Settee, 2019; Sibani, 2018; Trosset & Caulkins, 2020; Ujumadu, 2015; Yagboyaju & Simbine, 2020).

Giving specific roles to members eyeing party offices; assigning duties to aspirants seeking party tickets for elections and getting parties commit to spread benefits and opportunities among members would foster bonding relations. Major reason politicians go all out for battle than settle disputes is because they get alienated from party schemes. The resultant unhealthy contests put them in combative modes. Johnson (2020) submits that deepening integration matrix for losers of party tickets and instituting an empathy charter could stem unrelenting gripes (Abbas, 2016; Mahamud, 2020; Obi, 2018; Trewm, 2018).

With political peace secured, Nigeria would be in better mode to handle its socio-political ecosystem and shift focus from managing political crisis to catering for the needs of its citizens, Mahamud (2020), Jinadu (2011). Consequently, the country's capacity to fulfil its obligations and meet expectations of the global community, particularly Africa, shall be enhanced, Olowu (2017).

CHAPTER THREE:

3.1: Introduction:

This chapter is on methodology, “procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena”, Rajasekar, Philominaathan and Chinnathambi (2013, p. 5). It expounds, in a systematic way, descriptions and justifications for the research approach and design as well as methods and analytical tools deployed in the exposition to answer research questions. It specifies study population, sampling techniques and reasons for these choices. It also proves trustworthiness, transferability, reliability and soundness of the procedures used. Discussion of moral principles and ethical considerations that guided the exposition rounds off the chapter.

3.2: Research Design:

The study requires intensive and extensive data to treat research questions. It adopts mixed-methods of joint qualitative and quantitative approaches for its exploration. Primary data, evidence plus information, from multiple sources with varied tools are used to make study rich, deep, wide, structured, trustworthy and sound. These varied data, some context specific, capture different individual perspectives, relevant details of people’s lived experiences and general opinions from the target group (Almaliki, 2016; Babbie, 2008; Coughlan, Cronin & Ryan, 2007; Lotich, 2011; Monroe, 2017; Nolen & Talbert, 2011; Picavet, 2020; Richardson & Pierre, 2005; Sobowale, 2008; Tracy, 2019).

The mixed-methods, blend of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, is to broaden scope of exposition for diverse facts in the expansion of knowledge. Resort to varied tools of data collection and deployment of the reflexive thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analyses of data is to guarantee authentic findings and make the process of explication broad, sound and reliable for credible results to beat what Onwuegbuzie (2007) described as crisis of integration, so, study time and energy are concentrated on the goals than straining for implicit generalizability of findings (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morgan, 2018; 2017; Onwuegbuzie, 2012; Picavet, 2020).

The adopted hybridized complementary approach is corroborative integration, a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative techniques to boost credibility of findings with a solid base. The multiple methods scheme promotes good record on accountability and rigorous educational quality to make findings pragmatic, confirmable, reliable and transferable (Braun & Clarke, 2020; 2006; Mackey & Gass, 2015; Onwuegbuzie, 2012; Sushil, 2017).

The aim is to engage objective reality, independent of human experiences, as well as comprehend reality from individual perspectives. Paired peoples' personal experiences with general opinions interrogates research issues in a comprehensive and exact manner. The thorough analyses of the patterns of meanings derived from repeated interrogation of data on what they are construed to be by researcher as well as what the research subjects present them to be give a robust exposé on the reality of study from the all-inclusive interpretations (Babbie, 2008; Coughlan, Cronin & Ryan, 2007; Denzin. 1994; 1978; Eyisi, 2016; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Kaur & Chandigarh, 2015; Lotich, 2011; McCombes, 2019; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Richardson & Pierre, 2005; Sandelowski, 2000; Siedlecki, 2019; Sobowale, 2008; Thurmond, 2001).

The study hopes to make its findings on the uses, values and effectiveness of African native resources in conflicts resolution generally and Nigeria's intra-party disputes in particular suitable for adoption and application with insights from the lived experiences of real players involved and engaged in political activities. Its answers to the research questions are expected to have sufficient authentic information, an optimal way to proffer panacea to the problem of study (Anastasia, 2017; Monro, 2017; Tracy, 2019).

This multi-methods approach, qualitatively dominant and supported with quantitative statistical illustrations for cogency, relies on researcher's ascribed meanings; sourced *apriori* and from the theoretical framework. These are united *aposteriori* with semantic and contextual interpretations of data set for elucidation (Braun & Clarke, 2020; 2013; Crossman, 2020; Johnson, Onwugbuzie & Turner, 2007; Onwuegbuzie, 2012).

Prominence accorded subjective qualitative analysis follows counsels of scholars like Wadan and Teuteberg (2019, May 18), Dudovskiy (2018) and Palasan (2018, Aug 14) on the wealth of systematic collection of facts from individuals who interpret, define and explain their realities in context of their lived experiences. This reasoning from how people clarify their realities helps to construct the big picture with logical deductions for conclusions (Arghode, 2012; Bailey, 2014; Cheek, 2007; Coghlan & Brannick, 2014; Creswell, 2009; Gabriel, 2013; Morse, 2006; Oliver, 2002; Priya, 2016; Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2012; Lipscomb, 2012; Wertz, Charmaz, McMullen, Josselson, Anderson, & McSpadden, 2011).

Commonly, qualitative research is about themes, patterns of meanings, not a focus on numbers, values or cause and effects. Qualitative exploration is examination of realities and relationships for stories on phenomena. Attention is on the perspectives and experiences of research elements whose subjectivity is elevated and guided in the framing of narratives for contextual understanding, as opposed to the researchers' pre-determined terms of reference (Bosale, 2021; Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Major benefit of the subjective but not abstract study is how it enables researcher hit roots of investigations. This expanded scope from experiential, reflexive, iterative and recursive processes align theoretical frameworks with critical grill of data for meanings and answers to research questions. It naturally builds and formulates fresh theories and knowledge on which hypothesis could be built for validation of the concept issues on human beings and events with quantitative studies (Bhosale, 2021; Biria, 2017; Braun & Clarke, 2021; 2013; 2006; Mackey & Gass, 2015; Picavet, 2020; Sushil, 2017).

Qualitative research is process driven, grounded in narrow, rich, tick, deep and diverse data to understand and assign contextual meanings to phenomena for the capture of real life situations. This flexibility yields provisional outcomes and is open to change with new insights. A qualitative explanation is beyond cultural prisms, a way of knowing to unveil fresh ideas, insights and understandings. This could get "messy", Braun and Clarke (2013, p.12), with multitude of subjective facts to be sorted; made contextually meaningful with

precedence of interpretation over experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Levitt, Motulsky, Wertz, Morrow & Ponterotto, 2017; Roberts, 2017; Sushil, 2017).

This way, qualitative research combines researcher's exploration and knowledge with interrogation of subjects' experiences to make meaning. In this style, qualitative studies drive constitutive and productive stance of language, the window into the peoples' interior and cyphers for representation, to construct meanings. This happens when researchers analyze language contextually, using the exact words of study subjects to understand and resolve issues on the phenomena, particularly answers to the how and why questions on studied realities (Bhosale, 2021; Braun & Clarke, 2021; 2013; 2006; Mackey & Gass, 2015).

The mixed-methods exploration here bestrides interpretive and positivist research paradigms to improve scope and enlarge explicatory compass for enriched worldview. This grafted procedure allays inherent deficiencies in the lens of a single method by synthesis with another for findings to benefit in strength of a wide horizon for credible outcomes (Adjei, 2019; Babin, Carr & Griffin, 2019; Braun & Clarke, 2020; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2020; Jean Lee, 1992; McLeod, 2019; Quinlan, Guenther & Falk, 2019, Walsh, 2019).

Statistical evidence from measurable data on the number of people who believe, think, act, view things or feel in particular ways on the raised issues from a fraction of total study population, Sobowale (2008), makes findings generalizable for universal applications. Probable researcher bias is thus moderated with objective facts (Anastasia, 2017; Arghode, 2012; Guenther, & Falk, 2019; Holly, 2016; Leko, et al., 2022; Noyes et al, 2018; Oliver, 2002; Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Pierce, 2009; Poggenpoel, Myburgh & Van der Linde, 2001; Thurmond, 2001; *USC Libraries*, 2020; Walsh, 2019).

The design mix of subjective data in qualitative dialogues with a discussion session plus objective data sourced from quantitative survey for cross perspective balances subjectivity with objective facts. It cures numerical abstraction with real life experiences on the issue to highlight the similarities and convergence in the truths unearthed. In line with the Biria (2017) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) guide for the scheme, qualitative parts are

then processed for individual contextual takes to get rare insights while the quantitative part is analysed for relationships among variables.

The explication is exploratory; a descriptive study. It uses non-experimental statistical analysis of issues to illustrate contextually lived experiences of research elements as unearthed from their narratives. It is a deductive research hinged on sound logic that does not need to generate or test hypothesis (Birria, 2017; Fanzi & Rashid, 2018; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; McCombes, 2019; Morgan, 2018; Picavet, 2020; Poggenpoel, Myburgh & Van der Linde, 2001; Onwuegbuzie, 2012; Sushil, 2017; Stuckey, 2013).

The agenda exposes and interprets issues with rich demographically varied perspectives, group concepts, attitudes and beliefs. Respondents' personal takes are balanced against opinions of other participants and panelists for objective, fair and deep insights. Goal is to prescribe probable solutions, with informed recommendations, on optimal ways to fix existential problem of resolving groups' internal incompatibilities. Specifically, intra-party conflicts in Nigeria's political parties (Hammarberg, Kirkman & de Lacey, 2016).

The utility values of findings, a normative issue for social research, lie in the potentials to provide solutions to the problem. Application of findings should yield enhanced harmonious intra-group relations in the political space to aid development of the Society and its institutions, McLeod (2015). Combining descriptive and prescriptive methods, therefore, is justified in the transition of knowledge into solutions. It is a tour on how things are, current situation and attempts to tackle the challenges, to the showcase of viable solutions, how things should be done. This comes with detailed life references (Almaliki, 2016).

This creative ideation, or blend of two methods in a study gives a synthesis of findings, Siedlecki (2019). The innovative solutions are specific, relevant, credible and applicable to the actual problem faced by Nigerian political associations. The findings are objective and could be replicated by other researchers conducting similar studies (Armato, 2017; Dudovskiy, 2018; Hammarberg, Kirkman, & de Lacey, 2016; Holly, 2016; Palasan, 2018, Aug 14; Robers, 2017; Wadan & Teuteberg, 2019, May 18).

This is the long preached recommendation by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.22):

“to qualitatively observe and interview, but supplement this with a closed-ended instrument to systematically measure certain factors considered important in the relevant research literature... adding a component that surveys a randomly selected sample from the population of interest to improve generalizability.”

Neuman (2014) also noted nature of research to be major determinant of appropriate data collection tools. Because this is a primary study, primary data are used. They are from Key Informant Interview, KII, sessions and a Focus Group Discussion, FGD. The basic information obtained from the KII and FGD are corroborated with numerical data obtained from survey, a structured questionnaire administered on sampled party members.

These primary data from KII and FGD give researchers confidence, ownership and control of information obtained directly from involved political players for the study. The qualitative tools also aid originality with true-to-life findings, Salkind (2010). What the study could miss from narratives of respondents' experiences, it gets in precise measurements of quantitative data with predetermined takes on perceptions and opinions of politicians racing clashes of interests within their parties, Hox and Boeije (2005). This multiple data plan help clarify answers to research questions with analyses that follow (Wimmer & Dominic, 2003).

Some form of observation is also recorded by researcher's use of the senses to study non-verbal cues, actions and responses of the interview participants and discourse panelists. The field notes on their signs, gestures and overt attitudes to issues are raw data that does not rely on the subjects for honesty and accuracy. The observations give researcher first-hand contact experiences that interviews, discourse session and questionnaire survey could not capture. However, because observation is subjective, researcher's impressions cannot be replicated. The data are prone to alternative interpretations, they are less reliable and cannot be for general application (*Atlas.ti*, 2020; Kim, Kim, Jung & Lee, 2014; McCombes, 2019; Sobowale, 2008).

3.3: Methods:

3.3a: **Key Informant Interviews:** The interviews, oral formal face-to-face conversations, question-answer sessions, with selected state chairmen of political parties, who are experienced Nigerian politicians, were conducted by the researcher from March 12, 2022 to May 2, 2022. The Key Informant Interview, KII, is a major data collection tool used in study. Participants were interviewed one at a time, for in-depth dialogues, devoid of structural biases. Being people authoritative on the subject, essential information were obtained from their contextual perspectives on the issue (Bhatia, 2018; *Formplus*, 2020, February 28; Ibeh, 2018; Sobowale, 2008; van Eeuwijk & Angehrn, 2017).

The KII is a flexible semi structured interview. Follow-up questions were asked to clarify submissions made. Sessions allowed for observations of non-verbal cues, particularly the body language, gestures and emotional responses and signals to aid understanding of contextual meanings. These were noted on paper for further analysis and probable interpretations. The sessions were fully recorded. The verbatim data were collected with digital electronic audio devices and later transcribed by researcher (Cossham & Johanson, 2019; DeFranzo, 2022; McCombes, 2019; McFarlane & Biemer, 2008).

Key informants, state party chairpersons, are people current on developments and political situations in Nigeria. They are abreast of events in their parties and have basic information on intra-party conflicts, essential data resource on the subject. Each got selected randomly in a systematic manner. Their rich perspectives, insights and testimonies, in their own words, as direct witnesses and political players involved in intra-party conflicts, assist researcher to establish the facts, thoughts, attitudes, viewpoints and actions central to study.

They gave researcher broader picture on study issues. Their involvements as participants experienced in Nigeria's political process marked them out as repository of firsthand information on intra-party conflicts and efforts at resolutions (Babbie, 2010; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013; Hammarberg, Kirkman, & de Lacey, 2016; Hox & Boeije, 2005).

Though the KII as tool for data collection takes time, carries high travel costs and could be hindered by fettered access to some respondents, it yields rare insights most times

and gives relevance to research outcomes. Possible misrepresentations could be nipped and doubtful submissions made by some participants to inflate or minimize their roles in the process for political capital could be discounted with follow up questions and clarifications. Also, alternate data from survey and FGD balance whatever weaknesses the KII may have (Babbie, 2010; Cossham & Johanson, 2019; Ibeh, 2018, Slide-2; Kumar, 1989; McCombes, 2019; Scherba de Valenzuela et al, 2016; Sobowale, 2008).

The KII data were gathered using an interview guide, list of questions, constructed by researcher. It is a three part instrument. First part contains demographic questions to elicit basic information such as gender, age, occupation, educational status, party affiliation and other details from respondents. Second part contains simple, flexible and easy-to-answer questions posed to participants to get in-depth facts as responses. Third part is the post interview comment sheet researcher used to jot down observed cues, interpretations, feelings, impressions and comments at the sessions, (*See Appendix-4*). The transcribed digital audio recording, by the researcher, ensures fidelity of the information gathered.

3.3b: Focus Group Discussion: FGD data is information sourced from a panel of experts, involved in politics, drawn from diverse backgrounds and experiences on the topic. These are men and women conversant with challenges of conflicts in the political parties. To benefit from their insights, researcher composed the FGD panel of five, authorities in their occupations, comprising two politicians, a professional journalist on the political beat, an academic and a public analyst on Nigerian political affairs, for diversity of opinions. Number of panelists is limited to five so every one of them get enough time and space to speak.

This purposively selected team of panelists, with rich comparable knowledge, who are involved in some way with problem of study, was engaged in an interactive conversation on May 2, 2022, to discuss topic issues moderated by researcher. Outcome is synthesis of perspectives, experiences, understanding, attitudes and opinions in contextual data on their surmised take on the topic that exclusive use of questionnaire could not have obtained from study population (Lotich, 2011, Aug 16; van Eeuwijk & Angehrn, 2017).

Submissions reached by the panel, data obtained, are rich reflective contributions aggregated from diverse experiences, viewpoints, profiles and pedigrees of the panelists. These team's collective responses, aside individual panelist's take, are co-constructed meanings to the enquiries (Bhatia, 2018; Ghelber, 2020; Hox & Boeije, 2005; Ibeh, 2018; Miller, 2020; Sobowale, 2008).

The FGD was moderated to encourage panelists' air their views freely and exhaustively. While consensus were reached on some topic issues, members contend other aspects among themselves and agreed to disagree. Observed flash points, seen as probable sources of conflicts, got further attention for interrogation via more discussions.

Since level of interactions among panelists dictated data quality, researcher as moderator, was careful to ensure cordial atmosphere that enables and encourages panelists make their submissions and contributions uninhibited. Moderator refrained from expressing personal opinions to tame bias (Babbie, 2010; Bhatia, 2018; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013; Fanzi & Rashid, 2018; *Formplus*, 2020, February 28; Ghelber, 2020; Ibeh, 2018; Miller, 2020; Sobowale, 2008; *Scholarship Fellow*, 2020; van Eeuwijk & Angehrn, 2017).

The FGD yielded valuable data that highlight patterns and associations of study essentials as aligned to cultural acumen of society. This data collection tool reflects true insights of target population on research topic, Miller (2020). It saves time, costs less and discussants are anonymous. Unlike in interviews, panelists had less time to speak and make their submissions, which could be reviewed, contested or critiqued by other panelists to enrich perceptions for alternate perspectives, accuracy and balance. Moderator followed Smithson (2000) recommendations for all panelists to talk freely and averted the domination of discussion by a few (Babbie, 2010; Miller, 2020; Sobowale, 2008).

The FGD, like the KII, also had a three part interview guide, (See *Appendix -3*). The deliberation, recorded with digital audio device, was later transcribed verbatim for analysis by researcher.

3.3c: **Questionnaire:** The questionnaire is an important descriptive quantitative data collection tool used by the researcher to know attitudes, opinions, decisions, preferences, expectations, affiliations and other characteristics of the target population. Respondents are members of APC and PDP. Questionnaire generally harvests standard information from large numbers of people; it measures the subjects' perceptions and preferences in same way, form and format. An individual respondent makes a unit of observation for demographic description. The questionnaire is a cheap tool with high data validity and reliability (Babbie, 2010; McCombes, 2019; Sobowale, 2008).

With the questionnaire, researcher lists on paper a set of questions with multiple choice answers from which the subjects picked responses that best reflected their opinions. The researcher administered the instrument in a face-to-face interview. Respondents were selected via probabilistic, systematic random sampling to anonymously answer the questions. Researcher ticked their choice answers, options picked, on the questionnaire sheet. A major benefit of the questionnaire tool is immediate reaction of respondents to supply desired data at call (*Australian Bureau of Statistics*, 2018; Babbie, 2010; Babbie & Sandelowski, 2000; Bhatia, 2018; Chetty, 2018; Eyisi, 2016; *Formplus*, 2020; Fowler Jr, 2014; Ibeh, 2018; McCombes, 2019; McLeod, 2019; Noyes et al, 2018; van Eeuwijk & Angehrn, 2017; Sobowale, 2008; *Survey Monkey*, 2020).

The designed 15-item questionnaire tool contained demographic questions and enquiries on perceptions of the politicians on intra-party conflicts in Nigeria as well as use of African traditional resources for conflicts resolution by their political parties, (See *Appendix -5*). The measured variables are:

1. Frequency of internal conflicts within the two parties
2. The forms of intra-party conflicts and causes
3. The methods of conflict resolution adopted and the success rates
4. Respondents' perceptions of the effectiveness of the adopted methods
5. Respondents' perceptions on the adoption of African native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution
6. The politicians' preference for African native resources to resolve intra-party conflicts and their perceptions of its effectiveness.

3.4: Instrument Pretest and Validation:

Going with Babbie (2010) and Sobowale (2008) that researchers should pretest a research tool to confirm if it is good enough for study purpose, before using it on the field, the questionnaire and the interview guides were pre-tested to ensure they could measure and collect the data required. Researcher also crosschecked if research subjects/elements, respondents, participants and panelists, had difficulties understanding the questions.

These pretests were done by researcher at Ward B-2 Ikeja, where five respondents were surveyed on March 5, 2022. After evaluation, the questions were found to be clear and responses consistent. Also, study supervisor at UNICAF University as well as experienced researchers in fields of Mass Communication, Sociology, Political Science and African Philosophy at the University of Lagos were approached to scrutinize the interview guides. They confirmed them reliable and the contents valid.

3.5: Sources of Data:

3.5a: **Population:** The main target population of this study comprise politicians, card carrying political party members of the two major political parties in Nigeria, APC and PDP. For the questionnaire survey, politicians whose names were in the Lagos State APC and PDP registers as of March 2022 were surveyed. Lagos State is picked to extract quantitative data on the views, opinions and perceptions of party members because it is a hot bed of nonstop intra-party conflicts for both the APC and PDP. The state has 246 administrative wards and a total of 57 Local Government Councils made up of 20 Local Government Areas and 37 Local Council Development Areas, *LASG Web Site* (2022).

Particular population of interest for the KII comprises 74 state party chairmen of APC and PDP in Nigeria. Each party has 36 states chairmen and a chairman each at the Federal Capital Territory, FCT, Abuja, respectively. The FGD panelists are drawn from population of people evidently involved in Nigeria's political activities, resident in Lagos State, and presumed to be veritable information resource (Bashiru, 2019; Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007; Tansey, 2007, Yahaya, 2019).

Total sample size, number of people from whom data was obtained is 111 subjects. Lakens (2022) and Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2017, p. 289) posit this number is sufficient and adequate to get needed information on phenomenon. The two scholars have support from Mthuli, Ruffin and Singh (2022) and Braun and Clarke (2021). Questionnaire was administered on 100 respondents, comprising 50 members each from the Lagos State APC and PDP respectively. KII participants are six state party chairmen, one each from Nigeria's six geo-political zones. The five FGD panelists comprise active political pundits from the APC and a woman from the PDP, both drawn from Lagos State wards embroiled in internal conflicts. They were joined by up-to-date well-informed witnesses of unfolding political events in Nigeria with high value perspectives.

Yields from these are robust comprehensive data saturated with rich contextual details from people engaged in various ways and at diverse levels in the creation and resolution of conflicts in political parties. They have rare facts and displayed diverse perspectives on the studied realities as assured by both Lakens (2022) and Braun and Clarke (2021). The choice of Lagos State is convenient for the researcher, who is a resident in the state (Tansey, 2007).

3.5b: **Sampling:** Because study is an academic research, multiple paths are taken in the sampling scheme to boost conceptual power of data for contextual insights. These deep coverage and wide representation get specific and general data reflective of the situation. Sampling was generally systematic, it adhered to strict procedures, partly probabilistic, which is objective and also random to give equal chance to each and every person in the sample frame.

In addition, the subjective, non-random, non-probabilistic sampling, which is by chance, based on researcher's knowledge and research purpose was used for FGD. This needs no sampling frame nor assure selection of any subject. It is based on getting elements believed to have capacity and competence to give needed information. The broad data from myriad sources give study wide scope and rich content in qualitative and quantitative information (Blair & Zinkhan, 2006; Finfgeld-Connet, 2010; Onwuegbuzie,

2017; Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007; Polit & Beck, 2010; Smith & Noble, 2014; Sobowale, 2008).

Interview of six participants for KII is exploratory. Interviewees are state party chairmen, one each from Nigeria's six geo-political zones. Three participants each were picked from APC and PDP respectively. The multi-stage probabilistic random sampling method was used, every element of the population got an equal chance of rejection or non-rejection, Babbie (2010) and Sobowale (2008).

Stage One: Lists of all states in each of the six geo-political zones were separately drawn up in alphabetical order per zone. States in the North Central zone comprise Abuja (FCT), Benue State, Kogi State, Kwara State, Nasarawa State, Niger State and Plateau State. The North-East zone is made up of Adamawa State, Bauchi State, Borno State, Gombe State, Taraba State and Yobe State, while North-West zone has Jigawa State, Kaduna State, Kano State, Katsina State, Kebbi State, Sokoto State and Zamfara State.

The South-East zone is made up of Abia State, Anambra State, Ebonyi State, Enugu State and Imo State. The South-South zone comprises Akwa Ibom State, Bayelsa State, Cross River State, Delta State, Edo State and Rivers State while the South-West zone has Ekiti State, Lagos State, Ogun State, Ondo State, Osun State and Oyo State. Next, either of the two political parties, APC or PDP, was systematically assigned to each of the six zones in alternation and in alphabetical order (*Ask Legit*, 2020).

Stage Two: From this ordering, APC was assigned to North-Central zone, so APC state party chairman was interviewed as key informant. From North East, a PDP state party chairman was selected, while APC party chairman was picked from North-West Zone. PDP chairperson was selected from South-East, APC from South-South and PDP from South-West made list of key informants.

Stage Three: Next step is selection of the exact state to produce a key informant for each of the zones by simple random sampling. Names of all states in each zone were written separately on pieces of paper that were folded, thrown into an envelope and

shuffled. Researcher randomly picked a piece of paper, without replacement, from the zone in envelope. This was done for each and every zone and the state whose name was picked represented the zone.

Chairmen from each picked state, from either parties earlier assigned to the region, represented the zone for the KII. From North Central where FCT was picked, the Abuja APC chairman was interviewed, North East has Taraba PDP chairman, North West Kebbi APC chairman and South East Abia PDP chairperson. South-South zone was represented by the Bayelsa APC chairman and from the South West, Ogun PDP chairman.

The five panelists for FGD were purposively sampled, not by chance, but as important elements whose personal inputs would enrich the study. The panel comprises an APC ward chairman and a PDP ward chairperson, both from Lagos State where the two parties are embroiled in raging internal conflicts and their wards involved. Also selected are a distinguished academic, prominent for his public comments at talk shops and in the national media.

Others include a seasoned journalist and winner of national political affairs reporter trophy for three years running, 2019, 2020 and 2021 as well as a notable public affairs analyst who gives lectures, contributes to debates at government fora as well as in the traditional and online media. This purposive, non-probabilistic sampling was to get people directly involved and concerned with intra-party conflicts in Nigeria for takes in time and cost effective data (Babbie, 2010; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013; Tansey, 2007).

Survey of 100 respondents with the questionnaire is basic and exploratory. To make population size easy to manage, party congress delegates of APC and PDP in Lagos State, comprising the wards, local governments and state level executives and elected officials, were methodically picked. Officially, these should be 350 members for each party, but PDP has 348 at the time of study. One delegate died and another vacated the party.

The final lists of 50 respondents each from APC and PDP were by multi-stage probabilistic sampling, giving each delegate of the parties equal chance to be chosen or

not. From lists obtained from both parties, 50 respondents each were picked from APC and PDP systematically, following a random start.

Stage One: The researcher adopting recommendations of Sobowale (2008) and Wimmer and Dominick (2003) divided the sample frame of 350 by 50, the number of respondents required: $350 \div 50 = 7$.

Stage Two: The numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7 were written on separate pieces of paper, folded, all placed in an envelope and shuffled. From these, one piece of the papers was picked randomly, first for APC and replaced before the procedure was repeated also for the PDP. Numbers on pieces of papers picked were used systematically as sampling intervals to tick 50 names of persons on the numbers that occurred at the successive intervals. For APC number 5 was picked and number 2 was picked for PDP.

Stage Three: Respective names of parties' convention delegates that occurred at the successive number intervals on every seven names on the lists were picked as survey respondents. From PDP list short of two names, researcher picked second person from last five names. Selected delegates were met and the questionnaire administered. (Edike, Umar, Braimah and Agbedeyi, 2021).

3.5c: **Data collection:** The study used both qualitative and quantitative data for its exploration, exposition and explanations of the values of African native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. Basically, data in qualitative studies supply ideas and perspectives, up-to-date understanding of issues and records of lived experiences. The insights are subject to changes, Bibri (2021). To test the probability of opinions espoused on topic, quantitative data were equally sourced. The qualitative data for this study came from sessions of the KII and the FGD, while quantitative data are from questionnaire survey.

Six state party chairmen, three each from the APC and PDP in Nigeria, were interviewed by the researcher who visited them at their respective locations in the six geo-political zones of the country for the KII. A panel of five discussants, comprising politicians and political pundits, was constituted for the FGD moderated by the researcher at the

meeting room of a Lagos guest house as recommended by Dawson (2002) for convenience. All sessions, interviews and discussions, were recorded on digital audio device. The data was transcribed, then, analysed by researcher with *NVivo* qualitative analysis software.

The questionnaire instrument was administered by researcher on a total of 100 respondent politicians, card bearing members of the two political parties, in Lagos State, Nigeria. 50 each from APC and PDP respectively. The instrument contained 15 questions and multiple choice answers for the respondents to pick options/answers that best reflected their opinions. The answered questionnaire sheets were numbered and arranged according to the parties of respondents for processing. Numbers 1 – 50 for APC and 51 – 100 for PDP. The responses, objective quantitative data, were coded and analyzed for relationships and variance, ANOVA, with the Software Programming for Social Sciences, SPSS, package (Priya, 2016; Riffe, Lacy, Fico, & Watson, 2019; Thomas, 2018).

Data collection from the three sources were done sequentially as convenient; when and where the data sources were available. While APC delegates were interviewed for the survey at their party secretariat, PDP respondents were scattered round different meeting locations in Lagos metropolis because the party does not have an official secretariat in Lagos State when data was collected. Researcher met them at various rendezvous where they hold meetings. The survey spanned two weeks, March 2, 2022 to March 18, 2022. The interviews were carried out in the evenings. Two days, March 4 and 5 were spent at APC Secretariat on ACME Road, Ogba, Lagos State. Remaining five days were spent seeking out PDP members at their various meeting points.

Researcher got confirmed appointments to visit the KII participants, sampled state party chairpersons at the six geo-political zones, between March 12, 2022 and May 2, 2022. All were preparing for their state congress elections at the period. The FCT APC Chair was interviewed Tuesday, March 15, while the Taraba State PDP chair was met for the session on Thursday March 24. Interview was conducted with Kebbi State APC chairman on Tuesday April 5. Abia State PDP chairperson's interview planned for Thursday April 14 spilled to the morning of Friday April 15 because she had constituency emergency on the

appointed day. Bayelsa State was on Tuesday April 19. The interviews were rounded up with Ogun State chairman on Thursday. April 28. Researcher also worked with all FGD panelists for an acceptable and convenient date, Monday, May 2, 2022, a public holiday, to have the discussion session. Overall, the data collection exercise took 10 weeks, instead of the scheduled six-week timeline set by UNICAF.

3.6: Data Analysis:

Qualitative data from KII and FGD were subject to thematic analyses for coding and subsequent themes construction. Further analysis to interpret and assign meanings in order to understand import of the data was with hermeneutic phenomenological technique. This conscious and deliberate combination of analytical methods, a reflexive activity, was to interrogate the texts methodically for clear understanding of intents.

The process started with robust engagement with data for intimacy to navigate the content. Recorded audio tapes were treated immediately after the interviews and the panel discussion for refresh and accuracy to discount possible semantic noise and interference. They were manually transcribed by researcher to extract exact intents of speakers as meant in responses to the questions and issues raised at the sessions. Focus was on the texts' contexts, meanings of narratives and oral communications, at the KII sessions and the FGD panel discussion.

Apposite cognition of information embedded in data language that links narratives to conceptual framework of study and contextual meanings derivable therefrom rationally supplied answers to the research questions. The systematic process to interpret and make meanings from text, language of narratives, is tagged for purpose as thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis. The *NVivo* software for qualitative investigation, an efficient tool for audit trails, credibility and trustworthiness of findings fixed the analytic exercise (Allsop, Chelladurai, Kimball, Marks and Hendricks, 2022; Meehan & Taylor, 2022).

Thematic analysis, done to link data codes, the units of meanings, was further used to connect aggregate codes into patterns of meanings or themes. The themes were constructed to decrypt stories the data set tell. The interpretations of the texts, meanings

given to themes from data, was by dual procedures of hermeneutic and phenomenological analyses, in line with adopted multi-methods approach for the study to gain deep contextual understanding (Braun & Clarke, 2020; 2006; Onwuegbuzie, Leech & Collins, 2012).

Quantitative data gathered for the study with questionnaire survey of respondents, political party members, was analysed with the SPSS software to scrutinize relationships. This was mainly to unveil opinions, perspectives and decisions of the politicians on adoption of African native tools for intra-party conflicts resolution.

The subjective and objective data gathering and analyses illustrate submissions of Biria (2017) and Denzin & Lincoln (1994) for integration of qualitative and quantitative findings to tame subjectivity and cap numerical abstraction in studies. This aids cross perspectives on the phenomena to highlight similarities and convergence. The mix of descriptive accounts with discoveries, technical criteria with relevance, implicit *apriori* theory with explicit *aposteriori* knowledge, is to enrich, expand, clarify as well as exemplify research findings holistically in synthesis that makes them usable for lifestyle upgrades. (Baker, 2019; Green & McClintock, 1985; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Kaur & Chandigarh, 2015; O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003).

This multi-method wide scope scheme enabled the qualitative technique stand on legs of quantitative data. The statistical ratios illustrate general relevance of phenomenon to the study population and by extension the society (Braun & Clarke, 2020, 2019a, 2013 & 2006; Curry, 2015; Kawulich, 2004; Mortensen, 2020; Viera & de Queiroz, 2017).

Using multi-methods to gather qualitative and quantitative data and employing qualitative and quantitative data analyses in this study was for rapport of techniques to make research well-grounded and reliable. The credibility booster approach primarily underscores relevance of individual persons' subjective perspectives in qualitative data as good for use in the study to capture real life situations and experiences. Aligning this with the abstraction of general group's submissions in quantitative data and analysis makes for corroboration to cure probable doubts on the study's trustworthiness (Biria, 2017).

The strength of this co-joined analyses and integration of rich data set facilitates better understanding of phenomena and discounts irregularities, shortcomings and weaknesses of standalone methods. This synergy of methods shall pick out the actual and probable roles that native African conflicts resolution resources have played, been playing and could play to resolve disputes and settle incompatibilities for peace and harmony in political parties, the conflicts environment (Baker, 2019; Creswell, Clark, Guttman & Hanson, 2003; Monro, 2017; O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

This enriched procedure is basically to guarantee that findings are authentic on research subjects and founded in the contexts of their daily lives. Multiple analytical routes permit sequential use of the best qualitative tools to handle data at every stage of the process (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Peterson, 2002; Smith, 2011; Yagboyaju & Simbine, 2020). This is reason study is done with multi techniques to examine, interpret and decode data for recurring ideas and patterns of meanings in parsimonious and simplified manner. (Braun and Clarke, 2020; 2006).

Going by Caulfield, (2019), Saldana (2016) and Clarke and Braun (2013; 2006), thematic analysis is a method to identify, organize, describe and report the main ideas plus patterns of meaning, themes, central to or found within a data set and their relationships. It is a stretchy analytical process to understand phenomena through unearthing of living experiences, the ascribed meanings, to realities, by people involved, the participants. Optimal data analysis unravels essence of the phenomenon of study to aid ultimate goal of research by communicating new findings for human application and knowledge (Beaudry & Miller, 2016).

Thematic analysis, described by Tesch (1990) as an organizing system in Peterson and Williams (2002), is a method used to systematically tell a story on study reality or phenomenon from a data set. Maguire and Delahunt (2017) assert thematic analysis identifies meaningful and experiential patterns in qualitative data and interpret them for relevant and significant imports to address research issues in attempts to proffer solutions to identified problems. It is an analytical method, unlike content analysis that code data into

categorical silos, to construct factual stories backed by statements from data, to explicate phenomena of interest.

Themes constitute 'domain summaries'; "summaries of what participants have said on the topic or their reactions to a specific question", Braun et al. (2019, p. 5). Themes are constructs with different units of meanings to track imports and similar underlining concepts. In themes building, focus moves from interpretations of single data items, to interpretations of aggregate codes in data sets for meanings. Relationships among different codes are examined for what they communicate or the narratives they give. The emergent meanings, themes, give answers to research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Thematic analysis is usually applied to a set of texts, such as interviews and discussions. The researcher examines data sets to identify ideas and themes that give understanding to phenomenon from the narratives. The analysis flows in a process that identifies, organises and explains the patterns of meanings, Braun and Clarke (2013; 2006). As a process, it is sequential, though not in a particular or linear order, but recursive and iterative as convenient to attain study goals. The Braun and Clarke (2020) review of Braun and Clarke (2006) six-step process flow or technique is preferred in this study.

It starts with getting intimate with data, then generating initial codes and from here aggregating the codes for the construction of themes. Forth step is to review themes and this is followed by defining and categorizing the themes before final report writing. Expectedly, before coding data, this study indexed KII and FGD manuscripts, de-identified research subjects to make participants and panelists anonymous (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The pieces of imports, codes, to construct meaning patterns, themes, are the significance of the sentences. They are picked from the narratives for insights to understand various aspects of the phenomenon. A code in qualitative research is a word or phrase that summarises or captures the essence or important concept in a portion of data. It is a unit of meaning to make sense from data set. It is a label, acting like the list of content, assigned to a piece of text for identification of its parts, Braun & Clarke (2020).

Braun and Clarke submit that themes in thematic studies are analytic outputs built with codes, not discovered in codes. Researchers use whatever meanings they pick from codes to generate relevant themes based on conceptual maps of studied realities. By implication, themes are created with the analysis and interpretation of data. Themes do not emerge or get found in data, rather they are generated with, using, data. This makes researchers co-constructors of meanings in thematic elucidations. However, in other forms of explorations outside thematic analysis, themes could be generated from data. Scholars in qualitative studies doing content analysis, theory building, etc., can get their themes from data or research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2020; 2006; Byrne, 2022; Lewit et al, 2018).

Emergent themes in reflexive thematic analysis are markers of the underlying ideas; the assumptions and ideologies that denotations could imply as researchers interpret, explain, analyse and give meanings to data to make their points. In this scheme, recurrence is important and each theme, as an organic pattern of meaning, is an analytic extract, a statement, necessary to tell a story on the phenomenon. Themes get reviewed, categorized and segmented on basis of answers they proffered to research purpose and the consequent questions raised (Braun & Clarke, 2013; 2006).

Reflexive thematic analysis has constructive paradigm, the themes are produced by organising codes around a relative core commonality, or 'central organising concept', that the researcher interprets from data. Themes are not scheduled to 'find' codes in predetermined frameworks. Reflexive thematic analysis is about "the researcher's reflective and thoughtful engagement" with data in the analytic process. Here, researcher's subjectivity and creativity are assets for active role in knowledge production. Construction of meanings are, therefore, based on researcher's knowledge, language competence and worldview (Braun and Clarke, 2019, p. 594).

Socially determined conceptual and contextual imports, themes developed for holistic explications in analyses, provide insights for linkages with realities of study. Significance and understanding of these themes aid objectives of study; they help researchers attain salient understanding. It is from these facts that cogent grounds could be made for adoption and application of traditional resources to resolve intra-party conflicts

in line with objectives of study (Braun & Clarke, 2013; 2006; Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000; Morgan, 2020).

Themes are also useful citations for narratives. The meanings embedded in language of research subjects, their exact words and statements in the data accounts, reflect and reveal experiences on studied phenomena. This given fit to connect, understand and appreciate the realities unveiled with crafted conceptual submissions, in context of researcher's interpretation, enables a coherent final story. It is this linkage of data set to purpose of study that gives relevance to studied reality (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2013; 2006; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

It is vital to note that social construction of themes from exploratory perspectives explicate patterns of meaning with the theoretical understanding that language can create, rather than merely reflect, in a given social reality. This does not erode the experiential imports, what the phenomena mean to the respondents, as ascribed, Terry et al., (2017). Though this study approach is deductive, theory driven, it as well parleys data driven induction. However, the data are meant for robust explanations, they are not to dictate their own schemes for explications (Braun and Clarke, 2020; 2013; 2012).

The advantages of thematic analysis lie in being the flexible process. It provides rich, detailed and complex information in a pragmatic and simple way. This gives the foundation to grasp the precis of examined perspectives of the various research subjects for similarities, differences and even unanticipated insights. The disadvantages include the dearth of literature, possibility of drawing incoherent themes from data and limitations in language use. It is also seen by some scholars like Mojtaba, Turunen and Bondas (2013) as subjective, lacking depth and not transparent (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2020, 2019a; 2019b; 2013; 2006; Nowell, Norris & White, 2017; Smith & Firth, 2011).

Taken together, the noticed handicaps of thematic analysis are indeed good reasons to embark on more studies on the approach. With more research and elucidations, the literature bank shall be expanded, leading to better insights and growth of knowledge on the analytic process. With higher interests, more knowledge and better insights, the

human limitations and dismal capacities on incoherent themes and language use shall be moderated and improved upon.

By nature, qualitative studies are subjective, dependent on peoples' experiences. Expecting scientific type of detachment is a misplaced assumption. Any study without systematic base would suffer from dearth of depth. Thematic analysis properly done, with specified standard methodology, cannot but be systematic with requisite academic gravity, just as the clear processes and procedures shall make routes for outcomes open to general reviews to absolve them of not being transferable (Atlas.ti, 2020; Byrne, 2022; Hays & McKibben, 2021; Lochmiller, 2021; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Meehan & Taylor, 2022; Mojtaba, Turunen & Bondas, 2013; Morgan, 2020; Mortensen, 2020).

This reflexive thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis and explication rides on natural diversity, plurality and flexibility of the specified theoretical foundation and conceptual framework of study. This stand is supported by Levit, et al (2018) that a single quality standard does not exist in qualitative analysis. The thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is methodologically agnostic, it provides only the guidelines. Further, a systematic investigation employing multi-methods, as this, needs to be sensitive, flexible, accommodating and consistent in focus on the purpose of study.

The creative design is meant to provide stronghold for researcher to maintain and own perspectives in exploration of native phenomena in a parsimonious way. It relies on Karl Popper's (1961) call on preference for simplest explanation that can clarify data, Bardapurkar (2023). It is a veritable aid for sought after African voice in conflicts resolution which has been faint and vulnerable to hegemonic forays of Western and Eastern models. With thematic hermeneutic phenomenological explication, the African stories get distinct, less in slavish attachment to analytic *methodolatory* as counselled by Chamberlain (2000).

Hermeneutic phenomenology is to balance out limitations of thematic analysis in this study. It started first with works of Edmund Husserl, 1859–1938, in phenomenology. It is about how human beings can know the world or phenomenon; the individual's perceptions, perspectives and understanding of realities, events, objects, circumstances or

occurrences. Phenomenological analysis considers expressions on the lived human experiences as directly perceived or felt. Phenomenology to Husserl is world as lived by the person; it is reality as it appears through consciousness (Luff, 2009; Morgan, 2021).

The term, derived from the Greek word "*phainomenon*", means "that which appears"; it implies reality is an explication of events as they look to persons concerned. It is reductive perception, a subjective description of phenomena, with base in philosophy, to explore and gain insights into research subject's experiences from unfolding tales (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Morgan 2021).

The phenomenological method is used to understand individual's reality; essence of lived experiences from factual life situations. The concept, to Maguire and Delahunt (2017), centers on ability to describe, interpret and uncover meanings from experiences and perceptions of people on particular issues, objects, circumstances and contexts. Phenomenological inquiries enable scholars understand concepts, situations and experiences in terms of their contextual imports. It is an iterative activity on various data from research elements embedding their views and living experiences. Their exact words in statements made capture unique perspectives, worldviews and realities (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Curry, 2015; Mortensen, 2020; Nowell, Norris & White, 2017; Smith & Firth, 2011).

Hermeneutics, on the other hand, is science and art of texts interpretation. The hermeneutic explication for this study is constructive hermeneutics, hinged on contextual interpretations. It is about meanings assigned to texts, relative to situations, as popularized by Martin Heidegger, 1889–1976. Hermeneutic aims to derive meanings specific to settings and backgrounds of investigations, the human socio-cultural contexts, from data (Astalin, 2013, Mousavilar, Soleimani & Esmaeelzadeh, 2020; Vieira & de Queiroz, 2017).

Constructive hermeneutic focuses on interrelationships between scholars and the texts they interpret, Morgan (2021. p.658), rather than downplay the role of scholars or interpreters. It accepts that they are co-constructors of holistic ontology; that researchers assign meanings to what they decode from texts (Curry, 2015; Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Janesick, 2000; Mortensen, 2020; Viera & de Queiroz, 2017; Peterson & Williams, 2002).

Scholars interpret texts from contextual prisms that guide their theoretical frameworks and individual cultural experiences. Despite these, constructive hermeneutic admits texts have their unique independent meanings outside of what interpreters understand, assign or take them to mean. With their definite meanings and structures autonomous to scholars, texts are subject to multiple interpretations (Dudovsky, 2019; Morgan, 2021; Ricoeur, 2016).

Provisional understanding of texts changes with new insights on phenomena, based on time and cultural contexts. Scholars acquaint themselves with texts in accord with the dynamics of their existing knowledge to get to terms with emerging meanings. So, hermeneutic moves from particular, individual levels of thematic analysis and idiographic analysis to general; nomothetic analyses across themes for relationships and coherence. It is about relevance, the lead to big pictures and multiple viewpoints in the understanding of realities (Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Morgan, 2021; Peterson & Williams, 2002).

Gerbaudo (2018, p. 100) noted the value and advantage of hermeneutics in facilitating the interpretation of qualitative data for deep structure contextual understanding of meanings in political conversations. His declaration is that hermeneutics, with accurate interpretation, can provide answers to questions on “who?”, “what?”, “how?” and “why?” of phenomena through construction and reconstruction of the meanings of texts or narratives.

The term hermeneutics is derived from Greek word “*hermeneuo*” meaning to “interpret” or “understand”, Crist and Tanner (2003). Hermeneutic analysis is an appropriate interpretivist approach suitable to explore the lived experiences of people. Butler (2016) avers that hermeneutics aid deep comprehension of phenomena as opposed to mere scientific description of cause and effects.

Basically, scholars engage in constructive hermeneutics by developing an organising system through which data, in this case the interviews and discourse scripts, can be meaningfully ordered, interpreted, assigned meanings as presented, Peterson and Williams (2002). This gives reason hermeneutic epistemology explicitly acknowledges the roles a researcher’s bias, knowledge, prejudices, past experiences, lifestyles, culture and

language skills play in the cognition and analyses of text data for meanings (Lacey & Luff, 2009; Lavery, 2003).

This "horizon of meaning", what Heidegger calls "fore structure of understanding" implies that people comprehend phenomena in terms of what they already know. The steps in this analytical process involve an understanding of historical and cultural contexts, the appreciation of literary contexts, making of apposite observations as well as demonstration of relevance and application of outcomes (Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Pham, 2021).

While Husserl was committed to understand phenomena, Heidegger was concerned about being human. Heidegger sees human consciousness as lived experience; he understands phenomena as basic to human existence, knowing the way we are, not just a way to know the world. It follows, from these scholars' positions, that a person determines what is real, the phenomena, based on personal knowledge and experience. This fact makes understanding and interpretations of reality contextual (Morgan, 2021; Pham, 2021).

Drawing from both submissions, then, the interpretation of texts and narratives cannot be a static process. The enlarged horizon makes it normal to see beyond what is close at hand. Understanding is, therefore, critical in the process of interpretation. Works of Hans-Georg Gadamer, 1900–2002, on hermeneutic phenomenology, like Heidegger's, noted how language is used in communication as important for understanding. It clarifies status of language as universal medium that aids understanding. This infers truth could be aesthetic, linguistic, contextual or scientific (Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Pham, 2021).

In phenomenology, people reflect their lived experiences and points of view on realities with descriptions, while in hermeneutics people interpret narratives or 'texts' on their lived experiences. Interpretive phenomenology is also called hermeneutical phenomenology, Braun and Clarke (2020). Interpretation is about understanding, making justifiable meanings. Phenomenological inquiry is the investigation and exposition of lived experiences while hermeneutic inquiry is the interpretation of the narratives of lived experiences. Both are systematic engagements to confirm and describe realities or phenomena (Butcher, 2022; Mousavilar, Soleimani & Esmaeelzadeh, 2020; Pham, 2021).

This study is about personal and group's contextual meanings given to realities with the tool of language for communication, intentionality. Starting point of analysis is to approach data reflexively with *apriori* assumptions so as to get a sense of the whole and put the units of meanings into a final synthesis, consistent statements, in the structure of experience. Adopted study methodology, reflexive thematic hermeneutic phenomenology, is a peculiar qualitative analytic design as clarified by Braun and Clarke (2020; 2006). This is joined to the phenomenology of Husserl; fused to Heidegger's constructive hermeneutic to link Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology (Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Pham, 2021).

It focuses more on construction and description of meanings, through the use of language than to control or measure. Hence, this research settles *ab-initio* that empirical method of indubitable truth, the quantitative approach, is inadequate to address questions from human realm; the concern of this study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Pham, 2021).

Thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is a deductive and inductive philosophical activity. A unique interpretive strategy to identify themes in transcribed narratives. It combines deduction, making inferences from data with explorative induction, sourcing themes from data. This means drawing *apriori* themes and tracking evidence, *aposteriori*, to support the themes in answers to the research questions.

Thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is a qualitative approach to account for people's lived experiences. It is interpretative endeavor of humans as sense-making beings. It is explicitly idiographic, focuses on individual differences in human experience as distinct, specific and particular to the person. It is elucidation from detailed experiences of people to construct a general position. This encompasses the interpretations and contextual experiences of researcher and that of research elements (Astalin, 2013; Braun & Clarke, 2020; Jones, 2002; Smith & Osborne, 2015).

Thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is non-numerical. It is characterized by small sample sizes of deep and intense data. It is flexible for diverse insights, iterative and non-linear. A multi-theory concept that relies on systematically guided judgement of the researcher-interpreter, Gerbaudo (2018) and Saldana (2013).

When thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is conducted with results from open ended queries, qualitative data, as done in this exposition, it is to unravel people's understanding and reflect their takes on the phenomena. In addition and on the other hand, it is also aligned with quantitative method to provide and transmit useful information on the dispersal of opinions, perspectives or experiences across sampled variables.

From these submissions, researcher notes the universal commonality, homogeneity, as well as the divergence of experiences, heterogeneity, on same issues, to compose the big picture. Patterns and trends in data give insights to explain the astute corresponding actions; why individuals act in the certain ways they do (Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Kawulich, 2004; Szondi, 1975).

In theory, the thematic hermeneutic phenomenology analytic process begins with self-reflection. A preparatory phase to admit and identify individual biases and tame the assumptions and presuppositions on nature of the phenomena. Immanuel Kant, 1724-1804, calls this 'bracketing', suspending the natural world judgments to focus instead on analysis of what is experienced.

It is the researcher setting aside preconceived notions from experiences so as not to impose biases on study. But Lindseth and Norberg's (2004, p.148), advocating the inductive process from Ricoeur's (1971; 1976) Theory of Interpretation, affirm that 'bracketing' or suspension of prior understanding, experiences and presuppositions, is not a possible story with humans. This is because a knower cannot not know. The knower cannot erase innate knowledge by assuming or adopting a 'bracketing' attitude to exit position of knowledge (Dudovsky, 2019; Gearing, 2004; Morgan, 2020).

To resolve this, Morgan (2021, following Speziale and Carpenter, 2007), recommended reflexivity which identifies, accepts and manages the probability of bias; the influence of researcher in interpretation of data. It is about the sway a researcher could exert on study; the facility to reflect on one's biases, assumptions, values and perspectives as they may affect a research process or outcome. An examination of a person's own knowledge and feelings; how such influences could affect or influence what the person

thinks or do in a given situation. Admitting the likelihood of bias in cognition interpretation and analysis of reality, the texts, via self-reflection, is essential and gives rational base to the interpretive process (Gearing, 2004; Lavery, 2003; Pham, 2021).

In thematic hermeneutic phenomenology, the researcher's personal reflections, information gathered from research subjects plus data and context of experience give base to a systematic method of analysis relevant to treat the research problem (Astalin, 2013; Butler, 2016; Gerbaudo, 2018; Huttune & Kakkori, 2020; Kawulich, 2004, January; Morgan, 2021; Pham, 2021; Szondi, 1975).

These factors, when supported by theoretical framework of study to answer research questions, the use of Braun and Clarke (2006) six-step thematic analysis process with the *UNICAF* recommended guidelines for qualitative analysis, shall aid clear record and verifiable audit trail of the systematic process employed to arrive at logical findings. Hence, elucidation of phenomena as explored and the proffered answers to issues of exploration shall be understandable, trustworthy credible, sound and transferable (Braun & Clarke, 2013; 2006; Dudovsky, 2019).

The major snafu against thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is its low ratings with positivist scholars who credit the technique with tiny reliability and slight validity on grounds of the multiple meanings and interpretations that could be given to data, the texts. Expectedly, the positivists who value scientific precision in analyses find little use for it in routine empirical attempts to uphold or refute quizzed concepts. Also, thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is scored low in theory formulation. It is not considered an optimal method to produce theories (Dudovsky, 2019).

Scholars like Ricoeur (2016) flaw thematic hermeneutic phenomenology on the application of its interpretations. Ricoeur complained that it is not specific on epistemology owing to its subjective essence and this downgrades its credibility. Culture clash, cultural relativity, prevalent bias, inhibited language scope and non-scientific construction of interpretations and explanations are also identified weaknesses (Lacey and Luff, 2009).

Regardless of these, the unique perspectives that thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analyses give help to gain in-depth understanding of an individual person's reality in robust appreciation of people's rich experiences from natural, not artificial, data deciphered and purposefully interpreted, Dudovsky (2019). Thematic hermeneutic phenomenology as an analytic technique is justifiable for use to capture genuine personal experiences particular to human persons and true to nature and reality. It is not a cosmetic technique in search of scientific essence at the expense of people and solutions to their day-to-day issues.

Thematic hermeneutic phenomenological analysis is a deductive and inductive philosophical activity. It combines sourcing codes and themes with data plus holding evidence to support construction of themes; just like it produces codes aligned to literature for answers to research questions. This systematic and reflexive process cuts out the inadequacies of sole thematic explanations by implanting authenticity to interpretations with contextual experiences from research elements in the data set to unknot research problems for solutions (Jones, 2002; Mortensen 2020).

The end results of this application are findings that link the meanings individuals ascribe to realities with peoples' general perceptions on patterns of relationships among variables. This natural iterative activity tells a story by weaving research subject's exact words in statements that capture their unique perspectives and worldviews in the units of analyses (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Curry, 2015; Mortensen, 2020; Nowell, Norris & White, 2017; Smith & Firth, 2011).

3.7: Ethical Considerations:

Appropriate methodological steps, with strict adherence to ethical rules general to research and the UNICAF regulations on data collection processes, were observed throughout the data gathering exercise. The questionnaire has as opening statement informed consent that was read to each and every respondent. It asserts study was for academic purpose only and could be published.

Respondents were told they were scientifically selected; that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any stage of interview or decline response to any question without consequences. Also, they were notified that they remained anonymous, their names were not required and whatever answers they gave stayed confidential. The questions asked were not offensive. All interview subjects, respondents, gave their verbal authorisations and consents to participate in the exercise before the questionnaire was administered on them (Babbie, 2010; Sobowale, 2008; *UNICAF Notes*).

In addition, the gatekeeper consent was officially obtained from the two party chairmen. Gatekeeper letters that sought access to party registers and obtained permission to engage party members for study were produced, using UNICAF template. The letters, respectively addressed to chairmen of Lagos State APC and PDP were duly acknowledged, consents granted and approvals given, (*See Appendix-1*). Afterwards, questionnaire were administered on the political party members. In same vein, all participants in the KII and panelists in the FGD gave their written consents by endorsing informed consent forms produced in accordance with UNICAF template (Sobowale, 2008; *UNICAF Notes*).

Beyond these, further ethical measures were taken. The informed consent rules were explained to participants before start of sessions and each and every element gave their consents. These ensured all interview subjects gave both written and verbal assents to participate in study. Full facts on purpose of research were disclosed. All subjects duly told that they had right to withdraw at any stage of the sessions or decline to answer any question without the need to divulge reasons and their decisions would be respected.

All participants were made aware of the confidentiality of process and informed they remained anonymous for the purpose of study, since their identities shall be coded and kept away from the report. All of them voluntarily filled and signed the informed consent forms produced in accordance with UNICAF template, (*See Appendix-2*). Sessions started promptly at specified times. Participant's rights on autonomy, voluntarily participation, anonymity and confidentiality of their personal opinions and lifestyles were duly respected (*UNICAF Notes*).

Offense, disrespect, discrimination or non-salutary language were not used during the questionnaire administrations, interviews or discussion sessions. In-depth interviews were carried out at party offices. The FGD panelists were offered refreshments and the discussion was at a conducive, safe and accessible venue. They were all offered transportation stipends. All data collected are kept safe and secured and shall be so kept for the statutory five years, post study (Babbie, 2010; Sobowale, 2008; *UNICAF Notes*).

3.8: **Coding:**

Qualitative coding could be deductive, pre-set, *apriori*, by researcher to examine and interpret data in a top-down approach. It could also be by induction, bottom-up, line-by-line, *aposteriori*, open coding, to freely analyse or pick semantic imports, meanings of the statements to get research subjects' intents, perspectives and lived experiences (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2013; 2006).

In deductive, top-down, *apriori* coding, researcher ascribes markers that could be derived either from theoretical background, conceptual framework and sometimes research questions, in line with purpose of study, to label units of meaning. When coding is inductive or bottom-up, raw text is read for critical interpretation of statements for their semantic imports, data based meanings, often devoid of pre-existing coding frame or analytic preconceptions (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2013; Dudovskiy, 2018; Gabriel, 2013; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

In this study, *apriori* coding predominates, though both techniques of deduction and induction are used. The meaning units, codes, are constructed from text extracts. The analysis is restrained from override of participants' framing of their experiences. Their individual perspectives and real life gen on African native tools in resolution of intra-party conflicts reflected in alignment with conceptual framework of study to answer research questions. Both researcher's ascribed coding, reference frame, for semantic interpretation of data and extracted intention meant by research subjects, as deduced from their statements, latent meanings, were coded to deepen understanding (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2013; 2006, Madill, Jordan & Shirley, 2000; Maguire & Delahunt 2017).

Coding could be descriptive by noting aspects of the data content. It could also be interpretive by drawing meanings from data, or both. Optimal coding is inclusive, thorough and systematic to label diversity of text data in a progression. Codes tag text contents and capture meanings in the narratives for answers to research questions, Lochmiller (2021) and Braun and Clarke (2013). Generally, codes provide evidence from data for construction of study themes and are useful to interlink meanings of various data statements in answers to the research questions (Byrne, 2022; Hays & McKibben, 2021).

An aggregation of codes, units of meanings, are used to form the themes which are patterns of shared imports, united by a central concept or idea, Braun and Clarke (2013). Themes capture multiple observations, they are multi-faceted and might align seemingly disparate information. They are stories about the thoughts captured in data, Braun and Clarke (2020).

When codes developed from entire data set are critically read, patterns of meanings emerge from the narratives; themes are then constructed with use of related codes, units of meanings, through reflexive insights. Ideas and thoughts, meaning patterns, that link codes to topic, based on their relevance to conceptual framework of study, are generated after careful considerations to form coherent and organic stories of the phenomena. Braun and Clarke in their various writings on thematic analysis considered this theme building or theme development from codes as a form of story construction, Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013; 2019a; 2020).

The transcriptions were edited for accuracy; did not take on extraneous expressions and grammatical structures that were not needful warrants for submissions in the study. Transcribed manuscripts were then de-identified and assigned labels, to make participants and panelists anonymous. There are seven manuscripts of six interviews and a panel discussion session. Further familiarization with data were done by reading each and every manuscript, again and again and notes taken on impressions picked before texts were fed or imported into coding software (Cloutier and Davide 2020; Tan et al 2021).

These text manuscripts, collected data, were imported into *NVivo* software, a qualitative analysis tool, used for coding, themes construction, classifications and explication of relationships in the patterns of meanings to aid efficient, structured and reliable findings. The systematic processing of data with the *NVivo* organizing software enhances the quality, rigour and trustworthiness of the research, Allsop, Chelladurai, Kimball, Marks and Hendricks (2022).

The read texts were fed in segments, sentence-by-sentence, to pick out their imports, meanings and recurring key words for coding. The combined manual coding with computer assisted method were used to thoroughly interrogate data set for best results. This dual technique aids researcher in scrutinizing outputs in iteration to guard against possible analytic errors in computer coding and avert human blunders to which manual coding is prone, Kim (2016). The study benefits from uniting best features of both methods.

Codes, words and short phrases depicting units of meanings, are used to pick out and organize interesting and relevant information that data convey. Codes as labels to data segments, used to assign meanings, are regarded as the succinct descriptive or interpretive shorthand of bits of relevant information that answered research questions, Byrne (2022) and Braun and Clarke (2016; 2012).

Coding is also regarded as systematic identification of units of meanings to capture one observation at a time in narratives. A code displays only one facet of statements made by interview participants and panelists. The codes in the data for this study were arrived at systematically; text manuscripts were coded sentence-by-sentence, one sentence at a time for the elucidation (Braun and Clarke, 2020; 2019a; 2013; 2006; Smith and Firth, 2011).

After coding, themes construction followed as next step to the codes formed from text narratives. Themes are aggregations of codes; they are patterns of meanings constructed from coded texts, narratives, by researcher. It is by connecting codes that patterns of meanings emerge. These patterns are created, identified and formed into initial

themes. Researchers interpret codes on emerging insights to produce themes, the patterns of meanings, to understand phenomena (Braun and Clarke, 2020; 2019a; 2013; 2006).

To tell coherent stories on a phenomenon, the themes are categorized and classified, then, interlinked for relationships to produce research reports. When themes are appropriately linked to a study's conceptual structure; fed with contextual viewpoints of research subjects and supported by theoretical underpins of topic, they yield logical, valid and sound stories on the phenomena of study.

These stories, presented as research reports, are woven on inferences drawn from interpretations of data in the research subjects' narratives, for relevance, to get in consonance with objectives of study. In other words, these stories are the unearthed information, knowledge on realities explored as supplied by those involved in the phenomena (Baker, 2019; Bernard, 2000; Caulfield, 2019).

Reflexive thematic analysis of qualitative data is systematic, iterative and thorough. The process runs through the data coding to themes construction and themes categorizations. It ends in themes' interpretations for meanings to understand realities. Stories about phenomena unfolds in bits and pieces, not necessarily in sequential order. Researchers' interpretations are to understand the narratives, ascribe meanings to them for perspectives and arrange them logically and coherently, for complete insights into peoples' experiences, to tell the story.

This exercise usually fluctuates back and forth in a continuum, iterative process, in bid to answer research questions with facts from data. Researchers from this domain interpret for meanings and insights to categorise themes into holistic units linked organically in the stories as reports of findings. Copious references from statements and quotes of exact words in participants' narratives, data set, enrich reports. Direct quotes make reports authentic and enable researchers capture minds of subjects in contexts of their situations (Braun & Clarke, 2019b; Janesick, 2000; Kawulich, January 2004; Mortensen, 2020).

For the quantitative analysis, a code sheet was constructed by researcher on Microsoft Excel software. This spreadsheet was produced when questionnaire was prepared and before the instrument was used to harvest data from respondents, (See *Appendix -6*). This data pack, code sheet, for survey, was made appropriate, exclusive and exhaustive as recommended by Asika (1999). It has provisions, data cells, to store answers to all data categories in the research questions. This is to ensure that each data item is placed in one and only one box of a given category cell and also that there is a data category or data cell/box for each and every data item of the questionnaire.

A code sheet is document for data processing, used to ascribe numerical codes to variables in research questionnaire. It stores answers, respondents' chosen options and describes their locations for easy access, Babbie (2010) and Sobowale (2008). When data categories from treated questionnaire get fed into code sheet, data entry, according to the numerical attributes assigned to variables by researcher, the code sheet becomes machine readable and ready for analysis with SPSS software (Babbie 2010).

Researcher imports code sheet, with fed responses, into SPSS software to quantitatively study subjects' answers to the research questions. Outcome of this analysis are frequency counts that show number of respondents that share particular opinions and their ratios in relation to total sample from the population. Numbers of persons in the categories and details of their responses to particular variables are recorded as findings.

Next step is to draw patterns of contextual meanings from qualitative data as interpreted in analysis of themes for integration with quantitative data analysis of associations and relationships among variables. This synthesis of outcomes allows generalization of study results and boosts credibility, relevance and trustworthiness of findings. The significant areas of convergence and departure points in this synthesis of evidence are facts for inferences in sound and transferable conclusions. Outcomes echo study context, answer research questions and are applicable to real life situations (Almaliki, 2016; Bernard, 2000; Baker, 2019; Caulfield, 2019; Denzin, 2006; Dobrovolny & Fuentes, 2008; Klamenza, 2014; Kaur & Chandigarh, 2015; McDonnell, Hayden & Watson,

2020; Mirkin, 2019; Morgan, 2018; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003; Picavet, 2020; Sushil, 2017).

The process is completed with a report which incorporates findings and conclusions with quotes from statements of research elements and tables from data analysis to aid understanding. Solutions are proffered with recommendations and areas of further research suggested. Expectedly, aside fresh knowledge unearthed, outcome of study lines with Monro's (2017) idea that research is to solve real-world problems, point the way on probable use and benefits of African native resources to solve the devastating problem of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria with effective and efficient resolutions.

\

CHAPTER FOUR:

4.1: Introduction:

This chapter presents results of the study exploration, exposition of benefits and effectiveness of African native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution in APC and PDP, the two major Nigerian political parties. First part is based on results of qualitative data from the six semi-structured KII and a session of five FGD panelists. Second part focuses on results of quantitative data from survey. These are followed by evaluation of findings that prelude the chapter summary.

The qualitative primary data set collected were thoroughly read for refresh and understanding. Interviews and the panel discussion were transcribed and edited. While audio recording of FGD lasted two and half hours, the interview sessions run from 25 minutes, shortest, to longest of 55 minutes. Recommendations of Nascimentoa and Steinbrucha (2019) were followed. Exact words of participants and panelists were recorded to evoke their voices, intents and real speech for precise semantic imports.

The transcripts were then edited, denaturalized to aid their readability, conciseness and clarity. Grammatical mistakes, slangs and incomplete sentences were corrected with spellings and punctuations, in line with the objective of study and analytic method. The measures enabled researcher get clear patterns of meanings, less distortions (Cloutier & Davide 2020; Nasheeda, Abdullah, Eric Krauss & Ahmed (2019; Tan et al., 2021).

The text manuscripts are assigned code labels to make interview subjects, the six state party chairmen, anonymous and for easy referencing in accordance with standard research ethics and UNICAF guidelines. For the KII however, it is possible for people conversant with Nigerian political office holders to confirm the participants' identities from sampling details, because they are public figures.

The three KII manuscripts from APC members are assigned the labels **APC1**, **APC2** and **APC3** respectively. The other three KII manuscripts from PDP members also

got coded with labels **PDP1**, **PDP2** and **PDP3**, respectively, for easy reference in the analyses. The contributions of each of the five FGD panelists are labelled **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, and **E** respectively in the transcribed manuscript for analysis (*The six interview manuscripts and the FGD manuscript attached as Appendix -7*).

Quantitative report, also from primary data, of 100 survey instruments, the questionnaire, were sorted according to parties to which respondents belong. The first 50 coded scripts, numbered 1 to 50, are APC member's responses and the last 50 coded scripts, numbered 51 to 100 are from PDP respondents. Their responses were coded into a constructed machine readable spreadsheet for analysis. Results of these qualitative and quantitative analyses are subsequently presented in the reports of findings for evaluations in Chapter Four. Chapter Five treats the implications, recommendations and conclusions.

4.2: Trustworthiness of Data:

This mixed-methods study follows rigorous consistent analytic procedures in precise and exhaustive manner for quality control so as to moderate bias and enhance trustworthiness. This systematic approach is to raise confidence in the research, make the exploration credible and dependable. Other scholars can use these yardsticks, listed by Amin et al, (2020) citing Lincoln and Guba (1985), to confirm truthfulness of explication with the data gathering and analyses processes employed (Nowell et al., 2017; Saldana, 2013).

In line with goal of study, the consequent information sourced shall profit stakeholders in the political environment; policy formulators and decision makers in the Nigerian political process also stand to benefit. The research questions sought answers to ascertain politicians' attitudes in the promotion, or otherwise, of effective settlement of disagreements for harmonious co-existence in the political parties. These default conflict environments feature basic human needs and incompatible interests that must coalesce into group's concerns for joint care.

The indexed qualitative data from KII and FGD were coded with NVivo qualitative analysis software and by the researcher for units of meanings. This step was followed with thematic explications to construct patterns of meanings, prelude to contextual

interpretations and findings. Also, the quantitative data fed into the code sheet were analysed with SPSS software package to unearth relationships among listed variables. Associations between these examined categories are interpreted in the findings. The report of findings is a synthesis of outcomes from analyses of the qualitative and quantitative data.

Limitations of quantitative process, omnibus generalization of factors; abstract numerical details and possibility of false positive findings in primary data are checkmated by specific contextual particularization of in-depth qualitative method. The combined data collection and data analyses procedure balanced inherent deficiencies of a standalone method with the basic strong points of the other method in an integrated explication (Leko et al., 2022; Levitt et al., 2018; Onwuegbuzie, 2012; Shan, 2022).

This technique makes the findings transferable and trustworthy. The outcomes could be generalized, relevant to wider communes and scopes, as it applies to the population of study. The largely representative quantitative method supports rich details of people's lived experiences, captured with the qualitative technique, to discount subjectivity. Also, understanding issues from the perspectives of involved individuals takes off the quantitative abstractions of numbers to show relevance of study phenomenon to human beings (Cloutier & Davide Ravasi, 2020; Meehan & Taylor, 2022 and Forero et al, 2018).

From the KII with six state party chairmen, a participant each from Nigeria's six geopolitical zones, a grand total of 4,504 words are transcribed from the digital audio recordings. Utterances of the participants were numbered in organic statements of complete thoughts for analytic convenience.

Details show APC1: 494 words in 18 statements, APC2: 648 words in 23 statements and APC3: 518 words in 31 statements. The PDP1: 1441 words is made up of 85 statements, PDP2: 628 words has 36 statements and the PDP3: 778 words are from 44 statements. The six KII participants are made up of five men and a woman, acting as state party chairperson, aged between 35 and 69 years. These politicians have either professional or academic qualifications above secondary school certificates. Two of them have post graduate qualifications.

The five FGD panelists uttered a total of 3448 words. Because they responded and made contributions to the raised issues one at a time, their successive contributions are numbered sequentially on their assigned alphabetical codes. Participant **A** made a total of eight contributions, **B** also eight, **C** seven, **D** five and **E** seven. Together they made a total of 35 contributions to the nine issues of discussion.

The panelists, four men and a woman, aged between 54 and 65 years, have formal education. Three have post graduate qualifications and one of them is a PhD holder. The other two panelists have the West African Secondary School Certificate and Modern Three Secondary School Certificate respectively. They include a trader, a retiree, an academic, a media professional and a self-employed public affairs analyst. Deliberate efforts were made to ensure gender inclusion in both the KII and FGD, though politics in Nigeria is still male dominated.

The qualitative data for the study comprise six semi-structured interviews and one FGD discussion. Participants were questioned on their opinions on causes and frequencies of conflicts, how their parties handled resolution of the conflicts and their views of African resources for conflicts resolution. Importantly, they were asked if they favoured adoption of the African native techniques for conflicts resolution and if they would support the use of cultural resources in the resolution of internal conflicts plaguing their political parties.

The texts of manuscripts from transcribed data were imported into the *NVivo* software on which a year license was procured. The software is an upgrade between the Version-12 and expected Version-14. It is labelled *NVivo Windows (Release 1)* and assumed to be Version-13. The UNICAF recommended 14-day free trial offer for students did not give researcher enough time for the painstaking iterative procedure necessary to sufficiently familiarize with the interviews and panel discussion manuscripts for exhaustive analyses.

Researcher read through introductory articles, many lectures, including UNICAF lesson notes and watched webinars on how to use QSR International *NVivo* software for the data analysis. The *NVivo* three part “*Getting Started Tutorials*” video clips that came

with the application on installation were also studiously watched to acquire and develop relevant practical skills for use and application of the software for data analyses.

The qualitative data set, coded carefully after acquaintance with and scrutiny of the texts for thorough interrogations to get best results, benefited from manual and digital coding to avert possible "wrong" computer software analysis identified by Welsh (2002, p.5) and at the same time moderate possible human errors. The dual approach also guaranteed the process was efficient and credible for audit trail. By eliminating these limiting features in coding, the quality, rigour and trustworthiness of the research was enhanced (Betti 2021; Forero, et al., 2018; Tan et al., 2021).

Codes, units of meanings for single observations, are descriptive precis for specific information from the manuscripts to organize data for analysis. Byrne (2022) and Braun and Clarke (2020) view codes as the succinct descriptive or interpretive shorthand labels of bits and pieces of relevant information; short descriptions for specific parts of texts used to answer the research questions. Themes on the other hand are developed with codes. An aggregate of interrelated codes are used to form themes, Kriukow (2020).

Coding of the data set was done statement-by-statement. A statement is a clear idea conveyed in sentence, Betti (2021). This gives complete thoughts or ideas in organic forms for appropriate meanings, Welsh (2002). Data codes in the study are reflexive, from reasoned through analytical introspections. Texts were interrogated to see what each statement depicted to make initial sense from narratives. Code labels are from interpreted data on commonalities in the 'central organising concept' in line with objectives of study.

Co-coding, like idea of coding reliability and use of codebook were shunned. They are out of sync in thematic data analysis, Braun and Clarke (2020, p.15). Data coding in thematic analysis, products of flexible iterative processes of creative interpretation, are assessed on exactitude, adequacy, relevance and how well they attain purpose of study. Not on how 'accurate' or 'reliable' they are, Braun and Clarke (2019a, p.594).

Researcher constructed the meanings as appropriate to study's conceptual framework with the combined open and close-coding methods. These gather respondents' intents and data based meanings to develop relevant themes to answer research questions. These facts make subjectivity, flexibility and creativity assets in reflexive thematic analysis for knowledge production (Braun and Clarke 2006, 2013, 2019a; 2019b & 2020; Byrne, 2021).

Both semantic and latent coding, guided by theoretical foundation of study and meanings communicated by research subjects, were done. Though the coding relied more on overt meanings relevant to conceptual framework of research than on latent information or probes into hidden meanings, assumptions, ideas or implicit ideologies from data, Maguire and Delahunt (2017). Generated list of codes primarily name parts of data for easy reference. They are not meaningful themes or categories (Byrne 2022; Braun & Clarke, 2013; 2019; 2020; Kriukow, 2020; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Overall, 76 code units were generated from the KII and FGD data manually and with use of *NVivo* software. These codes were boiled down via mergers of some and discard of others on relevance to initially generate 12 main themes that got further reframed and categorized into final seven themes considered sufficient and adequate to fully tell the story on phenomenon of study from diverse angles.

Conceivable sub-themes were deliberately integrated and subsumed into primary themes for convenience. Each of the distinct theme met the dual Patton (1990) criteria cited by Byrne (2021) as a coherent and internally consistent account of data that cannot be told by other themes. Together, the themes offer consistent and lucid narrative of information contained in the dataset.

Themes, patterns of meanings developed with aggregated codes, represent researcher's interpretations of significant imports. These connotations are implicit in texts for meaning possibilities with probe of language in the dataset narratives. Language being key in analysis has the bi-directional relationship as a vehicle to share meaning and a ride to experience intrinsic imports in the total process, Byrne (2021), Dahlke and Hunter (2020),

Bonvillian (2019) and Lou and Noels (2019). Language use make themes specific to researchers. The themes constructed by a researcher may not be reproduced in same or exact way by other researchers, though this is not impossible (Adejimola, 2009).

The critical point here is that themes depict meanings conferred on data from the experience, knowledge, skills and ability of the researcher to decode text statements in line with objectives of study. This is reason qualitative researchers are described as research instruments, Byrne (2021).

Braun and Clarke (2013, 2019a, 2019b and 2020) stress researchers' abilities to understand and describe narratives for meanings. They insist themes do not reside in data to 'emerge' or are waiting to be found. Rather, that researchers are active in the creation of themes by interpreting and connecting codes; constructing appropriate units of meanings for expressive statement patterns, themes, suitable for explications (Byrne, 2021; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

The process of reflexive thematic analysis is tailored mainly to develop shared patterns of meanings, themes, as united by a primary notion or idea within qualitative dataset to tell stories that answers research questions. To achieve this, the initial codes identified were reviewed, some modified, others merged or discarded and new ones created. With these, mainly descriptive codes, the themes are constructed on intrinsic and extrinsic imports of texts in context of the narratives (Braun and Clarke, 2006; 2013; Braun et al., 2014).

Meaningfulness of themes in reflexive thematic explication is as important as the recurrent key words and terms used for their construction. Generally, themes are multi-faceted, they capture multiple observations or facets of rich, complex meanings. This is reason scholars ensure theme labels are concise, informative and memorable. Themes are the first pointer that guide readers to know what idea is developed from data. In addition, the internal homogeneity of themes, coherence of units of meanings, aggregated for concord and external heterogeneity among themes, are unified for good sense, so, readers can easily comprehend the narratives (Byrne, 2021; Braun & Clarke 2013, 2014, 2020).

The seven final themes constructed to elucidate the phenomenon are:

1. Conflict is natural to human associations and innate in political parties; conflicts resolution is an African lifestyle; a way of life. (African history predates Western records)
2. The main objective of a political party is to outlive competition in power conflicts. (When this is pursued by members in-house without limits, checks and regulations, then, destructive conflicts are harvested)
3. Political parties are joint platforms for power acquisition and leadership cultivation. (Leaders need skills in conflicts resolution to align all stakeholder needs, interests and concerns when they acquire power)
4. Referendum on the adoption of African way for consensus to moderate ideological hegemony, cultural alienation and devastating intra-party conflicts by the political parties is overdue.
5. Nigerian political parties need commitment to communal goals on African native tenets for equitable access of members to power, opportunities and wealth to resolve conflicts.
6. Integration of people's beliefs with their lifestyles via institutional alignments of interests, material and economic wellbeing of all, particularly the minority, so the majority can have peaceful enjoyment of their successes and victories.
7. Building a foundation of integrity and trust via institutional regulatory framework for binding intra-party harmony and peace on active oaths

4.3: Reliability and Validity of Data:

The quality assurance of reliability and validity of data in this mixed-method exploratory research rests in the use of both qualitative KII and FGD as well as the survey questionnaire, quantitative, data collection instrument. These data gathering tools were systematically used in rigorous and precise procedures for inclusive and ethical processes. They lined up with theoretical base and conceptual framework of study to answer research questions and actualize study objectives.

Reliability and validity assurances, as fastidiously implemented in this study, are concerned with how well the adopted tools and methods stand to measure. When consistent procedures give results that can be reproduced by others, under same conditions, they are considered reliable. Accurate measurements, representative of what they are supposed to measure, are valid procedures (Amin, Nørgaard, Cavaco, Witry, Hillman, Cernase & Desselle, 2020; Forero, et al. 2018; Lakens, 2022; Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017; Purwanto, Asbari, Iman Santoso, Sunarsi, & Ilham, 2021).

These assurances were secured with content validity test on the questionnaire by structuring variables into specific themes respondents could easily relate to with multiple choice answers. The drawn questionnaire schedules for KII, FGD and survey were reviewed and validated for internal consistency and good fit by researchers. Academic experts in fields of sociology, psychology, communication and philosophy reviewed the instrument and agreed it possessed content validity. Also, the reliability of the instrument was confirmed for internal consistency with split half and Cronbach's Alpha tests. The split half gave a coefficient of 0.892 and Cronbach's Alpha 0.79. Ward B2, Ikeja was used to test and confirm fit of instrument (Benova, Moller & Moran, 2019; Delcea & Siserman, 2020; Purwanto, et al., 2021).

The KII qualitative data collection instrument scooped first-hand primary information with deep insights and fresh human perspectives from lived experiences of participants for authentic and diverse perceptions outside researcher's overriding influence or opinions. FGD brought further primary qualitative data from shared standpoints of panelists in joint statements of harmonized divergent opinions. The survey supplied general opinions, perceptions and takes of the target population via the representative sample.

This rich in-depth and widespread data set with opportunities to cross check and clarify opinions plus the joint perspectives in group takes for insights, beyond the abstractions of facts in numbers or cause and effects, enriched understanding on the phenomenon of study in aid of research objectives (Benova, Moller & Moran, 2019; Purwanto, et al., 2021).

The comprehensive data pool nullifies possible under coverage bias. Also, errors in methodology were blocked with probabilistic and non-probabilistic sampling to select research elements. Purposive sampling was used for FGD, purposive systematic random sampling for the KII, while systematic sampling with a random start was done to pick respondents for questionnaire survey (Amin, Nørgaard, Cavaco, Witry, Hillman, Cernas and Desselle, 2020).

Data set from across demographic groups gave every individual in study sampling frame, none younger than 18 years, equal chances of inclusion or non-inclusion, without trading off elements with good knowledge on subject matter. Representative sample of the universe population of study made the work relevant and applicable for conflicts resolution in political parties in Nigeria and Africa. Researcher, as moderator, shunned bias, interference and kept to guidelines on data collection. The sample sizes are adequate, sufficient and gender sensitive with none below minimum recommendations (Lakens, 2022; Onwuegbuzie & Collins 2017; Purwanto, et al., 2021; Sobowale, 2008; *UNICAF Notes*).

Analyses were manual and computer aided. *NVivo* software was for thematic qualitative analyses and SPSS did quantitative analysis of variable relationships. These data analytic approaches counter-balanced possible human errors and machine lapses for detailed, thorough and less mechanical explications for patterns and relevance to real life situations. The SPSS software assisted study with true aggregates of facts applicable to draw informed conclusions from data. The *NVivo* software classified and organized narrative texts in analytical units that enabled coding and themes development for meaning patterns (Betti, 2021; Cypress, 2019; Tan, Deng, Syarifuddin Dollah, Abduh & Rosmaladewi, 2017; Vignato, Inman, Patsais & Conley, 2022; Welsh, 2002; Yeung, Jiang, Chen & Lee, 2021).

Taken methodological routes for adequacy and analytic rigour brought fidelity and consistency. It cancelled out scientific fixations of quantitative numerical abstractions of study with personal qualitative lifestyles of the people for credible and trustworthy findings. These are transferable for knowledge assembly, reliable for application and generalisable. Same time, the technique provided answers to research questions, less bias. Findings thus meet criteria to be credible, trustworthy, valid and relevant to real life situations (Amin,

Nørgaard, Cavaco, Witry, Hillman, Cernase & Desselle, 2020; Lakens, 2022; Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017; Purwanto, Asbari, Iman Santoso, Sunarsi, & Ilham, 2021)

4.4: Results of Findings:

4.4a **Introduction:** In this section, results derived from the explorations are presented. First part of the report is based on qualitative findings from the KII and FGD, while second part covers quantitative findings from questionnaire survey. To a large extent, the report is guided by recommendations of Byrne (2021), Braun and Clarke (2019a, 2019b and 2020) and Maguire and Delahunt (2017). The works, Byrne as well as Maguire and Delahunt are reviews of the Braun and Clarke (2006) debut submissions on how to conduct thematic analysis. Also, Braun and Clarke (2020), the authors' review of their earlier guidelines in Braun and Clarke (2006), to update their initial recommendations on thematic analysis following observations and feedback aids the report.

In the qualitative report, code labels are assigned to the KII participants. These are **APC1**, **APC2** and **APC3** for the APC chairmen, while PDP chairpersons are tagged **PDP1**, **PDP2**, and **PDP3**. For the FGD panelists, who had their session on Monday May 2, 2022, **A**, **B**, **C**, **D** and **E**, are used as markers for their respective identities.

The report is joint account of both KII and FGD findings. The research questions posed are précised and tagged as RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3. The answers, combined data from KII and FGD, were subjected to reflexive thematic analysis and phenomenological hermeneutic interpretations. The reports in this section are bare of study's conceptual analysis and theoretical interpretations.

4.4b: **RQ1 - Major Causes and Frequency of Intra-Party Conflicts:**

There is a general consensus among the six interview participants and the discussion panelists of five that political parties, being fora and platforms for the pursuits of individual political interests, are founded for the flourish of conflicts and mastery of the resolution of incompatible needs and interests. These are facts with members competing for political offices, since only one of the many contenders for the ticket can be presented by the party for an election at a time. A member gets the party ticket as candidate and flag

bearer to the exclusion of others jostling for same platform. Conflicts, therefore, naturally trend through procedures of party primaries.

Expression of this on the party is hot competition among members. Rivalries to out maneuver, intrigues to outwit each other; emergence of factions, interest groups and serial horse trading give energies to the play out of incompatible interests. Because money, time and efforts are on the line for support to displace other contenders with same ambition, conflicts get to higher levels. The periods for party congresses and general elections are prime seasons for regular conflicts.

Expectedly, people interested in elective offices want their loyalists and supporters to control party machinery for their benefits, so, they go all out to either install, impose or scheme for their favourites to be in charge of affairs. Those who do not get party tickets oftentimes break ranks with the parties or even ally with opposition, at the general elections, to vote out their rivals, political party members, to whom they lost party tickets.

These explain the **PDP2**, interviewed Friday April 15, 2022, confirmation, that the conflicts are *“always there.”* His terse submission is corroborated by **PDP1**, interviewed Thursday March 24, who noted that regular conflict is nature to political parties:

It is an ever recurring phenomenon. Whenever we have associations competitions, disagreements and conflicts are naturally expected.

The observation is reinforced by **PDP3**, interviewed Thursday. April 28, 2022, who pointed out that conflicts constitute an integral component of politics and political parties' affairs. She says:

Human conflict is part and parcel of politics. It is a regular occurrence with political parties and politics. At any given time there must be conflicts that have to be resolved by every political party.

She is in good company with panelists, like **C**, who also submits that regular conflicts within the parties must occur and are not preventable. *“The conflicts are regular,*

we have no preventive solution.” However, parties make conscious routine efforts to manage and moderate the conflicts:

Whenever we meet to discuss and debate issues, we have various positions that generate conflicts. When we notice this, we try to harmonize our positions to reach agreements.

Despite these in-built mechanisms to manage and resolve the unceasing conflicts, not every politician sees the incidents as regular to warrant serious attention. Some, **APC3**, interviewed Tuesday April 19, 2022, is one, would prefer to devote time and energy to matters, outside conflicts, they considered more important to the parties. *“There are conflicts within the party, but it is not at all times.”* Politicians like him have their foci beyond challenges of internal conflicts in preference for matters like public education, leadership recruitment and membership mobilization. **APC3**’s inaccurate record of conflicts within his party reads *“none”* at the time of the interview.

His position is typical with loyal party women and men who are more concerned about public images of their parties than dwell on the internal contradictions. But reality on ground does not accede to a conflict clean party posture. Even his colleagues in the APC do not agree with him. While panelist **B** affirms, *“conflicts occur every time we meet,”* **APC2**, interviewed Tuesday April 5, 2022, no less a party loyalist, reframes the situation:

I will not say we have conflicts in the party now, rather, I will say we have disagreements within certain factions of the party that point to the season we are in as it relates to the appointments of certain political office holders and the candidates seeking political offices in the land at the various levels.

This perspective on differences and contending groups among party members points to the high conflict season and divisions within political parties. Though **APC2** euphemistically plays down the conflicts as *“disagreements”*, this burnish does not occlude confirmed high conflict incidents in the party. Worldwide, election periods are times politicians struggle for power to control their political associations, win party tickets and run

government machinery. These diverse conflicts filter into society via many routes as people, in support of their favourite candidates and parties, take incompatible positions and may get intolerant of opposing views as explained by **E**:

The spate of intra-party conflicts would keep mounting till after the elections. Now, we have pre-election conflicts that arise mainly from people and groups to get political offices. After the elections, we would still have intra-party conflicts on the way forward. The party that wins would have conflicts in the sharing of political appointments and offices.

Reality is, elections bring diverse conflicts to political parties, as **APC1**, interviewed Tuesday, March 15, 2022, explains:

Yes, we have conflicts now. We just elected the party national executives and we are about to elect the party's flag bearers for the elections. We have our members taking positions in the pursuit of their interests now and we expect some disagreements with the emergence of candidates for elections. Some members would be aggrieved when they or their favourites do not get the tickets.

Naturally, aggrieved politicians are conflict tools at election seasons when, **PDP2** says, conflicts are "*many*" and "*intense*." This seasonal prevalence of conflicts is further confirmed by **PDP1** who assures that the search for internal amity is a major preoccupation of most parties at the period, aside from strategizing to put up a good show at campaigns and win the general elections, "*We have a number. But we are treating them as they come.*" The following explanations from these three party chairmen give clearer perspectives to regularity of the incidents:

APC1: Very frequent, particularly at time of elections like this. In electioneering years, we normally have conflicts in the selection of candidates to represent our party and in the sharing of available posts in the party and in government.

APC2: Intra-party conflicts mainly arise at electioneering seasons when candidates must be nominated for elective offices and when there are political appointments to be shared at the federal, state or LG levels.

PDP3: These come to the fore more now when we are heading for elections and just out of two congresses that determine whoever shall be nominated as party candidates in the elections. This is usually time for many conflicts because of different interests.

These accounts are buttressed by the FGD panelists:

B: In our party, there are hot conflicts now at all the levels of our political group. We have at the wards, local governments, states and federal government levels. We are struggling over control of the party machinery. Reason is, the elections are coming and we are struggling for party positions and party tickets for elective offices. Control of party structure enhances the chance to influence members and curry favours.

D: Now, there are noticeable media highlights on intra-party conflicts in the two political parties. We hear of zoning some elective offices to some groups and regions, many disagree on these. People seeking elective offices are hustling to have their loyalists as chairmen and secretaries of the party at the levels they wish to run for offices, so they can influence outcome of the primaries for tickets or at least have their interests protected.

After elections, more conflicts are occur even among allies when they share benefits of their successes at the polls. Parties in control of executive tiers of government at local councils, states and federal levels have ministerial posts and board appointments to appreciate and compensate members. Since these posts cannot go round all who desire and deserve them and some positions are considered more juicy and strategic, another round of conflicts get ignited, even in the public space.

Taken together, these clearly illustrate recurring patterns of conflicts. The frequency rates show political parties cannot be exempt from conflicts, internal and external. Members, therefore, must push their individual and corporate interests to outrival contending others in the power game. Party leaders face the constant challenge to skillfully manage and resolve these incompatible interests for members' cooperation to co-exist in the environment where people jostle and scheme to achieve their goals.

All participants and panelists agree that primary cause of intra-party conflicts is pursuit of personal interests. Other prompts of discord and irreconcilable differences listed are linked to this singular factor. As panelist **B** noted, "*conflict of interests arise always,*" this constant factor is a common denominator that must be guarded, pursued and secured in politics for individuals and groups involved to justify their engagements and achieve their purposes.

People, according to panelist **E**, join political parties to chase their interests on platforms of the associations. Financial sponsors of party programmes and those who bankroll candidates see their contributions as political investments to protect. Oftentimes they scheme and insist that their favoured and chosen persons be given party tickets and offices.

Fundamentally, the entire process is about interests. Personal interests and group interests that conflicts. People join the parties and attend the party meetings to push their positions and interests. Naturally, their interests conflict. In Nigeria, politics basically is about personal interests and the clash of these interests. The money bags, those financing party activities, believe they should dominate affairs and impose their interests.

As party members hardly share universal interests, the game, panelist **A** observes, "*is about rivalry and interests. When such interests are crossed, there would be crisis.*" This view is strongly supported by **APC2** who submits: "*My interest must be different from yours most of the time and this is a major conflict trigger.*"

It follows then that interests of party members, keen on growth and development of society, will cross those of other members keen on the spoils of political positioning.

Interests of leaders bent on having their favourites in power and party offices would clash with the interests of the others competing for same opportunities.

Given this scenario, the opinion of panelist **A** counts on the score that:

The types of interests pursued by party members depend on whether or not individuals joined the party to pursue the national agenda or for personal interests. The party basically gives them the platform to pursue their interests.

Resistance to party leaders and financiers foisting their picks on other members, whose benefits are at stake and would not like their interests shoved aside, particularly *“people vying for offices, those trying to retain their positions or protect the interests of their favourite persons,”* noted by panelist **A**, is further fuel for conflicts.

PDP1’s take that *“imposition and swapping of candidates’ names for elections also cause conflicts,”* is real and further evidence for **B**’s complaint that *“many party men are self-centered and care less about the interests of the party.”* Results of these are the trending *“resistance”* and unending internal crises that dominate the political space.

At another level, persistent bids of the women and men in advantaged positions to encroach on the interests of others heat up the party in assault to democracy. It unveils the veneer of noble guise of some leaders whose actions and attitudes, in **B**’s opinion, are recipes for conflicts.

“Power sharing and struggles among party financiers to get party positions and elective offices for their candidates,” most times make them fly kites for consensus candidates which other members vehemently resist.

As **APC2** puts it:

Sometimes, the imposition of consensus candidates on members of the party has a way of causing rancor. Many party members would agitate and fight for the open system that allows candidates for certain

positions to be picked on popularity, merit and general acceptance by the party members.

The struggles for sublime group values and guiding compass for fairness and transparency in recruitment of members to contest elections decrease as the virtues that could bind members together on the political platform are traded for partisan and personal interests. The nomadic ways of ambitious politicians who swiftly jump party ships whenever their interests are subdued either by ballot or other factors further fuel incompatibilities.

Many move from one party to the other without scruples. This widespread habit has turned political parties in Nigeria into havens of strange bed fellows fanning embers of conflicts, as they cohabitate to displace or be displaced, in pursuits of conflicting interests.

This inclination is indicative of ideas shortage and lack of guiding principles in the parties. Members move in and out of parties in fluid manner without principles or character whenever they have differences. These seemingly irreconcilable conflicts are however more of clashes in aspirations and interests than on ideologies. People cross from one party to the other, like APC to PDP and PDP to APC, without really missing anything or changing form. As panelist **E** describes the situation,

I really cannot see much difference in the ideological makeup of the parties. We do not have much of ideological differences. Basically the constitutions and manifestoes of the political parties are similar. To me, it means Nigerians do not have much beef over ideology, but personal interests.

Without the essential directorial creeds for politicians, *“the struggle for power will always brew conflicts within the parties,”* panelist **E** declares and **APC1** confirms that *“the contests for party positions, party tickets and office sharing are the main causes of the conflicts.”*

Both **APC2** and **PDP1** agree with these observations. **APC2** says:

The major cause of conflicts in our party is unresolved disagreements among party members on placements and positions within the political structure of the country.

PDP1 corroborates this with his view that *“the major cause of conflicts in the party is the competition to become the party candidate in an election.”* Explaining the trend, panelist **D** links the contentions on interests and push of personal agenda as reasons for the unending intra-party conflicts.

The struggle over scarce resources, few positions and pursuit of personal interests and contests to promote personal agenda are the major causes of conflicts.

As is the case in settings where people hustle for self-interests and jostle for power, self-serving and back stabbing would be orders of the day. Panelist **C** relays these; *“betrayals, the struggle for positions, money and breach of promises made to people to get their support during contests are rife”*. These conflict triggers are mostly fueled under the guise of party authority, sometimes arbitrarily.

Oftentimes, those with the levers of authority, without recourse to democratic dictates, push lopsided verdicts in unfair manner. **PDP3** raises this point as one of the causes of internal conflicts in parties:

Generally conflicts occur when there is no justice, no equity. When some individual members of the party felt cheated or believe they have not been well treated, given their dues or sidelined in certain decisions of the party. The aggrieved person might start protests and trouble and this may easily escalate.

Normally, leaders of societies, communities and organisations avert, manage and resolve conflicts within their ecosystems. In both parties, APC and PDP, leadership is more a part of the conflicts as it is involved in resolutions. One interviewee, **PDP2** squarely lays the levers driving intra-party conflicts at the door step of party leaders. He submits:

Old leaders clinging to power perpetually and excluding others, particularly the new generation, from leadership and decision making. Some of our elders are more interested in cornering money meant for elections; depriving the party of the funds people need for critical projects and election purposes, like get adequate security and mobilize polling agents to represent the party at voting and counting points.

Unfortunately, many party leaders get away with fueling crises that feather their interests by exploiting members' vulnerabilities. Demographics of the population show majority of party members are marginal economic players. The self-employed running weak micro businesses who barely survive and the unemployed. This segment of the population need money to stay afloat and meet their responsibilities. Anyone able to pass some cash to them can have their loyalties and keep their control. **PDP2** confirms this observation:

Poverty sustains the conflicts because people would use money to sway members to their sides, no matter how unreasonable the interests they pursue. The general poverty in the land is reason many party members would rather die for their leaders than pursue party interests. They would rather protect the interests of such sources of livelihood than promote the best interests of the parties."

Because many of the party members are exposed to hardships and prone to lack without solid means of livelihood, they hardly criticize or oppose errant leaders that pick their bills. These postures lead to serial indiscipline. In fact, many sing praises of money bag leaders so as to be in their good books to enjoy attendant largesse and patronage. **B** called attention to this:

Poverty is the major trigger of conflicts in the political parties...Poverty engenders sycophancy in the parties and these have deprived the associations of capable and credible leaders who can better manage the affairs to reduce the spate of unnecessary conflicts.

Beyond poverty, the greed of many party leaders, their supporters and followers also create a lot of incompatibilities and disputes in the party. Some party leaders are alleged

to corner party resources for their personal use, pushing many benefits to their families, friends, loyalists and loved ones. In the process, other party members get sidelined and aggrieved. As panelist **E** summed it:

Really, money and imposition of candidates are the main causes of conflicts in PDP. The imposed officers and selected aspirants dare not refuse to turn over the party funds to the leader that imposed them. He who pays the piper calls the tunes.

Also, because aspirants for political offices and party posts need support, party leaders and some influential persons hold them to ransom until their palms are greased. **PDP1** knows this factor and observes:

Another factor is greed, leaders and traditional rulers want money and encourage everybody to aspire, so, as to collect money from them.

At another level, incumbent state governors in control of state apparatus and resources also determine events in the political parties. They dictate who gets what and place their loyalists in care of the political associations that are their main power bases. Many governors are known to spare no efforts and resources to keep control of their state's party chairmen. This habit creates serial impunity and indiscipline.

PDP1 noted whenever some governors disagree or cannot control party officials, they create crises with the enormous resources and power at their disposal. Many governors being state party leaders are renowned for usurping the authorities, duties and roles of party executives.

Also, some governors are over empowered. They have become the party in their states. It is what they want that parties do, instead of what the party members want. No control. This is due to the dearth of guiding principles and proper framework for party operations. Adequate planning would have taken care of this.

PDP1 further identifies the laxity in political parties, beyond inadequate planning, to regulate conducts of candidates. These joined with slack party structures and loose agreements to create fertile grounds for conflicts. He submits:

Inappropriate planning also breeds conflicts. For instance, once a governorship candidate is chosen, the party leaders ought to sit down with such candidate, not leave him or her alone to do things as he or she wished. If candidates are left to their devices, they would create conflicts because there was no previous agreements on how things should be done.

Planning should be done to formulate policies and to share/zone positions, even before going for elections. This is to spread dividends of democracy and forge agreements. The non-adherence to the guiding rules and regulations and lack of a good party structure are other causes of conflicts.

In all these, political parties play major roles in allowing the conflict triggers festoon. Politicians need the party platforms to achieve their dreams and in the view of **PDP1**, the party can assert its supremacy to regulate conflict producing conducts:

Since the party is supreme, things have to be decided and the zones/divisions and constituencies know for certain what they are entitled to, even when the exact portfolios are not specified. This will reduce agitations and conflicts for members to close ranks and work for the election of party candidates.

He has good company in **APC 3** who surmised the critical place and roles of the parties in using their authorities to douse political conflicts,

...normally each and every one of us cannot be contented ...we accept party supremacy. The decisions are accepted by the generality of the people and we obey the rules and regulations.

Given that conflict is second nature to political parties as members pursue their goals to acquire political power and govern the state, it is trite to state that parties must give better attention than they currently do to conflicts resolution. This is to guarantee harmonious relations and cooperation among and between their members. Nigerian political parties need to rework their roles in leadership cultivation to make conflicts resolution top agenda on the plates of their members.

4.4c: ***RQ2 - Adopted Methods, Successes and Limitations:***

The two major political parties in Nigeria, APC and PDP, are both conscious of residency and impacts of vibrant and lively conflicts in their affairs and daily operations. It is for this reason that they have instituted standing committees and departments for dispute settlements and conflicts resolution in their organisation structures. Both parties also use caucuses and have rules, guidelines and manuals on disputes settlements and conflicts resolution. Participants in the KII and panelists at the FGD of this study variously allude to these guidelines in their contributions and submissions on the current approaches and methods used by political parties to resolve internal conflicts.

A state chairman, **APC1**, explains that the party has in situ dedicated *“reconciliation committees to resolve whatever conflicts or disagreements that may arise according to our party’s laid down rules and regulations.”* The situation is not different with the PDP where **PDP1** says *“within the party, we have a way of handling conflicts. We dialogue, set standards.”*

It is not unusual for people interested in party posts or who want to stand for elective offices to have conflicts either with the party or with fellow party members, particularly other aspirants contending with them. Both **APC1** and **PDP1** alluded to this reality in their submissions. According to **APC1**, the party has proactive measures in place to resolve such disputes:

Our party has the preemptive rule for candidates. Members, particularly those contesting elections, are expected to sign an agreement with the party to abide by the outcomes of the primary contests or decisions.

Both parties favour engaging contenders and conflicting members in talks for “*conciliation, and reconciliation*” which **PDP2** says is the “*new thrust*” to handle aggrieved and disputing members. Credence is given to this by **B** who confirms that: “*What is noteworthy is that we always have a way to resolve the conflicts.*”

APC2 elaborates on this:

The greatest method we have been using in amicable resolution of whatever conflicts we have between the party members and stakeholders is deliberations on the issues causing the conflicts. We have able and capable men to moderate and resolve the issues within the ambit of the rules and regulations of the party. This does not mean we can still not improve on our methods at all times. We normally resolve the conflicts within our capacity. We cooperate and we have so far been able to manage the conflicts. We discuss, we deliberate and we settle on every issue of disagreement.

The APC is very strong, we obey the rules and follow the laid down process of conflicts resolution. We get all affected individuals and the stakeholders to the table to express their wishes, ideas, perspectives and grievances. Resolutions are easily reached this way. We get consensus and agreements in good time in an open process where selections are based on open criteria rather than on imposition from the party leader.

The PDP also uses dialogue in its efforts at conflicts resolution. **C** confirms this:

When we notice this, we try to harmonize our positions to reach agreements, so, we deploy our knowledge of the rules and native wisdom to reconcile our positions to reach agreements and form consensus.

The PDP expects aggrieved party members to lodge whenever grievances they may have with either the party leadership or the party executives. However, **PDP3** noted that only the patient and tolerant explores this route for successful outcomes in the resolution:

Most conflicts are being resolved and members' interests covered within the internal conflict resolution framework of the party. In the PDP, we resolve conflicts and prevent most from blowing out of proportion. Generally, individual levels of patience and tolerance vary. Some patient members would lodge complaints with leaders and excos of the party to register their protests, grievances and concerns to seek remedy. They expected the leaders to wade into the conflict situation, proffer solutions and amicable remedies.

While **APC2** and **PDP3** place the task to resolve intra-party conflicts on leaders of the party and are supported by **C** who shares that "*leaders of the party intervene... mediate to resolve most of the conflicts,*" **APC3** believes the resolution of conflicts is a shared responsibility that requires all party members to assume leadership roles:

We discuss and put up the leadership qualities required to resolve any conflict. We normally resolve the conflicts within our capacity. We cooperate and we have so far been able to manage the conflicts. Not a huge thing.

The diverse routes to conflicts resolution is however fraught with peculiar leadership strength and foibles that could either make the efforts fail or succeed. Like **APC2** noted, the leaders could impose their wish in an unfair process or as **PDP3** submitted, the leaders may not be up to speed in response as could be desired by an individual in the conflict. The assurance for members' cooperation with leaders on the procedure and outcome of the deliberations also depend on how it is "*impartial and fair to all the candidates in a transparent manner.*"

Concerning this, **PDP1** observed that when actors in conflicts are "*free to say their minds*" and sure the leaders "*are not godfather to any of the contenders,*" then, they would "*cooperate*" and "*have that confidence in the process.*" He goes further to disclose how the PDP in Ogun resolves its internal conflicts on prospective party candidates:

At the constituencies we set standards, anyone that had served in elective positions or official capacities in the party is regarded as a leader to regulate affairs. We

aggregate leaders from across the constituencies, zones and domains. We call them into a meeting and ensure they reach an agreement on the candidate for their constituencies. These people know the candidates that can win elections and when they cannot reach agreement that day, they are given more time.

Wherever they are unable to reach agreement, we call for voting by whatever method they may want. So they see the democratic process in action. Whenever and wherever we have situations where agreements are not reached, the best thing we do is to call for an open congress and then follow the party rules, guidelines and constitution.

Even as PDP allows majority to determine resolution outcomes in contentions, some party members remain aggrieved, *“we say majority carry the vote, so, whenever we have serious conflicts, we discuss resolution options and put the matter into vote. Whatever be the outcome of the vote on the issue is adopted. We let it be and abide by the decision, even when many people are not happy.”*

The APC on its part tries to address all contending interests. It prefers to *“set up reconciliation committees to meet the aggrieved members, resolve whatever conflicts there could be and work out accommodation for them to ensure we do not have outright winners and losers,”* says **APC1**.

Success on moves to either work out accommodation for all contenders or settle on a winner via majority wish depends on how party leaders play the cards.

It is when the leadership of the party is not keen for the party to survive that we would not be able to look into the matter and proffer some sort of amicable solution, which could be political. **PDP3** asserts.

The major role of political parties in any society, aside providing a platform for members to stand elections and run governments across the tiers and levels, is leadership cultivation, recruitment, training and development. The success of a party at the polls or in resolving conflicts among its members, who must co-exist harmoniously, largely depends

on the quality, capacity and actions of its leaders.

From submissions of the interview participants and panelists from the PDP, there is palpable concern over leadership imposition of favourites as candidates for elections. Most of PDPs' internal conflicts are derived from this. Conflicts in APC arise mainly from how its leaders handle success after election victories; the sharing of patronage and government appointments.

Basically, these issues of concerns are more on handling conflicts, therefore, it is easy to infer that capacity of a political party to resolve conflicts determines its success level. It is when party is able to get the groomed, the aspiring and the renowned leaders of various hues, with diverse needs and interests, to work together as a group to acquire power to govern that it is deemed successful.

The *“conflicts make our political parties strong. After intense dialogue, we agree”* attests **B**. It is the sagacity of a political party to coalesce various kinds of personal and corporate needs as well as interests of conflicting individuals, from demographically heterogeneous settings, and galvanize these for group takeover of government that defines its triumph.

Running on these, it is the party leader's ability and members' perception of her or his intent on actions generally taken that dictate member's sequence of cooperation. So, leader's estimation in the eyes of members at the various operating points define the acceptance levels and success rates in attempts at conflicts resolution.

The party leadership and hierarchies exist at the ward level, the local government level, the state level and even the apex leadership of the party beyond the state. I believe the issues of disagreements should have been resolved before all these options are exhausted, says **PDP1**.

Despite this assumption, **APC3** rightly opines, that *“the measure of respect accorded the authority figure determines how easily the conflicts can be addressed and determined.”*

People’s acceptance of party decisions remains personal to them. Supremacy of party verdicts on members is subject to probable consequences on their interests and members’ perceptions of the party and its leaders. Some members do not subscribe to the party having last say on their desires. Records show many party men and women are open to options, ranging from exiting the party to seeking redress on, or review of, party verdicts with other arbiters, particularly the courts.

To **PDP2**, this is expected and understandable. *“Normally each and every one of us cannot be contented,”* he surmised. The discontented party members are however in the minority because to **APC1**, *“most conflicts are being resolved and members’ interests covered within the internal conflicts resolution framework of the party.”*

Sizeable number remains in league with **APC2** who subscribes to party supremacy as expected, being a state chairman. He gives rationale for his views:

We all try to achieve our interests under the banner of the party and we accept its supremacy. Most conflicts are being resolved and members’ interests covered within the internal conflict resolution framework of the party. The decisions are accepted by the generality of the people and we obey the rules and regulations.

His ally on this view, **PDP2**, also submits his justification for the party to have the overriding say in the final determination of conflicts with the explanation that *“within the party, we have a way of handling conflicts,”* and the effectiveness of the party way manifests in due season as he avows, *“all that is needed is time.”*

Panelist **B** corroborates to this from experience with the confirmation that:

Most of the time, people who are not gunning for elective offices usually reach agreement with the party to resolve the conflicts, using the party rules and

regulations.

This validation of acceptance of party supremacy by those not aiming for office is supported by **PDP3** who fully endorsed the doctrine of party supremacy in politics, based on her experience, but goes further to sell it as the better way to those running for offices.

For me, with the much and the little experience I have in politics, political conflicts are better resolved within the political circle and the party framework.

The convenience and positive gains in acceptance of party supremacy for internal conflicts resolution is explained further by **PDP1** that:

Since the party is supreme, things have to be decided and the zones/divisions and constituencies know for certain what they are entitled to, even when the exact portfolios are not specified. This will reduce agitations and conflicts for members to close ranks and work for the election of party candidates.

Naturally many people from the same constituencies would aspire for the same office. We see if they have what it takes, confirm if they have the money to spend on the day of the election and the days before. Politics now is money. This is to ensure we do not waste money on primary elections and then run out of money for the main/general elections. We sit down with the constituencies and make sure the people are agreed on one of the aspirants, so, we can face the other party united.

Despite these high points, **APC1** admits *“it is the right of any citizen of Nigeria to contest election, but when we have many people eyeing and gunning for same seat, naturally there would be competition.”* Because struggles for covert positions can extend beyond shelter of party pavilion, a number of politicians would stretch the stakes in their preference for courtrooms. This is rife when party structure and hierarchy cannot deliver on desires. Many aggrieved members had neither time nor patience to abide under an overriding authority that cannot further their interests.

Past these, like **B** observed, path to court becomes attractive “*when contestants feel cheated and sidelined, they resort to litigations.*” This trip is more assured when distressed persons would subscribe to party supremacy at their peril or at the unfair cost of imposing serious injustice on themselves, particularly when party leadership is compromised from covering their interests. As **C** explained:

Leaders of the party intervene to resolve the conflicts. When the leaders are themselves involved in the conflicts and they could not resolve it, aggrieved members might resort to litigations or break away from the party

APC3 subscribes to this fact and puts it aptly: “*When members feel so aggrieved without concrete and satisfactory remedy from within the party, they resort to litigations.*” Though **APC2** also concurs to this observation, he believes that the litigation route could be a dead end.

When these expectations are not met, the other and quicker solutions would be to look for alternative ways to achieve their aims outside of the party structure, which I must say are never the way out.

His take gets support of **APC1** who submits that: “*Loss of party tickets or party posts are not enough reasons to leave a party or engage in litigations.*”

But, **PDP3** who is far from disposed to court actions in the resolution of intra-party conflicts says “*personally, I do not believe court is the best way of resolving conflicts or seeking remedy for intra-party disputes.*” Still, she acknowledges and respects the stance of people who take the court option. She noted: “*Some others may not be as patient, but would go straight to court*” and concluded: “*These types of conflicts are not easy to resolve.*”

Nonetheless, the devastating impacts of litigations worry **PDP1** and he stoutly denounces going to court for the settlement of intra-party conflicts:

Attempts to resolve conflicts through litigations is what

destroy the parties. The litigations are unending. Litigations are not beneficial at all, they take a lot of time and resources and are not effective.

This condemnation of the resort to courts is mild when taken against stand of **PDP2** who believes the permanent damage court rulings could possibly do to members' relationship is enough reason to shun litigation. Court verdicts also violate a major principle held by **C** that: *"In politics, we don't push ourselves away, we shove ourselves aside. We always have conflicts."* To her, there are still many meeting points for politicians after resolution of conflicting interests and it is not smart to block further cordial relations and cooperation with inappropriate options, like using litigations, to seek remedies on conflicting interests.

In the explanation of his stand as expressed in this view, **PDP2** submits:

The courts are just the avenue to create more money for the lawyers. If I were to be a lawyer right now, I would tell you the court is the best way to go. It is the last hope of the common man to get justice. But this is not true; justice could be given to the highest bidder.

Also, there is no way you go to court and come back to be friends again. At the end of the day, post resolution, people are still on talking terms and the family bond is not broken. The court does not guarantee that. Once you are back from court you become permanent enemies for life.

4.4d: **RQ3 – Perceptions, Potentials and Endorsements of Native Tools:**

Both the APC and PDP have admix of success stories and tales of failed efforts to share on their various measures to resolve internal conflicts. As expected, there are incompatible interests among party members, while some other members have direct conflicts with their parties.

As a strategy, **APC1** says the party ensures all its members aspiring for party posts and government offices agree to accept party rulings on conflicts arising from such matters. Aspirants are made to sign bonds affirming their subscriptions to party supremacy.

The move has been partially effective; it yields good fruits with committed members, more with those who have no hat in the ring to pick party posts or tickets for elective offices. Further, the party makes efforts to share available offices among members to compensate those who do not get the coveted positions at its rulings. This is to ensure there are no outright “winners and losers.”

The PDP on its own embarks on wide consultations at constituencies with vacant offices; encourages members to present consensus candidates and even agree on what benefits and appointments individuals and units of the party would get at victory. The party efforts also include meeting the conditions of some aspirants, negotiating accommodations for them as well as pacifying others by defraying their campaign expenses. All these are to reconnect them by deliberations, negotiations, cooperation and application of the rules and regulations of the party.

This approach according to **PDP2**’s description is “*resolving conflicts outside the courts with native intelligence.*” The party’s strategic thrust at conflicts resolution primarily is to secure commitments of most members by getting them to get involved and collaborate in the processes.

As **PDP1** puts it,

These people know the candidates that can win elections and when they cannot reach agreement that day, they are given more time. We dialogue, set standards, interview aspirants before they collect forms. We see if they have what it takes, confirm if they have the money to spend on the day of the election and the days before... so, we can face the other party united. Wherever they are unable to reach agreement, we call for voting by whatever method they may want.

One important thing we do is not to allow or encourage any aspirant to obtain the party nomination forms before this simple process... The forms cost a lot of money and when aspirants go and obtain forms they must have consulted some people and committed a lot of money to pursue the ambition. Some of these aspirants take loans to travel to the party headquarters to collect these

forms. If there is conflict at that time, it would be very difficult to resolve.

These arrangements, laced with what the party chairmen variously described as “*native wisdom*” and “*native intelligence*”, are believed to avert many potential conflicts in the parties. Buttressing this, **APC3** says:

What is noteworthy is that we always have a way to resolve the conflicts, we deploy our knowledge of the rules and native wisdom to reconcile our positions to reach agreements and form consensus.

PDP2 in his own part asserts, “*we apply rules and regulations fairly to resolve conflicts outside the courts with native intelligence.*” To him, the PDP approach is very effective.

Whatever method does not bring about violence and pulling out the dagger or gun is effective. Violence is the only method that can never be effective.

Notwithstanding these acclaims, internal conflicts on who gets the party tickets for elections are far from rested. Despite this, **APC1** one rates his party high on the current method adopted for conflicts resolution, “*I can say we have about 90% success rate,*”, but typical with human diversity on opinions, another APC state party chairman, **APC2**, limits this claim with a restraining statement:

I have to be honest, the conflicts are not always resolved because we have human expectations from every angle. So, not everyone gets satisfied to the premium levels.

Beyond the parties’ efforts and roles leaders play in disputes prevention and settlements to make peace and harmonious relations flow within the parties, individual member’s commitment, as a factor, goes a long way to foster positive reception of conflict resolution initiatives. Members have prerogative to cooperate or endorse the efforts. This is an important point **APC1** holds as lid for member’s responses to party policies and rulings on conflict issues. He puts it this way:

Normally, members who believe in the party, have commitments to the party and contribute their quotas accept party decisions and respect the party supremacy in the resolution of conflicts.

He goes further to explain how personal interests of members inform their attitudes and postures towards resolutions brokered by the parties:

Most of the time, people who are not gunning for elective offices usually reach agreement with the party to resolve the conflicts, using the party rules and regulations. If the person is there to pursue personal ambitions that override national and party interests, he or she may not be ready for consensus on many issues. Whereas, the individual who joined the party for national interests is likely to be willing to seek agreements and forge consensus.

This is probably reason **APC2** avers that conflicts resolution in the political parties is a work in progress:

When you have solutions to all conflicts which rise to become problems, with the greatest tools at resolving the matters, for the overall betterment of the society, then, you have the final imprint of success for reaching consensus and agreements.

This he believes is never the case because:

I do not think that conflicts resolution has a blueprint. It is a reoccurring process that gets better by the day in terms of developments and implementations.

Since political parties have the platforms that people need to contest elections, many take the option to acquiesce to party policies and rulings. As **PDP3** puts it, *“the decisions are accepted by the generality of the people and we obey the rules and regulations.”* Reason for this according to **PDP2** is *“many members merely acquiesce because they have little options. They stay aggrieved and bottle their dissatisfactions until they have another opportunity to ventilate their grievances.”*

It is mainly to guarantee that people do not later renege on their words to comply with party decisions, since they probably have little choice that some party leaders take steps against betrayals to deter people breaking their words. **B** explains measures in this direction thus:

Sometimes, when the interests are catered for, agreements reached and decisions made, some people want to back it up with oaths that have consequences against breach to ensure compliance and final settlement of the differences.

Generally, people's levels of satisfaction with decisions either through consultations, negotiations or popular opinions are always fluid. Even when the majority speak, there would always be dissents who would see the final outcome as against their will and believe the result is forced on them. **B** admits this point and confessed, *"in politics, we say majority carry the vote, so whenever we have serious conflicts, we discuss resolution options and put the matter into vote. Whatever be the outcome of the vote on the issue is adopted. We let it be and abide by the decision, even when many people are not happy."*

It is this dissatisfaction of some members and their total loss in the contest that **A** sees as counter-productive for conflicts resolution:

The idea of majority having their way and minorities having their say cannot bring about a permanent and long lasting resolution of conflicts. The political parties in Nigeria need a comprehensive, holistic and enduring method to resolve their internal conflicts.

He explains further:

One of the greatest problems faced by the political parties in conflict resolution is the foreign idea of majority having their way and minority having their say in the resolution of conflicts. This is a defective way to

resolve conflicts. This is not the African way and method. In Africa, everybody's interest must be taken care of, the general will must be obtained and sustained. This is reason we have guilds, age grades, gender groups and family groups to take care of all interests, including that of the newborn.

In conflicts resolution, closing decisions cannot be taken until everybody's interest is factored into the final resolution. The idea of majority having their way and minorities having their say cannot bring about a permanent and long lasting determination of conflicts.

Certainly, the handicap of political parties in Nigeria to develop not just effective, but efficient and holistic conflict resolution method is because the parties are bereft of authentic African ideological bases. Such a foundation, sourced from African culture, **A** insists, would factor in and cater for the interests of both majority and minority beyond having the current divisive ways. His verdict:

But the two parties we have lack central coordinating centers. Instead, we have men and women of means having their own coordinating points within the parties due to extreme individualism. These sub groups become factions within the party and they are the hot beds for brewing conflicts. We do not have consistent overriding party hierarchy, but rather silos of people's interests. These do not help to create understanding and solid structures. Instead it sows conflicts into the system.

Once there are money bags that defy party hierarchy, there would be splinter groups that would make conflicts difficult to resolve. The parties are hardly communal in nature, rather we have those who have the resources dominating affairs at their levels. In African culture, three sets of people conjoin to make an association function. Those with ideas align with people of means to activate those with the operational capacities, each bringing what they have to the table at the central coordinating points.

This submission on the counter productive dominance of political space by women and men of means finds support with **APC2** whose opinion is that:

These do not help to create understanding and solid structure, instead it brings conflicts into the system. Whenever there are rich people who dictate what happens in an association, their actions would clash with the authority of party executives and they would create rival groups that would not allow smooth conflicts resolution.

The African traditional conflicts resolution practices at various communities are based more on pragmatic wisdom and run on the knowledge of native norms and mores. The methods have integrity, less deceit and people have their clear voices in the procedures; their stands are allowed and their rights respected. Elders, leaders and men of authority within the social groups serve to protect communal interests rather than lord themselves over the people. These niceties, like **C** attests, ensure the *“outcomes of deliberations are acceptable because they are fair, inclusive and just. Importantly, victims normally get compensated.”*

This humane and integrative approach to conflicts resolution evolved over time to become the peoples’ way of life.

In traditional African culture, groups and societies constitute the foundation, dominating affairs and giving directions. They operate as one family with knowledge and wisdom and they are concerned with the promotion of the general welfare and protection of every member’s interests.

These as **A** explains are what make the African traditional approach to conflicts resolution *“the better way.”*

Africans by nature are communal beings; not attuned to impositions, an identified major cause of intra-party conflicts. Generally, peoples’ actions are regulated by rules and beliefs to which they subscribe as lifestyle. **PDP2** encapsulates these with the explanation:

The African way is about discussing all the issues together, bringing in other folks. The traditional way involves the entire family structure and both sides thinking and talking to untie all the knotty issues.

As expected, traditional African societies involve and engage entire community, like a family unit, in finding solutions to their basic problems, including conflicts resolution. The peoples' custom is non-alienating; it is integrative with roles for everyone. The convention accommodates all, despite differences, and abhors "*extreme individualism*" as noted by **A**, who further makes the point that the rich and well to do in society, unlike what is vogue in political parties now, do not attempt to undermine the social structure or defy communal hierarchy. "*Community, not the individual, form the institutions. Communities are about the people and not about individuals,*" he says,

Building his point on this social heritage and capacity, **APC3** says: "Yes, as *Africans we are naturally talented,*" in testament to the endowment in people's skills as regularly demonstrated in traditional communities to resolve incompatibilities for harmonious co-existence of the people. These native conflict resolution approaches, described as "*still the best way*" by **APC2**, involves give and take. "*You cannot sit and take everything,*" he says. This is because "*there are checks and balances regulating authorities*" to ensure none of the actors in dispute leaves empty handed or embittered in the final outcome.

This is at variance with what the courts do, making winners and losers, just like some party leaders and financiers dominate and control all levers of power, structures and machinery of political parties to the exclusion of others. The expectation from party leaders in African way as clarified by **PDP2** is leadership by example. Leaders cater for the interests of all, give right orientation to the people on proper approaches to issues. They also exemplify acceptable way to relate with others in communities and groups.

Still on in-built regulatory mechanisms of African system to involve all in conflicts resolution, **A** explains further that:

Even the rulers and kings, placed next to the gods, do not have the absolute authority. They explore series of ways through the elders, groups, etc. It is to the extent that the kings and rulers keep to the rules and guidelines, backed by the sacred oaths taken, that their authorities remain sacred, not abominable.

The day the kings and rulers begin to cross the lines on the sacred rules and regulations of the community, they cease to be next to the gods and the people begin to caution them and question their acts.

In contrast, *“this is not the case with the political parties when rich individuals constitute the base and direct affairs based on their personal interests, whims and I dare say, sometimes on their caprices”*. He noted.

Instead of political parties emulating salutary ways in African customs, **PDP1** admits politicians court traditional authorities to acquire political power and dump them soon after they get their desires. The parties, he confesses, oftentimes used traditional institutions and authorities:

To woo more people, because we have some traditional rulers that are more powerful than the political parties. However, politicians make sure they alienate the traditional rulers from partisan politics to reduce their influence, so we take the support directly from the people.

He explains further:

If there is a problem in the community or domain where the Oba is, definitely the Oba must have a role to play, but normally politicians do not allow the traditional institutions to wield power in areas outside their immediate communities and domains. They are restricted. But we support the Obas, we receive their blessings before we do things.

Normally, in traditional African conflicts resolution schedules, as sketched by **A**:

“before matters reach the final authorities, they must have passed through several stages of consultations, deliberations, negotiations and the parties concerned given long ropes for amicable resolutions prior to the final determination and legislation.”

APC2 says, yearnings of the people are for a scheme like this:

That is what I believe the generality of our people and Nigerians are clamouring for now, that we should revive and modernize our traditional ways of conflict resolution to improve the integrity of the process.

However, for this peoples’ wish to come true, **A** says first, *“there must be better understanding of the basics and benefits of the African ways for handling African affairs as opposed to the prevalent foreign ways.”*

This positive perception of African systems is needful for appreciation of the prospects and gains in their adoption for intra-party conflicts resolution, because *“as of now, the parties operate as orphans in an alien system about which they have little knowledge.”*

This view is endorsed by **APC3** who thinks people must be willing to pay the price. They need to drill down into genuine facts and right perspectives on the African way to prepare their minds for uncontaminated knowledge as it concerns use of African resources for conflicts resolution:

When people have this basic reorientation and are willing to buy in, then, the problem is half solved and the possibilities of sabotage and incidents of renegade actions are reduced.

What this points to is that the peoples’ desire, for Nigerian political parties to use African way in conflicts resolution, can be achieved with deliberate formation of a new social foundation on which the political structures can be rebuilt. A structure that according to **APC3** *“caters for each person’s interests and leaves no one in the cold.”* This method, based on the principle to meet the general will and cater for every one’s interests, is expected to be pragmatic, conciliatory, reconciliatory, complimentary and integrative.

The **APC3** party boss believes working the new method “*may take a longer time*”, but he is optimistic it shall ensure “*conflicts do not escalate*.” His view is embraced by **A**, who agrees that political parties in Nigeria need a conflict resolution method that restores African values; that is effective, fair, just to all and factors positive enhancements to the economic wellbeing of members into its procedures.

A illuminates this idea further that political groups must move away from practices that dislodge “*our basic Africans ways of life*”. He says political parties need to return “*social control*”, now in the hands of the rich and influential individuals, to the people, the party members, “*in the most pragmatic ways possible*.”

A clarifies his points thus:

We need to reconstitute regulatory authorities of the political parties on African traditional machinery. Our cultures should originally determine the party ideologies, so that the political parties can take their positions and perform their duties as appropriate in our societies within the structures of our culture.

The concern of party chairmen, particularly **APC1**, **APC2** and **PDP2** is to rework the architectural base of Nigerian political platforms for engagements. They desire party platforms sturdy in depth and broad enough to bear African native doctrines. This is what panellist **A** champions, on a general level, in his call for holistic national development that addresses treatment of differences and irreconcilable interests among people who must coexist and jointly work harmoniously. This cannot be a misplaced aspiration, since it is also the main concern of this study. This is summed by **A** thus:

The point is, for us to use any African tool to resolve conflicts in the political parties, we must first lay the right foundation or the base on which to erect the structures. The parties must have regular rules and guidelines for the African resources to be deployed. We need to reconstitute the regulatory authorities of the political parties on the African traditional machinery. Then, the

people would be those who have been conditioned to know the intricacies and obey the rules on activating the sacred African traditional resources to regulate conduct.

This proposal found favour with **E** who sets an agenda for the new order to begin with individual self-restructuring as prelude to institutions and systems rework.

Yes, I agree to the extent that we first need to repair ourselves as human beings. As of today most Africans and the political class, who constitute membership of the political parties, are damaged human beings. We need serious social engineering programmes.

But **PDP1** sees the proposal as divert from focus of political parties that does not deserve much attention. He says: “*What politicians concern themselves about is how to organize parties and win elections.*” **PDP1** also does not believe the political parties can work with African traditional institutions. He gives the condition that could bring about possible joint activities between political parties and the native platforms:

We can only work with the traditional institutions when there is a solid framework to guide their operations and activities.

However, **PDP1**'s perspective missed the point on Nigerian political parties' possible use of African native tools to resolve intra-party conflicts. He assumed factoring African native institutions and tools into the operation manuals of political associations was a duty outside activities of the party. That such would involve engagement of traditional rulers, priests, worship of deities and sorts in political party activities. This is far from the case. An understanding of the nature and working of native tools, as a way of life, show instead that political parties can evolve systems that incorporate applications of traditional resources, as principles, into their structural frameworks and operational procedures.

He nonetheless confesses his inadequate familiarity and dismal understanding of African native operations. He says whenever he hears the “*African way*”, the thought that pops up in his mind “*is getting busy with worship of deities, consulting oracles for decisions,*

performing sacrifices etc.” and this is opposed by his Christian faith. Reason he asserts: “We can only work with the traditional institutions when there is a solid framework to guide their operations and activities.”

He is not alone in assumption that operations of political parties is structurally divorced from application of native tools in conflicts resolution. His incorrect conjecture that parties were expected to contact traditional rulers and native priests to execute some esoteric procedures are also shared by **PDP2**. Both men guessed, wrongly, that political parties would have to involve traditional authorities in their operations, if they adopt African conflicts resolution measures. That they are not comfortable with.

“The traditional rulers have no business dabbling into politics ab-initio. They are supposed to be concerned about the sanctity of their traditional institutions.” **PDP1** insists.

PDP3 on her own insists the course of political parties and that of African traditional institutions are different and separate. She firmly holds her ground and says: *“I don’t think traditionalists are in a better position to resolve political party conflicts.”*

Though she was not right to assume adoption of native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution meant getting the traditionalists, rather than the parties themselves, to tackle the conflict issues. She is nevertheless right in her firm opinion that *“political conflicts are better resolved within the political parties and not outside the political institutions.”*

Her concerns on the incursion of African traditional institutions and native authorities into the structures of political parties appeared to stem from the popular view that many Nigerians are engaged in diabolical applications of native methods in their political schemes to dubiously dislodge opponents and perceived enemies.

She is in a large company to presume that rather than help political parties dispense justice, the native methods could indeed become a source of injustice to many. Christians and Moslems in particular assume African traditions could imperil their faiths, if they get involved in what many Nigerians, exposed to other religious faiths and foreign influences outside their aboriginal beliefs, popularly term *“fetish.”*

All these inaccurate and erroneous presumptions can be taken as confirmation of **PDP2**'s observation that the African way is complex and "*has so many things attached to it, especially traditions.*"

Apt response to these issues of concerns is given by **A**, who explains that what is held by people as either right or wrong are determined by individuals, based on their scope of knowledge, environments and conditions. He sees the organizing structures of the political parties as key to how well or wrongly the African native resources for conflicts resolution could be applied. His explanation is:

Human beings determine right and wrong and if we put African native resources in the wrong structure, it would lead to the highest level of injustice. Within the right structure, it will perform as expected and achieve what it is intended to achieve.

He goes further:

The issue is whether or not the African method, in the right structure, shall give us a more comprehensive, holistic, acceptable, well-balanced and more outlasting framework for the creation of justice and equity.

On the issue of probable injustice that could be perpetrated with native resources and institutions, **A** expounds that matters of justice are subject to how well and fair the tools are used in particular contexts. There is a way the best tools could be used to make them unjust. He concludes that "*the misapplication of African resources is unjust to all.*"

Perhaps the most controversial and volatile issue on use of African traditional institutions and native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution is the onerous task to guarantee and protect integrity of the process. Given that distrust, betrayals, sundry intrigues and routine breach of agreements, the regular bedmates of politics, are main factors militating against acceptance of settlement terms, it is trite that integrity of the process must be upheld and protected.

The best way Africans discourage people reneging on their words and mutual agreements at will is by sealing such covenants with sacred oaths. One way politicians have also been holding others to account on sensitive matters and significant pacts, off table and prying eyes, is by extracting vows from one another with sacred oaths. Panelist **B**, a seasoned political actor with more than 40 years' experience, disclosed this well-known but hardly confessed fact, concealed from general public, at the discussion.

He admits that:

Sometimes, when the interests are catered for, agreements reached and decisions made, we back it up with oaths that have consequences against breach to ensure compliance and final settlement of the differences.

The efficacy of this age long practice and essential step in conflicts resolution process that makes agreements binding is what gives many politicians, particularly leaders and financiers of election campaigns, some confidence to make deals with many of their sponsored candidates. They know breach of agreements sealed with active oaths would attract severe consequences.

Clarifying the rationale for this, **A** says:

On the issue of active oaths, we take responsibility for the consequences of our actions and make pronouncements. In active oaths, people use their own mouths to issue words of pronouncements upon themselves with the sacred elements or before the sacred deities.

The use of these psychic forensic media to regulate conduct and ensure compliance with accord and promises act as deterrents to wrong doing. Inasmuch as political parties need to repackage such measures aimed at conduct regulation for modern application, **A** is quick to caution those who do not understand the full implications of activating forces of nature with sacred oaths to tread cautiously on the path.

The resort and attempts to use efficacious active oaths to regulate conduct and resolve conflicts in the society must be based on a proper understanding of the working of the forces to be deployed. The forces do not discriminate nor segregate, once triggered to action. If the political parties do not do the needful and they deploy African forensic forces to regulate conduct, then, it means the people would probably wipe out themselves totally.

To guard against probable devastating consequences of deploying active oaths, **A** recommends that only those who fully grasp implications of the activation of African forensic media and “*have been conditioned to know the intricacies and obey the rules on activating the sacred African traditional resources to regulate conduct*” should dare to get involved.

Another panellist, **D**, while expressing his reservations on the application of active oaths to regulate conduct and guard against breach of agreements, submits:

I doubt if we can really adopt the African method now because of the complications its adoption would likely generate from the religious angle. People not familiar with its workings would also be afraid to go into what they really do not understand and they have had to shun and flee from. If the serious work of re-education and modernization can be done on the processes, then, it could be the solution to the many conflicts destabilising the political parties now.

Though playing religion card has to a large extent shielded some people from using African native resources or acceding to and applying African method, misapplication of the tools by some individuals has also created misconceptions about African resources. Likewise, some people purposely spread false narratives about the African forensic media to discourage its use by creating misgivings around it.

This informs **D**’s observation that:

People in recent times have either lost confidence in them or they deliberately shun them because of their new found religion in Christianity and Islam.

On the other hand, antics and records of many charlatans claiming to be specialists on African traditional matters have created great skepticism on the efficacy and authenticity of active oaths administration. Additionally, because many are not involved, except initiates, priests and those who take engagements in African tools as occupation, there are many misapprehensions on active oaths that make many shirk from it.

D in his explanation on this, noted that, *“because the African system has been corrupted and compromised in modern times, I believe the regulatory frameworks like the active oaths have been trivialized and demonized.”*

These shades and assaults on potentials of active oaths, as a required ingredient to guarantee integrity of African native resources for conflicts resolution, does not lessen its benefits. The clamour of some politicians for its inclusion in political parties’ *modus operandi* for conflicts resolution confirms this. Many like **APC3** sees it as a tool that *“would reduce the rate of betrayals, now very prevalent, among us. It would also encourage honesty in our relationships and dealings.”*

In credence to this view, **A** adds that use of active oaths would as well check and prevent *“individual excesses and betrayals”* and *“whatever could constitute an abomination in the community.”* He adduces his reason that since *“the African system is based on trust, the sacred oaths taken raise the confidence of all and ensure compliance”* on terms of agreements reached at the resolutions.

This corroborates **B**’s take that the *“use African method would make things easy for us. People would also avoid what the society considers as abominable acts in their dealings and relationships with others.”*

Though **PDP3** cautioned that there was need to first create relevance for use of active oaths in conflict resolution processes. This is because Nigerian political parties are

yet to grasp the values of African native tools in their conflicts resolution arsenal. *“We have never adopted the native method. We believe the African institutions must be part and parcel of the political party conflict resolution process to be relevant.”* This stand is challenged by **APC2** who made the submission that:

First, we are cultural people and culture has a way of nullifying the Western antecedents in our systems that have in some sense corroded our vibrancy as a people. As party members, returning and resorting to our native means of solving conflicts definitely has an upper hand in pushing us forward progressively as a party and as a nation at large.

While party chairmen like **APC2** are ready for the adoption of the African native tools, which he says has promise to be *“absolutely”* effective in helping to instil needful integrity into intra-party conflict resolution processes, panellist **A** gives a “Yes” to attest to the effectiveness of the method.

From the findings, potentials of the African way seem to hold the key to most of the challenges faced by Nigerian political parties. **PDP1** admits that African traditional approach enables parties to present a united front during elections as well as to run a cohesive government, post victory at the polls. His attestation is:

The African perspective to conflict resolution that involves and carry everyone along is the better way. I have tried it and continue to work with it, it is the better way to conflicts resolution, provided we can follow the rules.

He explains that the method to *“engage the people first”* before deciding and embarking on the party’s journey to field candidates *“facilitates peaceful party primaries and the result is also a harmonious congress,”* This process also *“saves money, reduces intra-party rivalry and ensures we do not see our party members as enemies.”* As such, people have the *“opportunity to concentrate on the elections instead of in-fighting.”*

Going further, **PDP1** says: *“It enables free contest and respect for others’ opinions*

*and perspectives.” These observed benefits are freshened by another party chairman, **PDP2**, who argues that the in-built consensus building, accommodation of others as well as sharing of duties and gains by all in the traditional way is “*still the best*” and the “*natural way to solve problems and still retain the friendship... At the end of the day, post resolution, people are still on talking terms and the family bond is not broken.*”*

In his further praise of benefits of native tools, **APC1** says the African way to conflicts resolution “*helps the party retain and reintegrate aggrieved members*” This happens by what **PDP2** on his part sees as getting to the “*superior argument as best way to solve the problem*” for those who normally would hold “*rigid and fixed stands.*” In return, party gets best of the situation for “*progress and amity.*”

Corroborating this submission, **APC3** affirms that “*the native method is so effective in that it brings long lasting solutions which is what every political structure in the country needs. With our resources and endowments, we can manage conflicts better.*” With the African way, the party acquires the “*ability and authority to determine, resolve and to settle the conflicts for the benefits of all and to cater for all interests.*” This stride is possible as a regular achievement because as **APC2** presents it, the African way has “*rules, regulations and laws that people cannot compromise on easily.*”

It is these found benefits in African traditional resource and native tools, as mechanisms for conflicts resolution that made people like **D** prefer and support adoption of the African way. He insists:

I cannot be evicted from my culture which I know has great benefits. For instance, its adoption would give us a more peaceful society. It would regulate conduct, make people more responsible and accountable, reduce spate of pilfering and selfishness. It would engender justice, fairness and even development, progress, continuity as well as confidence in the system.

To enjoy these benefits, **APC3** counsels that Africans must first get to be culturally driven to nullify “*the Western antecedents in our systems that have in some sense corroded*

our vibrancy as a people.” Beyond conflicts resolution, **APC3** announces that adopting native methods has promise to “*revive and modernize our traditional ways*”. Subsequently, it could deliver on the reform programme people across the country and in the political parties are clamouring for to “*bring the long lasting solution Nigeria needs for political restructuring,*” so there can be genuine national rebirth and progress.

In his wholesome endorsement of the African way to resolve conflicts, **PDP2** abhors all violence. He sees pervading communal peace as one benefit derivable from application of the African native methods in intra-party conflicts resolution.

He buys the idea because Nigerians “*must always find ways to reconnect and operate as a family.*” Still, his expectations are moderated by **APC3** who reminded that constituent members of political parties are people from diverse and distinct backgrounds of “*family, tribal and group associations*” and they relate with others according to peculiar norms and traditions that give them their identities.

You know political parties entail different tribes. Different people from different cultures coming together to form political groups... If I do not believe in your ways or customs, I would not submit myself to your decisions, suggestions or solutions to the conflict.

This probably is one of the reasons that inform **PDP3**’s ambivalent endorsement of the political parties’ adoption of native resources and traditional institutions for intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. She gives a “*Yes and No*” answer to the adoption on grounds that “*the traditional institutions are not members of a political party, and it is not a family or community affair; they have no business in political party matters.*”

Responding to her stand, **APC3** agrees that “*the measure of respect accorded the authority figure determines how easily the conflicts can be addressed and determined,*” but insists “*we need to go back to the drawing board and respect the traditional ways of our people.*” This is crucial for progress on the matter.

PDP3, like many others, reduced the African way to the authority of traditional rulers as institutions. To put this logjam to rest, **APC3** suggests as a measure to settle contrary views and carry all concerned along, in line with the African way, that *“we may even need a referendum on this in the nearest future, so, people can have a say in the determination of their interests.”*

4.4e: **Quantitative Data Analysis and Findings:**

Report of the quantitative data findings from survey of 100 respondents is presented in this section. The elements, 50 of them, half the total number, are members of APC in Lagos State and the other half, 50 respondents, are members of PDP, also in Lagos State. The questionnaire instrument was administered on them by researcher in a face-to-face setting at the various rendezvous they meet in the metropolis.

APC members were interviewed at their party secretariat while PDP members were trailed to the different locations they hold their meetings. The PDP does not have a permanent secretariat in Lagos State at the time of study, they met at convenient spacious venues accessible to them. The survey was carried out from March 2 to March 8, 2022.

The measurable variables and main issues of concerns in research questions, in the qualitative analysis, to which the study seeks answers are:

1. Frequency of internal conflicts within the two parties
2. The forms of intra-party conflicts and causes
3. The methods of conflict resolution adopted and the success rates
4. The perceptions on effectiveness of the adopted methods
5. The perceptions on African native resources and opinions on adopting the traditional tools for intra-party conflicts resolution
6. The politicians' preference for African native resources to resolve intra-party conflicts; their perceptions of its effectiveness and whether or not they endorse the use to resolve their internal conflicts.

Demographics of quantitative data of 100 respondents show they age between 30 years and 75 years (See **Table 1 below**). Of these, men are the majority, 67%; females 30%. Understandably, men control political party affairs in Nigeria. They also occupy most leadership and administrative posts. Reasons include women's preoccupation with

traditional roles of managing homes and raising children. Other factors for men's dominance are rampant violence and because most party caucus meetings are nocturnal, held at night.

Majority of respondents are educated beyond secondary school level, 26% have university degrees, BA/BSc/BEd/BEng and Higher National Diplomas, HND, while those with Ordinary National Diplomas or the National Certificates of Education, OND/NCE constitute another 25%, many of them are "self-employed".

It is observed that many of these active party members, claiming to be self-employed, are involved in subsistence ventures for survival. These vibrant men and women, who have much time on their hands for political activities, are financially vulnerable. Oftentimes, their personal bills and membership fees are picked by party leaders and political entrepreneurs. These rich politicians use their influence to conscript the susceptible members with monetary inducements and promises of juicy opportunities as ready foot soldiers to control party affairs. By implication, active economically independent members, without huge financial war chest for politics, have less say in party matters and their interests easily get displaced.

Table 1: Demographic Analysis of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	67	67%
Female	30	30%
Prefer not to answer	3	3%
Total	100	100%
Age of respondents	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Minimum = 18	2	2.0%
Maximum = 70	2	2.0%
Middle = 19-69	96	96.0%
Total	100	100%
Political party	Frequency	Percentage (%)
APC	50	50.0%
PDP	50	50.0%
Total	100	100%
Education	Frequency	Percentage (%)
No formal education	0	0%
Primary school only	4	4.0%
SSCE or equivalent	32	32.0%
NCE/OND	25	25.0%
HND/B.Sc.	26	26.0%
M.Sc. or equivalent	5	5.0%
M.Phil./Ph.D.	1	1.0%
Professional qualification	7	7.0%
Total	100	100%
Employment status	Frequency	Percentage
Employed full time	23	23.0%
Employed part time	7	7.0%
Self-employed	65	65.0%
Unemployed	1	1.0%
Retired	4	4.0%
Total	100	100%

TABLE 2: Duration of political party membership

Question: *How long have you been a member of the political party?*

Length of time	Frequency	Percentage %
Since inception	44	44.0%
In the last 10 years	31	31.0%
In the last five years	21	21.0%
Less than three years	3	3.0%
In the last one year	1	1.0%
Total	100	100%

Table 2 above shows most of the respondents, 75%, are seasoned politicians that have been engaged in political party activities for more than a decade. As a matter of fact, 44% of them said they have been members of either the APC or PDP since inception.

Their long duration in political party affairs made them witnesses to the twists, turns and maneuvers of the political associations in and out of many conflicts. Their opinions and perspectives, therefore, as reflected in their answers to the research questions, are likely to be informed by rich personal experiences on the conflicts situations in the parties.

TABLE 3: Frequency of internal conflicts

Question: *How frequently has members of your party been involved in internal conflicts?*

Regularity of conflicts	Frequency	Percentage
Very frequently	27	27.0%
None in the past one year	17	17.0%
Regular conflict is natural in human association	48	48.0%
Confidential party information	3	3.0%
Prefer not to answer	6	6.0%
Total	100	100%

In **Table 3** above, conflicts are shown as regular features of political associations. This means Nigerian politicians are engaged in vibrant and meaningful human interactions within their parties. Members of the APC and PDP push their interests, pursue their needs and contend for limited opportunities at the expense of others. Naturally, these would create conflicts, breed contests and contentions on incompatible goals.

These reflects clearly in the results. A total 75% of the respondents confirm that intra-party conflicts and scuffles for upper hand are way of life in the associations. 48% of respondents say the conflicts are natural part of their ecosystem in the political parties while 27% others admit the conflicts occur frequently.

TABLE 4: Current intra-party conflicts

Question: *Is your political party involved in any form intra-party conflicts at the moment?*

Intra-party conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	74	74.0%
No	18	18.0%
Not sure	4	4.0%
Exclusive party information	1	1.0%
Prefer not to answer	3	3.0%
Total	100	100%

Table 4 above gives further credence in support of facts from preceding Table 3 that raging conflicts are daily routine within Nigerian political parties, as confirmed by members of the APC and PDP.

Majority of respondents, 74%, affirm there were ongoing conflict incidents within the ranks and files of the APC and PDP at the time the data were collected from March 2 – 8, 2022. Only 18% of respondents claimed they faced no conflicts in their parties at that time.

TABLE 5: Major causes of the intra-party conflicts among politicians

Question: *If your answer to Q.8 is yes, what would you say is the cause of the intra-party conflicts?*

Majors causes of the conflicts	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of internal democracy	16	16%
Imposition of candidates for elective offices	30	30.0%
Dictatorial tendencies of party leaders	18	18.2%
Injustices within the party	8	8.1%
Unacceptable breach of party constitution	7	7.0%
Inadequate attention to party members' interests	4	4.0%
Struggles to control resources and dominate party affairs	10	10.0%
Prefer not to say	3	3.0%
Leadership tussle	4	4.0%
Total	100	100%

Findings in **Table 5** confirm Nigerians join political parties for personal ambitions and individual interests. They never shied from whatever it takes to achieve these by dominating the political platforms to control affairs. When politicians get privilege of leadership, they impose favourites as party candidates for elective offices, even when such persons are unpopular and not choices of the majority. These divisive actions account for a total of 64% of intra-party conflict incidents.

Breakdown of respondents' answers to causes of intra-party conflicts show 30% are due to impositions; dictatorship accounts for 18% and lack of internal democracy 16%. Others reasons include disputes over resources causing 10% of the conflicts and injustices 8%.

TABLE 6: *Methods used to resolve intra-party conflicts*

Question: *How are your party and the members embroiled in conflicts resolving the disputes?*

Resolution methods	Frequency	Percentage
Mediation through committees set up by the party	47	47.0%
Court actions	30	30.0%
Caucus meeting with disputing members	14	14.0%
The conflicts are never resolved	4	4.0%
Violently fighting it out	0	0%
Prefer not to speak	5	5.0%
Other method	0	0%
Total	100	100%

Going from the facts supplied by respondents in **Table 6**, mediation and peace committees are the favoured ways the APC and PDP use to resolve their internal disputes. However, members dissatisfied with these approaches take to the court as next option by escalating 30% of the conflict incidents for litigations. What this means is that that party members have, so far, being unable to evolve assured and acceptable structures endorsed and subscribed to by all to settle the regular internal disputes among themselves, without resort to external bodies.

Records also show neither violence nor other methods, outside the mediations, peace committees and the courts have been used to successfully resolve disputes and clash of interests that broke out within the parties.

TABLE 7: *Effectiveness of the methods used to resolve the conflicts*

Question: *How effective are these means of conflict resolution on your intra-party conflicts?*

Method effectiveness	Frequency	Percentage
Very effective, the conflicts are always well resolved	49	49.0%
Not effective, the conflicts are never resolved	6	6.0%
The methods are problematic and cause more conflicts among party members	13	13.0%
We need a more effective and just method for conflict resolution in the party	24	24.0%
That is exclusive information to our party	2	2.0%
I do not worry myself about that	4	4.0%
Prefer not to say	2	2.0%
Total	100	100%

Table 7 above shows respondents believe they have a 50/50 chance of getting satisfactory outcomes when go through their political parties' laid down process to resolve whatever dispute or issues of incompatibilities they may face with other members or even the party itself. The politicians are split on their opinions with 49% affirming the methods in use by the political associations are effective and another 43% denouncing the methods as ineffective. While 24% of the respondents register their desires for a more effective method of conflicts resolution, 13% say their parties' methods of resolving conflicts cause more problems than settle the disputes.

TABLE 8: Need for a better conflict resolution method

Question: *Do you think your party needs a better way to resolve its internal conflicts?*

Need for better conflict resolution method	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	62	62.0%
No	19	19.0%
Let the conflicts continue	0	0%
The present methods are good	7	7.0%
I can't think of another	12	12.0%
Total	100	100%

Table 8 above further reinforces politicians' desire for their political parties to have better conflicts resolution methods that can guarantee better outcomes with internal disputes settlements. Overwhelming majority, 62%, answered in the affirmative that they would need another more effective methods.

These responses justify the research gap and purpose of this study to probe for alternative intra-party conflicts resolution approaches that shall deliver better results for the political groups.

TABLE 9: African resources as alternative conflict resolution method

Question: *Do you consider African native resources as effective to resolve your party's internal conflicts?*

Effectiveness of African native resources	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	47	47.0%
No	25	25.0
I don't know	13	13.0%
I don't like native methods	13	13.0%
Prefer not to say	2	2.0%
Total	100	100%

Table 9 above shows perception is an important factor in opinions formation. The information available to people through education, enculturation, peer takes and orientation, etc., shape their opinions. A significant percentage of politicians, 13%, do not have sufficient knowledge on African native resources to decide on the effectiveness of the cultural tools for intra-party conflicts resolution. Another 13% of respondents say they do not like the African method.

These facts can be juxtaposed against opinions of the 47% who considered African methods effective for intra-party conflicts resolution for details to mirror the probable prospects of native tools and give an idea of the needful labour to position cultural assets of the people in the treatment of their problems. It mainly implies that not more than half the population of Nigerian politicians understand the values of their cultural resources for conflicts resolution.

TABLE 10: Subscription to the use of African native resources

Question: *Would you subscribe to your party's use of African native resources to resolve its internal conflicts?*

Subscription	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	41	41.0%
No	38	38.0%
African ways are always better than litigations to resolve internal party conflicts	7	7.0%
I don't subscribe to use of African native resources to resolve our conflicts	1	1.0%
Prefer not to say	13	13.0%
Total	100	100%

Table 10 above show 38% of respondents say they would not subscribe to use of African native resources to resolve internal conflicts in their parties, even when they are in the minority against the 41% that endorse subscription and the 7% others that say the African way is far better for resolving internal conflicts. Here we see clear evidence of inherent conflicts, of opinions in this case, natural to human associations at play.

It is all the more reason African native ways that involve, engage and carry along all concerned, minority and majority in decision making, is long overdue for infusion into policy and operational frameworks of political associations in Nigeria and Africa.

TABLE 11: Assessment of African methods to be just and effective

Question: *Would you consider African methods of conflict resolution just and effective?*

Political parties' need for better conflicts resolution method	Frequency	Percentage
Yes, they are just and effective	40	40.0%
No, they are not just and effective	7	7.0%
The methods are just but not effective	11	11.0%
The methods are effective but not just	6	6.0%
I don't know much about the methods	36	36.0%
Total	100	100%

Respondents answers on whether or not they considered African traditional conflicts resolution methods as just and effective, as displayed in **Table 11** above, show the scant attention that African native ways of solving problems had gained from politicians who are the ultimate policy makers in democratic settings. 38% confess they do not have good understanding of the African methods for conflicts resolution.

This wide knowledge gap is significant and underscores reason studies need to be conducted on African heritage resources, indigenous knowledge to address the deluge of problems battering to drown Africans.

4.5: Evaluation of Findings:

4.5a: *Introduction:*

This evaluation presents results vis-à-vis literature, theoretical foundation and conceptual framework, to answer research questions as well as meet objectives of study. It is two parts and confirms, with evidence, results delivered on study objectives. First part is a treatise that specifies how far appraisal can and would go beyond prism of what can be interpreted directly from study results. Extent relies strictly on scope of study methodology as laid *ab-initio* with UNICAF directive to “*avoid drawing conclusions beyond what can be interpreted directly from the study results*”. Second part is brick and mortar appraisal of what the findings mean in relation to applicable theories. The treatise is a deliberate essential to results’ evaluation (Braun & Clarke, 2019b; 2019c; 2020; Byrne 2021; UNICAF Notes).

The Morgan Model, modified phenomenological hermeneutical method of data analysis for multiple contexts, Morgan (2021), is used for the evaluation. The model has simple guidelines and thorough systematic procedures open to audit. Importantly, it is compatible to reflexive thematic analysis, RTA, with phenomenological hermeneutic method for qualitative data interpretation as used in this study. It makes evaluation credible and transferable beyond the intense analytical descriptions (Morgan, 2018; 2019; 2021).

4.5b: *Treatise on Evaluation:*

This discourse, prelude to the discussion of findings, prepares ground for the presentation of research subjects’ narratives of lived experiences. This is done with the lens of conceptual framework to depict study reality and make findings general. Strategy is to get subjective individual narratives confirmed by general opinions and illuminate them with chosen relevant literature. This upgrades knowledge with better illustrations for improved understanding. It does not shy from bias or subjectivity, the natural human attributes that are no threats to credibility of qualitative knowledge production. Rather, it sharpens understanding for better appreciation that what is true to one could be applicable to others in similar settings (Wu et-al., 2016). This fact is widely elaborated theoretically in

preceding chapters (Braun & Clarke 2020; Byrne, 2021; Eakin & Gladstone, 2020; Morgan, 2021; Thorne, 2016; 2020; Byrne, 2021).

The adopted Morgan Model is offshoot of Lindseth and Norbert (2004) hermeneutic phenomenological method for interpreting interview texts. A progression from simple text readings to grasp surface, face-value, meanings of narratives into thematic interpretations and explanations that would birth broad understanding of studied reality. Morgan gives a three-stage process. Development from naïve reading of texts to structured stage of assigning meanings to data. This is followed by systematic analysis of units and patterns of meanings. A surfaced final explanation of the interpreted whole unravels the phenomenon for understanding, value, relevance and application, Morgan (2021, p.657).

Reflexive process acknowledges researchers' influences on meanings of narratives. It also moderates researchers from encroaching on surface meanings of texts, Morgan (2021, p.657). However, texts' contextual interpretations cannot but get rubbed with researcher's prior knowledge for enlarged horizon of meanings. These given sematic imports are combined, compared and contrasted for commonalities and divergences in the patterns of meanings generated. Literature is engaged for congruence of research questions with themes to corroborate researchers' explanations for enriched appreciation of phenomenon. This means final meanings are "appropriated" to understand "the world projected by the texts" as construed by researchers, Morgan (2021, pp. 661-662).

Researcher's presuppositions in evaluation are with lens of conceptual framework and theoretical foundation laid to aid study. Questions answered by subjects qualitatively in KII and FGD as well as responses from quantitative questionnaire survey are framed with the intellectual bases of applicable concepts and relevant theories. These endorse and promote researcher's input as the creative builder of derived and ascribed meanings. Since outcome of a study, such as this, could not be guessed, with framing hypothesis, Wu, *et-al.*, (2016), mixed-method, involving qualitative and quantitative inquiries, is in order with answers to research questions to fill knowledge gap (Baker, 2019; Onwuegbuzie, 2012).

This evaluation of findings shows an understanding that progresses “beyond what a text says to what it actually speaks about. Or, more precisely, what it says about the world”, Morgan (2021, p. 661). Appreciation of text narratives at this stage has developed from mere surface interpretations to an understanding advanced by methodical elucidations; a comprehension of explored subject’s lived experiences as supported by literature, context of study and researcher’s knowledge scope.

The consequent interpretations reflect researcher’s range of understanding, the setting, time, space, logic and unique nature of the reality of study, Denzin (2019). This process is not linear, but iterative. It illustrates the “hermeneutic reflexive approach”, Eakin and Gladstone (2020, p.12), presented in everyday language to broaden insights on phenomenon. It is a framing of subjects’ lived experiences, as in actual world; to make findings applicable to real life situations (Morgan, 2021).

Multiple perspectives that uncover insights outside conventional wisdom for truths essential to understand reality of conflicts and conflicts resolution, particularly within groups and associations, are reflected in the evaluation. It drills deep into aspects of study domain where little is known currently about the various features of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria.

The methods used by political parties to resolve internal incompatibilities so far are reviewed for standpoints on how much Nigerian politicians know about their heritage, African traditional resources, and how well they appreciate values of their native tools for conflicts resolution. Their opinions and attitudes, accessed on native methods of conflicts resolution, are assessed in structured interpretation and in the review of findings (Braun & Clarke 2013; Fulaku, 2020; Tijani, 2019).

The evaluation, with phenomenological hermeneutic reflexive thematic analysis, uses deduction and induction in a continuum; it is systematic, relative and subjective, not theoretically vacuous. The patterns of meanings are unveiled in language exploration to create a given understanding from researcher’s contrived or created social reality (Adejimola, 2009; Byrne, 2021; Lawal, Orunbon, Ibikunle & Faduyile, 2019).

The evaluation posits two facts here. That language is both a vehicle for conflict creation and also agent for conflicts resolution. “Language frames the research findings as particular kinds of accounts”, Eakin and Gladstone (2020, p.11). Secondly, that researcher is engaged in construction of a system of meanings passed across on the studied reality (Braun and Clarke, 2012; Terry et al. 2017).

From data transcription to the generative coding and subsequent interpretation, study adheres to its goals to produce findings on deep insights and experiences of research subjects. This is to reflect general situation of those concerned with the phenomena, situation of Nigerian politicians and political parties, with conflicts as well as the resolution of conflicts with African traditional resources. The edited data transcription is not neutral, but an interpretive process that transforms texts into meaningful narratives in myriad subtle and not-so-subtle ways contextually relevant to topic. The analytic process is also interpretive (Braun & Clake, 2020).

Nevertheless, the ontological ad-mix of objective reality outside of human consciousness and subjective creation of reality that what is real cannot be independent of human perception is apt. This means language and knowledge, the means of interpreting reality, cannot be unmediated by human senses and perception. In this elucidation, they are shaped by the socio-cultural and material contexts in which meanings are made from text data. However, it is trite to assert the truism that data set cannot speak on its own; it is the researcher that gives the voice, conceptualizes and presents data for general applications (Adejimola, 2009; Bonvillian, 2019; Eakin, 2016).

At the coding stage, the researcher is not positioned as a source of bias that must be detached, but an integral part engaged to maintain a creative presence with insights. Coding is not done as a procedure-centred task, it followed Eakin and Gladstone (2020), citing Coffey and Atkinson (1996), guideline to go beyond the simplification of data for reference. This coding method, generative, opens up, expands and introduces meanings beyond the traditional “mechanical application of data to pre-conceived labels”. It is an iterative and thoughtful process of “creating concepts and linking them” to theoretical framework of study, Eakin and Gladstone (2020, p. 8). This way, the open facts and innate

knowledge in data are interrogated on issues at stake and attendant reasons for what obtains, even the power relations, as reflected in the narratives.

Contextual interpretations, such as this are best; permit symbiosis of individual realities. The captured individual voices and unspoken words align with theory based elucidations for clear accounts open to scrutiny. This gives confidence and makes analyses trustworthy as reflections of lived experiences; being-in-the-world. Writing is also key to this analytic process based primarily on language. Language in form, structure, grammar and semantics is central to creation of meanings; critical to how meaning is made and shared. Since researcher picks the words and links them to construct sentences, on axis of chain and choice, the language cannot be neutral (Eakin & Gladstone, 2020; Gamage, 2020).

As interpretive depth lies in the skill of analyst-researcher, not methods, preferred and chosen words with the sentence patterns and constructions are hinged on researcher's language stock, knowledge, experience and understanding. Choice of alternative words and sentences could constitute same imports or change the entire meaning of statements and consequent subject matter. Multiple theoretical and political views abound in meaningful language use (Dahlke & Hunter, 2020).

When stretched to its logical point for purpose, it is the researcher that "theorizes" data narratives; gives meanings and links both to produce findings. Meanings ascribed to data in the report of findings are determined by the contexts, settings in which they are produced. Theoretically, there are layers of contexts. The multiple contexts that affect interpretation of data in this study include the individual, immediate, organizational, institutional, societal, cultural, historical and indeed, the theoretical contexts, Eakin and Gladstone (2020, p.9).

Researcher also determines relevant contexts for analyses; the heterogeneous outlooks on phenomenon that are essential to decode personal experiences. These could be outside conventional wisdom and help in optimal understanding. It is not far-fetched then for researcher to also create or contrive relevant contexts in a study. Taken together, these give deeper insights into assumed values, the not yet well studied aspects of the complex

situation, of African native resources for conflicts resolution. It presupposes probable new insights about people's lives, their real-world roles and background situations, particularly in Nigerian intra-party conflicts settings (Dahlke & Hunter, 2020; Lou & Noels, 2019).

These theorized data, in hybrid elucidation of meanings in kind and scope for comprehension, provide informed arguments that address research question(s) for the elastic extant understanding of conflicts and conflicts resolution. These are united with conceptually venturesome theory-informed analyses for enlarged "sightline", Eakin and Gladstone (2020, p.2). These are the imperative creative submissions, beyond self-evident meanings, for the report on findings that follow (Braun and Clarke, 2012; Dempster, Hanna, 2021; Nowell, Norris, White and Moules, 2017; Terry et al., 2017; Thorne, 2016, 2020)

4.6: Discussion of Findings:

In this section, discussion of results for appraisal and evaluation, we synthesize, integrate and interpret the preceding qualitative and quantitative data reports. The discussion covers the outcomes presented in the first section and relies on applicable literature. Further, it is guided by adopted theories for understanding, appropriateness and acceptance. These enhance quality of findings, explorations and expositions on benefits of African native resources for the resolutions on intra-party conflicts in Nigeria and Africa.

Data generated in results of findings are discussed from the research questions that birthed them. The format is to sketch out the questions and then discuss data purposefully for explanations.

4.6a: *Frequency and Major Causes of Intra-Party Conflicts in Nigeria:*

Incompatible individual interests, conflicts, are native to human associations. Findings from 111 subjects, 107 of whom have been active in Nigerian political activities for longer than 10 years, confirm that the complex phenomenon is second nature with political parties in the country, just as scholars in sociology, politics, psychology, philosophy, etc. have posited (Afzalor, 2011; Cooper, 2023; Coser, 1956; Dajwan, 2021; Fisher, 2020; Karabal, 2017; Obianyo and Alumona, 2022; Otite, 2001; Tafese, 2016).

Data from KII, FGD, plus quantitative survey participants, panelists and respondents, respectively, say conflicts are “*always there*” in their ecosystem. Seven in ten respondents in the mixed-method study affirm internal conflicts are regular and way of life in Nigerian politics, See Table 3.

Expectedly, not all party members admit conflicts rage in their parties. For instance, APC3 downplayed the prevalence, even at the election season. He says conflict incidents are “not at all times” and asserted there was no conflict in his party at time of interview. This means the man has a different frame, other than conventional definition, of what he construed as conflict.

He probably assumed, as state party chairman, that absence of recorded skirmishes in his party at that moment meant people do not have conflicts despite members’ natural contending interests and opposing views on issues. This posture illustrates what studies by scholars (Cronin & Weingart, 2019; Duursma, 2022; Kok, de Bakker & Groenewegen, 2017; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenankeya & Busari, 2022; Wallensteen, 2018) reveal as inappropriate communication, which could be from sender or by receiver of information. Since people ascribe meanings to messages they receive based on their cultures and context of the information, any distortion in communication process could cause a misunderstanding of intended message, Chen (2007).

Findings insist intra-group conflicts are prevalent in political parties. This reality indicates meaningful interactions among members who have diverse opinions, disagree among themselves and compete for the limited opportunities and resources (Fisher, 2020). Literature as well avers environments rife in contests for limited opportunities and power are melting pots of conflicts (Ajah, 2022; Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Hogg, 2023; Mondal, 2021; Simon, 2020; Tsado, 2016).

The worry is making unending crises from the incidents unsettle the society. A party ward chairman, Panelist C, submitted, “the conflicts are regular, we have no preventive solution”. Scholars, mainly sociologists, however disagree that there are no solutions. They proffer that conflicts could be prevented and resolved by people, institutions

and with strategies (Ajayi and Buhari, 2014; Gonstead, 2021; Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime and Okpara, 2019).

Election periods and when party congresses are held “at the federal, state or LG levels” are the high seasons for the “intense” and “many” conflicts. That is when people choose candidates for available offices and push their interests to install preferred aspirants while they oppose and reject other members vying for same positions. This clear evidence of regular task and relationship conflicts, Wohlfeld (2010), confirm literature that untamed group conflicts assure relapse with Nigerian election cycles. The chase for power transforms party leaders and financiers into conflict agents. They are reputed to sabotage legitimate pursuits of contenders not in their good books for favourites’ interests (Dajwan, 2021; De Dreu and Weingart, 2003; Gan, Chen, Wang and Zang, 2023; August, 2022)

Study also finds attempts to impose “consensus candidates” as cause of at least three in every 10 conflicts. Dictatorial tendencies and lack of internal democracy, as reflected in swapping names of party ticket winners at elections, and resistance of “old leaders clinging to power perpetually,” to the exclusion of others, are conflict recipes, see Table 5. The presence of conflicts, actors and actions, three basic ingredients of incompatibilities, signal divergent, symmetrical and parallel conflicts in both APC and PDP. These reflect in pursuit of discordant goals, emergence of factions and cliques clinging to their rights to make and execute decisions opposed by significant others (Obianyo and Alumona, 2022).

Conflicts are value neutral, intra-party conflicts get sparks from non-adherence to parties’ constitutions, rivalries, intrigues, serial under table deals, greed and poverty. Unresolved intra-party conflicts in Nigeria are not divorced from contexts and cultures that confer meanings on actions of people operating the system (Haer, Bayer, Behr & Neupert-Wetz, 2019; da Rocha, 2018; Holzinger, Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Ibagere, 2020; Kelen, et al., 2020; Leal Filho, et al., 2022; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenakeya and Busari, 2022; Oyesomi, Salawu and Olorunyomi, 2017; Sultana, Muhammad & Zakaria, 2018).

The African tradition, which decrees commitment to others welfare, also approves use of native astuteness, particularly in indigenous communication, to survive and outsmart opposition. Since recourse to ambiguities and conflicting perspectives are essential parts of politics, Jones and Baumgartner (2005), politicians versed in native codes checkmate rivals with proverbs, space domination, non-verbal cues, aphorisms and message props.

Some conflicts are however apparent and traceable to what Cronin and Weingart (2019) in agreement with Wallenstein (2018) see as ineffective communication. This tally Fisher (2000) who says dismal communication skills sometimes create misunderstanding and conflicts even in the absence of basic incompatibilities. People may keep different perceptions on a situation until they get precise facts to clarify issues.

This is reason politicians in Africa need to master messaging codes in indigenous communication to create and unknot apparent ambiguities common in their environment. This covert native communication skill is employed to throw opponents off balance with overt diversions and seeming acquiescence to unacceptable suggestions to gain upper hand in contests (Duursma, 2022; Ibagere, 2020; Kelen, et al., 2020; Kok, de Bakker & Groenewegen, 2017; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenakeya and Busari, 2022).

Demographics of party membership, See Table1, show many barely survive economically. This gives some leaders avenue to breed in-house crowds-for-hire in the army of political jobbers and loyal field agents. Such leaders pay membership fees, cater for the welfare; give briefs, sometimes plum government appointments to these economically dependent members they use to foist their interests and desires (Marx & Tsado, 2016). State governors seeking strongholds on party platforms sustain this trend that makes power entrepreneurs and conflict merchants out of political influencers.

Because party mechanisms discount fitting cure to counter such deeds, many party leaders commercialise conflicts with elite manipulation of economic, social and collective inadequacies of members. This supports previous findings of McGuirk and Burke (2020); Mengistu (2015) as well as Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue and Durojaye (2006) that indicted party leaders as causative agents of the upsetting conflicts in African political groups. With

the ready market for conflicts, back stabbing “betrayals and breach of promises” are widespread in Nigerian political parties.

Also, typical of settings where people jostle for power and opportunities, indiscipline, lack of equity, unfairness and injustice thrive. Party members struggle for survival rather than align to design solid ideological bases. The disputes however are not over sublime group values, guiding philosophical compass, transparent leadership recruitment for elections or development agenda. As panelist E, supported by Gambo (2022), noted, Nigerians who engage in intra-party conflicts hardly beef over ideology, or alternative ideas. This is reason Nigerian politicians are nomadic and fit easy into rival and opposing political parties.

These findings on causes and frequency of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria did not miss out on the actual situation where it is not uncommon for influential citizens, controlling political parties, to brand themselves as professional politicians. These party men thrive in their preoccupations, though many neither contest elections nor take up party offices. Most times these men, hardly seen at party offices, dictate what obtains there. They determine who gets what party tickets for elections and what appointments go to whom.

Some notable and visible Nigerian political legends in this mold include Chief Edwin Clarke, Tanko Yakassai, the late Lamidi Adedibu of the PDP, Alhaji Mamman Daura, former military President Ibrahim Babangida and Bola Ahmed Tinubu of the APC, just elected president. Politicians are regularly reported to offer mind boggling resources to these men to win elections or get juicy government appointments. These men of power usually operate below radar and back recurrent intra-party conflicts which they weaponized for benefits (Ahmed & Alhaji, 2019; Naomi & Kennedy 2020; Okpako & Famous, 2022; Omojobowale & Olutayo, 2011; Ubanyionwu, 2023).

4.6b: *Adopted Methods for Resolution and Levels of Effectiveness:*

Given that main goal of a political party is to outrival competition and take over governance (Gambo, 2022; Chen & Hong, 2021), major hindrance to a united pursuit of this aim is unresolved conflicts which divide members and divert their attentions from a

cohesive quest to gain power. With three out of every ten routine incidents of incompatibilities ending in litigations, See Table 6, people who should be allies in political groups are turned into rivals, working at cross-purposes. As noted by PDP2, *“there is no way you go to court and come back to be friends again.”* Incidentally, more than four in every 10 of the intra-party conflicts, as shown in Table 7 are never effectively resolved or satisfactorily settled.

The unease created by this state of affairs in political parties is reflected in more than two in every four persons involved in disappointing resolutions proclaiming their desires for political parties to evolve better conflicts resolution methods. Table 7 shows an approximate 25% of people with unresolved conflicts insisting the methods in use by their parties create more problems than solutions. These party men say the methods are not effective to resolve conflicts.

Despite these low points, almost five in every 10 intra-party conflicts got resolved by mediatory interventions. Party caucuses effectively settle and satisfy more than one person in every ten involved in conflicts, though it is believed that some 4% of the conflicts were never and can never be resolved. Still, PDP2 is right to hold that violence is never an option in intra-party conflicts resolution. Igwe and Amadi, (2021) reported from their studies on political violence in Nigeria that acts of violence never laid any of such disputes to rest.

Adopted methods for conflicts resolution include use of standing *“reconciliation committees”*, where members apply party rules and guidelines for the *“dialogue”* sessions. The APC in addition has *“the pre-emptive rule”* for members *“to sign an agreement”* to abide by whatever party decisions are reached at the sessions. PDP on the other hand deploys its leaders and elders for *“conciliation and reconciliation”* in order to forge satisfactory *“consensus and agreements”*.

However, many of the political party members in conflicts, as noted by PDP3, do not have the *“patience”* and *“time”* to consider outcomes of any deliberation believed to be unacceptable. Such decisions are perceived as *“unfair”*, *“partial”*, *“non-transparent”* or seen to have been determined by a discredited *“godfather”*. This is where party leadership, as

Gambo (2022) found, is seen by some disputants as causative agent for conflicts instead of being catalyst for solutions.

Putting conflict resolution matters to vote for majority wish to override minority desires is noted by Panelist A to often yield “*unhappy*” outcomes at “*great costs*” to members and the parties. The trend, described by Obonyano, Asikaogu and Uche (2022) as tyranny of the majority, is a probable cause for widespread youth alienation in the political process. Most young politicians do not have the cash power, usually required to get critical majority of party members, to swing resolution polls in their favour when they have disagreements.

Despite these shortcomings, deductions from the various submissions of party members indicate that intra-party conflicts are “*better resolved within the party framework*”, than by outside agencies. Resorts to alternative means outside of parties’ machinery “*are never the way out*”. According to Panelist C “*in politics we don’t push ourselves away, we shove ourselves aside*”, meaning politicians would always need to align, ally and realign on off-and-on basis, in and out of conflicts sessions and be in constant interactions to succeed and not overheat the policy.

So far, findings confirm many of “*the conflicts are not always resolved*” and “*not everyone gets satisfied to the premium levels*”. It is a tough call, seemingly out of place, to expect settlement of all conflicts or to desire a zero conflict ecosystem for political parties. Reported 47% success rate and a highly significant 43% dismal performance at intra-party conflicts resolution is almost a 50/50 chance of probable amity and hostility in the parties. This is a damning testimonial to Nigerian politicians’ capacities at joint resolutions of in-group incompatibilities.

Aggrieved party members, flocking to courts to seek possible resolutions to intra-party conflicts, hardly get good results. Lowest number of petitions ever filed in law courts by party members seeking resolutions to their disagreements stand at 574 after 2003 elections and highest of 1290 in 2011, Okoye (2015). Findings show failure of court processes, litigations, to resolve intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. This is a pointer that courts

operate out of contexts in attempts to resolve political conflicts. Though three in every 10 intra-party disputes end in litigations, court rulings and judgements are not resolutions. In many cases contending individuals, after court, turn into lifetime antagonists.

For associations that require *consensus ad idem*, or harmonious meeting of minds, at higher levels among members to achieve their primary objectives, outcomes from findings on their conflicts resolution approaches are sub-par, Johnson (2020). These findings imply quest for a holistic, better and more inclusive method is in positive order, if political parties must run peacefully to justify their purposes, acquire power to govern and develop society (Abbas, 2016; Mahamud, 2020; Obi, 2018; Trewm, 2018).

The prevailing rate of decampments due to internal conflicts show more than 100 top party leaders jumping ships from their original parties to rival platforms within the last five years, 2017-2022. The list has one-time vice president, Atiku Abubakar, a presidential candidate who decamped from the PDP, where he was a foundation member, to form APC as one of the founding fathers, only to later re-decamp to PDP to continue his struggle for the presidential ticket. The resultant instability from failure of political parties' methods at conflicts resolution leaves much to be desired for national development. The hegemonic Western conflict resolution systems in use by the parties could, as reason, be blamed for this (Agbaenyi & Ibebunjo, 2022; Ebunuwele, 2022; Yahaya, 2019).

From history, literature and findings, the intra-party conflict cases effectively resolved were done primarily through collaborative efforts in negotiations and conciliations to cooperatively forge agreements and consensus. This is the African way and advocacy of development communications (Gardner, Leask & Ecker, 2021; Head, 2019; Meisner, 2022; Moemeka, 2012). It shows party leaders who initiated successful processes have clear ideas on what to do whenever they want a conflict successfully resolved.

These same party leaders probably allowed conflicts they want to discount for personal interests slip into other forms of resolutions like arbitrations, mediations or litigations. Researcher's note at the high conflict season confirm aggrieved party members

were blatantly rebuffed and told by some party leaders and elders to head to courts, if they would not acquiesce to the parties' unsatisfactory rulings.

Want of two native ingredients, inclusion/collaboration and compulsion/obligation, that make resolutions by dialogue effective, is responsible for the seeming 50/50 chance of success for resolutions brokered when deliberations are deprived of decisive native mores. To further complicate matters, whenever adopted negotiations get deadlocked and voting was done for majority to carry the day while minority are left to lick their wounds, there are unhappy endings for the defeated or loser members. This in Panelist A's opinion is a deficit on the principle of democracy, the African way. To Africans, democracy is a communal concept, an inclusive government of the people, by the people for the people for win-win outcomes; never a government of the majority for the exclusion of the minority (Johnson, 2020; Obonyano, Asikaogu & Uche, 2022).

Interests of minority population are never neglected in African systems. It is when concerns of all, particularly that of the lowly and younger members of society, have been successfully factored into resolution processes that deliberations are deemed worthwhile and conclusive. Africans use patience and forbearance in discussions to treat all concerns before closing on resolutions. This way, all stakeholders are engaged and involved in the deliberations. This is reason resolution outcomes from the processes are usually effective and acceptable (Flor, 2015; 2007; Moemeka, 2012; Yudarwati & Gregory, 2022).

Secondly, whenever agreements are reached, they are binding, never left at the discretion of whom it may please. Rather the resolutions are enforceable communal dictates adhered to by all. To secure full compliance, parties in conflicts are normally bonded by active oaths with severe consequences on breach of the agreements reached. Aside, defiance and default on agreed terms, in most cases, could attract social stigmatization and even eviction from the community (Basiru, 2018; Bashiru, 2019; Dickson & Ita 2022; Ebunuwele, 2022; Egboh & Aniche, 2015; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Jinadu, 2011; Obi, 2018; Omilusi, Onyishi, n.d.; 2016; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Simbine, 2014).

As noted from findings, it is a pastime of some party leaders who do not have their ways at deliberations to contrive fresh conflicts as alibi to nullify agreements and rulings that do not favour them. Guard against this in African system is never to leave resolutions without seals, binding clauses and social control measures. It is time a tested reasoning in Africa that whenever resolutions are not enforceable, they get jettisoned and rendered ineffective. Defiance to this communal wisdom is major reason cries against injustices and impositions are loud after effete attempts to resolve intra-party conflicts (Basiru, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Nader & Robinson, 2023; Ross & Ross, 2017; Sule & Yahaya, 2018).

Chosen tactics of most political parties is to use aspects of the African way, then, exploit loopholes in the incomplete processes. For instance, APC makes its members sign party supremacy bonds. A measure discredited by many aggrieved party members who see it as the step that makes some conflict resolution sessions unacceptable. This veneer of fake bonding that neglected interest and heart cries of members is at variance with African heritage. Reason political party founders, like Atiku Abubakar, exited associations they joined others to form when they lost out in the power game or get side lined with contrived methods (Agbaenyi & Ibebunjo, 2022; Akindele, 2010; Ashindorbe, 2022; Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Sule & Azizuddin, 2018; Sule, Azizuddin, Sani & Mat, 2018; Sule & Yahaya, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

4.6c: ***Perception, Potentials and Endorsements of Native Tools:***

Fish (2021) in his Philosophy of Perception noted that impressions people have about phenomenon affect their reactions to it. Perceptions, how people interpret realities, create impressions. Perception shaping lenses are formed by beliefs, values, experiences and expectations. Perceptions inform how people filter information to understand realities, make choices and take decisions. This means people often make unsuitable choices or take adverse decisions based on inadequate information or faulty perception (James, Olsen, Moynihan & Van Ryzin, 2020).

The impressions Nigerian politicians have of African native resources for conflict resolution were largely determined by the information they got on the native tools. From the KII, FGD and survey findings, members of APC and PDP established serial inadequacies

in methods their parties use to resolve conflicts, See Table 8. More than six in every 10 respondents would want better conflict resolution initiatives for their political associations.

A good number of respondents, more than four in every ten, as shown in Table 9, see benefits in native African resources and ideologies that *“cater for every person’s interests”, “leaving no one in the cold”*. These politicians are nostalgic about traditional ways that are pragmatic, conciliatory, reconciliatory, complimentary, integrative and effective for intra-party conflicts resolution. The native African way, they say, returns *“social control”* to communities and empower people to contribute their quotas to national development.

Participants and panelists at the KII and FGD variously opined African approach to disputes settlement is the *“better way”*. The method to *“engage the people first”* by consulting them before making decisions and policies *“facilitates peaceful party primaries”* and results in *“harmonious congress,”* with inherent consensus building. It accommodates all interests in the sharing of party responsibilities and benefits. Also, the method *“saves money, reduces intra-party rivalry and ensures we do not see our party members as enemies.”* Rather, parties as united people of like minds have *“opportunity to concentrate on elections instead of in-fighting.”*

These tenets of the African way are nothing but prescriptions of development communication theory (Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker, 2021; Lemke and Harris-Wai, 2015; Moemeka, 2012; Nwoga Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020) which more than six in every 10 respondents, Table 8, desired and perceived as more effective method to resolve conflicts.

However, two others in every 10 party members do not see the need for substitute methods outside ones in use and could hardly think of alternatives. This is despite their agreement that political parties could ill afford devastating intra-party conflicts, a response suggestive of probable ignorance and trending confusion on use of African native resources for conflicts resolution. This point is based on facts in Table 9 where three respondents in every 10 party members gave credence that a number of party men were uninformed about the African way.

Results from KII and FGD show some politicians are not familiar with their native heritage. They assume, like PDP1, the African way is about consulting deities and oracles for resolutions or performing sacrifices to determine conflicts. These false assumptions are common with some Christians and Moslems who reduce African native resources for conflicts resolution to mystical and religious events, John (2023). The more than one in every 10 of respondents probably use such false narratives as alibis to resist changes to their political parties' review of conflicts resolution methods which concede some undue advantages to them, see Table 9.

Though four in every 10 person ratify African native tools for conflicts resolution to be just and effective, its adoption, despite appeal to a significant number of party men, as noted by one state party chairman "*may take a longer time*", because "*we first need to repair ourselves as damaged human beings for social engineering*." Nigerians, he added, first need to dump the "*corrosive Western systems*" and intrigues of some foxy leaders impeding political vitality before resort to native means can gain "*upper hand in pushing us forward*."

Further, impressive number of politicians are cautious of African native methods, though they desire better and effective technique, Table 10. The African way in conflicts resolution goes beyond accommodating, catering for all interests and pushing the general will. It involves making binding agreements that compel adherence; integration of those off track and making restitutions to offended persons, when necessary. Table 9 shows about five in every 10 respondents opined that deploying traditional resources to resolve internal conflicts in political parties shall improve integrity of conflict resolution process. They believed the native tools have high veracity and are hard to compromise.

The pragmatic wisdom in native resources for conflicts resolution is in preserving integrity of the process to keep trust sacred in fair, non-deceitful, humane and just procedures. Social control measures are routinely deployed to regulate conduct and preserve sanctity of agreements. This guarantee comes with deployment of psychic forensic medium, in invocation of active oaths, to avert betrayals and possible renegade actions. The measure, a necessary component of agreements, affirms fidelity to terms. It

is normal in Africa to seal deals and resolutions with assurance that parties involved shall be committed to the diktats, even when others are not present as noted by a state party chairman and backed by Panelist B. The guarantee of this unflinching loyalty secured with active oaths are consequences against breach.

The use of African regulatory medium to guide conducts and make agreements binding as “*the solution to the many conflicts destabilising the political parties*” is however risky. There are punishments for affront. These could be devastating not just to the oath breaker, but also to innocent members of her or his family as the “*forces do not discriminate nor segregate once triggered*”. A person who activates the forces and pronounces penalties on his or her family in case of breach, for instance, has willy-nilly dragged members of the household, who may be totally oblivious of the situation, into the fray.

With active oaths, people take responsibilities for outcomes of their actions and bear sanctions they pronounce with their mouths, using sacred elements, when they breach agreements. People avoid abominable acts in relationships so secured to avoid catastrophic consequences. Because “*the African system is based on mutual trust*”, conflicts promoters, people bent on derailing settlements and those who make reached agreements unworkable, typically dole the religion cards when faced with proposals to seal pacts of resolutions with active oaths. Many party leaders and financiers faking agreements they do not intend to honour, just to get what they wanted, expectedly show public aversion to what they practice behind the scene, since it is not easy to manipulate active oaths. These facts are variously confirmed by KII participants and FGD panelists.

Such persons, leaders and financiers, decline the invocation on grounds that their religious faiths forbid such acts. Contrary to these claims, many party members aspiring for elective offices and those seeking political appointments confess they took active oaths of loyalty and non-betrayal set by their sponsors. This means many African politicians hide under the guise of Christianity and Islam to escape consequences of their wrongdoings while stoking embers of conflicts, Ellis, (2008) and *Sahara Reporters* (2009, June 28).

At another level, the antics and misapplications of African native tools by many charlatans and malevolent persons spread wrong impressions, skepticisms and create false narratives on traditional approaches used to make binding resolutions at conflicts settlements. Such negative perceptions, sowing wrong ideas into peoples' minds on native regulatory schemes, are probably responsible for 25% of respondents downing African native traditional resources, Table 9, as not good, inappropriate or as ineffective for intra-party conflicts resolution (Fish, 2021; James, Olsen, Moynihan & Van Ryzin, 2020).

Since human beings determine rights and wrongs by their actions, putting the African native resources in inappropriate structures could lead to high levels of injustice. This is corroborated by at least one in every 10 respondent saying the methods are effective but not just. This group is contradicted by more than one in 10 others who say the methods are just but not effective. Still, 10% of politicians, Table 11, believe African method of conflicts resolution is neither just nor effective.

Contrary to these aversions, there are attestations that within conducive environments, the native techniques, rightly executed, delivered expected results as confirmed by findings, *"African method, in the right structure gives comprehensive frameworks for the creation of justice and equity"*, just as *"the misapplication of African resources is unjust to all."*

Interrogation of findings show integration of people's beliefs with native lifestyles, via institutional alignments of interests, is genuine endeavour to shield them from political and economic ruins. Also, it is confirmed African conflicts resolution regimes smoothen disputes settlements in political associations. The tested cultural regulatory tools are set conventions consistent with universal jurisprudence protocols on people's rights (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Ekhaton, 2018; Kpae, 2018; Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019; Olowu, 2017).

The African way is believed by a significant number of APC and PDP members to be the key to resolve most challenges of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. Table 10 thumbs up almost five in every 10 respondents, as opposed to less than three in 10 others, who feel otherwise.

Also, majority of KII participants and FGD panelists submit that African native approach enables political parties to resolve many issues of incompatibilities, contest elections as cohesive units and win. Their concurrence is summed up by PDP1 that the African way creates a formidable force that *“involves and carries everyone along”*.

Outcomes of the concord and goodwill are election victories for political parties, pervading peace among members, absence of hostilities and participation of all stakeholders to produce workable agenda of action. These pay offs from use of traditional institutions and indigenous communication to resolve conflicts, as elicited in development communication theory, also grant parties access to *“superior argument as the best way to solve the problems.”* (Moemeka, 2012).

People who normally would hold *“rigid and fixed stands”*, faced with the facts and logic, in a cordial atmosphere, get convinced and persuaded to adjust postures for group *“progress and amity”*. The approach at same time *“helps the party retain and reintegrate aggrieved members.”* Because potentials of native resources, so far untapped, is feasible and effective panacea to resolve conflicts bedeviling political parties in Nigeria. Politicians are many that want its incorporation into the lawful framework for conflicts resolution.

From findings in Table 10, 41% majority of respondent members of APC and PDP preferred and supported the adoption of African way to resolve the challenging intra-party conflicts. One in every 10 others, or another 10%, say the African way is better than litigations for conflicts resolution in the political parties. However, while more than one person in 10 reserve endorsement on the adoption, three in every 10 would not subscribe to African methods to resolve intra-party conflicts.

Nigerians who championed adoption of African native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution however hold the view that it is best to upgrade the techniques for present day use. They believe political parties need to reform the native system, *“modernize our traditional ways”* and adapt them to midwife platforms for genuine national rebirth on which people can operate as family members.

Advantages listed for adoption of African resources for conflicts resolution, beside a peaceful society, include flair to *“regulate conduct, make people more responsible and accountable, reduce spate of pilfering public resource and selfishness. It would also engender justice, fairness and even development, progress, continuity as well as confidence in the system.”* A panelist at the FGD, frowning at aversion of some party men to use of African resources for intra-party conflicts resolution, contends: *“I cannot be evicted from my culture which I know has great benefits.”*

Following intense lively debate at the FGD on probable adoption of African way for intra-party conflicts resolution, the panel agrees with the favourable posture of many Nigerians from survey findings *“to respect the traditional ways”* and resolved that *“we may even need a referendum”* on this in the nearest future, so, *“people can have a say in the determination of their interests.”*

This general resolve is not in dissent to study’s conceptual base that noted inadequacies of conventional intra-party conflicts resolution methods in use by political parties. The take is on need to explore alternative techniques from African resource pool which favours voluntariness, integration, participation, relationship building, reconciliation, reparation, compromise, collaboration and healing. These are attainable via a vibrant culture of intra-party democracy for internal conflicts resolution (Akindele, 2010; Appiah-Thompson, 2020; Johnston, 2020; Mahamud, 2020 Obi, 2018; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Yahaya, 2019).

Given probable higher prospects of African resources to rest challenges of intra-party disputes settlement better than litigations, with a significant percentage of party members subscribing to the adoption, this study’s prescription is timely. Advice from the Court in Nigeria; the UN campaign for use of home grown African native methods and World Bank’s recognition of indigenous knowledge for conflicts resolution also make scholarship in the field prime and crucial (Akinola & Uzodike, 2018; Dansoh, Frimpong & Oppong, 2020; Donders, 2020; Ibagere, 2020; Inyvesi, 2018; Kangal, 2021; Lamidi, 2019; Monyozo, 2018; Okafor, 2020; Saleem, 2019; Smidth 2019; World Bank; Yahaya, 2019).

Going forward, some notions on African traditional methods for conflicts resolution need clarifications. While some people, as seen from opinions of PDP1, PDP2 and Panelist D, equate adoption of African native methods in conflicts resolution to getting traditional rulers moderate intra-party conflicts, others due to shallow depth in tenets of their religious faiths, chiefly Christianity and Islam, shun what they assumed were contrary to their religious guidelines. The incorrect belief often sold is that going the African way involves ancestral worship, occultism, performing sacrifices to deities and visits to dreaded shrines.

Contrary to these, adopting the African way or invoking active oaths for conflicts resolution need not involve political parties in direct contacts with native priests, esoteric procedures and visits to shrines or placing members under authorities of traditional rulers. While Africans, like Christians on Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and Moslems on Prophet Mohammed, PBUH, venerate ancestors and patriarchs of their religious faiths, they do not worship them.

Also, Africans are not polytheists. No African worships more than the Supreme Deity. Further, as it is not necessary to visit the mosque or church to pray, worship the Almighty or carry out basic religious activities, so is it not compulsory to visit sacred shrines to resolve conflicts the African way (Ekpatt, 2021). Conflicts resolution is not a religious activity and using active oaths to seal resolutions, to make them binding, is like placing witnesses on oaths in regular courts with sacred religious objects like the Bible, Quran, etc.

Evidence abound on many party leaders and financiers, who shun the full measure of African tools for conflicts resolution, to probably circumvent fidelity to terms of agreements, secretly going same route to keep their sponsored candidates for political offices and government appointments in check. The Chris Ubah versus Chris Ngige scandal on the leaked Okija shrine accord in Anambra State and bonding of appointed commissioners with active oaths in Ogun State by a former governor, Gbenga Daniel, are good examples, Ellis, (2008) and *Sahara Reporters* (2009, June 28).

In both cases, the country got to know public office seekers were made to invoke active oaths of loyalty, the African way, by their sponsors, both of whom are visible

adherents of the Western religious faith, to make their deals binding and keep the public office seekers in check when in position.

4.6e: ***Connection to literature:***

Theories offer conceptual lenses to explore and understand findings on phenomena. They also aid interpretations for meanings and give the background to discuss predictions on explicated realities. The three selected theories in this study to construct an understanding of how to address problem of habitual devastating incompatibilities among members of same political parties in Nigeria with African native resources are development communication theory, intangible social heritage theory and social control theory.

The research is about specific ways patterns of shared meanings in native heritage can be the adopted lifestyle to expedite conflicts resolution for harmonious coexistence. It is to make Nigerian politicians accept inherent conflicts, natural to their pursuits of individual interests, within political parties and counter renegade actions to mutually worked pacts on settlements with consequences. These measures, traditionally African, stabilize societies and aid peaceful administration of state for progress, communal wellbeing and human development.

The primary purpose is to exhibit African culture, collective programming of a people for learned transmissible and shared standards of behaviour, in the settlement of intra-group political disputes. It is about using native social capital built on legacy of trust, solidarity and group fraternity to resolve disagreements. These cultural lifestyles in beliefs, patterns of thinking and ways of doing things, in appropriate ideological settings, inspire people for effective joint efforts to settle political conflicts harmoniously (Agbu, Aiyede, Ofulue & Durojaye, 2006; Blundell, 2020; Bruchac, 2014; Clack & Dunkley, 2023; Donders, 2020; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Gerber & Marie, 2011; Ikejirika and Asike, 2017; Kangal, 2021; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Rosetti et al, 2022; Vassello, 2019).

Conflicts and conflicts resolution engagements are determined by interchange of meanings and understanding. How people decode actions, the cues and messages they pick, affect their responses, placing them into either accord or dissent modes. By

implication, peoples' cultures, to a large extent, shape how they interpret realities. Communication in political parties, associations of members with equal rights, is participatory, horizontal and non-dominant. Mainly to persuade and share perspectives. Conflict imports are therefore varied and subject to how different individuals interpret issues. What might trigger conflict in a person may elicit felicity response from another, depending on the meaning ascribed.

The essential exchange of understanding and people's conferment of meanings could be the bonding glue or cutting knife to relationships. Because in-group feelings saturate relationships in political associations, resort to matrix of indigenous communication, like proverbs, pitch of tones and loaded codes, etc. are regular for distinctive understanding of matters. The cultural makeup of the person making meaning out of the reality encountered and context of that experience direct what meaning could be ascribed to the information and cues picked.

Within Nigerian political setting, there is regular recourse to indigenous communication in interchange of vital messages. Indigenous communication, in its original and creative ways, facilitates diverse meanings and understanding of information across the personal, inter-personal and group levels. This way, indigenous communication is used in sync with peoples' values and shared cultural experiences to promote changes in beliefs and attitudes; it could also inflame emotions with messages and prompts that trigger conflicts when construed to antagonize people's interests (Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker, 2021; Nader and Robinson, 2023).

The contextual facility of indigenous communication to secure advantages in transmission of meanings with cues during dialogues, and its dual potential to either stimulate or resolve disagreements, have benefits when played with culture card among members of the same political association or between member(s) and the political party. When this is linked to development communication, solving problems with the people, by political parties to handle incompatibilities, then the parties as associations of people guided by ethos of African culture, place members in default modes for effective resolution of conflicts (Chen, 2007; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Ibagere, 2020; Ikpe, 2012; Mundy & Lloyd-

Laney, 1992; Monyozo, 2018; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenankeya & Busari, 2022; Oyesonmi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017).

Development communication theory covers transformation and socialization of individuals from African perspectives in groups and societies. It facilitates building harmonious relations and mutual cooperation for settlement of occurring disputes in win-win outcomes. The unique time-tested native African lifestyle, theoretically captured, is centred on use of power and politics to resolve conflicts. It is about participatory initiation of solutions to challenges of incompatibility via top-down, bottom-up, horizontal interactions and feedbacks. Development communication is a systematic joint problem solving approach in interplay of culture and communication for people to communally work out panaceas to social challenges (Flor, 2015; 2007; Head, 2019; Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker, 2021; Meisner, 2022; Moemeka 2012; Nwoga, Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020; Yudarwati & Gregory, 2022).

The painstaking communal practice involves all concerned with the issues to get solutions. The outcomes relegate no one and are jointly owned, endorsed and enforced by all in an atmosphere of trust and guaranteed concern for every member's welfare within the communal philosophy. To resolve conflicts in this scheme, people share knowledge, ideas, meanings, understanding and concerns in moderated processes that are noted to have held African communities together before incursion of foreign political practices (Bassey-Duke, 2017; Meisner, 2022; Moemeka 2012).

African traditional institutions impact politics. The political institution, one of the five primary social institutions, is concerned with governance, group decisions making, power relations and resource distribution. The APC and PDP, as platforms for people to compete for opportunities to run governments, are prime houses of conflicting contending interests and incompatibilities. Like the *Ogboni*, the native political institution of the Yoruba people of Nigeria concerned with politics, political parties also have units and committees for handling conflicts (Ajayi & Busari, 2014; Ayodele & Adebuseyi, 2023; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Moliki, 2020; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Olaoba, n.d.).

But unlike the *Ogboni* political institution, both political parties, APC and PDP, are bereft of inbuilt mechanisms to make binding and enforceable resolutions. Application of bonding and regulatory force of social control theory covers this limitation. The theory illustrates ways traditional institutions craft binding conflict resolutions and enforceable agreements on disputes. These ride on human beings' natural proclivity for in-group bonding and avoidance of whatever could sever mutual relations or damage their reputations (Busari, 2018; Nader and Robinson, 2023, Ross & Ross, 2017; Vinson, 2021).

Social control is about organised measures like persuasion, coercion, restraints, etc. that societies use to regulate members' conducts, establish social order, discourage deviance and ensure members follow acceptable standards of behaviour. Naturally, human beings cherish social acceptance and conform to acceptable social norms when meaningfully connected to a group or society. (Borzaga, Galera, Franchini, Chiomento, Nogales & Carini, 2020; Lundy, Collette & Downs, J. T. (2022; Nader & Robinson, 2023; Ross & Ross, 2017; Vinson, 2021).

People feel bonded to associations they identify with; are committed to group welfare and take ownership of programmes as well as values of their societies. Political parties, as associations of people committed to same political philosophy and agenda, are positioned via social control, to bind members to mutual agreements. They can regulate conducts with consequences to breaches and deviance to intra-group concord. The fact that people seek political party platforms to actualize their cherished dreams to govern give the parties leeway to exert positive influences on human conducts (Busari, 2018; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Vinson, 2021).

Culture, with its embrace of indigenous knowledge and native communication systems, is a regulatory agency that encapsulate peoples' social legacies. It conditions people via mental programming to peculiar lifestyles. Culture is dynamic, in perpetual recreation and transmitted by symbolic communication of verbal and non-verbal language that influences people and political activities to certain regimes. It is an idealistic bonding glue that makes people take ownership of societal programmes that shape their lives. This way, it sets commitment to the community efforts, aids social stability and define essential

boundaries for thoughts and actions (Bassey-Duke, 2017; Borzaga, Galera, Franchini, Chiomento, Nogales and Carini, 2020; Konno & Schillaci, 2021; Joyce & Long, 2022).

Humans are compulsive communicators. They use traditional or horizontal modes, mainly as strategic tools, to manage societal challenges. Many studies show the ally of indigenous communication to modern communication technology, like digital media and Internet, brightens prospects for human development. This is pointer to how culture can seamlessly integrate modern communication devices for future application in conflicts resolution (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2005; Avruch & Black, 1993; Biswas-Diener, Thin & Sanders, 2019; Collins, Demeter & Sussan, 2021; da Rocha, 2018; Donders, 2020; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Ikejirika & Asike, 2017; Kelen et al., 2020; Malhotra Sharma, Srinivasan & Matthew, 2018; Zohar, 2021; Okafor, 2020; Oyesonmi, Salau & Olorunyomi, 2017; Saleem, 2019; Stewart & Wilson, 2021; William & Udo, 2012; Vassello, 2019; Yahaya, 2019).

As social capital, cultural ethos generate trust, cooperation, social progress and harmony. It meets social needs, advances consciousness, moral values and virtues. Culture as indicator of social differences and distinctive identities encompasses peoples' ways of mediation, adjudication, reconciliation, arbitration, negotiation and collaboration, the essentials for conflicts resolution. Of all these, cooperative collaboration is most valued for communal resolution of conflicts, Lundy, Collette and Downs (2022).

Culture determines peoples' views of conflicts and how they pursue remedial actions. It is the African way to pursue restorative justice in preference to retributive Western tradition. In Africa, social solidarity breeds wider tolerance for concession. People prefer mediation to law of contract and they displace litigations with law of tort. These traditional practices enhance oneness and restore social order within contexts. When incorporated into the operational frameworks of Nigerian political parties they shall facilitate effective resolution of conflicts (Atkinson, 2017; Bowen & Gleeson, 2019; Biswas-Diener, Thin & Sanders, 2019; Ellemers, 2017; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Kuli & Degefa, 2020; Lamidi, 2019; Malhotra, Sharma, Srinivasan & Matthew, 2018; Okafor 2020; Olowu, 2017;

Oyesonmi, Salau & Olorunyomi, 2017; Stewart & Wilson, 2021; Sultana, Muhammad & Zakaria. 2018; Vassello, 2019; Yahaya, 2019).

On their own, traditional institutions as curators of indigenous knowledge systems, impact modern institutions in Africa with mechanisms for accountability, truth telling, healing and reparations. These native institutions define and regulate human activities, behaviours, shared knowledge as well as relationships within communities. Their methods, being needs based, are symbolic of people's rights, privileges, laws and customs. The social influences of native structures of societies as well as customs and laws are employed to accomplish sundry communal objectives and to resolve conflicts (Akinola & Uzodike, 2018; Ghebretkle & Rammala, 2019; Hofstede, 2001; Ibagere, 2020; Inyvesi, 2018; Jacob, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019; Kelen et al., 2020; Kuli & Degefa, 2020; Monyozo, 2018; Zohar, 2021; Okafor, 2020; Oyesomi & Okorie, 2013; Oyesonmi, Salau & Olorunyomi, 2017; Popoola, 2016).

It is true that inadequate familiarity with indigenous ways as well as popular false narratives about native ethos, as noted by Lawal et al (2021), have created wrong perceptions about some African traditional practices. The erroneous views are fueled mainly by popular religious bodies, alienated individuals and people who spread hegemonic social relations that discount the values and reputation of African social heritage and traditional resources in some quarters. A deluge of errors and false beliefs about African traditions thrive despite abundant proofs that resort to aspects of the African way have been mainly responsible for some successes recorded by political parties in resolving their internal conflicts in Nigeria, Lundy, Collette and Downs (2022).

Conflicts are antithesis of cooperation; collaboration is the primary ingredient a party needs to organise its members into a united group focused on main purpose to govern by acquiring power. Political parties being fora that must always resolve members' antagonistic and conflicting interests are platforms where individuals share and jointly take up group's interests. Members can better tolerate one another, co-exist harmoniously and achieve their aims when they operate communally in the African way (Busari, 2018; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Rodman, 2020; Sule & Yahaya, 2018).

By this, Nigerian political parties can change equation for effective resolution of internal conflicts if they structure their operations, as primary institution, in African native way. The certain way to evolve generally acceptable operational codes for harmonious lifestyles in political groups is to reach decisions on important issues and practices of political parties with the all-inclusive participatory tenets of development communication. This is the upscale and adoption of useful time-tested traditional practices that abound in African cultural legacies

This way, party members could co-exist as family of associates; get cultivated on African native philosophies. These shall endear members to cherish their cultural heritage; get concerned about the economic well-being of all and run collective administrations that communally serve society, not individual's interests (Bowen & Gleeson, 2019; Biswas-Diener, Thin & Sanders, 2019; Collins, Demeter & Sussan, 2021; da Rocha, 2018; Donders, 2020; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Ellemers, 2017; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Ikejirika & Asike, 2017; Lamidi, 2019; Malhotra, Sharma, Srinivasan & Matthew, 2018; Oyesonmi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Saleem, 2019; Stewart & Wilson, 2021; Vassello, 2019).

It is part of duties of political parties to form and run bureaucracies, conduct citizenship education as well as mobilize members for joint goals. They have responsibilities to harmonize and resolve members' conflicting interests. Other duties are representation in government; forming healthy but formidable opposition to ruling parties, defending the country's constitution, recruitment and training of leaders to run governments as well as to provide alternative administration and social service choices to the people.

This study, in search of assured recipe for political associations to effectively resolve internal conflicts, sees evidence in members of same party sharing African cultural heritage as a household of associates to communally harmonize all interests on pedestal of traditional institutions for peace, mutual understanding and cooperation. Rather than grip heterogeneous diversities of African peoples, it admits the fact, but opt to maroon its kernel on homogenising verities of African ancestry. These shared commonalities based on the peoples' universal values and virtues in native ethical codes of fidelity, honesty, hospitality,

hard work, truthfulness, accountability, loyalty, care for others, chastity before marriage, respect for old age, covenant keeping, integrity and good character are eternally upheld by Africans for sound functioning of society, despite complex ethno-religious differences among the peoples, Shivji, (2012).

The bond of brotherhood and solidarity among peoples of African descent are hinged more on their unique cultural commonalities than geographical affinity. Their enobling lifestyle, championed as ideology by W.E.B Du Bois, birthed the liberal world order many wrongly assumed to be a Western idea. This strategic philosophy, Pan Africanism, aims for unity in collective self-reliance and transformation of Africans for political and economic emancipation and development. It is meant to establish and promote the agenda for a just, equal and rule-bound multilateral world, the ultimate key for conflicts resolution, Abrahamsen, (2020) and Tooichi Aniche (2020).

Prescribed rides on these African heritage give political parties better levers to ease issues of incompatibilities at negotiation tables with native social control measures. The indigenous conflict resolution scheme gives traction on effectiveness of its tools to settle disputes. Studies by Lundy, Collette and Downs (2022) on efficacy of traditional approaches to conflicts resolution in West Africa show the homegrown solutions decisively resolve localized conflicts among the people than non-indigenous strategies. This is due more to the emphasis on communal interests than individual concerns. Within the order, issues like gender parity, religious tolerance, harmonious co-existence are sacred and breach of trust attract consequences. These are inferences drawn from reports of findings when linked to study literature (Alves, 2018; Blundell, 2020; Collins, Demeter & Sussan, 2021; da Rocha, 2018; Egbunike-Umegbolu, 2021; Ellemers, 2017; Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019; Geo-Jaja & Zadjia, 2020; Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask & Ecker, 2021; Kelen et al., 2020; Kuli & Degefa, 2020; Lähdesmäki, 2019; Lamidi 2019; Navarrete Zohar, 2021; Nwoga, Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020; Okafor, 2020; Oyesonmi, Salau & Olorunyomi, 2017; Parashar & Schulz, 2021; Saleem, 2019; Stewart & Wilson, 2021; Vassello, 2019; Vinson, 2021).

4.6f: Insights on applications of active oaths:

The significant and original contributions of this study to the body of knowledge include its prescription for the invocation of active oaths to complete and seal conflicts resolution processes. This is to make agreements arrived at binding and enforceable to reduce spate of unresolved intra-party conflicts. This prescription follows from findings that show unending disputes are due to failed and ineffective resolutions. Many of the intra-party resolutions mutually formed by politicians in Nigeria got breached and aborted because they were not binding. Terms of agreements/settlements reached at such failed sessions could not be enforced and were not meant to be enforced because conflict entrepreneurs contrived them to be effete and ineffective at table, Oladipupo (2021).

It is realized that many actors involved in conflicts resolution programmes, particularly political party leaders and conflict entrepreneurs, merely participate in conflict resolution sessions to buy time and secure accommodation for maneuvers in their schemes to gain upper hand in the contest for whatever is at stake. These politicians breach agreements at will to ignite fresh conflicts. The study recommends that terms of agreements reached at conflicts resolution sessions be made binding and sealed with active oaths, as traditionally done in Africa, to avert vain resolutions so as to guarantee integrity of the procedure.

Oaths are commitments or pledges made in forms of solemn promises to do something, Mengistie (2022). For example, witnesses take oaths in courts to tell the truth on matters to which they are called to testify. Oaths are formal, legally binding and are usually made with recitation of conventional formulae statements. Typically, name of a deity is called or a venerated being is invoked to be witness to pledges made. Active oaths are different from regular oaths. Active oaths are solemn assurances, promises, undertaken or pledges made with stipulation of punishment for the oath taker, if there is perjury or breach of commitment.

According to Bakenne and Fadipe (2022), active oaths constitute part of extra-mundane communication such as incarnation, spiritual chants, rituals, prayers, sacrifices, invocations, trances, hysterics or liberation in both indigenous and exogenous media

of communication. Generally, sacred objects like the Bible, Quran, iron, the totem or paraphernalia of deities are involved, in situ and used. These could be raised or a hand may be placed on them for physical contact. If the kit is liquid, it could be sprinkled on those taking the oath or consumed, etc.

Mezie-Okeye (2016) quoted Nwolise (2004) that while the Western world, for instance, uses the police for crime prevention and detection, African societies relied on divination and oaths-taking to prevent and detect crimes.

In African societies, it is believed that people making active oaths or placed on active oaths would avoid perjury or any form of falsehood and would abide by terms of the active oaths taken because the acts are performed with *Afoshe Olugbohun*, the voice picker, to activate affirmative pronouncements. This makes breach or refusal to abide by the terms mutually reached and pronounced in the oaths to attract severe and devastating penalties.

Taking oaths is an acceptable way to assert veracity of statements or truthfulness of confessions made. It is not uncommon for many people to lie or deceive under oaths and the law courts have regular incidents of perjury from unreliable or lying witnesses. The case is not different in traditional African settings where some people deceive, perjure, give false pledges or deny their wrong doings under the regular oaths. This is reason only active oaths are acceptable as pledges to seal deals in traditional African societies.

It is noteworthy that even in cases of the native active oaths, some persons, particularly politicians, malevolent authority figures and hardened criminals have been known to take counter measures to escape consequences of their deliberate perjuries or breaches of active oaths. Some of these persons spiritually fortify themselves against the repercussions of their breaches while others explore loopholes in the procedure, usually with their competence in indigenous communication, since active oath invocations are speech acts. Few of these persons have been known to escape, in the short run, immediate repercussions of their arrant mendacity on technical grounds.

Other people maneuver either by contriving with charlatans to short change the procedure and by compromising or blackmailing people assigned to administer the oaths. Because it is a sacrilege and a crime against invoked deities to willfully assault integrity of active oaths in African societies, like active oaths taken on *Ayelala* or *Ajilekege*, etc., in Yoruba society, such affront in the long run backfire, aside from extracting several high costs from culprits.

A simple illustration, as example of an attempt to compromise efficacy of active oaths, is the case of a married woman involved in adultery and reported by a whistle blower to the community in Nigeria. When confronted, the woman denied the allegation and agreed to swear by invoking an active oath to affirm her innocence. To escape repercussion of her planned perjury and trifle with the procedure, the woman connived with her secret lover to hide at a definite spot on the way to the sacred shrine where she was billed to take oath.

While the delegation was on their way to the shrine, on getting to the agreed spot, she excused herself to urinate in a nearby bush where her lover was already waiting. On sighting the lover, she exposed her nude before him and raised an alarm about a man inadvertently stumbling on her while she was easing herself. The man rushed out of his hiding place and claimed he also was relieving himself at a concealed spot when the woman, whom he claimed was unaware of his presence in the bush, suddenly stripped to ease herself in his full glare. The incident was assumed a coincidence by the delegation.

In taking the oath, the woman pronounced that she should immediately fall under spell of the invoked deity and froth in the mouth aside other destructive utterances, if any man, aside her husband and the man that “accidentally” stumbled her nude on way to the shrine, had seen her nakedness, since marriage. This way, she escaped expected instant repercussion by using tenets of indigenous communication on equivocal meanings in her contrived pronouncements. In Africa, it is typical for women to affirm their fidelity in marriage by avowing they had never been naked before other men, except their husbands.

Shocked by the outcome, the disgraced and humiliated whistle blower, sure of his accusation, resorted to Ifa oracle for divination to investigate the matter in order to unravel

his bewilderment and what could be amiss. When the oracle revealed to him the woman's duplicity to cover her abominable act, the whistle blower went further to inquire from the oracle what he must do to affirm his honesty in the case and expose the woman's abominable act against the deity.

The oracle prescribed two things to make the whistle blower's wish come to pass. He was directed to fete children with bean cake and pap meal, as sacrifice, then, return to the same shrine to invoke his own active oath with the affirmative pronouncements of calamities upon himself, if he had lied against the woman. On the contrary, if he had been truthful and the woman had deliberately perjured and misled the deity that she should make a grievous mistake that would expose her duplicity and bring to pass all the calamities she had pronounced on herself.

Fourteen months down the line, the woman and her lover were exposed, disgraced and the catastrophes befell her and her secret lover who was consequently excommunicated. She not only got impregnated by the lover, she refused to confess her crime during an unusually traumatic labour at childbirth. Further, she dared to accompany her husband to the family sacred grove to present the baby, a son, as custom demands, to the ancestors for consecration and dedication. Legend has it with the clan that it is a taboo to present sons who are not biological offspring to the ancestors for consecration.

Expectedly, presumed father was struck with sudden and severe headache as he attempted to access the sacred ancestral grove with the male child. His cry of agony made the stationed priestesses, on standby for such eventuality, to dutifully snatch the baby from the distraught man and they handed baby over to the mother, in line with the procedural rules for such emergencies at children consecration.

Soon as the boy child touched the mother's hand, she ran amok in excruciating pain, the priestess had to rush to retrieve the newborn from her before she fell to the ground convulsing. In her delirium, she removed all items of clothing and other adornments on her person, got stark naked, confessed her crimes, beyond the initial accusation and from there

began roaming the streets naked as a vagabond for years, as she had pronounced on herself at the duplicitous active oath's session, until her demise.

This case is used to illustrate workings and limitations of active oaths as psychic forensic medium. It also shows the procedure could be falsely discredited and manipulated when not guided. This is reason FGD panelist A, a professor of African philosophy, cautioned on the risks of uninformed application of active oaths by political parties. The medium has potential to wipe out an entire population, when wrongly used or assaulted. A popular adage of the Yoruba people concerning perfidies and misapplication of active oaths says sooner than later the earth betrays people double-dealing.

Another weakness of active oath is in the danger of using an omnibus voice picker totem, *Afoshe Olugbohun*. Such totems get activated by utterances from sounds of voice and would be dangerous to people when kept in places where it could be inadvertently activated by people oblivious of its presence. This is reason totems, the oaths' objects, are usually kept in remote forests or shrines. It is customary to see raffia or palm fronds tied to trees or poles around such locations and environments, as signals to initiates to mind their utterances around such sites.

An omnibus voice picker automatically activates the forces to effect whatever utterance it picked from human voices. This is reason this study recommends solemnly that only customized *Afoshe Olugbohun*, specifically produced for active oaths to conclude intra-party conflict resolution processes, be used by political parties to seal terms of agreements at disputes settlement sessions.

The activation of *Afoshe Olugbohun*, prepared for the invocation of active oaths to seal agreements at intra-party conflicts resolution sessions, need also be coded. It should get activated, or spring to life, only when the passwords are uttered around the totems. When produced this way, the totems could be safely kept at political party secretariats and not in the bush or at sacred groves as traditionally done. Beyond this, and as part of the modernization processing of the elements of active oaths, the totem is better

packaged for the modern times. Typically, the *Afoshe Olugbohun* is made with animal parts like shells, bones, horns, etc. to contain the elements used for its production.

The most common container is the antelope's horn that is either covered with a piece of red cloth or a piece of animal hide. Exposed, this object could frighten or repulse some people. For these reasons, totems for active oaths are better concealed or bagged in attractive packages. A suggestion is to produce the logos of political parties as plaques mounted on ornamental boxes. The totems, sacred objects and *Afoshe Olugbohun*, could be kept fastened inside the fanciful boxes that would form a base to stand the party logo. This packaging is also good branding to modernize African traditional tools, as advocated.

Whenever there is need to invoke active oaths, well-designed logos of the parties, plaques mounted on ornamental boxes encasing the totem voice pickers, could be brought out as part of the political parties' paraphernalia for the formal occasions and sessions. Lesson on this can be learnt with the Church of England's example. It packaged the Stone of Scone, legendary Stone of Destiny, at the 2023 coronation of King Charles III carefully and neatly tucked under the royal throne at the church in such a way that only the vigilant or an initiate would have noticed it during the coronation service.

Invoking active oaths is more of a speech act than any other procedure. It is about statements made in specific speeches, exact and precise utterances, by actors involved in conflicts to be resolved. These utterances commit stakeholders to the resolution. It is the pronouncements and expressed terms of the agreements, as voiced that bond people to terms of resolutions and make the deals enforceable.

It is also the efficacious words pronounced by people involved that could easily abort whatever clandestine schemes may have been made to undermine efficacy of the active oaths. So, it can only be by their mouths, the words and statements pronounced by individuals concerned that shall nullify whatever attempts are made to sabotage the resolutions, if they fortified themselves against possible consequences of breaches, perjuries or sabotage.

Oni (2023) draws attention to the power and efficacy of the uttered words with Africans. Framing of words in actuated pronouncements at active oaths sessions are very important. They are the keys that guarantee optimal success of the exercise. Many Africans know events could be brought about and situations created by words because they have experienced such. This reality explains reason the affirmative pronouncements, words for every active oath taken, need to be customized and made particular to each person. It is expected at active oaths sessions for involved persons to mention their names and names of their biological mothers with exact descriptions of their persons to activate the decrees.

Typically, invocation of active oaths, to seal terms of resolution in conflicts, comprise three sections. First section, of two parts, has citations for proper identification of persons involved, activation codes and utterances to prepare the grounds against sabotage by nullifying whatever counter measures there could be to make the resolutions binding. Second section is affirmations of mutual agreements where involved actors reel out the terms and voice their personal commitments to the resolution. Decrees on consequences and penalties for breach and renegade actions to the mutual agreements form the third section. Of these, framing the words in first section is most critical for success and effectiveness of active oaths.

People taking oaths are expected to make personal pronouncements expressing their commitments to the settlement terms and use their mouths to nullify probable counter-measures, like spiritual fortifications they could have taken purposely or inadvertently against consequences of their breaches. If unintentional, they abort such measures against the penalties for their possible renegade actions and if deliberate, to sabotage the exercise, they decree the measures to backfire. People involved in settled disputes are expected to be specific on severe retributions for perjury, sabotage, breach or refusal to abide by agreed terms of the resolution.

Sometimes they are expected to extend penalties for their deliberate defaults on the mutual settlement to members of their households and coming generations. Dread of repercussions on treacherous actions against resolutions make compliance to the terms obligatory and act as binding force to seal agreements.

The instrumentality of oath taking for conflicts resolution stimulates trust and unanimity in African societies. It is a mechanism for peace and social order within the framework of Afro-communalism; in oaths taking, deities and humans meet to establish the truths that preserve communities with institutional ethnocentric structures, Ele (2017), Iniobong (2019).Ojo and Ekhaton (2020), Okhogbe (2021) and Uwaezuoke and Udominyang (2023). Ele (2017) noted survival of the native strategy, generated from deep philosophical thoughts, despite pervading acculturation influences and onslaughts of foreign Western and Eastern imperialists to erase the traditional technique.

Summary:

This study is a searchlight on the disturbing recurring intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. Major objective is to explore use of African cultural resources, traditional institutions and indigenous communication systems for optimal resolution of the conflicts. Expectations are for pervading peace, harmonious relations and cooperation, instead of discords. Main features of the approach is to get politicians in same political parties to meet, deliberate, align their interests and put up a united front for electoral victories and sound governance.

It is believed that when politicians have solid agreements and work out mutual consensus with confidence in fidelity and sanctity of their pacts, they can concentrate on elections and give prime devotion to governance, rather than being occupied with unending conflicts.

Two major Nigerian political parties, APC and PDP, were used for the study. A total of 100 members from both parties, in Lagos State, were selected systematically with a random start for a survey. Also, six state party chairmen, across Nigeria, systematically picked at random featured in KII. Further, a five-member panel of four men and a woman, knowledgeable on political party trends in Nigeria, were purposively selected for the FGD.

Their perceptions on intra-party conflicts, current efforts of their political parties and their suggested solutions for success in conflicts resolution couple their opinions on benefits of African resources for possible endorsements formed data set of the study.

The chapter analysed and interpreted collected data for findings on intra-party conflicts. The success rates of resolution methods in use and possibility of improving the outcomes, as generally desired as well as the probable adoption of African native tools for conflicts resolution were also examined.

The research is mixed-method design to aid better interrogation of study problems for deeper and broader understanding of the complex phenomenon. The combination of qualitative and quantitative data and analyses to extract findings is better than to use a mono-method. The qualitatively dominant approach expands and strengthens study conclusions with actual lived experiences as valuable contributions to knowledge.

The rigorous systematic analytic procedures, with efficient processes for an audit trail, combine manual analysis with computer aids. The *Nvivo* qualitative data analysis software treated interviews and the panel discussions to develop units of meanings, codes, as well as patterns of meanings, themes. These were produced by generative coding and reflexive themes construction. The SPSS, software unearthed relationships among variables for interpretations of quantitative data. Research ethics rules were fully observed for data gathering and data analyses.

The subjects' consents obtained, their rights respected and full disclosures on the purpose of research made to them during data collection. Rights to privacy and anonymity of all subjects were maintained. All were assigned code labels. Interview subjects, state party chairmen, are tagged **APC1**, **APC2**, **APC3**, **PDP1**, **PDP2** and **PDP3**. FGD panelists are also coded with labels **A**, **B**, **C**, **D** and **E**. Researcher moderated FGD, did interviews, and survey. He solely coded, analysed and interpreted in accord with UNICAF regulations.

Seven major themes arrived at were produced by boiling down the 76 codes generated from the qualitative data set. Themes were further processed with reflexive thematic analysis and hermeneutic phenomenological interpretation. Rigorous and systematic application of the research techniques are quality assurance procedures for transparent, credible, reliable, transferable, trustworthy and sound study. Limitations of the data gathering and analytical methods were noted with their probable impacts on the

outcomes. This report of findings is meant for applications beyond particular use for intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. It is applicable to conflicts resolution generally in Africa and globally.

Results of findings are presented starting with detailed demographics of subjects, their ages, gender, educational qualifications, employment status, occupations and their political parties. Results are arranged under subheads that precis research questions into answers on frequencies of internal conflicts within the two parties, the forms and causes of intra-party conflicts, conflicts resolution methods adopted and success rates. In addition, research subjects' perceptions, opinions experiences and assumptions on effectiveness of African conflicts resolution resources were confirmed with their endorsement or aversion of their parties' possible adoption of the African way for resolution of internal conflicts.

Section on reports of findings is broken into two parts, treating report of findings on qualitative data analyses first, before quantitative data analysis. The qualitative report of findings is descriptive. It is an exploratory analysis of data interpretation with copious quotes of exact words of the elements as extracts to support the story constructed from their narratives. Report of findings from quantitative data analysis that follows show opinions of respondents on questions raised with ratios and numbers of the total sampled population that shared same opinions, views and perceptions.

Evaluation of the report of findings, what the findings mean from analyses and review of data interpretations, to confirm whether or not it delivered on what the study sets out to achieve, is also divided into two parts. First part is treatise that explained used approach and second part is the composite appraisal.

The amalgamated review combined report of findings of both qualitative and quantitative data analyses. It presented and confirmed story on the phenomenon of study to show the findings tallied objectives and expectations. Generally, the evaluation showed study answered research questions and importantly that the assumptions which instigated the research were well founded. The evaluation justifies the study outcomes and research goals as built on sound and current academic literature.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Introduction:

Primary aim of this research is to showcase how culture, African native resources in traditional institutions and indigenous communications system, can be explored to effectively resolve intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. Study is informed by the unimpressive records of political parties at tackling cases of incompatible interests and irreconcilable differences among and with members. This inadequacy causes political instability and retards national development. It is posited that the low success rates at intra-group conflicts resolution by Nigerian political parties is due to the deficient tools employed, therefore, political parties need better methods in African native strategies for improved results.

People join political parties mainly to pursue and possibly actualize their individual interests, objectives and political ambitions. Generally, the interests are mainly to secure positions in governments or participate in directing affairs of state. When legion multitudes of party members, with diverse incompatible interests and goals, compete for few opportunities available on the platforms, at same time, during elections or at party congresses, conflicts are assured.

Since jostling recur with accompanying conflicts and a political party must present a united front at elections, it follows that parties must make contestant members, the independent individuals, to close ranks; rally behind a hitherto challenger and work together to ensure victory at the polls. This means political parties are in the business of conflicts resolution to fulfil their primary purposes and objectives. Yoking of displaced persons from pursuits of personal interests, temporarily, to team up with former opponents to win covert posts for their political parties in elections calls for apposite methods, skills and processes.

A party's handicap at prompt settlement of disputes with and between members could be major setback. It has potential to divert focus from the primary aim and civic duty to society. Political parties are expected to recruit and present capable leaders as candidates for elections. An opposition party riddled with internal conflicts would be distracted from developing distinctive manifestoes to give electorates alternative choices

for government. Intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria, therefore, requires political parties to explore options outside their current counter-productive and conflicts recycling methods for success and relevance.

This study elucidates attributes and processes of African native resources, as better alternative, to tackle challenges of internal conflicts resolution. Assumption is that precepts of development communication, social control and intangible cultural legacies, shall tame the unending conflicts via cultural tools of indigenous communication and traditional institutions.

The research confirms low levels of effectiveness of predominant conflicts resolution tools with the political parties as well as widespread dissatisfaction of members with methods used. Generally, Nigerian politicians are fascinated with the promise of native resources as effective remedy for conflicts resolution and are willing to learn more on how the African cultural resources work.

This study proffers that political parties able to frame their ideologies on African cultural norms and arrange their operations on the revered traditional ethos of oneness, integration, collaboration, concern for members' interests and protection of their rights would have less cases of in-group hostilities. A democratic party that gives members sense of belonging; enthrone principle and lifestyle of care would have a transformed perception on governance to galvanize members to collaborate on its programmes and win elections (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Basiru, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Sule & Yahaya, 2018)

The surmise is that attitudes of Nigerian politicians, political party members, to application and adoption of indigenous methods and native resources for conflicts resolution, is guardedly positive. Many do not mind use of African native resources to nail challenges of intra-party conflicts, but are cautious on application of traditional techniques. Their apprehensions are found to be mainly based on ignorance, religious beliefs and fear.

As noted in report of findings, many party men and women profess Christian and Moslem faiths. For reasons of their beliefs, many shun African native practices, some only in public. Also, pervading foreign influences from exposures to Western and Arabic traditions have made many Nigerians ignorant on and averse to process of African native resources. Only few politicians are up-to-date and comfortable with operations of African traditional practices to publicly associate with them.

These facts, coupled with organized misinformation plus denigration of African traditional beliefs, wrongly branded by some people as demonic and the practices derided as fetish, have made not a few Nigerians view the cultural legacies with suspicion. The untrue and debasing perception is reason many politicians could not ratify adoption of the effective native conflicts resolution schemes.

On the other hand, many party leaders as well as conflicts entrepreneurs use African native techniques to regulate political protégés and aspirants they sponsored or endorsed for elective offices and political appointments. They bond such candidates with traditional oaths, an act they conceal from the public. This they do to have exclusive advantage of loyalties of the men and women in office. These subterranean operators together with uninformed others are averse to political parties' use of native resources for binding resolution terms on conflicts because they dread possible repercussions of perjury on active oaths.

Till date, existential problem of intra-party conflicts unsettles the polity, frustrates politicians, distresses the populace and hampers national growth. Its arrest would brighten Nigeria's democratic horizon for reduced social crises. Elected officials, many with pending court cases, would get less preoccupied with political survival to focus on executing their election manifestoes and national advancement. The parties shall also enjoy conducive atmospheres to package better social engineering plans (Basiru 2019; Ibrahim, Hussein, Mohammed & Jahun 2019).

The work is mixed-method exploration, with a qualitative bent. Qualitative data were pooled with KII and an FGD, while quantitative data were obtained with questionnaire

survey. Research subjects, largely active politicians, with some watchers of the political scene provided rich data set of insights and experiences. Data were analysed qualitatively manually and digitally for the codes interpreted to construct themes. Quantitative data analysis was for relationships among stated variables. Reflexive thematic analysis with phenomenological hermeneutic interpretation was combined with analysis of relationships from survey data for robust understanding.

This approach moderates subjective and particular limitations of qualitative method with broader applications of the quantitative technique. It discounts numerical abstractions of quantitative procedure with lived experiences, deep and wide insights of qualitative routines to produce robust understanding of research issues. The diverse comprehensive data collected and the rigorous systematic analyses made study outcomes credible, relevant, applicable and transferable.

It is an ethically compliant study. Subjects' rights to anonymity and privacy kept, they were given full disclosures on purpose of study. Their consents formally sought and obtained for data collection and they knew they had the option to decline participation in study at will. Also, research was conducted at optimal cost convenient for researcher (Benova, Moller & Moran 2019).

This final chapter treats implications of the study to draw conclusions that assert kernel of the research from reported outcomes. Also, recommendations are made for applications and possible areas of further studies.

5.2: Implications of Findings:

This section integrates qualitative and quantitative findings with literature to elucidate outcomes of study. The seven themes from analyses and interpretations of data, the answers to research questions, are conceptually linked to study's theoretical underpins to explain problem of intra-party conflicts. Recommendations for further studies and proposed way forward in native solutions are also offered.

5.2a: *Intra-Party Conflicts, Causes and Frequencies:*

Findings, as expected, confirm perpetual conflicts as constant and integral attribute of political parties. Scholars in human science studies unite it is nature and right of persons to have individual interests as well as differences. Bringing together human beings with innate diverse interests on a platform, political party, where they primarily pursue personal goals by competing among themselves over limited opportunities is, therefore, creating a conflicts rendezvous (Cooper, 2023, Fisher, 2020; Džuverović, 2011; Martin, Keller & Fortengel, 2019; Tafese, 2016).

This study confirms that unregulated rivalries over conflicting interests in same political parties often disrupt national progress. Abdelkader (2019) and Kriesberg (1998) say conflict is ethically neutral. It has potentials to destroy or yield creative positive changes. A political party on the other hand is the democratic institution society assigns duty to recruit and train leaders to run governments, Husted, Moufahim and Fredriksson (2022), Bashiru (2019) and Yahaya (2019). The submission of Danjibo and Ashindorbe (2018, p.87) that political party is “a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principles in which they all agreed” is not always true of Nigerian political parties, going by results from the KII, FGD and survey conducted.

Data set from study, confirms across board, that party members regularly disagree, thus, conflicts rage in both APC and PDP. These unresolved disputes disunite members from aligning to pursue party's primary objective jointly as a team. True to Deutsch and Coleman (2000) position that how a conflict is handled determines its possible benefits or damages to society and institutions, some leaders from both parties are noted to handle conflicts in ways injurious to the associations and by their acts retard progress in the larger society.

It is found such party leaders positioned themselves to recycle conflicts for strategic goals to unsettle and control political associations. Others commoditize conflicts for financial gains. At best, activities of many party leaders, from findings, are illustrations on how not to run political groups for amity. These leaders, tagged conflict entrepreneurs, take involvements in politics as investments that must yield returns in positions,

appointments, money and plum contracts. They are noted to fuel unresolved conflicts with undemocratic policies, manipulations, impositions, inappropriate communication, improper planning and breach of agreements for self-seeking purposes (Amodu, 2012; Babalola, 2018; Duke & Agbaji, 2018; Fisher, 2020).

Reports show not a few of such leaders use unending conflicts as cannon feed to dominate and control political parties to advance their political fortunes. Allegations are rife that some avaricious leaders fuel injustices and weaponized poverty by manipulating vulnerable members to achieve unpopular desires. Political parties, as institutions for power acquisition to govern society, using mass followership, get less acrimonious when members are carried along, in communal method, for programmes. Also, such members identify with the parties' mode of operations. Involved members forge joint solutions to group problems, particularly to sprouting conflicts and put the association in default mode for optimal success to resolve internal incompatibilities (Abiodun-Eniayekan, 2017; Bakare-Aremu, Mustapha & Bakare-Salisu, 2021; Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker, 2021; Lemke and Harris-Wai, 2015; Moemeka, 2012; Nwoga Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020).

In Africa, leaders are as important as they value others, particularly their followers. It is norm to undo institutions and persons denigrating peoples' essences or undermining their interests and welfare. Analysis of causes of intra-party conflicts and the frequency in Nigeria is more a précis of how some political leaders plant conflicts to harvest myriad of incompatibilities, Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019. Many allege party leaders defy group regulations and regularly short change members. Some party officials, allied to conflict entrepreneurs, peddle discords. They run the political associations at variance with African traditional leadership codes of playing fathers to all and attending to all interests fairly. They segregate and play favouritism with opportunists.

Other conflict factors, aside those caused by leaders, include poverty, greed, distrust, indiscipline, selfish pursuits of individual agenda, displacements and belligerency. Usually party members break into factional blocks to protect their interests and economic fortunes in the power equations. These in-house silos of influence are for personal benefits and survival, hardly on ideological issues. Both APC and PDP have opaque ideological

positions; no distinguishing philosophical markers beyond nomenclatures. Findings were negative on cases of class struggles and gender discrimination. These are none issues with Nigerian parties where women are well integrated in the political process.

However, there are undercurrent divergences and clashes on age, ethnicity, tribal and religious affiliations. It is noted that when favourites and loyalists of whomsoever was voted into government were not in charge of party machinery and affairs, such elected officials lacked the needful party base and could be discarded or side-lined at the whim of party leaders. A case in point was in 2019 when popular Governor Akinwunmi Ambode of Lagos State was denied second term ticket by APC leadership, to the chagrin of voters, *Premium Times* (2018, Oct. 4).

Conflicts get heightened at election seasons when members struggle for party posts and offices as well as compete for party tickets to contest elections for government positions. Discordant tunes within parties manifest mainly in inability to muster united fronts for elections and consequent losses that cause bad blood, hostilities, renegade actions, sabotage, public condemnation of party policies, bad media, foul reputation, group vulnerability and general lack of goodwill within and among party members.

After effects of losses result in in-house rivals turning sworn enemies to pull and tug at party fabrics from various power points to erode communal bond, particularly when ticket losers got bitter and worked against their parties in elections. These aberrant reactions turn main objective of political parties to outrival competition in contests for power on its head when directed in-house without limits, checks and regulations as noted from findings.

Generally, conflicts resolution is a way of life with Africans and the resolution tools are life kits. But contrary to posturing of Nigerian political parties to operate as bonded units, they are hardly communal. Both APC and PDP were found deficient in the statutory obligation to educate members on their civic duties. This is evident in the parties' inability to craft national development agenda expected to attract and distinguish members or to produce devoted leaders. So far, the parties have been unable to align members' general

interests within their frameworks, neither did they guarantee equitable access to the ladder of power in-house. There were no records of well-articulated programmes to create opportunities for citizen's economic wellbeing or integrate members into the parties' operating structures.

From findings, it was confirmed that Nigerian political parties operated as platforms to attain power. They performed less of the statutory roles to produce good citizens. Party chieftains, as confirmed from sampled state chairmen, displayed contrary leadership skills for conflicts resolution. They did not segregate in bid to outwit opponents within and among members. In efforts to outsmart challengers in the power game, a significant number acted without integrity and limits. Instead of non-exclusion, some members were deliberately alienated from party structures and ejected from influential roles during elections. Members' opinions were hardly sought on programmes and decisions; so, the outcomes were hardly endorsed by critical majority of members.

People at the receiving ends of these actions get estranged, embittered and pushed into battles of survival in the ensuing disputes. More often than not, litigations top accessible options to the aggrieved. These unresolved conflicts slowed progress and harmonious relations in political parties, setting cracks into their internal structures and processes. By extension, intra-party incompatibilities hamper national development.

Discard application of development communication tenets in planning design to seek and confirm members' desires and preferences were constantly at play. Contrary use of social control measures to allay antagonisms and divisions on issues and candidates for party tickets as well as the deployment of negative cultures, in preference to positive actions, goodwill and cordial relations, are well documented. Many party leaders were also noted to pay lip services to party and country's progress at the altar of suspect democratic principles.

Reality is, joining a political party in Nigeria is akin to going to war front for ambitious country men and women eager to contest elections into government offices. Repeatedly, it is a take no prisoner operation. The recent confrontations between the PDP

presidential flag bearers in February 2023 elections are pointers to this reality. Five influential state governors, tagged the G5, who insisted the party zoning agreement be followed to resolve ensuing disputes among contestants, as attested to by all concerned, were pointedly told they were of no importance by the party leadership, *The Cable* (2023, Feb. 16).

This caused widespread national conflicts that publicly pitched the incumbent state governors against their party and its presidential flag bearer. Outcomes were major fragments in the party and consequent loss of presidential election to the opposition. Block votes that could have given PDP victory were split into three by the gladiators who ran for election on three political party platforms. This cleared way APC's victory. The party won 2023 presidency with less than half of total block votes PDP could have garnered, if united.

5.2b: ***Successes and Limitations of Methods Used for Intra-Party Conflicts***

Resolution: Courts do not resolve conflicts. Courts deliver judgements and serve justice. Except in cases where aggrieved persons require justice for wrongs done to them or remedies for injuries suffered in the political process, the court, from findings, is not the appropriate place for intra-party conflicts resolution. Politicians in KII, FGD and survey confess they know court is not their best option in conflicts resolution. Literature also confirms Nigerian judges recommend alternative ways in native methods, outside courts, to resolve intra-party conflicts (Basiru, 2019; Inuwa, Hussein, Jamila & Sirajo, 2019 *Legit.ng*, 2020, March 17; *Realnews*, 2020, March 17).

The well documented inadequacies and repeated failures of regular courts to effectively resolve political conflicts in Nigeria is because the judicial process is laden with cultural discordances between African and western traditions. These make court processes contextually defective for political disputes settlement. Nigerian politicians further exploit defects of the Western litigation method, where the winner takes all, for logjams, rather than concede victories to opponents in elections (Obi, 2018; Onyishi, n.d; Makwudo & Obijekwum, 2020; Soetana & Osadola, 2018).

A political party's success in settled conflicts, aside return of peaceful relations, cessation of hostilities and burial of animosities, reflects when conflicting actors shelve animosities and differences to work together harmoniously for group interests. This requires reciprocal respect plus cooperation to share intelligence and jointly execute tactical plans with party ticket holders to win elections. Studies by Ibagere (2020), Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019), Ghebretেকে and Rammala (2019), Lähdesmäki (2019), Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime and Okpara (2019) and other scholars show this noble communal position, precept of both *Omoluabi* and *Ubuntu* credo, is contrary to what obtains after court judgements.

Conflicts resolution, an Alternative Disputes Resolution of 1960s global law reform, was to fix legal process delays and protect the under privileged from prohibitive costs of litigations. This ensures they get remedies, as right, when aggrieved or faced with clashes of interests (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011).

Findings show APC resolves internal conflicts with members competing for election tickets by administrative adjudication, mediation and horse trading. The party's standing committees for conflicts resolution take pre-emptive measures in social control to ensure members' accept the outcomes. Members interested in elective posts are made to sign bonds to take party's decisions on such matters as final rulings. So far, the committees' success at brokered deals and resolutions are subpar. People, as posited Fisher, Abel and McCann (2023) on human nature, resist the interventions into their personal decisions.

Many displeased politicians condemned the APC's attempts at final rulings in contests for tickets. They variously denounce the outcomes as "backstabbing" "betrayals", "injustice", "imposition", "partial", "deceitful" and "unfair". Many aggrieved take to the courts afterwards. A lot found brokered deals were meant to secure immediate accommodations for favoured candidates. Also, some agreements reached were framed to be botched in the long term to create further conflicts, when not favourable to choice candidates.

Major snafu with the APC's control mechanism to moderate conflicts is its integrity deficit that corrodes the leaders' influence to ride on social control programmes. Doctrine of social control, in the African native approach, is undergirded by leadership integrity.

Wherever this is absent in African communities, people, as lifestyle, severe social bonds with the group and take measures to overthrow the tyranny on their lives (Basiru, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Sule & Yahaya, 2018).

On the other hand, PDP deploys executive councils and elders, at various levels, to discuss and mediate in conflict matters, so, people directly involved could work out consensus. In cases over party tickets, members from local wards of contenders, in attendance at sessions, would engage rivals to evaluate their assumed strengths and weaknesses to win elections for the party. Usually the committees persuade persons considered weak or disadvantaged to concede tickets to others deemed more capable and influential. This PDP's half way tread into development communication tenets signposts its leaders' cognizance of the African tradition in communal solutions to problems. This confirms da Rocha, (2018) postulation that modern institutions in Africa are impacted by the peoples' traditional institutions with time tested features (Hyland-Wood (Gardner, Leask & Ecker, 2021; Lemke & Harris-Wai, 2015; Moemeka, 2012).

Oftentimes, with PDP, capacities of aspirants to fund election is a critical factor. Allegations of bribery and compromise on the deals are not uncommon. Regular bait is for favoured contenders to reimburse opponents. They refund money spent by opponents with promises of further compensation with government appointments. These efforts at restitutions signify win-win pattern of African enduring cultural lifestyle of combining social influence with rules in relationships for amity. This gives credence to the emergent theme that political parties need set agenda on equitable opportunities, access to wealth and power to moderate in-house conflicts (Burch et al, 2019; Dansoh, Frimpong & Oppong, 2020; Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon, 2021; Sattar, 2020).

Whenever people in contention fail to agree, findings show resort is to ballot and winner gets the ticket. This unveils how seed for fresh conflicts got sown in many instances. The unhappy minority left to lick wounds of their shelved interests or aborted aspirations get hurt by what Obonyano, Asikaogu and Uche (2022) treated as tyranny of the majority in their studies on Nigerian democracy. These wounded persons oftentimes register their

grievances at opportuned moments by refusing to support party candidates, kicking against programmes or denying others members their cooperation.

From these elucidations, political parties could only record relative successes at conflicts resolution with their approaches. It is clear intra-party conflicts, *“better resolved within the party framework”*, stood just a 50/50 chance with the parties’ methods. When party leaders and financiers, who benefit most from the arrangements push their interests through, they see success in the methods. Findings are awash with responses that showed losers and the disadvantaged get more aggrieved, most times taking to litigations. They see the approaches as problematic, breeding more unsettled conflicts and called for reviews or outright replacements.

Regular approaches for conflicts resolution include mediation, arbitration, accommodation, compromise and consensus building. Negotiations, peace brokering, horse trading on interests, administrative adjudication, cooperation as well as collaboration are also part of the methods. These techniques, particularly compromise, mediation, consensus, adjudication, brokerage and horse trading are used in various ways by political parties to resolve internal conflicts. More than one state party chairman confirmed that family members of aggrieved persons, religious leaders and traditional rulers, who may have good influence on conflicting persons, are sometimes involved in the mediations.

A striking fact is, cases adjudged successful by research subjects incorporated aspects of African resources and native tools in their resolution processes. The conflicts were settled by collaborations, negotiations, consensus, compensation and restitutions in direct face-to-face sessions. The resolutions featured transparent processes at recognized fora. Agreements reached, most times accepted, were also open to reviews. Inference is that party leaders, who initiated resolution processes, in first instance, had clear ideas on what they would need, including African native tools and methods, and how to get their ways on conflicts they want effectively settled (Collins, Demeter & Susan, 2021; Saleem, 2019).

Aside noted records of incompatibilities at state and local government levels, spate of unresolved conflicts created by APC and PDP at the national level are issues of study. The 2023 election season was loaded with several intra-party conflicts. Also, the incompatibilities featured at various arms of government, the executive, the judiciary and particularly at the legislature. Study noted from observations and media reports that political parties procured internal conflicts to put Nigeria on tinder box. Result confirms many party leaders benefited from the unsettled disputes. This attests to study's position that none use of cultural control measures, to make resolutions binding and enforceable, is major cause for many lingering and unsettled conflicts (*BusinessDay*, 2023, Feb. 25; *Leadership* 2023, March 1; *The Cable*, 2022, Aug. 16; *The Guardian*, 2023, Feb. 17; *The Punch*, 2023, Feb. 25; *The Punch* 2022, June 2; *The Premium Times*, 2023, March 2; *Thisday*, 2023, Jan 26).

These crises, unrests and devastations, shall probably persist until adequate conflicts resolution methods are introduced into the political systems to halt orchestrated anti-development lifestyles imposed by political leaders. The loud fact is proven in both APC and PDP during their 2022 congresses. Ensuing conflicts were handled variously with aspects of African native ways, particularly, indigenous communication, with use of cues to resolve apparent conflicting activities and interests.

Moving forward, though use of the native technique for conflicts resolution is positive for national development, Moliki (2020), referenda for consensus on whether or not political parties should adopt African resources, to moderate cultural alienation in use of inappropriate intra-party conflicts resolution techniques is overdue. Such initiatives could also be part of steps to break the plague of cultural hegemony.

5.2c: *Perceptions, Effectiveness and Probable Endorsements of Native Resources:*

Findings show politicians in Nigeria want the “better way” with effective structures for justice and equity to resolve intra-party conflicts. Their wish list reveals the longing for a pragmatic native system with vibrant norms of integrity and fidelity. However, their opinions on African alternative conflicts resolution techniques that “*engage the people first*” in a fair, inclusive, humane; not deceitful or treacherous manner, are beclouded by “*corrosive*” influences.

First, many politicians from the KII, FGD and survey findings admit they do not know much about the operations and processes of African native traditional ways for conflicts resolution. This means whatever opinions such party men and women may hold could be at odds with reality, until they update on facts to understand essentials of African native resources. Second, exposure of many Africans to foreign hegemonic traditions that distort, denigrate and condemn African legacies have confused people on the values and benefits of native tools. Third, party leaders who benefit from subverting conflicts resolution processes dread traditional practices that could counter their antics with severe penalties.

FGD panelists faced with these facts agreed party members would need basic education on African cultural resources for conflicts resolution to gain right perspectives. So far, attempts to divorce Nigeria's political system from the peoples' culture on matters of disputes settlement have recorded little success. Also, Nigerians do not fully identify with adopted foreign systems to claim ownership of their operations. This creates confusion and some leaders often denounce these alien methods at critical moments. Outbursts of first President in Nigeria's Forth Republic, Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999 to 2007, against the system best illustrate this point (*Eagles Online*, 2023, Jan. 7; Fish, 2021; *Ripples Nigeria*, 2023, Feb. 23; *Sahara Reporters*, 2016, May 5).

Though surfeit literature confirm effectiveness of African cultural tools and record exploits of traditional resources for conflicts resolution, Anderson and Bidner (2021), Neupert-Wentz & Müller-Crepon (2021), Dansoh, Frimpong and Oppong (2020), Herranen (2020), Sattar (2020), Burch, et al. (2019), Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019), da Rocha (2018) and Sultana, Muhammad and Zakaria (2018), many party members do not have first-hand information on the operations and processes to confirm their efficacies. These facts laid the theme for institutions concerned with conflicts resolution in the political space to align people's beliefs and lifestyles into their ecosystems to integrate their interests. With this, party members can readily understand, relate to and own their aboriginal legacies for disputes settlements.

African societies thrive in native, non-alienating and integrative institutions that assign roles to members. For example, *Ogboni* and *Osugbo* political institutions in

Yorubaland administer communities, providing core philosophies and ideological bases for group activities and interactions. These indigenous systems factor the material and economic wellbeing of all, particularly that of minorities, into the structural frameworks for peaceful co-existence, so the majority others can enjoy their endeavours and triumphs unfettered (Ayodele & Adebuseyi 2023; Omotayo 2021).

Contributions from study subjects show the challenge to make politicians embrace values of supportive structures in African traditional institutions for conflicts resolution is major. As reported, many of them have fuzzy ideas on tenets of their traditional heritage tools. At the same time they cannot administer societies optimally without enhanced knowledge or till they build a foundation, in default mode, for conflicts resolution within contextual native legacies.

Peoples' cultures service their physical and social environments. Also, because virtues, values and survival are vital components, systems with innate rehabilitation, equity, restoration and restitution valves have better chances of acceptance when their benefits are recognised. This reasoning, Sibani (2018, p.58, citing Kluchohn and Kelly, 1988) says is reflected in the dynamics of cultures with transmission of rational conducts. This imply a safe assumption that party members would favourably respond to native strategies that offer survival kits for cordial relations and stable environments in resolution of intra-party incompatibilities as they pursue their individual goals (Caputo, Marzi, Maley, & Silic, 2019; Popoola, 2016).

Unless guided, this study found political parties would be at sea in efforts to forge integrative social order for renaissance of fresh ideas, rich in communal ideologies for national development. Without supporting structure of culture that determines perception and designates social differences, unsettling conflicts remain regular dividends for people in pursuit of their interests on the party platforms. It is therefore laid bare that endorsement of African cultural resources of indigenous communications and traditional institutions by politicians to build the foundation of integrity and trust via, institutional regulatory framework, is probable lifeline for effective and binding intra-party conflicts resolution.

While development communication is about strategic use of persuasion and power to get people in communities to collaborate for solutions to the challenges of their daily lives, indigenous communication covers the native channels and media used to spread information on such solutions at the grassroots. Traditional institutions, the evolved and enacted agencies, are used by peoples to implement the solutions and regulate their affairs on the processes and procedures (Bassey-Duke, 2017; Joyce & Long, 2022).

Culture covers traditional institutions and indigenous knowledge. It is transmitted via indigenous communications systems that frame understanding of norms, heritage and people's worldviews. These, in context, provide idealistic bonding glue which makes people take ownership of societal doctrines that shape lives and regulate activities. Humans instinctively interact horizontally for solutions to societal challenges. Nigerian politicians would probably nullify assumptions that native legacies for conflicts resolution are esoteric with objective probe of African traditional resources and heritage kits. This done, political parties shall be less prone to avert benefits of native codes for human development.

5.3: Study Implications:

As social capital, African cultural ethos generate trust, cooperation, social progress and harmony; meet societal needs and advance consciousness on upright moral values and virtues (Yagboyaju & Simbine, 2020). Culture determines peoples' views of conflicts and collaboration is most valued in the resolution of incompatibilities. It is reason native Africans practice restorative justice, not the retributive tradition of the West. African cultures prefer mediations to lawsuits in contractual agreements. Wrongdoings are prevented and social solidarity fostered with grant of concessions, tolerance of others and integration of people into communal norms (Alimba, 2018; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Rapatalo, 2020).

By implication, it is never a zero sum game for even the minorities or aggrieved persons. Generally, people get compensated for losses at resolution sessions. Efforts at conflicts resolution in Africa starts with the prevention of hostilities from disagreements and disputes. This is done by social inclusion and obligatory collaboration of all members of community in affairs of the society (Lawal, Orunbon, Ibikunle and Faduyile, 2019). When

conflicts persist or stay from a final rest, terms of resolutions are made to compel conflict actors review their stands for harmonious relations, peaceful coexistence, mutual cooperation and feelings of goodwill towards one another (Ekhatior, 2018; Ezekiel & Abdulraheem, 2022; Idumwonyi & Ikhidero, 2013; Kpae, 2018; Woko & Osagie, 2014).

These human faced disputes settlement mechanisms with communal support are psychologically reassuring. For politicians, winner takes all stance that dislodges rivals from relevance gets toned down. The inbuilt restorative measures upturn dread of economic ruin to upscale peoples' positive attitudes and preference for the native way. This reduces resentment and bitterness in favour of consensus and collaborations. The exceptional native conflicts resolution model is an alternative in line with global best practices to resolve incompatibilities as desired and canvassed by the United Nations (Abbas, 2016; Busari, 2018; Dike, 2020; Ekhatior, 2018; Jinadu, 2011; Obeng-Odoom, 2020; Mahamud, 2020; Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015; Olowu, 2017; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Soetana & Osadola, 2018; Makwudo & Obijekwum, 2020; Taylor & Guerin, 2017; Tina Du, 2017; Smidth, 2020; Suleiman, Onapajo & Maiangwa, 2017).

In its procedures, experienced stakeholders usually ally with others to propose creative settlement terms as solutions to the incompatible interests. Typically, such proposals compel favourable responses for considerations because they cover disputants' major concerns and accommodate the welfare of all. With these tactics at negotiations, issues and relationships get transformed to facilitate mutual pacts that avert antagonisms (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014; Akinwale, 2010; Kpae, 2018; Ogunlade, Agunbiade & Oyelade, 2023; Olowu, 2017; Mengesha, Samson & Tessema, 2015; Woko & Osagie, 2014).

From findings, it is clear that very few subjects had direct experience of African communal way which discourages acquiescence to unacceptable behaviours and allows ventilation of grievances (Nwokike, Amiara, Uchime & Okpara, 2019). This requires defining communal supremacy, unlike party supremacy, to impose burden on leadership to ensure members get fair deals in all matters. True, some political party leaders, described as "*orphans*" to both the African way and conflicts resolution resources, as revealed in findings, indulged in treachery and betrayals. Acts such as these are considered

sacrilegious in African administrative contexts, more so, when they affect people seeking accommodation in pursuits of goals to which the fate, survival and wellbeing of many others could be tied (Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha & Ogunmilade, 2017; Ghebretেকে & Rammala, 2019; Makulilo, 2016; Murithi, 2006; Sule & Yahaya, 2018; Vassello, 2019).

In essence, cultural regulatory mechanisms for social control guide people via mental programming. The dynamic native institutions aspiate commitments to community efforts in aid of social stability and set essential confines for ideas through verbal, non-verbal codes and taboos. These are reasons accountability, truth telling, healing and reparations are ways of life in native communal settings (Ecker, 2021; Mariam, 2023; Moemeka, 2012; Nader & Robinson, 2023; Nwoga, Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020; Oyesomi, Onakoya, Onyenankeya & Busari, 2022; Oyesomi, Salawu & Olorunyomi, 2017; Oyesomi, Okorie, Ahmadu & Itsekor, 2014; Ross and Ross, 2017; Vinson, 2021).

Also, it was established that traditional institutions as curators of peoples' indigenous knowledge systems set boundaries, as desired by societies. The institutions define scopes for personal rights and privileges in communities and associations. Literature confirm the tenets are needs based, people centred and effective. These are justifications to prescribe the native way of life and African traditional resources for intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria (Collins, Demeter & Susan, 2021; Flor, 2015; 2007; Head, 2019; Hyland-Wood, Gardner, Leask and Ecker, 2021; Meisner, 2022; Moemeka 2012; Nwoga, Ibe & Nwankwo, 2020; Saleem, 2019; Yudarwati & Gregory, 2022).

Though many research subjects subscribed to adoption of native resources for settlement of disputes within political associations in Nigeria, the political parties first need to arrange massive education and enculturation programmes for members to understand intricacies of the processes and be primed to operate as family units. Education on mechanisms of the African way in conflicts resolution is essential, just as there is need to modernize operations, if they must be used to regulate conducts of Nigerian politicians to reduce spate of pilfering, tune down levels of selfishness and discourage renegade actions.

Naturally, Africans have central spiritual core. This is reinforced by their social environments despite imperialistic religions to which many subscribe. It is of interest that the hegemonic religions capitalized on this spiritual locus for widespread indoctrination, John, S. F. (2023). Because many are not familiar with canons of African traditional belief, but resort to it when in trouble, understanding of its operation is low. Many Christian and Islamic priests ride on this, most times, to discount values and reputation of African spiritual essence, Orogun and Pillay (2021). Many wrongly assume African system for conflicts resolution is a religious affair involving sacrifices, consulting deities and oracles for verdicts.

In native African settings, authority is a sacred privilege used to advance communal good and noble purposes. Abuse and tyranny are repelled with consequences. It is strange to see even foxy leaders misuse native means and processes for undue advantages in conflicts resolution, Maffly-Kipp (2010). The fidelity, integrity and sanctity of covenants made in agreements reached, when conflicts are resolved in the African way, are sealed with invocation of active oaths, Iniobong (2019), to make them binding and ensure people do not renege on the settlements.

Resort to psychic forensic medium, then, is primarily to prevent false claims and meet breach of trust with attendant penalties (Uwaezuoke & Udominyang, 2023; Ele, 2017). This is also the major deterrent and reason many politicians dread and have aversion for native resources in intra-party conflicts resolution. They fear consequences of active oaths, which might extend to their entire household and lineage, on breach of pact.

5.4: Recommendations for Application:

From findings, it is clear many Nigerian politicians would want better conflict resolution methods, outside the ones their parties use now, to effectively resolve constant intra-party disputes. Their extant conflict resolution methods have not been effective. The processes are deficient; sometimes counterproductive and out of sync with contexts of the conflicts because they are tilted to serve selfish interests of a few. Generally, conflicts can be resolved with strategies and by institutions; with formal state structures as well as by informal native institutions.

Innovative strategies are therefore prime to wrestle the existential menace. This study, as exploratory and prescriptive elucidation of benefits of African way, charts a probable course to synthesise Western model of conflicts resolution, which has gained currency in Nigeria, with indigenous communal culture. It proposes the use of indigenous communications scheme and traditional institutions to resolve incompatibilities in the political ecosystem. The prescriptions go beyond what could and may be done or methods to use in conflicts resolution. They advocate broad knowledge and facilitate deep understanding of native tools and traditional resources in prevalent in-house contexts of Nigerian political parties.

The following recommendations are made for applications in intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria and for conflict resolutions generally, particularly in Africa.

1. *Need to upgrade, integrate and harmonize African disputes settlement methods with Nigeria's legal framework for conflicts resolution:* The implications of this study are important for policy, practice and future research. Africans have been using their cultural resources and native methods with traditional institutions, indigenous knowledge and skillful communications to effectively resolve conflicts and settle natural incompatibilities for ages. Records of the good results, like in the resolution of the Umurebo-Umokuzu, Umuleri-Aguleri and the 1877 to 1893 Kiriji Yoruba civil war conflicts abound.

To benefit from this heritage that fosters peace and harmonious relations, society needs thoughtful learning beyond foreign packages of standard framework for peace. It is necessary to study and upgrade African legacy techniques for modern use. The options in local knowledge, outside state and international institutions' purviews, which the African critical approach offers to conflicts resolution, shuns domination and inhibitions to human freedom in political associations.

Rather, the African tradition promotes communal integration, individual participation in groups' activities, social justice, general welfare, equality and human emancipation via the optimal political order that questions imposed status. It legitimizes consent of local actors in conflicts resolution outcomes to assure enduring peace and communally endorsed amity. This method has promise to enhance harmonious intra-party concord, reduce antagonism, resentment and bitterness at disputes resolution.

Following the comprehensive study to understand, upgrade and determine best ways to organize indigenous conflicts resolution mechanisms, policy frameworks are needful from governments and political parties. Elected officials, policy formulators and administrators at different levels, national, regional, state and the local governments, can institutionalise and integrate African ways into policy frameworks for disputes settlements. With these, Nigerian policies and legal framework can benefit from efficient and effective legacies in settlements of given incompatibilities.

This can start with institutions involved in peace and conflict studies incorporating indigenous approaches into their curriculum. The local actors knowledgeable in African ways for conflict resolution could be the resource faculties to share experiences in enlightenment programmes. The rich knowledge of these human agents would help facilitate effective conflicts resolution with better appreciation of how traditional African communities moderate issues like diversity of cultures, multiplicity of traditions and conflicting religious beliefs which could hamper resolution processes. Lessons on these are replete in African lifestyles that emphasize more of the heterogeneous peoples' similarities instead of their differences.

2. *Enlightenment on the African way:* Educationists and policy makers at the three tiers of government in Nigeria need to pay fresh attention to teachings of history and cultural studies to meet needs of the people. It is urgent to close knowledge gap and revert people's alienation from African cultural

contexts. Findings confirm many political party members in Nigeria lack sufficient knowledge on African cultures and workings of the traditional institutions, particularly the practices on conflicts resolution.

Even some party leaders are not sure of how political parties in the country could benefit from rich African heritage resources for conflicts resolution. Insofar as conflict is a way of life in African societies, it is important that deliberate efforts, in policies and programmes, be made to entrench the effective time-tested applicable practices of traditional institutions for conflicts resolution. Information on values of indigenous knowledge and indigenous communications in the resolution of incompatibilities need explication for peoples' appreciation and understanding.

The noble *Omoluabi* and *Ubuntu* virtues are examples of African lifestyles with the promise to avert preventable conflicts and resolve occurring ones. *Ubuntu* and *Omoluabi* creeds also guarantee spread of peace and harmonious relations within societies. Possession of these vital facts would enable people determine how best to use the legacy resources for optimal resolution of naturally occurring incompatibilities, an existential challenge.

When a significant number of people get conversant with the alternative African resources to extant conflict resolution methods outside litigations, then, peace and harmonious relations would have better footings in the political space and consequently spread through the society. It is, therefore, recommended that teachings of African history and cultural values be incorporated into elementary and secondary schools curricula to improve knowledge and kindle interests of Nigerians in their cultural heritage and legacy resources for adaptation and daily applications.

Lessons in the courses should be designed to take cognizance of and counter diverse wrong perceptions spread on African cultures, traditions and beliefs. Also, orientation workshops, seminars and conferences on

these prized knowledge should be routinely organised for political players, so their exposures to African cultural resources would confer on them good working knowledge of how indigenous principles could be explored to settle conflicts with application of appropriate traditional codes and methods.

3. *Political parties need to formulate and disseminate their ideologies clearly:* Nigerian political parties are quiet on ideologies and this makes their philosophical foundations shaky, open to strange doctrines and obtuse. Their group philosophies, beliefs and values; the worldviews that form foundations of their agenda are blurry and contradictory.

Findings confirm Nigerian political parties are different only in names. They are more or less other sides of same coin as regards their organization structures, ideals, systems of ideas on social, economic or political theories and policies.

This lack of distinguishing or differentiating philosophies on issues of national development and values make politicians move membership seamlessly from one party to the other without a change to their ideological makeup, orientations, opinions or worldviews. Nigerian politicians shifting from parties without qualms in search of platforms to contest elections create conflicts and lose nothing in search of accommodation for their goals, even when they overheat and unsettle the polity.

Political parties would give Nigerians better choices of platforms when they design and evolve differentiating philosophies with diverse notions and ideological makeup founded on noble African indigenous knowledge for governance and comradeship. The parties would also attract members, produce remarkable leaders and retain committed followers by having and pursuing clear socio-economic principles that characterize communal ways of life people could buy into. As of today, with their opaque

ideological foundations, the parties offer Nigerians an only choice to vote for persons, instead of ideas.

Importantly, mutual affinity on same worldviews and political ideologies would reduce philosophical differences and aspirate the ideals common to members who subscribe to such doctrines. It would also reduce probable grounds for conflicts within the associations. Members would have definite commonalities, aside their naked ambitions. The common grounds would make for easier conflicts resolution and upscale civic responsibilities in pursuits of shared views and values on socio-economic development.

4. *Introduce the invocation of active oaths to make resolutions binding:* One of the reasons many unresolved political conflicts persists is because agreements reached to seal the resolutions, the terms of settlements, were not binding. Therefore, the pacts were often kept in breach by actors involved in the conflicts. There are surfeits of unresolved intra-party conflicts in Nigeria because most resolution processes were never concluded properly in the African way. Generally, Africans seal important and sensitive agreements with active oaths to make them binding and avert renegade actions that might defy or derail terms of the settlements.

Active oaths taking, an integral African psychic forensic medium, is necessary to seal covenants and complete conflict resolution processes to make them binding and obligatory. Oath is a constituent feature of customary arbitration processes in Africa. Oaths are used to ascertain the veracity of evidence in the traditional settlement proceedings. Active oaths are also used to seal conflict resolution covenants so as to enforce trust, maintain integrity of the procedures and to detect probable acts of criminalities during conflict resolution procedures.

This study recommends the use of active oaths to seal and complete all intra-party conflicts resolution processes, so, the terms can be binding and

breach to the mutually reached concordats prevented. The active oaths also act as regulatory measures, not just to ensure compliance to agreements reached, but also as preventive agency against instigation of fresh conflicts. Consequences, from its breach, are deterrent factors to halt incubation of fresh conflicts in the interest of society.

Active oaths in conflict resolution processes get people predisposed to peace and cooperation within their political associations. Oaths discourage party leaders as well as conflict entrepreneurs, who deliberately create discords within the parties to push selfish motives, from recycling conflicts. The dread of active oaths spur people to abide by whatever agreements reached, making such binding and enforceable. Active oath is a deterring factor against treacherous conducts.

Beyond concerns normally raised against use of active oaths by people who claim it is against their religious beliefs, there is genuine apprehension about the forensic medium, particularly unrestricted activation of its totem, *Afoshe Olugbohun*. It is important to produce only customized fiat carriers that get activated only when stimulated by the utterance of specified codes. This shall also make it safe to store the totems with other working tools at the political party offices without undesirable consequences. Pleasant and appealing packaging of the totem are also important for branding.

5. *Need for a referendum on the incorporation of active oaths taking in political parties' constitution:* Nigerian political parties, expected to be democratic in outlook and actions, need to get their members' general endorsement for major policies and innovations. As suggested by the FGD panel and a key informant, political parties need to conduct referenda among members for all to buy-in into the incorporation of routine use of active oaths to complete conflict resolution processes to seal agreements.

It is recommended that before general agreements on incorporation of active oaths into operation manuals of political parties', members must be well enlightened to share their views on the African psychic forensic media. They need to fully discuss its pros and cons from ward levels, through the state congresses to national levels of the political groups, in line with the tenets of development communication, for inputs before final ratification.

This would be in accordance with African method to cater for everyone and cover all interests in the parties' decisions. It also provides opportunities for the associations to practice and perfect African communal method in decision making by involving all members in matters that affect them. It would as well guard against exclusion of minorities from binding decisions and thereby prevent possible conflicts and bad blood as aftermaths of the innovations. Other benefits of the referendum would be members' inputs to and understanding of the policy. This shall aid propagation of its values.

Further, the referendum would be a good barometer to ascertain how well Africans are prepared to probe and explore their aboriginal legacies and their levels of comfort in putting to practice their indigenous knowledge in the face of all-pervading foreign hegemonic influences. The facts would be pointer to probable future outlook of African cultural renaissance canvassed at many global fora.

6. *Cultivation and deployment of peace champions:* As the political parties promote doctrines and principles of party supremacy to stay atop affairs in disputes over irreconcilable interests, they need to spread their dominant influence. Political parties would need to statutorily induct and designate leaders and aspirants for political offices as peace champions/agents within the associations. This role should be aligned to some expectations in handling incompatibilities for harmonious relations from the inductees.

It should be binding and obligatory for inductee peace champions, party leaders and aspirants for elective offices on the parties' platforms, to work for reconciliation of aggrieved opponents as well as the accommodation of rival contenders, in the best ways possible. The in-house party conflicts resolution committee members, should also be peace champions. It is advisable committee members should not be people seeking party tickets for elective offices to moderate possible clash of interests.

The peace champions would need to endorse and give commitments to parties' policies to promote peace and foist harmonious relations among members. This is because endemic devastating intra-party conflicts are probable symptoms of low levels of civic education and members' dismal commitments to social responsibilities.

When politicians seeking to lead the country are conscious of their roles to promote harmonious relations and peace in the polity, the awareness could moderate their zeal, as peace agents, to eagerly rubbish and outwit opponents in the unavoidable fierce competitions for leadership posts and roles. Consequently, this could reduce spate of unresolved conflicts.

The consciousness that parties expect leaders and aspirants, across levels, to smoothen ruffled feathers after hustings would probably compel some members to be fair at contests as they anticipate and prepare for imminent family type rapprochement. However, to hold political peace agents to higher standards for party progress and national development, the grooming for communal responsibilities on their duties to society is in order. In return, parties and society would benefit from the enhanced people skills in the promotion of harmonious social relations.

7. *Nigerian political parties need to promote African values for their benefits and rebuild relevant traditional institutions to solve problems:* Part of the duties of political parties in Nigeria is to build leadership institutions that

would make members operate communally as families. One of the ways parties can achieve this objective is by resort to distinguished, influential and experienced men and women, categorized as elders within the associations, to promote and moderate leadership recruitment efforts.

In traditional African societies, elders and respected members of the communities are held in high esteem and well regarded because they have crucial, sometimes burdensome, roles to play. They are duty bound to ensure survival and continuity of the society as well as promote general wellbeing and welfare of all members of their communities.

Political parties too would do better by leveraging on this venerable traditional institution of elders for enculturation and mentoring of potential leaders on sacred values and sublime virtues of the African way, as was lifestyle of Africans and is still the case with some nations like Japan. Primarily, focus should be on sacrosanct duties of authentic leaders in the political parties to be trustworthy as well as provide mentoring and selfless cover for bona fide members of their associations.

Aspiring political leaders need to be conversant with the imperatives of their roles and obligations to dutifully protect and promote interests of the society, their group members and political associations, when necessary. They need to be apprised on exploits and legacies of heroic African community leaders who paid the price for survival of their societies and know that similar duties and obligations are expected of them to protect the political parties and also ensure national survival.

8. *Nigerian political parties need to promote mastery of the corpus of indigenous communication to checkmate its widespread abuse within their folds:* Some attempts at intra-party conflicts resolutions collapse and degenerate into further conflicts, including litigations. These happen when political investors and conflicts entrepreneurs, who finance and sponsor

candidates in elections, ride on people's ignorance on corpus of indigenous communications to be apparently obscure and ambivalent. They plant landmines into terms of resolutions, so, agreements would not be binding.

The ambiguities, aside from their multiple denotations, make agreements unenforceable and breaches void of consequences. These are usual when resolutions are not backed with regulatory measures, like active oaths, to ensure compliance or make terms of agreements enforceable. When those shortchanged realise the betrayals, they oftentimes resort to litigations and may become lifelong adversaries of opponents and those involved.

It is recommended that political parties in Africa, particularly Nigeria, as platforms for policy initiation and national development, should enlighten and encourage members to be conscious of and to master the corpus of indigenous communication to understand its intricate functions for multiple meanings.

Also, it is good if political parties in Africa make it their integral agenda to promote the codes of African languages for better understanding and contextual interpretations, beyond surface meanings. Windows of opportunities are needful for actors in conflicts to rebuild relationships and broaden perspectives on the inevitability of conflicts in human associations. Indigenous communication can be used as a strategic tool to relay these basic realities and expedite harmonious relations.

Regularly, seasoned Nigerian politicians deliberately communicate the African way with proverbs, silence, tones of voice, conversational implicatures, body language, etc. at conflicts resolution sessions to validly create multiple meanings for tactical moves. When these disguised meanings are misconstrued by opponents to their disadvantages and dislodgements from the covert prize, as desired, integrity of the resolution processes are challenged for fresh conflicts.

Getting people aware of possibilities of technical banana peels in diverse meanings that could crop up with use African native communication resources in conflicts resolution process would rightly prime and guide on appropriate responses. It shall avert regular bitterness and controversies arising from incomplete grasp and application of the traditional tools. Also, it shall retard schemes of conflict entrepreneurs to manipulate primordial factors and recycle conflicts for political and economic gains.

5.5: Recommendations for Future Research:

Findings from this study on **Indigenous Communication, Culture and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflicts Resolution: A Study of Nigeria's Two Major Political Parties**, revealed gaps in other areas that could be researched for further exploration to enrich the knowledge bank. These include

1. *Studies on the implications of formal adoption of African native resources for intra-party conflicts resolution:* Though some studies have been carried out by scholars to unravel the essences, values and positive contributions of African cultural schemes like traditional institutions, intangible heritage resources and indigenous communication systems to develop Nigeria's political ecosystem, more studies are needed on implications of their formal promotion, adoption and applications by modern day organisations for routine operations in a multi-cultured and multi-ethnic society like Nigeria.
2. *Probe into activities of political investors and conflict entrepreneurs in Nigeria to assess their impacts on the polity:* Political investors, the financiers, who promote, support and sponsor candidates for elective offices and juicy political appointments, to benefit from spoils of such offices, thrive in Nigeria. Conflict entrepreneurs, politicians who fan embers of incompatibilities for personal gains, are also noted to infest fabrics of political parties.

Most times, the conflict merchants fight their ways to secure positions of relevance in political associations mainly to pitch aspirants and contenders

for elective offices and government positions against each other. They exploit such situations for spoils and pecuniary benefits. Studies on their activities, impacts and effects are overdue. The needful expository investigations shall confirm spates of the incidents, extents of their activities and gauge impacts, positive and negative effects, as well as the implications on Nigeria's political evolution and future development.

3. *Explications on Nigerian political parties' application of the principles of internal democracy and party supremacy:* The two fundamental concepts, party supremacy and internal democracy, have gained prominence in the lexicon of Nigerian politicians and political parties. By party supremacy, members of political associations, particularly those aspiring to contest for elective offices on platforms of the political parties, are expected to accept whatever rulings the parties make on such matters, as the final word.

Internal democracy on the other hand implies that the political associations pursue and enforce decisions widely accepted and endorsed by the generality of the party members. Impositions of any sort are not expected. Findings suggest that though political parties claim to subscribe to these two concepts, the principles are conflicting and as well observed in the breach. Also, the incongruous pursuit of these two doctrines at the same time in conflict situations create much frictions within political associations.

Reports show party leaders only pay lip services to the noble ideas. Initiating studies on the frequencies of abnegations and consequences of the negative applications of these principles, seen by some party members as discordant and divisive, would further expand knowledge on how not to run political party affairs and contain spate of harmful conflicts.

4. *Needful studies on the adaptation and application of African communal methods in decision making:* With the proposal that alternative African communal method of wide consultations and involvement of all group

members and interests in decision makings be adopted for intra-party conflicts resolution, it is time the research opportunity is explored.

The significance of this suggestion lies in the proposal of alternative ways to counter conflicts generating potentials of a key democratic norm that follows the Majority Rule principle propounded by Jean Jaquez-Rousseau, 1712-1778. The concept backs majority to have their ways while minority should only voice their opinions, in management of contentious matters within associations and communities. By extension, ultimate verdict favours majority while the minority are expected to forgo their interests.

In clear terms, whenever this principle is applied for decision making in politics, people who are out voted lose out on whatever is at stake. This tyranny of majority over critical interests of minorities has the potential for bad blood, breed consequent intrigues, fresh conflicts and sometimes violent disruptions of party affairs when the loss suffered are devastating.

In traditional African societies, this is a patently inappropriate principle that displaces members with unpopular views, to which they are entitled and should not be hampered from keeping, insofar as they do not overstep on other peoples. It is not the African way to shatter people's hopes and aspirations without remedy. Traditionally, in African communal settings, deliberations are never over on a matter until all interests are addressed and catered for satisfactory.

It is worthwhile for political science scholars and sociologists to further evaluate this extant democratic credo to unravel its wide range implications on festooning conflicts. There are doubtful benefits in getting some group members aggrieved and estranged for losing out on contentious issues when there is a better alternative for win-win outcomes. Interrogating available options and implications of winners take the cake and losers lick

their wounds stance, particularly on costs in time, efforts and materials for political associations in need of real fix solutions, is positive scholarship.

Further, explorations into benefits of African communal way raised as venerable option to counter undesirable consequences of the popular method for majority decisions that traumatises others in conflicts resolution procedures is tabled for studies and reviews.

5. *Studies on the implications of running national political parties without ideological guides:* Findings confirm current set of Nigerian political parties operate either outside or without definite ideological frameworks. This major factor has made pundits label the associations as “*political orphans*”. The members are seen as people not integrated into copied foreign liberal traditions. At the same time they shun levers and tenets of their native heritage in running vibrant and responsive political organisations.

This lack of ideological locus facilitates the roving status of some political aspirants who wander from one political platform to the other, shopping for accommodation, in bids to actualize their ambitions. Since the parties do not have clear identities on what they represent, the platform shoppers cared less on image, virtues or survival of the associations, insofar as they get the space to contest elections.

The itinerant aspirants need not change their worldviews and do not miss out on any philosophical ethos of their hitherto groups. When such aspirants are influential, they might even change or override focus of the political parties they joined. Example is Labour Party and Peter Obi in 2023 presidential election. Suddenly, the national political association for the labour movement morphed into a youth and predominantly ethnic party.

This feature of Nigerian political situation has myriad consequences on the country's development dynamics. A robust study on factors driving the

trend and lessons on implications of the reality, running political parties without ideological framework, on Nigeria's political evolution, are overdue.

6. *Research to clean the inappropriate labeling and misconceptions on active oaths:* Studies abound on diverse misconceptions and misinformation about African native resources and native lifestyles, mainly from foreign scholars and adherents of other religious faiths. These result in confusions sown into minds of many Africans on their traditional practices and beliefs.

For instance, some party chairmen wrongly assume use of traditional institutions for conflicts resolution implies going to traditional rulers to moderate in intra-party settlements. Some others have the mistaken idea that people must go to shrines to take active oaths and many Christians and Moslems even believe it is against their religious beliefs to take oaths which they incorrectly brand as "*fetish*".

Studies to illuminate real features of these practices, particularly African psychic forensic media, are necessary to smoothen the path for adoption and infusion of the essential constituent to complete and seal conflicts resolution terms, so, mutually reached agreements could be binding.

While the Bible is full of examples of sacred oaths taken by many patriarchs of faith and even by Yahweh to Abraham, as in Genesis 24 and Hebrews 6:17, the Quran in Chapter 31 also enjoins Moslems to swear only by the Almighty Allah, SW. The standard law courts allow testimonies only after those who need to give evidence have been placed on oaths. (Nana, 2020)

If Africans must tap from the great benefits of their heritage, there is need to close knowledge gap on the legacies. Ethnographic studies are in order for better understanding of science behind production of the voice catcher totems for active oaths, the *Afoshe Olugbohun*, as well as the operations

of the African psychic forensic media used to detect crime and criminals before advent of the standing police.

7. *Studies to reverse the unfair and one-sided exploitation of indigenous communication in intra-party conflicts resolution:* Conflicts by nature could be largely determined by meanings people ascribe to certain messages, issues, situations and actions. Conflict resolutions are also mainly done with interchange of meanings for felicity conditions and settlement terms. These imply communication is key in the cause and resolution of conflicts.

Findings also point to ingenious ways some party leaders and conflict entrepreneurs exploit their knowledge of indigenous communication codes to make agreements reached at resolutions unenforceable and not binding. They are reported to usually load the terms of agreements with ambiguities for ambivalent interpretations. To reverse this trend of spreading wool over some peoples' eyes in negotiations at conflict resolution sessions with tinge of African settings, communication scholars can further explore and explicate indigenous communications codes mostly used by savvy politicians, particularly leaders and elders, for undue advantages.

8. *Studies on African Intangible Heritage:* General studies on African intangible heritage are needful on ethnic nationalities. These seemingly mysterious and underestimated legacies of the people, some particular to localities, need to be identified, categorized and evaluated for their probable values and relevant applications for human progress.

Also, researchers can further advance post exploratory and expository studies on them for objective knowledge. For instance, a scientific study on the use, efficacy and effectiveness of the totem for African psychic forensic media, *Afoshe Olugbohun*, would further boost global knowledge bank on the legacy of non-physical aboriginal crimes investigations and law enforcement tools, aside use of the media for sanctity of agreements.

5.6: **Conclusions:**

This study clarifies efforts of Nigerian political parties at tackling internal conflicts, major hindrance to fulfillment of their vital objectives to provide good governance; ensure social stability and facilitate general development of the country. Main goals of the research, aside enriching knowledge bank, is to offer better ways or optimally effective methods, to resolve intra-party conflicts, group conflicts, particularly in Nigeria.

APC and PDP, two foremost political parties in Nigeria, are social agencies with platforms for people to ascend into governance. These two, with other marginal political parties, have the primary duty to support politically ambitious members, able to get party tickets, to run in general elections. Such members, when they win, form governments to execute their parties' election manifestoes.

As key elements of democracies, the political associations are designed to recruit and unite people with same values and political ideologies. Since it is usual for many individuals within the same political groups to have similar aspirations to represent their parties in government, people compete to get party tickets for elections into posts they desire. Whoever gets the ticket, by whatever means, does so to the exclusion of other contenders.

Naturally, clashes of interests are inevitable. Contest for party's ticket is basically for one aspirant to get exclusive endorsement at the expense of others. Political associations then are habitats and incubators for intra-party conflicts. In the ensuing contentions for party tickets, various efforts and schemes to outwit each other and gain upper hand to garner majority support or popular endorsement create series of antagonisms among aspirants and their supporters, as case with APC and PDP. Conflicts are, therefore, natural to political parties and they flourish more at election seasons.

At another level, the deliberate actions or inactions of influential leaders and officials running affairs of the political parties, affect members' fortunes. As expected, people not pleased with outcomes or conducts of the leaders would naturally be in conflicts with them.

The political parties by extension carry vicarious burdens of conflicts with such members who oppose official actions of leaders and officials. So, aside conflicts among members, there are conflicts of members against the political parties. Findings confirm some of these conflicts are created deliberately by party leaders and conflicts merchants to gain power, dominion and control of resources and opportunities.

Verdicts from the study show common democratic practice of using majority votes to determine popular choices does not effectively resolve intra-party conflicts. Rather, it creates a new set of aggrieved members and generates fresh rounds of discord with those whose interests got discounted. When majorities have their ways, minorities whose interests are ditched hardly forgo their political ambitions.

Frequently, some members get hurt and dissatisfied. They resort to sundry schemes, including sabotage and litigations, to actualize their goals. Findings show that aggrieved contenders, from same political households, could turn into lifelong enemies. This undesirable state of affairs is avoidable with the recommended African communal way, an inclusive method which engages, involves and effectively covers all interests, for amicable resolutions of conflicts or settlements of incompatibilities.

The African approach to conflicts resolution, as widely illustrated with development communication and traditional institutions, involves and engages all concerned in widespread consultations for binding joint solutions to conflicts. Doctrines and systems like *Omoluabi*, *Ubuntu*, *Gacaca*, *Lekgotla* and institutions like the Canoe Houses in the Niger Delta region, the *Arochukwu* in Igboland and Yorubaland *Agbo Ile* in Nigeria, are used to secure effective settlements of disputes, disagreements and incompatibilities.

Family members' involvements in the traditional procedures impose moral obligations on them to prevail on their kin, who trusts and have confidence in their commitments to his or her welfare. They are also there to ensure fairness and boost confidence of the actors on integrity of the systems and procedures.

Commonly, a political party's human resources, skills and competences at conflicts resolution determine its success as an association and how well it fares in elections. It is norm at election cycles for members to run attendant incompatible interests. Contenders and influential party members, mostly political investors, use wit, sundry schemes and financial muscles to enlist allies to support their candidates and interests. Members in need of survival finance link up for welfare in the high wired atmosphere of horse trading and negotiations. Deceits, intrigues and back stabbing reign in liaison with efforts by those governing levers of power in the parties to dominate affairs and impose favourites, sometimes in defiance to rules and in disrespect to others' sensibilities.

These factors, among others, couple laxity and poor planning by political parties. When all these are combined in various ways in an environment with many individuals driven by consuming ambitions, as it the case with APC and PDP, the brew is regular bags of conflicts that get more strident at election seasons. Prohibitive costs of seeking party tickets without soft landings from financial ruin and muscle flexing of some incumbent state governors in bids for final say in affairs of their political associations also generate discords.

African political parties, modern institutional platforms for leadership recruitment and training as well as the trending group to acquire authority and power to govern societies, house men and women with deft maneuvers in conflict engagements. Dominant efforts of conflicts entrepreneurs can be seen from growing number of conflict incidents in the Nigerian political space. The promotion and support of decayed and decadent conflicts resolution structures, for the advantage to run the political turf without regulatory checks, are also widely noticed and reported.

Intense intra-party conflicts have been at epidemic proportions since the inception of Nigeria's Forth Republic in 1999, 24 years ago. Findings show conflicts shift attention of political party drivers from their obligations to design ennobling philosophical platforms on which a better society could flourish. Rather, politicians meet more to settle disputes than deliberate on how they can improve and develop society. Elected officials engage in daily battles to stay in office than focus on development agenda and welfare programmes that could improve the lot of their electors.

Most conflicts resolution structures in the political parties, standing committees of APC and elders' councils of PDP, are found defective to raise numbers of resolved cases to half the total of recorded incidents or outbreaks. So far, effective delivery of amity at conflicts resolution sessions have been below average in score on specific performance. In essence, more than half the total number of emerging and ensuing conflicts get escalated to crisis points; many end as litigations.

The Court, from media reports, has registered its inability to resolve cases of intra-party incompatibilities flooding it. It challenged political association members to seek options outside judiciary to settle their certain conflict incidents. The United Nations also advocates for better localized conflicts resolution methods and mechanisms in Africa for stable polities and rapid development. It urges countries to upscale their homegrown conflicts resolution processes, practices and techniques.

An interrogation of the report of findings on resolved intra-party conflicts in Nigeria show majority of settled rows employed aspects of the African native approaches. These entail cooperation in discussions and negotiations that make rivals collaborate, grant concessions and offer equitable compensations for amicable solutions. It is also noted that when concerns are shown in the welfare of aggrieved persons and efforts made to shield them, particularly from financial ruin, such attempts to alleviate causes of their disenchantments facilitate harmonious settlements.

Generally, conflicts due to perception and beliefs are culturally determined. Whenever emphases are shifted from who wins or loses political party tickets to the need to build trust, when contenders jointly work out how their parties' primary objectives to win elections and develop the country could be achieved, contenders get more disposed for mutual grounds to cooperate. The unsettled cases show basic departure of processes from African basic norms, particularly on trust, protection, restitution, social solidarity and collaboration.

When these details are co-joined with status of Nigerian political parties as associations without well-reasoned philosophical bases, ideologies and guiding principles,

then, it is easy to see how lack of compass, governing norms and ethos, deprive politicians of the bonding glue of ennobling ideals for harmonious agreements.

With use of the mixed-methods reflexive thematic analysis of qualitative and quantitative data plus phenomenological hermeneutic interpretation of narratives adjoined with statistical answers to inquiries, the study confirms social conflicts, like healthy competitions, are prime lifestyles in African societies. Modern political organisations, as part of social institutions of African society, are not exempt. This is probable reason many African tribes, groups and nationalities have high ratings for women and men with optimal skills, wide knowledge and competencies in conflicts resolution and disputes settlements.

It is part of the rites of passage, enculturation processes and leadership mentoring programmes in African communities, to school youths in competence on indigenous communications. This covers use of proverbs, signs, sounds and rudiments of non-verbal communication to complement their understanding of language in speech making for diplomacy, avoidance of conflicts and resolution of incompatibilities. Outright hostilities, antagonisms and violence, even against suspected adversaries, are frowned on with various codes, norms and sanctions that promote concepts of live and let live and being one's neighbour's keeper.

This study conclusion agrees with crucial observation made by the Court that the intra-party conflicts resolution methods in use by Nigerian political parties are inadequate to effectively resolve raging natural political incompatibilities for harmonious co-existence and cooperation among members of same political groups.

It also found that the operative processes were not stretched for resolutions to be binding. From research subjects' submissions, it was established that the procedures did not engender trust. They neither guaranteed fidelity of the terms of agreement nor integrity of the negotiating agents. These factors consequently made people dishonour covenants at will and there are no deterring measures to restrain or caution such individuals against trifling with the mutually worked resolutions.

Furthermore, the study reveals that some influential politicians have weaponized and commercialized intra-party conflicts to gain dominance, control and pecuniary benefits from their political associations. Some of these unregulated men and women create divisions, while others position themselves, as conflict merchants, for influence peddling and monetary gains in the ensuing disputes.

Original contributions of the study to knowledge include presentation of the benefits of African methods for effective conflicts resolution, particularly use of the African psychic forensic medium to tackle the persistent challenge. This is basically through the invocation of active oaths for binding agreements that are enforceable. This guarantees sanctity of resolutions and ensures compliance to terms of mutually formed covenants with consequences against breach. This thesis asserts appropriate invocation of active oaths to close conflict resolution processes shall reduce spate of unresolvable conflicts and get many politicians on the noble lane to serve with integrity.

Further, general awareness to incorporate the procedure into conflict resolution processes is made, so, it can be a restraining factor in the deliberate desires of some individuals to create or recycle conflicts. Clear pinpoint of the strategic positioning and deliberate activities of conflicts entrepreneurs, who make financial gains, get plum appointments and contracts by trading conflicts are also made.

The research presents the strengths and advantages of African cultural resources in indigenous communication and traditional institutions for groups' conflicts resolutions, specifically in political parties. It asserts from sampled views of party members that many politicians embrace and endorse the application of the resources. It confirms the methods are effective as they are efficient mechanisms for optimal resolution of political incompatibilities. Also, it affirms the methods shall foster harmonious coexistence within groups, in this case, the political parties.

The exploration also provides answers to the remote and immediate causes of intra-party conflicts, the spate of occurrences. It as well identifies those benefiting from the continuous discords. It shows some political leaders, conflict merchants and investors deal

for money, influence, jobs and positions in their politicking. Further, it explores methods Nigerian political parties use to resolve political conflicts and confirms the low level of success, highlighting noticed limitations and factors responsible for the dismal results.

The research is worthwhile and justifiable because it boosts understanding of the study topic by providing contextual panacea to the challenge created by the reality in issue, the phenomenon of unresolved conflicts. It adds to body of knowledge with available approaches to groups for reconciliation of incompatibilities in African native resources. It highlights the probable benefits and relevance of the native tools to tackle the socio-political challenge.

The findings are exposés on the dynamics of party politics and how these affect governance, particularly the way a few influential persons create dissensions and disunity in efforts to determine fate of candidates for elective positions in democratic political parties in Nigeria. The study illustrates how conflicts contend with some extant principles of democracy to chart course of governance not only in Nigeria, but in many African countries.

The academic probe shows importance of indigenous knowledge to intellectual constructs, particularly the literature and concepts germane to the phenomenon. It demonstrates relevance and application of general theories like social control, intangible heritage and development communication to conflicts resolution. Theories on democratic practices, like Majority Rule idea of Roseau also get enriched with contextual review on their use to resolve conflicts from African communal perspective.

The explication is credible, trustworthy, transferable and sound. Scholars interested in the field and particular aspect of research, using same investigative tools, can replicate the study. Findings are relevant and general to conflicts resolution issues beyond Nigerian political parties. Its proposed solutions are useful globally for effective resolution of incompatibilities, particularly in Africa. Interrogating the topic shows huge preventable economic and social costs of unresolved conflicts to a polity, aside efforts spent on counter-productive and sometimes damaging disputes.

The results point to how political peace and harmonious cooperation can be obtained with use of African traditional resources to halt social disruptions and promote national development. The prescribed solutions, when applied, have the promise to foster and stimulate economic wellbeing of societies with self-actualizing engagements. While study adduced reasons for poisoned relationships among party members and how the divisions inhibited positive pursuit of interests, the recommendations on solidarity, mutual goodwill, justice, noble pursuit of goals, fair play and care for others posit positive outlook and attitudes that could raise citizens' quality of lives.

The exploration is valuable for the panacea provided to the existential problem of social instability arising from destructive political conflicts that unsettles political parties and truncate camaraderie in associations. It has the benefits to divert prime attention and get concentration of dear resources to national development programmes. The study also aids the judicial order for conflicting politicians to spare the Court space to treat pertinent matters aside intra-party discords.

The work upholds vista of integrating Africa's native customs into contemporary political institutions for harmony to align natural individuals' conflicting interests. It concludes that peoples' concerns on material, social, political and economic wellbeing need not be about majority endorsement at expense of the out voted minority. It asserts, in the final analysis, that the majority could effectively befriend minority interests while they have peaceful enjoyment of their benefits in numbers.

Jury on this essential is tied to instituting binding and effective conflicts resolution mechanisms with processes subscribed to by political party members. Solid way for this in traditional Africa is by sealing resolutions with active oaths. To attract general involvement, endorsement and commitment of party members to adopt this measure, key is to embark on mass enlightenment campaigns on values of native African resources for effective conflicts resolution and dispel of false disparaging narratives. Prelude to these should be referendum for members' assent that the political parties are authorised to use native methods to resolve their internal conflicts.

Aside these basic conclusions, the research identifies three fundamental factors from the list of other influences responsible for flourish of internal conflicts in Nigerian political parties. These elements are main reasons intra-party conflicts resolution outcomes do not end in win-win pacts without aggrieved contenders.

First, the seemingly irresolvable intra-party conflicts have been transformed into profit yielding ventures by conflicts entrepreneurs who position to recycle and fan the embers of conflicts in various ways. Second, the enterprise flourishes in Nigerian political parties due to the ineffective foreign conflicts resolution models adopted for use. The third factor is the half way applications of African communal process for conflicts resolution.

Study literature and findings show both the APC and PDP as associations of strange bed fellows. Both parties, products of intra-party conflicts, were created primarily to win elections without evident ideological cement to bind members. What attracts politically ambitious individuals to the parties, at any point time, is whether or not the prevalent circumstances in-house would favour their interests and aspirations that largely center on picking parties' tickets to contest elections.

Party decision makers in turn institute structures to contain members and steer events to favour contenders in their leagues. Members soon realised that outcomes in contests for party tickets were often tilted with ideas like party supremacy to protect certain interests than ensure equity. The submission is that adoption and application of tested tools of African native institutions and use of indigenous communications system shall defeat most objectionable antics of party barons with inbuilt facilities to create level play fields for harmony of interests.

Lessons from aborted Third Republic in Nigeria support position that equitable grounds can be created for political parties to effectively resolve probable conflicts with correct strategies. The military regime then gave equal standing and status to all party members as co-founders and joiners. Party members were regulated on how much they could give to finance party activities in order to moderate possible domination. Instead, emphasis was on members' mobilization, cooperation and agreed shared actions.

This work exposes main trump card used in confirmed antics of conflicts entrepreneurs; the deliberate manipulations of intents at communication engagements to kindle irreconcilable disputes with renegade actions. This usually gets played out in consequent breach of what aggrieved parties presumed were mutually reached terms of resolutions. There were reported cases of contenders for party ticket who got persuaded by sly leaders to cooperate and negotiate with opponents, by yielding tickets to their rivals for just a tenure, so the party could win elections. The usual line is the fake promise of automatic tickets as pay back.

Stories abound that calls for consensus were used to dislodge some aspirants. Often, actors who surrendered tickets got shortchanged either with party's endorsement of incumbents for yet another term, in breach of the agreement, or by getting totally sidelined and replaced with another candidate by same people who brokered the initial resolution. Regular alibi is to contend aggrieved party's presumed meaning of the ambivalent intent. These resorts to conversational implicatures for base errands, set up ambitious candidates gunning for party tickets against other contenders with indigenous communication codes, are rife with party functionaries in the unceasing creation of conflict incidents.

This study pries strategic ambiguities that make mutual agreements unenforceable and allowed people exit terms of resolutions at will. Tales of consistent loyalty shifts showed masked market for highest bidders in intra-party conflict services. This realization justifies need to ensure and secure binding agreements on resolutions of intra-party disputes with African psychic forensic media, active oaths, to stem adverse tide of serial betrayals.

The story of Nigeria's colonial past shows infestation of the system with foreign methods to handle basic government formal and official activities. Administration of political parties and national approach to the practice of democracy are not exempt. As expected, standard conflicts resolution methods are alien and hardly contextually tuned. It is only when conflict situations get scary, from manifest inadequacies that hasty resorts are made to African native and communal order for bail outs. Findings show both APC and PDP often

fall back to hybrid versions, admix of foreign and local ways, to resolve critical intra-party conflicts decisively.

More often than not, party drivers insist on applying alien precepts, values and norms, on grounds that those are universal ethos, on matters of individual liberties, to free choice candidates from terms of resolutions when disadvantaged. Sidelined actors in the process, get aggrieved and betrayed, particularly when further treated to tyranny of party supremacy.

This study concludes, using facts explored in context of interpreted data synced to theoretical base of relevant literature that upgrade and application of suitable African native codes and systems, treasured in aboriginal institutions and communications systems, shall aid effective intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. It posits that lawful techniques deployed in congruence with groundswells of particular native environments, are universally applicable for conflicts resolution generally, particularly in African settings.

Finally, this research asserts from its exploration of the topic that some politicians benefit from the natural incompatibilities among members of political associations by riding on and sustaining prevalent conflicting interests. These include the ambitions of those seeking party platforms for offices, the survival needs of vulnerable individuals and desires of those eager to influence the political turf. These factors are tactically used to fan embers of incessant divisive, sometimes devastating, conflicts for power and profits.

As closing points, this explication surmised that meanings ascribed to verbal and non-verbal communication are contextually determined for relevance and use. Cases abound of politicians latching on multiple meanings, probable connotation of intents that could be taken from communication acts, particularly on the canons of indigenous communication, to make conflicts, douse conflicts; adhere to or not abide by the terms of conflicts resolution.

Following from these, the study concludes and prescribes that application of African native social control measures which facilitate folks' embrace of their cultural

heritage for seamless integration and harmonious relations in political communes would halt cases of unresolved incompatibilities and assure effective intra-party conflicts resolution in Nigeria. That people, politicians and party members, would most probably embrace, adapt to and adopt their native legacies, values and virtues, when encultured by the traditional institutions of society to participate, using development communication matrix, in the cross fertilization of ideas. That people would join others to communally forge effective panacea to existential challenges, particularly natural incompatibilities that must be tamed, for harmonious coexistence, progress and development.

REFERENCES

- Abbas, I. (2016). Political Parties and Inter-Party Conflicts In Nigeria: Implications for Democratic Consolidation. *International Journal of Political Science and Development*, 4(6). <https://www.academicresearchjournals.org>
- Abdelghaffar, H., & Sameer, L. (2013). The Roadmap to E-democracy in Arab Spring Countries via Social Networks. *The Roadmap to e-Democracy in Arab Spring Countries via Social Networks*, 1. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Abdelkader, E. (2019). Myanmar: The Rohingya Crises as an Analytic Lens to Understanding Violent Extremism. *Handbook on the Dynamics of Violent Extremism, Extremist Groups and State Fragility*. Routledge.
- Abu Bakar, A., Osman, M., & Bachok, S. (2011). Intangible Cultural Heritage, ICH, Understanding Manifestations. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Abrahamsen, R. (2020). Internationalists Sovereigntists, Nativists: Contending Visions of World Order in Pan-Africanism. *Review of International Studies*. 46(1): 56-74. Doi: 10.1017/S0260210519000305.
- Abushov, K. (2019). Refining the Line of Distinction between Ethnic Conflict and Security Dilemma: Towards a Theory of Identity Driven Ethnic Conflict. *Civil Wars Journal*, 2(3). <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Adebayo, R. I. (2022). Faith-Based Peace Making and Dispute Resolution Mechanism: The Example of the Independent Shari'ah Panels in Yorubaland. In: Spiegel, E., Mutalemwa, G., Liu, C., Kurtz, L.R. (eds) *Peace Studies for Sustainable Development in Africa. Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development*. Springer, Cham.

- Adejimola, A. (2009). Language and Communication in Conflict Resolution. *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 1(1), 001-009.
<http://www.academicjournals.org>
- Adekanye, J. B., (1999) Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Systems in Wohlgemuth L. et al Common Security and Civil Society in Africa. Sweden: Nordisea African Stitutet. <http://everythingzed.com>
- Aderayo, A. A., & Olawunmi, K. (2023). Ethnic Politics and National Integration in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.
<http://82.194.16.149/handle/20.500.12323/6463>
- Adere, A., Jimma, W., & Wedajo, E. (2022). Exploration of Indigenous Knowledge for Conflict Management in Communities in Southwest Ethiopia. *Gadaa Journal*, 5(1), 77-90. <https://ejhs.ju.edu.et>
- Adjei, B. (2019). Conceptualizing Discursive Analysis as a Culturally Contextualized Activity. *The Qualitatives Report*, 24(9).
<https://search.proquest.com>
- Afinotan, A., & Ojakorotu, V. (2014). Threat to Nigeria since 1960: A Retrospection. *Canadian Social Science*, 10(5). <http://www.cscanada.net>
- Africa Research Bulletin, ARB*. (2009). Political, Social and Cultural Series, 45(12). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Agbaenyi, A. N., & Ibebunjo, B. (2022). Oligarchy and Political Parties in Nigeria: The Financing and Returns Adventure Perspective. *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science*, 10(3), 55-62.
<https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net>

Agbu, O. (2016). An Overview of Party Formation in Nigeria, 1960–1999.

Article. <https://www.semanticscholar.org>

Agbu, O., Aiyede, E., Ofulue, C., & Durojaye, O. (2006). Theories in Conflict Management. (PCR 701), *National Open University of Nigeria*. <https://www.academia.edu>

Ahmed, F., & Alhaji Ali, M (2019). Politics of Godfatherism and its Implication on Socio-Economic and Political Development of Nigeria. *American International Journal of Social Science Research*, 4(1), 9-19. <https://www.cribfb.com/journal>

Aiyedun, A., & Ordor, A. (2016). Integrating the Traditional with the Contemporary in Dispute Resolution in Africa. *Law Democracy and Development*, Vol. 20. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Ajayi, K. (2016). Global Perspectives on Concepts, Theories and Dynamics of Conflict Management and Peace Building: Developing Frameworks for Sustainable Development Strategies. Chapter in: Conflict, Peace Building and Rural Development. (2016). Kuponiyi, A. et al. (Editors). <https://rusan.org.ng>

Ajayi, A., & Buhari, I. (2014). Methods of Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Society. *African Research Review*, 8(2). <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314>.

Akindele, S. (2010). Intra and Inter Party Post-Election Crisis/Feud Management in a Pluralistic Democracy: An X-Ray of the Nigerian Political Landscape. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*. 5(6), 287-330. <https://academicjournals.org>

- Akinola, A. E., & Mosunmola, O. O. (2023). Legislative Turnover in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Issues and Implications. In *The Legislature in Nigeria's Presidential Democracy of the Fourth Republic: Power, Process, and Development*, pp. 199-214. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Akintola, A. & Uzodike, U. (2018). *Ubuntu* and the Quest for Conflict Resolution in Africa. *Journal of Black Studies*. 28(2). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Akinjogbin, A. (2003). War and Peace in Yorubaland: 1793-1893. Nigeria, Heinemann Ed. Books
- Akintayo, S. (2021). Culture (Yoruba) as a Means of De-Escalating Conflict and Maintaining Peace. <https://www.authorea.com>
- Akinwale, A. A. (2010). Integrating the Traditional and the Modern Conflict Management Strategies in Nigeria. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 10(3). <https://www.ajol.info>
- Akov, E. (2017). The Resource-Conflict Debate Revisited: Untangling the Case of Farmer–Herdsman Clashes in the North Central Region of Nigeria, *African Security Review*, 26(3), 288-307. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Akpan, U. (2012). 'Poverty, Community Dialogue and Participatory Development in Nigeria', in M Mboho and H Bata (eds), *The Companion to Communication and Development Issues*, University of Uyo, pp. 207–218. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Aleyomi, M. (2013). Intra-Party Conflicts in Nigeria: The Case Study of Peoples Democratic Party. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*. 15(4). <http://jsd-africa.com/Jsda>

- Algoe, K. (2016). What is a "Research Gap" or "Knowledge Gap" in Research and Literature? Is gap explored or constructed? How can gap in research be identified? *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Alhadeff-Jones, M. (2013). Complexity, Methodology and Method: Crafting a Critical Process of Research. *Complicity*, 10(1/2), 19-44.: <https://files.eric.ed.gov>
- Alimba, C. (2018). Conflict Management Styles: Historical Evolution, Perspectives and Rationalisation. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Allsop, D. B., Chelladurai, J. M., Kimball, E. R., Marks, L. D., & Hendricks, J. J. (2022). Qualitative Methods with Nvivo Software: A Practical Guide for Analyzing Qualitative Data. *Psychology*, 4(2), 142-159. <https://www.mdpi.com>
- Allwood, J. (2007). Cooperation, Competition, Conflict and Communication. *Gothenburg Papers in Theoretical Linguistics*. <https://hal-hprints.archives-ouvertes.fr/hprints-00460498>
- Almaliki, S. (2016). Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data in Mixed Methods Research: Challenges and Benefits. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Alves, S. (2018). Understanding Intangible Aspects of Cultural Heritage: The Role of Active Imagination. *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, 9(3-4), 207-228. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Amin, M., Nørgaard, L., Cavaco, A., Witry, M., Hillman, L., Cernase, A and Desselle, S. (2020). Establishing Trustworthiness and Authenticity in Qualitative Pharmacy Research. *Research in Social and Administrative Pharmacy*, 16(10), 1472-1482. <https://www.sciencedirect.com>

- Amodu, L. (2012). Community Relations Strategies and Conflict Resolution in the Niger Delta: A Study of Three Major Oil Companies. (*PhD Thesis*). Covenant University, Ota.
- Anastasia. (2017, February 26) Overview of Qualitative and Quantitative Data Collection Methods. *Cleverism*. <https://www.cleverism.com>
- Anderson, S., & Bidner, C. (2021). Family Institutions. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfu.ca>
- Andrews, R. (2007). Argumentation, Critical Thinking and the Postgraduate Dissertation. *Educational Review*, 59(1), 1-18. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Andriani, L., & Bruno, R. L. (2022). Introduction to the Special Issue on Institutions and Culture in Economic Contexts. *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 18(1), 1-14. <https://cambridge.org>
- Annan, N. (2014). Violent Conflicts and Civil Strife in West Africa: Causes, Challenges and Prospects. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*. <https://www.stabilityjournal.org>.
- Anyanwu, C. (2016). What is a "Research Gap" or "Knowledge Gap" in Research and Literature? Is Gap Explored or Constructed? How Can Gap in Research be Identified? *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Appiah-Thompson, C. (2020). The Concept of Peace, Conflict and Conflict Transformation in African Religious Philosophy. *Journal of Peace Education*, 17(2). <https://www.tandfonline.com>

- Aremu, J. (2010). Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution. *An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia*, 4(4), 549-560. Retrieved from: <https://www.ajol.info>
- Arghode, V. (2012). Qualitative and Quantitative Research: Paradigmatic Differences. *Global Education Journal*, 2012(4). <http://connection.ebscohost.com>
- Armato, E. (2017). Difference between Qualitative and Quantitative Research. *Market Research Overview*. <https://www.iff-international.com>
- Asano, T. (2002). Community Tool Box: *Training for Conflict Resolution*. <https://ctb.ku.edu>
- Asemota, S. (2016). Lagos the Original Southern Lady of Means. <https://www.csmnigeria.org>
- Ashindorbe, K. (2022). Zero-Sum Politics: Ruling Parties and Political Opposition in Nigeria. In *Anonymous Power: Parties, Interest Groups and Politics of Decision Making in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Essays in Honour of Elochukwu Amucheazi*, pp. 211-227. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.
- Ashidorbe, K., & Danjibo, N. (2019). Intra-Elite Factionalism and the Quest for Sustainable Political Platforms in Nigeria. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(5). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Ashworth, G., Graham, B., & Tunbridge, J. (2007). *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press

- Astalin, P. (2013). Qualitative Research Designs: A Conceptual Framework. *International Journal of Social Science & Interdisciplinary Research*. (Vol. 2, No. 1). <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org>
- Ask Legit (2020). Map of Nigeria. Retrieved from: <https://www.legit.ng>
- Atkinson, M. (2017). Communicating Across Cultures: The Role of Language Interpreters. *Senior Honors Theses*. 181. <https://digitalcommons.brockport.edu>
- Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic Networks: An Analytic Tool for Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), 385-405. <http://qri.sagepub.com>
- August, V. (2022). Understanding Democratic Conflicts: The Failures of Agonistic Theory. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/14748851221120120>. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Avruch, K. (1998). Culture and Conflict Resolution. *United States Institute of Peace*. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Avruch, K., & Black, P. (1993). Conflict Resolution in Intercultural Settings: Problems and Prospects” in Sandole D. and Van Der Merwe H. (Editors.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Manchester University Press.
- Awofeso, O., Obah-Akpowoghaha, N., & Ogunmilade, A. (2017). The Effect of Intra-Party Conflict Management Mechanism on Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic. *Developing Country Studies*, 7(7). <https://scholar.google.com>

- Ayodele, J. O., & Adebusi, J. R. (2023). One Space for Two Justice Praxes in Nigeria: The Yoruba Experience in Stakeholders' Restoration. In *Minding the Gap between Restorative Justice, Therapeutic Jurisprudence, and Global Indigenous Wisdom*, pp. 24-55. IGI Global.
- Babalola, D. (2018). Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflict and the Elusive Quest for Peace in Post-Military Nigeria. Book Chapter in a Country under Siege: Issues of Conflict and its Management in Democratic Nigeria. Newcastle upon Tyne Cambridge Scholars Publishing. P21-48.
<https://repository.canterbury.ac.uk>
- Babbie, E. (2010). The Practice of Social Research. (11th Edition) USA. Thomsom Wadsworth
- Babbitt, E. (2006). Mediating Rights-Based Conflicts: Making Self-Determination Negotiable. *International Negotiation*, 11(1). Chapter in Conflict resolution and human rights: The State of the Art. SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution. Bercovitch, J. (Ed). <http://dx.doi.org>
- Bailey, F. (2014). The Origin and Success of Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Market Research*, 56(2). <https://chip.uconn.edu>
- Bakare-Aremu, T., Mustapha, R. & Bakare-Salisu, B. (2021). Globalization and African Development: The Nigerian Experience. *Journal of Social and Administrative Sciences Studies*, 5(1). <https://www.wdujournals.com>
- Bakkenne, N. A., Fadipe, I. A. (2022). Extra-Mundane Communication in Ayinla Omowura's Music: Exploring Connections between a Tool and an Agent. In: Salawu, A., Fadipe, I.A. (Eds) *Indigenous African Popular Music*, (2). Pop Music, Culture and Identity. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

- Baker, A. (2019). What Are the Advantages and Disadvantages of Mixed Methods Research? *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Bamidele, R. (2022). Organizational Culture. *Industrial Sociology, Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management*, 284-292. Retrieved from: <https://researchgate.net>
- Basiru, A. (2019). Pervasive Intra-Party Conflicts in a Democratising Nigeria: Terrains, Implications, Drivers and Options for Resolution. <https://www.accord.org>.
- Basiru, A. (2018). Democracy Deficit and the Deepening Crisis of Corruption in Post-Authoritarian Nigeria: Navigating the Nexus. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 14(2), 121–142. <http://www.taiwandemocracy.org>.
- Basiru, A. (2015). The Images of Political Parties in Contemporary Nigeria. *Ibadan Journal of Sociology*, (2), 82–106. <https://ibadanjournalofsociology.org>
- Bassey-Duke, V. (2017). Integrating Development Communication into Traditional Postulations for Social Change in Nigeria. *Ebonyi State University Journal of Mass Communication* Vol. 4, Issue 1, pp. 279-290. ISSN: 2449-0369. www.ebsujmc.com
- Bardapurkar, A. (2023). The Canvas of Science Education. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 09731849231166267. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Bazerman, M. (2017). Prescriptions Based on a Realistic View of Human Behaviour. *Negotiations Journal*, (Issue 309). <https://heionline.org>
- Beaudry, J., & Miller, L. (2016). Research Literacy: A Primer for Understanding and Using Research. London. The Guilford Press

- Bendassolli, P. F. (2013). Theory building in qualitative research: Reconsidering the problem of induction. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 14(1) Retrieved from: <https://search.proquest.com>
- Benova, L., Moller, A. B., & Moran, A. C. (2019). "What Gets Measured Better Gets Done Better": The Landscape of Validation of Global Maternal and Newborn Health Indicators through Key Informant Interviews. *PLoS One*, 14(11), e0224746. <https://journals.plos.org>
- Bernard, H. (2000). Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Thousand Oaks. CA, Sage Publications
- Betti, M. (2021). Sentence Patterns in English. www.researchgate.net
- Bhatia, M. (2018, September 5). Your Guide to Qualitative Data Analysis Methods. *Humans of Data*. <https://humansofdata.atlan.co>
- Bhosale, U. (2021). Top 5 Key Differences between Methods and Methodology. *EnagoAcademy*. <https://www.enago.com>
- Bibri, S. (2021). Data-driven Smart Sustainable Cities of the Future: An Evidence Synthesis Approach to a Comprehensive State-of-the-Art Literature Review. *ScienceDirect*, Vol. 3, 100047. <https://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Biria, R. (2017). Is There a Difference between 'Triangulation' and 'Multi-Methods / Mixed Methods'? Or Are They Same? *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Biswaro, J. (2013). The Role of Regional Integration in Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution in Africa: The Case of African Union. Brazil. Ministry of External. <https://scholar.google.com/>

- Biswas-Diener, R., Thin, N., & Sanders, L. (2019). Culture. *Chapter 15 in Introduction to Psychology*. Cunnings J. & Sanders, L. (Authors). <https://openpress.usask.ca>
- Blair, E., & Zinkhan, G. M. (2006). Nonresponse and Generalizability in Academic Research. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 34(1), 4-7. <https://search.proquest.com>
- Blake, J. (2018). Further Reflections on Community Involvement in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. Chapter in *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*. <https://www.taylorfrancis.co>
- Blundell, D. (2020). Taiwanese Love Nature, Yet Struggle to Embrace Their Heritage: Let's Try Local/Indigenous Knowledge and Value. *Enri Ethnological Studies*. (Vol. 103), 185 –205. <https://minpaku.repo.nii.ac.jp>
- Bob, C. (2019). *Rights as Weapons. Instruments of Conflict, Tools and Power*. Princeton and Oxford. Princeton University Press
- Bonvillian, N. (2019). *Language, Culture and Communications: The Meaning of Messages*. (Eight Edition). NY. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Borzaga, C., Galera, G., Franchini, B., Chiomento, S., Nogales, R., & Carini, C. (2020). Social Enterprises and Their Ecosystems in Europe. *Comparative Synthesis Report*. <https://www.socioeco.org>
- Bouchat, C. (2013). *The Causes of Instability in Nigeria and Implications for the United States*. Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press. <http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil>
- Boulding, K. (1962). *Conflict and Defense*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

- Boven, K., & Morohashi, J. (2002) Best Practices Using Indigenous Knowledge. <https://semanticscholar.org>
- Bowen, W. & Gleeson, R. (2019). Mechanisms of Settlement Evolution: Cultural Learning and the Creation of Social Institutions. In: The Evolution of Human Settlements. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. <https://link.springer.com>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). To Saturate or not to Saturate? Questioning Data Saturation as a Useful Concept for Thematic Analysis and Sample-size Rationales, *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 13(2), 201-216. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2020). One Size Fits All? What Counts As Quality Practice in (Reflexive) Thematic Analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 18(1), 1-25. DOI: 10.1080/14780887.2020.1769238.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., Hayfield, N., & Terry, G. (2019c). Answers to Frequently Asked Questions About Thematic Analysis. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks
- Braun V, & Clarke V. (2006) Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. Vol. 3, 77 – 101. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Brettell, C. B., & Sargent, C. F. (Eds.). (2009). *Gender in Cross-cultural Perspective*. (Fifth Edition). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall

- Bruchac, M. (2014). Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Knowledge. In Smith, C. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, 3814-3824. New York: Springer. <https://repository.upenn.edu>
- Budd, J., Colvin, A., & Pohler, D. (2017). Advancing Dispute Resolution by Unpacking the Sources of Conflict: Toward an Integrated Framework. *Prepared for "Conflict and Its Resolution in the Changing World of Work" A Conference Honoring David B. Lipsky*. <https://papers.ssrn.com>
- Bunikowski D. & Dillon P. (2017). Arguments from Cultural Ecology and Legal Pluralism for Recognising Indigenous Customary Law in the Arctic. In: Heinämäki L. & Herrmann T. (Eds.) *Experiencing and Protecting Sacred Natural Sites of Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples*, p. 37-64. <https://link.springer.com>
- Burton, J. (1990). *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. Macmillan Press Ltd,
- Busari, K. (2018). How Nigerian Lawmakers Share N100 Billion Zonal Intervention Fund Annually. *Premium Times*. Retrieved July 9, 2021 from: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com>
- Bush, R. & Folger, J. (2004). *The Promise of Mediation: The Transformative Approach to Conflict*. John Wiley & Sons.
- BusinessDay*. (2023, Feb. 25). Femi Asu. Buhari displays ballot paper after voting. Retrieved from: <https://businessday.ng>
- Butcher, H. (2022). Unitary Caring Science: A Hermeneutic-Phenomenological Research Method. *Nursing Science Quarterly*, 35(2), 48-159. DOI: 10.1177/08943184211070593. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

- Butler, T. (2016). Towards a Hermeneutic Method for Interpretive Research in Information Systems Chapter 11 in *Enacting Research Methods in Information Systems*: Wilcocks, L. Saucer, & Lacity, M. (Editors), Volume 2. <https://link.springer.com>
- Byrne, D. (2021). A Worked Example of Braun and Clarke's Approach to Reflexive Thematic Analysis. *Quality & Quantity*, Issue 56, Pp. 1391–1412. <http://creativecommons.org>
- Caplan, P. (Ed.) (1995). Understanding Disputes: The Politics of Arguments. Berg. Providence. Oxford
- Caputo, A., Marzi, G., Maley, J., & Silic, M. (2019). Ten Years of Conflict Management Research 2007-2017: An Update on Themes, Concepts and Relationships. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 30(1), 87-110. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Caulfield, J. (2019, Sept.6). How to do Thematic Analysis. <https://www.scribbr.com>
- Čehajić-Clancy, S., & Bilewicz, M. (2021). Moral-Exemplar Intervention: A New Paradigm for Conflict Resolution and Intergroup Reconciliation. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 30(4), 335-342. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Chamberlain, K. (2000). Methodolatry and Qualitative Health Research. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 5(3), 285–96. DOI: 10.1177/135910530000500306.

- Chen, T., & Hong, J. Y. (2021). Rivals Within: Political Factions, Loyalty, and Elite Competition Under Authoritarianism. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 9(3), 599-614. <https://www.cambridge.org>
- Chen, J. (2007). Strategies for Abating Intercultural Noise in Interpreting. *Meta*, 52(3), 529-541. <https://www.erudit.org>
- Chetty, P. (2018). Questionnaire Administration. *Project Guru*. Retrieved January 8, 2020 from: <https://www.projectguru>
- Chepchirchir, S., Kwanya, T. & Kamau A. (2019), Maximising the Socioeconomic Value of Indigenous Knowledge Through Policies and Legislation in Kenya. *Global Knowledge, Memory and Communication*, 68(1), 60-75. <https://www.emerald.com>
- Clack, T., & Dunkley, M. (2023). Introduction: Culture, Heritage, Conflict. In *Cultural Heritage in Modern Conflict* (pp. 1-27). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com>
- Clark, C. M., Gorton, K. L., & Bentley, A. L. (2022). Civility: A Concept Analysis Revisited. *Nursing Outlook*, 70(2), 259-270. <https://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013) Teaching Thematic Analysis: Overcoming, Challenges and Developing Strategies for Effective Learning. *The Psychologist*, 26(2), 120-123. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Clayton, M. (2017). Critique of the Thomas Kilmann Conflict Mode Inventory. *Management Pocket Books*. <https://www.pocketbook.co.uk>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K., (2013). Research Methods in Education. Routledge.

Cloutier, C., & Davide Ravasi, D. (2020). Using Tables to Enhance Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research. *Strategic Organisation*, 19(1), 113 –133. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

Collins, P., Demeter, D., & Sussan, D. (2021). Dispute Management. Cambridge University Press

Cooper, M. (2023). Conflict and Cooperation, Inside and Out. In *Psychology at the Heart of Social Change* (pp. 100-133).. <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com>

Coser, L. A. (1956). The Function of Social Conflict. London. The Free Press

Cossham, A., & Johanson, G. (2019, September). The Benefits and Limitations of Using Key Informants in Library and Information Studies Research. *Information Research*. Sweden, University of Borås. 24(3). <http://informationr.net>

Council of Europe. (2011). The Role of Cultural Heritage in Conflict Prevention, Transformation, Resolution and Post-Conflict Action: The Council of Europe Approach. AT (2010)397 rev.1. <https://edoc.coe.int>

Coughlan, M., Cronin, P., & Ryan, F. (2007). Step-by-Step Guide to Critiquing Research. Part 1: Quantitative Research. *British Journal of Nursing*, 16(12). <https://www.magonlinelibrary.com>

Crawford, M. (2014). Social Control Theory. Retrieved from: <https://www.researchgate.net>

Creswell, J. W. (2009). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Incorporated.

- Criado-Perez, C., Collins, G., Jackson, C., & Oldfield, P. (2020). Beyond an 'Informed Opinion': Evidence-Based Practice in the Built Environment. *Architectural Engineering and Design Management*, 16 (1). <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Crist, J., & Tanner, C. (2003). Interpretation/Analysis Methods in Hermeneutic Interpretive Phenomenology. *Nursing Research*, 52(3). <https://www.nursingcenter.com>
- Cronin, M., & Weingart, L. (2019). Conflict across Representational Gaps: Threats to and Opportunities for Improved Communication. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America*, 116(16). <https://www.pnas.org>
- Crossman, A. (2020). An Overview of Qualitative Research Methods. *ThoughtCo*. <https://www.thoughtco.com>
- Cunningham, C., & Stanley, F. (2003). 2003). Indigenous by Definition, Experience, or Worldview. *BMJ Online*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Curry, L. (2015). Fundamentals of Qualitative Design Methods. Yale Global Health Leadership Institute. YouTube/ Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com>
- Cypress, B. (2019). Data Analysis Software in Qualitative Research: Preconceptions, Expectations, and Adoption. *Dimensions of Critical Care Nursing*, 38(4), 213-220. DOI: 10.1097/DCC.0000000000000363.
- Dahlke, S., & Hunter, K. (2020). How Nurses' Use of Language Creates Meaning about Healthcare Users and Nursing Practice. *Nursing Inquiry*, 27(2), E12346. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nin.12346>.

- Dajwan, L. D. (2021). Socio-Political Roots of Conflicts in Africa: The Role of the Church in a Pluralistic Society. *Journal of African Studies and Sustainable Development*. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Danjibo, N., & Ashindorbe, K. (2018). The Evolution and Pattern of Political Party Formation and the Search of National Integration in Nigeria. *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, 3(5). <https://seer.ufrgs.br>
- Dansoh, A., Frimpong, S., & Oppong, G. (2020), 'Exploring the Dimensions of Traditional Authority Influencing Stakeholder Management at the Pre-Construction Stage of Infrastructure Projects', *Construction Management and Economics*, 38(2), 189-206. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- da Rocha, J. P. (Ed.). (2018). Political Mediation in Modern Conflict Resolution: Emerging Research and Opportunities: Emerging Research and Opportunities. IGI Global.
- Dawson, C. (2002). Practical Research Methods: *A User-friendly Guide to Mastering Research Techniques and Projects*. Oxford: How to Books Ltd.
- De Dreu, C. K., & Weingart, L. R. (2003). Task Versus Relationship Conflict, Team Performance, and Team Member Satisfaction: a Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(4), 741. <https://scholar.google.com>
- De Dreu, C. K. W. & Van de Vliert, .E. (Eds). (1997). Using Conflict in Organisations. Sage, London.
- Delcea, C., & Siserman, C. (2020). Validation and standardization of the questionnaire for evaluation of paraphilic disorders. *Rom J Leg Med*, 28(1), 14-20. <https://researchgate.net>

- DeFranzo, S. (2022). Advantages and Disadvantages of Face-to-Face Data Collection. Retrieved from: <https://www.snapsurveys.com>
- Dempster, M., & Hanna, D. (2021). Writing a Results Section for Thematic Analysis in a Qualitative Research Report. *Dummies.com*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dummies.com>
- Denzin, N. K. (2019). The Death of Data in Neoliberal Times. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 25(8), pgs. 721 724. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419847501>.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (1994). Handbook of Qualitative Research. : Sage Production, Inc. USA.
- Denzin, N. (1978). The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods Second edition. McGraw-Hill, New York NY.
- Deutsch, M., and Coleman, P. (Eds.), (2000). The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice. San Francisco. Jossey-Bass
- Diagboya, P. (2019). Oath Taking in Edo: Usages and Misappropriations of the Native Justice. *IFRA-Nigeria Working Papers Series*. (Volume 5). <https://hal.archives>
- Dickson, M. E., & Ita, V. E. (2022). Reassessing Ethnic-Based Party Formation, Proliferation and Political Instability in Nigeria: A Periscope into the Future. *Asian Research Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 18(2), 1-14. www.researchgate.net
- Dike, V. (2020). Restorative Practices: A Guide for Conflict Resolution in Schools and Business Organizations in Nigeria. *Center for Social Justice and Human Development*. <https://papers.ssrn.com>
- Dobrovolny, J., & Fuentes, S. (2008). Quantitative versus Qualitative

Evaluation: A Tool to Decide Which to Use. *Performance Improvement*. (Vol. 47, No 4). Pgs. 7-14. <https://scholar.google.com>

Donders, Y. (2020). Cultural Heritage and Human Rights. *Oxford Handbook on International Cultural Heritage Law, Amsterdam Law School Research Paper* (No. 2020-37): <https://papers.ssrn.com>

Dudovsky, J. (2019). The Ultimate Guide in Writing a Dissertation in Business Studies. A Step-by-Step Assistance. E-BOOK. <https://research-methodology.net>

Dudovskiy, J. (2018). Inductive Approach (Inductive Reasoning). Research Methodology. <https://research-methodology.net>

Duke, O., & Agbaji, D. (2018). Understanding Conflict Trends in Africa: A Peer into the Psycho-Cultural Conflict Perspective. *Asian Journal of Advanced Research and Reports*, 1(2). <https://journalajarr.com>.

Duursma, A. (2022). Peacekeeping, Mediation, and the Conclusion of Local Ceasefires in Non-State Conflicts. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 00220027221148132. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

Džuverović, N. (2011). Research Guide for Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies. <https://www.academia.edu>

Eagles Online. (2023, Jan. 7). Article written by Hassan Muaz. Presidency: Obasanjo's last outburst motivated by hatred for Muslims – MURIC. Retrieved from: <https://theeagleonline.com.ng>

Eakin, J., & Gladstone, B. (2020). "Value-adding" Analysis: Doing More with Qualitative Data *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Vol. 19, pp.1–13. DOI: 10.1177/1609406920949333.

- Ebunuwele, F. (2022). Twenty Eight Perspectives on Intra-Party Conflicts on Social Media in Nigeria Democracy in Thoughts on Political Communication in Nigeria. Asemah, E., Adegboyega, S. & Ekhareafo, D. (Editors). GO University Press.
- Edeh, H. O., Mavrotas, G., & Balana, B. B. (2022). Land Tenure Security and Preferences to Dispute Resolution Pathways among Landholders in Nigeria. *Land Use Policy*, 119, 106179. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Edike, N., Umar, S., Braimah, J., & Agbedeyi, O. (2021). Systematic Sampling Scheme for Sample Surveys Using Electronic Spreadsheet. *International Journal of Scientific Engineering and Applied Science (IJSEAS)* (Vol.7, Issue-6), Pages 387-896. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Egboh, E., & Aniche, E. (2015). The State, Political Parties and Crisis of Internal Democracy in Nigeria: A Study of Peoples Democratic Party, PDP. Retrieved August 7, 2021 from: <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Egbunike-Umegbolu, C. (2021). The Workings of International Commercial Arbitration (ICA). *E-Journal of Law*, 7(1). <https://cris.brighton.ac.uk>
- Ekhtor, E. (2018). Traditional Oath-Taking as an Anti-Corruption Strategy in Nigeria. Combating the Challenges of Corruption in Nigeria: A Multidisciplinary Conversation. <https://chesterrep.openrepository.com>
- Ekane, D. (2013). Introduction Traditional African Family Patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa. Retrieved from: <http://su.diva-portal.org>
- Ekpatt, A. O. (2021). Concepts of God, Divinities, Ancestors, and Spirits in

African Traditional Religious Thought: Conceptual Analysis.
In *Phenomenological Approaches to Religion and Spirituality* (pp. 18-43).
IGI Global. <https://www.igi-global.com>

Ellis, S. (2008). The Okija Shrine: Death and Life in Nigerian politics. *The Journal of African History*, 49(3), 445-466. <https://www.cambridge.org>

Ele, C. (2017). Conflict Resolution Strategies in Igbo Religion: The Oath Taking and Covenant Keeping Perspectives. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Review*. Vol.7. (1).
<https://www.researchgate.net>

Ellemers, N. (2017). *Morality and the Regulation of Social Behavior: Groups as Moral Anchors*. London. Routledge Taylor & Francis

Ernest Tooichi Aniche (2020) From Pan-Africanism to African Regionalism: A Chronicle, *African Studies*, 79:1, 70-87, DOI: [10.1080/00020184.2020.1740974](https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2020.1740974).

Esq, D. F. A., & Aduku, A. (2023). Insecurity and Electoral Administration in Nigeria. Retrieved from: <https://www.preprints.org>

EU T-Kit 12 (2018). Youth Transforming Conflict. Retrieved from: <https://pjp-eu.coe.int>

Evans-Pritchard. (1940). *The Nuer*, Oxford. Clarendon Press

Eyisi, D. (2016). The Usefulness of Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Researching Problem-Solving Ability in Science Education Curriculum. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 7(15)
<https://files.eric.ed.gov>

Ezeanya-Esiobu, C. (2019). Indigenous Knowledge and Education in Africa. The Hague, OAPEN. Retrieved from: <https://library.oapen.org>

Ezekiel, A. O., & Abdulraheem, I. (2022). Traditional Methods of Conflict Management and Resolutions: The Case of the Old Oyo Empire. *European Journal of Management and Marketing Studies*, 7(4). <https://oapub.org>

Ezenwoko, F., & Osagie, I. (2014) Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Pre-colonial Igbo Society of Nigeria, *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 9(1), 135-158. <https://www.infinitypress.info>

Ezren, E., & Armagan, Y. (2015). The Effect of Leadership on Conflict Management Chapter in Leadership and Organisational Outcomes: Meta-analysis of Empirical Outcomes. Karadg, E. (Editor). <https://www.researchgate.net>

Fanzi, P., & Rashid, K. (2018, July 7) Assessing the Practicality and Appropriateness of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in Takaful for Construction Research. *Advanced Science Letters*, 24(7). American Scientific Publishers. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1166/asl.2018.11234>

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(5), 80-92. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

Ferenczi, N., & Marsha, T. (2013). Exploring Attachment to the “Homeland” and its Association with Heritage Culture Identification. <https://journals.plos.org>

Fingeld-Connet, D. (2010). Generalizability and Transferability of Meta-

synthesis Research Findings. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. (Vol.66, No. 2). Retrieved from: DOI: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2009.05250

Filippucci, P. (2012). Archaeology and the Anthropology of Memory: Takes on the Recent Past. In: Duncan, G. & Thomas, Y. (eds.) *Archaeology and Anthropology: Understanding Similarities, Exploring Differences*. Pp. 69-83. Oxford: Oxbow Books Ltd.

Filindra, A., & Harbridge-Yong, L. (2022). How Do Partisans Navigate Intra-Group Conflict? A Theory of Leadership-Driven Motivated Reasoning. *Political Behavior*, 44(3), 1437-1458. <https://link.springer.com>

Fiseha, A. et al. (2011). The State of Knowledge on Customary Dispute Resolution in Ethiopia. <https://www.sciedupress.com>.

Fish, W. (2021). *Philosophy of perception: A contemporary introduction*. Routledge
Fisher, D., Abel, M. N., & McCann, W. S. (2023). Differentiating Violent and Non-Violent Extremists: Lessons from 70 Years of Social Control Theory. *Journal for Deradicalization*, (34), 28-49. <https://researchgate.net>

Fisher, R. (2020). Sources of Conflict and Methods of Conflict Resolution. *International Peace and Conflict Resolution School of International Service*. The American University Online Edition. <http://www.communicationcache.co>

Flor, A. (2015). Communication. *Academia, Asian Institute of Development Communication*. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Flor, A. (2007). *Development Communication Praxis*. UP Open University.

Flor, A. (2002). Communication and Culture, Conflict and Cohesion. University of the Philippines-Los Banos College of Development Communication, and the Foundation for Development & Communication, Los Banos, Laguna, Philippines. <https://www.academia.edu>

Folarin, B. (1998). Issues in Applied Communications: An Introductory Text. Lagos, Nigeria. Bakinfo Konst

Forero, R., Nahidi, S., De Costa, J., Mohsin, M., Fitzgerald, G., Gibson, N., McCarthy, S. & Aboagye-Sarfo, P. (2018). Application of Four-dimension Criteria to Assess Rigour of Qualitative Research in Emergency Medicine. *BMC Health Service Research*, 18(1), 120. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>

Formplus. (2020). Seven Data Collection Methods and Tools for Research. Retrieved on March 31, 2020 from: <https://www.formpl.us>

Foster, M. (2020). UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. <https://www.e-ir.info>

Fowler Jnr, F. (2014). Survey Research Methods. Los Angeles. (Fifth Edition).

Fulaku, D. (2020). Managing Conflict in Nigeria (MCN).

<https://www.justice-security.ng>

Francisco, J. (2020). Media and Communications with Indigenous Peoples in the Pandemic. UNESCO Paper. <https://en.unesco.org>

Francisco, J., Medina, L., Munduate, M., A. Dorado, A., Inés, M. & José M. Guerra, (2005). "Types of Intragroup Conflict and Affective Reactions", Journal of

Managerial Psychology, Vol. 20 Iss 3/4 pp. 219 – 230. doi. 1108/02683940510589019. <https://www.kau.edu.sa>

Freud, S. (1930). Civilization and its Discontents. Translated by Riviere, J.
Revised and newly edited by Strachey, J. (1963). London: Hogarth Press

Gabriel, D. (2013). Inductive and Deductive Approach to Researches. Research Guides. <https://deborahgabriel.com>

Galtung, J. (2013). Direct, Cultural and Structural Violence. *Sciences, Society, Sociology*. <https://whatonline.org>

Gamage, U. (2020). The Philosophical Stance of the Systemic Functional Approach to Language. *Journal of Sinhala Studies, Bi-annual Peer Reviewed Refereed Journal*, 1(2), 1-22. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Gambo, A. A. (2022). *The Effects of Intra-Party Conflicts on Elections in Nigeria: 2015–2021* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies). <https://ir.nilds.gov.ng>

Gan, R., Chen, X., Wang, Z., & Zhang, X. (2023). Knowledge Heterogeneity and Corporate Innovation Performance: The Mediating Influence of Task Conflict and Relationship Conflict. *Plos One*, 18(10), e0292283. <https://scholar.google.com>

Garner, R., Ferdinand, P., & Lawson, S. (2020). *Introduction to Politics*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Gearing, R. (2004). Bracketing in Research: A Typology, *Qualitative Health Research* 14(10): 1429–1452. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

Geo-Jaja, M., & Zadjia, J. (2020). Globalisation in Education and Development in Africa. *Political Crossroads*, 24(1), 39-57. James Nicholas Publishers.
<https://www.ingentaconnect.com>

Gerbaudo, P., (2018). From Data Analytics to Data Hermeneutics. *Online Political Discussions, Digital Methods and the Continuing Relevance of Interpretive Approaches*. <http://digicults.org>

Ghelber, A. (2020, September 29). Disadvantages of Focus Groups (And How To Avoid Them): The Complete Guide. <https://www.revuze.it>

Gerber, J. & Marie, L. (2011). *Sociology*. Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Ghebretেকে, T., & Rammala, M. (2019). Traditional African Conflict Resolution: The Case of South Africa and Ethiopia. *Mizan Law Review*, 12(2), 325.
<https://www.researchgate.net>

Ghebretেকে, T. (2017). Traditional Natural Resource Conflict Resolution vis-a-vis Formal Legal Systems in East Africa. The Cases of Ethiopia and Kenya.
<https://www.acord.org.za>

Giorgadze, K. (2001). *Indigenous Communication and Indigenous Knowledge* in Communication Initiative Network, UK, www.comminit.com

Goldman, J. (2014). How Human Culture Influences Our Genetics. Retrieved August 25, 2021 from: <https://www.bbc.com>

- Gonstead, M. (2021). Beyond Investor-State Disputes: Intercultural Capacity Building to Optimize Negotiation, Mediation, and Conflict Management. *University of St. Thomas Law Journal*, 17(2). <https://ir.stthomas.edu>
- Gould, R., Pai, M., Muraca, B., & Kai, M. Chan. (2019). He 'Ike 'Ana Ia I Ka Pono (It is a Recognizing of the Right Thing): How One Indigenous Worldview Informs Relational Values and Social Values. *Sustain Science*, Vol.14. <https://link.springer.com>
- Grant, C., & Osanloo, A. (2016). Understanding, Selecting and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for Your "House". *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice and Research*, 4(2). <https://scholar.google.com>
- Gray, D. (2021). Doing Research in the Real World. SAGE Publications
- Grech, O. (2018). Contemporary Issues in Conflict Resolution. *University of Malta. Centre for the Study and Practice of Conflict Resolution*. <https://www.um.edu.mt>
- Greenberg, D. (1999). The Weak Strengths of Social Control. *Crime & Delinquency*, (1), 66-81. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Guenther, J., & Falk, I. (2019). Generalising from Qualitative Research (GQR): A New Old Approach. *The Qualitative Report*, 24(5). <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Gulliver, P. (1979). Disputes & Negotiations: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. Academic Press

- Gumucio-Dagron, A. (2014). Indigenous Communication: From Multiculturalism to Interculturality. *Global Handbooks in Media and Communication Research*. Wilkins, K., Tufte, T. & Obregon, R. (Editors). Publisher John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Haji, R. (2012). Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory, Contemporary Global Perspectives. <https://www.springer.com>
- Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M., & de Lacey, S. (2016, March). Qualitative Research Methods: When to Use Them and How to Judge Them. *Human Reproduction*, 31(3). <https://doi.org>
- Hampson, F. (2006). The Risks of Peace: Implications for International Mediation. *Negotiation Journal*, 22(1). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Hann, D., Nash, D., & Heery, E. (2016). Workplace Conflict Resolution in Wales: The Unexpected Prevalence of Alternative Dispute Resolution. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*. (Vol. 40, Issue 3). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Harel, T. O., Maoz, I., & Halperin, E. (2020). A Conflict within a Conflict: Intragroup Ideological Polarization and Intergroup Intractable Conflict. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 34, 52-57. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Harvard Law School, (2013). Conflict Management Programme Glossary <https://www.pon.harvard.edu>
- [Hays, G. & McKibben, W.](#) (2021). Promoting Rigorous Research: Generalizability and Qualitative Research. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 99(2), 178-188. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>

- Head, B. (2019). Forty Years of Wicked Problems Literature: Forging Closer Links to Policy Studies. *Policy and Society*, 39(2). <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Hebel-Sela, S., Hameiri, B., & Halperin, E. (2022). The Vicious Cycle of Violent 101422. <https://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2020). *Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage
- Herranen, O. (2020). Social Institutions and the Problem of Order: A Relational Approach to Neo-Institutionalism through Social System Theory, Social Constructionism, and Critical Ideology Theory. University of Tampere. <https://trepo.tuni.fi>
- Herweg, N., Zahariadis, N., & Zohlnhöfer, R. (2023). The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements, and Empirical Applications. In *Theories of the Policy Process* (pp. 29-64). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com>
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations (Second Edition.)*. Thousand Oaks. SAGE Publications.
- Hogg, M. A. (2023). Walls between Groups: Self-Uncertainty, Social Identity, and Intergroup Leadership. *Journal of Social Issues*, 79(2), 825-840. <https://spssi.onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Holly, C. (2016). Systemic Review of Observational and Descriptive Evidence. Holly, Salmond, & Saimbert, (Eds.) *Comprehensive Systemic Review for Advanced Practice Nursing*. p. 225-247. New York. Springer Publishing Company.

- Holtorf, C. (2011). The Changing Contribution of Cultural Heritage to Society. In: Gustafsson, B., Holtorf, C., Westergren, E. (eds.) *Museum International*, 63(1-2), 8-16. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Holzinger, K., Haer, R., Bayer, A., Behr, D., & Neupert-Wentz, C. (2019). The Constitutionalization of Indigenous Group Rights, Traditional Political Institutions, and Customary Law. *SAGE Journal of Comparative Political Studies*, 52(12). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Honig, B. (2023). *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Howit, R. (2001). *Rethinking Resource Management: Justice, Sustainability and Indigenous Peoples*. London. Routledge. <https://books.google.com.ng>
- Husted, E., Moufahim, M., & Fredriksson, M. (2022). Political Parties and Organization Studies: The Party as a Critical Case of Organizing. *Organization Studies*, 43(8), 1327-1341. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Huttune, R., & Kakkori, L. (2020). Heidegger's Theory of Truth and its Importance for the Quality of Qualitative Research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 54(2), 600-616. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Hyland-Wood, B., Gardner, J., Leask, J., & Ecker, U. (2021). Toward Effective Government Communication Strategies in the Era of COVID-19. *Humanities and Social Science Communications*, 8(30). <https://doi.org>
- Ibagere, E. (2020). *Introduction to African Traditional communication System*. Delta State University Press. Retrieved from: <https://www.researchgate.net>

- Ibeh, C. (2018). Key Informant Interview. *Presentation at a Meeting of Health Policy, System and Management Research Group, Department of Community Medicine, University of Port Harcourt Teaching Hospital, Nigeria*. <https://www.slideshare.net>
- Ibrahim, I., Hussein, A., Mohammed, J., & Jahun, S. (2019). Party Politics and Intra-Party Conflicts in Nigeria. *African Scholar Journal of African Sustainable Development, JASD-2, 15(2)*. <https://www.africanscholarpublications.com>
- Ibrahim, K., & Ainuddin, I. & Abdullah, L. (2017). The Impact of Globalization on African Culture and Politics. *Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 13, pp. 1-14. <http://jis.uum.edu>
- Idakwo, O., Edith Awogu-Maduagwu, E., & Abiodun-Eniayekan, E. (2017). The Impact of Globalization on the African Culture in Helon Habila's *Measuring Time*. *An International Journal on Arts and Humanities*, 6(1). <https://www.ajol.info>
- Idumwonyi, I., & Ikhidero, S. (2013). Resurgence of the Traditional Justice in Post-Colonial Benin (Nigeria) Society. *African Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 6, pp. 123-135. <https://www.semanticscholar.org>
- Igbini, M. (2020). The Challenges of Nation-Building and Peace-Building in Nigeria. Article retrieved from: <https://dj.univ-danubius.ro>
- Igwe, P. I., & Amadi, L. (2021). Democracy and Political Violence in Nigeria Since Multi-Party Politics in 1999: A Critical Appraisal. *Open Political Science*, 4(1), 101-119. <https://www.degruyter.com>

- Ikhejirika, C., & Asike, J. (2017). Globalization as an Affront to Indigenous Cultural World Views: Implications for Africa. *Journal of Social Science Research*, 12 (1). <https://core.ac.uk>
- Ikpe, E. (2012). Utilising Traditional Communication for Conflict Management in Post-Amnesty Era of the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria', in M Mboho and H Batta (eds) *The Companion to Communication and Development Issues*, University of Uyo, 69–84. <https://www.semanticscholar.org>
- Imiera, P. (2019). Integrating Alternative Dispute Resolution into South African Criminal Jurisprudence: An Urgent Need for Law Reforms. *Journals.co.za*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Iniobong, E. (2019). A Sociological Effects of Trafficking. Calabar: Wist Porch Publication, Lawrence-Hart, G. (2018). The Need for Traditional Oath-Taking for Good Governance in the Niger Delta Region ARCN International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities. Vol.12. No 1. pp. 01-08. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Innes, J. (2004). Consensus Building: Clarifications for the Critics. *Planning Theory*, 3(1). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Inuwa, A., Hussein, A., Jamila, W., & Sirajo, A. (2019). Party Politics and Intra-Party Conflicts in Nigeria. *African Scholar Journal of African Sustainable Development*, 15(2). <https://www.africanscholarpublications.com>
- Inyuvesi, Y. (2018). Indigenous Knowledge Systems of the Ndau People of Manicaland Province in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of Bota Reshupa. *PhD Dissertation at University of Kwazulu, Natal*. <https://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za>

- Isaac, O. (2023). Conflict Management Styles and Performance of Nigerian Agip Oil Company in Egbema, Rivers State. *Nigerian Journal of Management Sciences* Vol, 24(1b).
<https://nigerianjournalofmanagementsciences.com>
- Itari, P., Beshel, C., & Okeme, I. (2015). Indigenous Communication Media and Utilization Development Information in Rural Communities of South-South Nigeria. *International Journal of English and Literature*, 5(1).
<https://www.academia.edu>
- Jacob, U., Nwokike, I., Amiara, S., Uchime, O., & Okpara, O. (2019). An Appraisal of Traditional Conflict Resolution Strategies in Nigeria the Amasiri Example. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 10(1).
<http://mail.onlineresearchjournals.com>
- Jahoda, G. (2012). Critical Reflections on some Recent Definitions of “Culture”. *Culture and Psychology*, 18(3). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- James, O., Olsen, A. L., Moynihan, D. P., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2020). *Behavioral public performance: How people make sense of government metrics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Janda, K. (2022). Political Parties. In *The Republican Evolution*, pp. 11-18. Columbia University Press.
- Jean Lee, S. K. (1992). Quantitative versus Qualitative Research Methods: Two Approaches to Organisation Studies. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 9(1), 87-94. <https://www.researchgate.net>

- Jehn, K. A. and Mannix, E. (2001), "The Dynamic Nature of Conflict: A Longitudinal Study of Intra Group Conflict and Group Performance", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 44, pp.238-51. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Jehn, K. A. (1995), "A Multimethod Examination of the Benefits and Detriments of Intragroup Conflict", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 40, pp.256-82. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Jinadu, A. (2011). Inter-Party Dialogue in Nigeria: Examining the Past, Present and Future. Paper retrieved from: <https://nairametrics.com>
- Jinadu, A. (2002). Ethnic Conflict and Federalism in Nigeria. *ZEF Discussion Papers on Development Policy*. (No. 49). <https://www.econstor.eu>
- Joe-Akunne, I. P., Nnamani, D., Egodike, E., & Azuakor, P. (2022). Intra-Party Politics and The Future of Democracy in Nigeria. *Nnadiabube Journal of Religion, Culture and Society*, 2(1). <https://www.acjol.org>
- John, S. F. (2023). Shaping the Instruments of Peace: Religion in Digital Peacebuilding in Africa. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Religion, Peacebuilding, and Development in Africa* (pp. 753-770). Cham: Springer International Publishing. <https://link.springer.com>
- Johnson, B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm whose Time Has Come. *Educational researcher*, 33(7), 14-26. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Johnston, A. (2020). "Ethnic Conflict in Post-Cold War Africa: Four Case Studies". Chapter in *Ethnic Conflicts, Tribal Conflicts: A Global Perspective*. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com>

- Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2005). *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, S. (2002). (Re)Writing the word: Methodological Strategies and Issues in Qualitative Research. *Journal of College Student Development*, 43(4). <https://psycnet.apa.org>
- Jones, S. (2016): Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities, *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*. <http://www.tandfonline.com>
- Jumriani, J., Subiyakto, B., Hadi, S., Mutiani, M., & Ilhami, M. R. (2022). Education of Social Regulation through Social Institution Materials in Social Studies. *The Innovation of Social Studies Journal*, 3(2), 118-127. <http://ppjp.ulm.ac.id>
- Kangal, S. (2021). Culture: Definition, Functions, Characteristics, Elements of Culture. <https://www.iedunote.com>
- Karabal, C. (2017). Resistance to Change and Conflicts of Interest: A Case Study. *IntechOpen*. <https://www.intechopen.com>
- Kaur, H., & Chandigarh, U. (2015). Mixed Methods Research. *Academike*. <https://www.lawctopus.com>
- Kawulich, B. (2004). Qualitative Data Analysis Techniques. Research Gate. : <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Kelen, C., Alain Mpanya, A. Marleen Boelaert, M., Erick Miaka, E., Chacón, D., Pulford, J., Richard Selby, R., & Steve J. Torr, S. (2020). Feasibility of Community-Based Control of TseTse: A Pilot Project Using Tiny Targets

in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *ResearchGate*.
<https://journals.plos.org>

Kent, M., & Lane, A. (2021). Two-Way Communication, Symmetry, Negative Spaces, and Dialogue. *Public Relations Review*, 47(2).
<https://www.sciencedirect.com>

Kestner, B., & Ray, L. (2002). The Conflict Resolution Training Program. San Francisco. Jossey-Bass.

Killen, C., McIntyre, P., Drabsch, B., Cassin, A., Chalmers, A., Callen, A., & Smith, K. J. (2022). Communicating as Community: Examining Power and Authority in Community-focused Environmental Communication through Participatory Action Research in the Ourimbah Creek Valley. *PLATFORM: Journal of Media & Communication*, 9. <https://web.s.ebscohost.com>

Kim, J. (2016). Qualitative Research Designs: Collecting and Analysing Qualitative Data. *HED 573, Applied Inquiry in Higher Education*. (Session 6.). YouTube. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com>

Kim, J., Kim, H., Jung, H., & Lee, Y. (2014). A study of Integrated Research Process. *International Journal of Asia Digital Art and Design*, 18(3).
<http://adada.info/journals>

Kimemia, D. (2021). The Impacts of Political Conflicts in Africa. *Journal of African Conflicts and Peace Studies*, 4(2). <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu>

Kirkby, C. (2006). Rwanda's Gacaca Court: A Preliminary Critic. *Journal of African Law*, 50(2). <https://www.researchgate.net>

- Kok, A., de Bakker, F. & Groenewegen, P. (2017). Sustainability Struggles: Conflicting Cultures and Incompatible Logics. *Sage Journals of Business and Society*, 58(8). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Kolawole, I. (2019). Effects of Industrial Conflicts on Employees' Performance in a Private Sector Organisation (A case of Ikeja Electricity Distribution Company Plc). *European Journal of Business Management*, 11(24). <https://core.ac.uk>
- Konno, N., & Schillaci, C. E. (2021). Intellectual Capital in Society 5.0 by the Lens of the Knowledge Creation Theory. *Journal of Intellectual Capital*, 22(3), 478-505. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Konrad, K. A., & Morath, F. (2022). Collective Action and Intra-Group Conflict with Fixed Budgets. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 1-23. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Kpae, G. (2018). Traditional Mechanism for Conflict Management and Resolution in Ogoni, South- South, Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research*, 4(4). <https://www.iiardpub.org>
- Krajcsák, Z. (2021). Solving Intra-Group Conflicts by Supporting Employees' Identification and Commitment. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*, 29(4), 1030-1043. <https://www.emerald.com>
- Kriesberg, L., (2007). Long Peace or Long War: A Conflict Resolution Perspective. *Negotiation Journal*, 20(1). Syracuse. Syracuse University Press
- Kriesberg, L. (1998). Constructive Conflict: From Escalation to Resolution. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Kriukow, J. (2020, Aug.) How Codes Become Themes in NVivo 12. (27.21 Mins). *YouTube*. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com>
- Kucan, L. (2011). Approximating the Practice of Writing the Dissertation Literature Review. *Literacy Research and Instruction*, 50(3), 229-240. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Kuli, O., & Degefa, K. (2020). Indigenous Knowledge Assessment on Irrigation Water Management Practices at Western Showa Zone, Ethiopia. *International Journal of Water Resources and Environmental Engineering*, 13(1). <https://academicjournals.org>
- Kumar, K. (1989, December). Conducting Key Informant Interviews in Developing Countries. *Agency for International Development Programme design and Evaluation Methodology Report* (No. 13). 16, 2020 from: <https://www.participatorymethods.org>
- Kwaku, O., & Morena, J. R. (2010). Indigenous Conflict Resolution in Africa: *The case of Ghana and Botswana*. University of Botswana. Press.
- Lacey, A., & Luff, D. (2009). Qualitative Research Analysis: The NIHR RDS for the East Midlands / Yorkshire & the Humber.
- Lagos State Government Official Website, 2022. <https://lagosstate.gov.ng>
- Lähdesmäki, T. (2019). Conflicts and Reconciliation in the Postmillennial Heritage-Policy Discourses of the Council of Europe and the European Union. Chapter in *Dissonant Heritages and Memories in Contemporary Europe*. Lahdesmaki, T., Passerini, L., Kaasik-Krogerus, S. & van Huis, I. (Eds.). Switzerland, Palgrave-MacMillan. <http://www.palgrave.com>

- Lähdesmäki, T., Passerini, L., Kaasik-Krogerus, S., & Huis, I. (2019). Dissonant Heritages and Memories in Contemporary Europe. *Palgrave Studies in Cultural Heritage and Conflict*. <https://library.oapen.org>
- Lakens, D. (2022). Sample Size Justification. *Collabra: Psychology*. Pages 1-32. <https://www.psycharxiv.com>
- Lamidi, K. (2019). Communal Conflict, Communal Peacemaking and Governmental Intervention in Nigeria: Lessons from the Ife-Modakeke Crisis. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 19(2). <https://journals.co.za>
- Laverty, S. (2003). Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(3), 21–35. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Lawal, R., Orunbon, N., Ibikunle, G. & Faduyile, G. (2019). Resolving Conflict in African Traditional Society: An Imperative of Indigenous African System. *Euro Afro Studies International Journal*, 1(2), 38-55. <https://www.academia.edu>
- Leach, R. (1954). Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure. *London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology*. <https://monoskop.org>
- Leal Filho, W., Barbir, J., Gwenzi, J., Ayal, D., Simpson, N. P., Adeleke, L., Tilahun, B., Chirisa, I., Gbedemah, S., Nzenzanya, D., Sharifi, A., Theodory, T., & Yaffa, S. (2022). The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Climate Change Adaptation in Africa. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 136, 250-260. <https://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Leadership Newspaper*. (2023, March 1). Article written by Babafemi Badejo. KING AT LAST!: Tinubu's Long Journey to President. Retrieved from: <https://leadership.ng>

Lederman, N., & Lederman, J. (2015). What Is A Theoretical Framework? A Practical Answer. *Journal of Science Teacher Education*, Issue 26, pp.593–597. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Lederach, J. (1966). *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures*. Syracuse University Press

Legit.ng (2020, March 17). Crisis Rocks APC, PDP. Retrieved from: <https://www.legit.ng>

Leko, M. M., Hitchcock, J. H., Love, H. R., Houchins, D. E., & Conroy, M. A. (2022). Quality Indicators for Mixed-Methods Research in Special Education. *Exceptional Children*. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

Lemke, A., & Harris-Wai, J. (2015). Stakeholder Engagement in Policy Development: Challenges and Opportunities for Human Genomics. *Genetics Medicine*, 17(12), 949-957. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>

Lerman, A., & McCable, C. (2017). Personal Experience and Public Opinion: A Theory and Test of Conditional Policy Feedback. *The University of Chicago Press Journal*, 79(2). <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu>

Levi, D. (2013). *Group Dynamics for Teams*. (Third Edition). Amazon Books

Levitt, H., Bamberg, J., Creswell, D., Frost, R., Josselson, Suárez-Orozco, C. (2018). Journal article: Reporting Standards for Qualitative Primary, Qualitative Meta-Analytic, and Mixed Methods Research in. *American Psychologist*, 73(1), 26–46. doi:10.1037/amp0000151. <https://psycnet.apa.org>

- Levitt, H., Motulsky, S., Wertz, J., Morrow, S. & Ponterotto, G. (2017). Recommendations for Designing and Reviewing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Promoting Methodological Integrity. *Qualitative Psychology*, 4(1), 2–22. doi:10.1037/qup0000082. <https://psycnet.apa.org>
- Lewellen, T. (1983). Poletical Anthropology: *An Introduction*. New York: Bergin and Garvey.
- Lindseth, A. and Norberg, A. (2004). A Phenomenological Hermeneutical Method for Researching Lived Experience. *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences* 18(2):145 – 153. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Lipscomb, M. (2012). Abductive Reasoning and Qualitative Research. *Nursing Philosophy*, 13(4), 244-256. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Lochmiller, C. (2021). Conducting Thematic Analysis with Qualitative Data. *Qualitative Report*, 26(6), 2029-2044. <https://web.s.ebscohost.com>
- Lou, N., & Noels, K. (2019). Language Mindsets, Meaning-Making, and Motivation. (*Chapter*). <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Lundy, B., Collette, T., & Downs, J. (2022). The Effectiveness of Indigenous Conflict Management Strategies in Localized Contexts. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 56(1), 3-28. DOI: 10.1177/10693971211051534.: journals.sagepub.com
- Macfarlane, J. (2007). Working towards Restorative Justice in Ethiopia: Integrating Traditional Conflict Resolution Systems with the Formal Legal System. *Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 8. <https://www.semanticscholar.org>

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. (2015). *Second Language Research: Methodology and Design*. New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315750606>.

Madill, A., Jordan, A., & Shirley, C. (2000). Objectivity and Reliability in Qualitative Analysis: Realist, Contextualist and Radical Constructionist Epistemologies. *British Journal of Psychology*, 91, 1–20. DOI: 10.1348/000712600161646

Maffly-Kipp, L. F. (2010). *Setting Down the Sacred Past: African-American Race Histories*. Harvard University Press.

Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars. *All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 8(3), 3351- 33514. <https://scholar.google.com>

Margaret C. Joyce & Keahiahi S. Long (2022) Controlled Vocabulary as Communication: The Process of Negotiating Meaning in an Indigenous Knowledge Organization System, *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly*, 60:6-7, 583-598, DOI: 10.1080/01639374.2022.2090041.

Mahamud, M. (2020). Factors Influencing Intercommunal Conflict Resolution- the Case of Pastoral and Agricultural Communities in Gilgil, Nakuru County, Kenya. University of Nairobi Research Archive. <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke>

Makulilo, A. (2016). “A Person Is a Person through Other Persons”- A Critical Analysis of Privacy and Culture in Africa. *Beijing Law review*, Issue 7. <https://www.researchgate.net>

- Makwudo, K., & Obijekwum, M. (2020). Conflict Resolution and African Indigenous Knowledge: Igbo Perspective. *EVAIA: International Journal of Ethics and Values*, 1(2). <https://www.nigerianjournalsonline.com>
- Malhotra, A., Sharma, R., Srinivasan, R. & Mathew, N. (2018). Widening the Arc of Indigenous Communication: Examining Potential for Use of ICT in Strengthening Social and Behavior Change Communication Efforts with Marginalized Communities in India. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Mariam, A. (2023). Revitalisation and Sustainability of Annang Proverbs through its Usability. *Ama: Journal of Theatre & Cultural Studies*, 14(1). <https://scholar.google.com>
- Martin, A., Keller, A., & Fortwengel, J. (2019). Introducing Conflict as the Microfoundation of Organizational Ambidexterity. *Sage Journal*, 17(1). <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Mayer, B. (2012). *The Dynamics of Conflict: A Guide to Engagement and Intervention* (2nd Edition). Jossey-Bass
- Mazumdar, H. (1966). *The Grammar of Sociology*. Asia Publishing House
- Mbagwu, U. (2020). African Youths and Indigenous Approaches to Resolving Conflicts in Africa. Chapter in *African Indigenous Knowledges in a Postcolonial World. (First Edition)*. Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso, O., Nwogwugwu, N. & Ntiwunka, G. (Editors). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com>
- Mbanda, V., & Fourie, W. (2019). The 2030 Agenda and Coherent National Development Policy: In Dialogue with South African Policymakers on Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development. Research article: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>

- McClelland, K., & Mansell, W. (2019). Resolving Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Conflicts: A Comparison of Mediation with Method-of-Levels Psychotherapy. *Journal of Integrated Social Sciences*, 9(1). <https://www.jiss.org>
- McCombes, S. (2019). Descriptive Research. Retrieved January 3, 2020 from: <https://www.scribbr.com>
- McGuirk, E., & Burke, M. (2020). The Economic Origins of Conflict in Africa. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(10), 3940-3997. <https://journals.uchicago.edu>
- McLaughlin, R., & Malik, H. (2017). Genetic Conflicts: The Usual Suspect and Beyond. *Journal of Experimental Biology*, 220(1), 6-17. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>.
- McLeod, S. A. (2019, July 30). *Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research*. Simply Psychology. <https://www.simplypsychology.org>
- Mears, D., Stewart, E., Warren, P. & Simons, R. (2017) Culture and Formal Social Control: The Effect of the Code of the Street on Police and Court Decision Making. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Meehan, B., & Taylor, S. (2022). Thematic Analysis Using NVivo. *NVivo QSR International Research Webinar*. 56:35mins. YouTube. Retrieved from: <https://www.qsrinternational.com>
- Meisner, M. (2022). Horizontal Mobilization and Communication for Conflict Resolution: The Tachai Case. In *China's New Social Fabric*, pp. 225-247. Routledge. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Mengesha, A., Seid Yesuf, A., & Gabre, T. (2015) Indigenous Conflict

Resolution Mechanisms among the Kembata Society. *American Journal of Educational Research*, 3(2). <https://www.semanticscholar.org>

Mengistu, M. M. (2015). The Root Causes of Conflicts in the Horn of Africa. *American Journal of Applied Psychology*, 4(2), 28-34. <https://ajoap.org>

Mengstie, M. M. (2022). Exploring Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms between the Awi and Gumuz Ethnic Communities in Zigem Woreda, Ethiopia. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*. <https://www.emerald.com>

Mezie-Okoye, C. (2016), Tiv and Igbo Conflict Management Mechanisms: A Comparative Study in *International Research Journal of Social Science*, Vol.5 (7). Stellenbosch University. <https://scholar.google.com>

Michael, L. (2006). Conflict Resolution and Academic Library Instruction. *LOEX Quarterly*, 33(1/2). <https://commons.emich.edu>

Miller, B. (2020, March 2). 17 Advantages and Disadvantages of a Focus Group. <https://greengarageblog.org>

Mirkin, B. (2019). *Core Data Analysis: Summarization, Correlation, and Visualization*, Switzerland, Springer, Cham.

Mishra, S., Kumar, R., & Mishra, D. (2019). Understanding the Role of Police In Intergroup conflict. *IAHRW International Journal of Social Sciences Review*, 7(6-I), 2105-2108. <https://www.proquest.com>

Moeini, S. (2014). Approaches to Identify Research Gaps and Generate Research Questions. <https://www.linkedin.com>

- Moemeka, A. (2012). *Development Communication in Action: Building Understanding and Creating Participation*. Lanham, University Press of America
- Moffitt, B. (2022). How Do Mainstream Parties ‘Become’ Mainstream, and Pariah Parties ‘Become’ Pariahs? Conceptualizing the Processes of Mainstreaming and Pariahing in the Labelling of Political Parties. *Government and Opposition*, 57(3), 385-403.
<https://www.cambridge.org>
- Mojtaba, V., Turunen, H. & Bondas, P. (2013). Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis: Implications for Conducting a Qualitative Descriptive Study. *Nursing and Health Sciences*. (15), 398–405. Wiley Publishing.
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Moliki, A. (2020). Party Leadership, Intra-Party Crisis and Democratic Consolidation in Southwest Nigeria. *Islamic University Multidisciplinary Journal*, 7(2). <https://www.iuiu.ac.ug>
- Momodu, A., & Matudi, G. (2013). The Implications of Intra-Party Conflicts on Nigeria’s Democratization. *Global Journal of Human Science*, 13(16).
<https://www.researchgate.net>
- Mondal, P. (2021). Difference between Competition and Conflict. (Article). Retrieved May, 13, 2021 from: <https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com>
- Monro, T. (2017, September 8). Research Does Solve Real-world Problems: Experts Must Work Together to Make it Happen. *The Conversation*. Retrieved on January 14, 2020 from: <https://theconversation.com>

- Montle, M. (2022). Rethinking the Pedigrees of African Cultural Watershed: A Post-Colonial Inquest into Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God*: *English Language Teaching, Applied Linguistic and Literature*, 3(2), 1-11. <https://jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id>
- Monyozo, L. (2018). The Context Is the Message: Theory of Indigenous Knowledge Communication Systems. *The Public*, 25(4), 393-409. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Moore, C. (2014). *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Moore, D., Tetlock, P., Tanlu, L., & Bazerman, M. (2006). Conflicts of Interest and The Case Of Auditor Independence: Moral Seduction And Strategic Issue Cycling. *Academy of Management Review*, 31(1). <https://journals.aom.org>
- Moran, K. (2017). Desisting in Prison: Myth and the Council for Unity Model. Retrieved from: <https://academicworks.cuny.edu>
- Morgan, D. (2021). Analysing Complexity: Developing a Modified Phenomenological Hermeneutical Method of Data Analysis for Multiple Contexts. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 24(6), 655-667, DOI: 10.1080/13645579.2020.1847996. Retrieved from
- Morgan, D. (2019). Learning in liminality. Student experiences of Learning During a Nursing Study Abroad Journey: A Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research Study. *Nurse Education Today*, 79, 204 – 209. Nedt.2019.05.036. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Morgan, L. (2018). After Triangulation, What Next? *Journal of Mixed Method Research*, 13(1). <https://journals.sagepub.com>

Morgan, R. (2016). *Transforming Law and Institution: Indigenous Peoples, the United Nations and Human Rights*. London. Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group

Morse, J. (2006). *Politics of Evidence*. Retrieved from:
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305285482>.

Mortensen, D. (2020). How to Do a Thematic Analysis of User Interviews. *Interaction Design Foundation*. <https://www.interaction-design.org>

Mousavilar¹, A., Soleimani, B, & Esmaeelzadeh, M. (2020). Explaining the Notion of Hermeneutic Phenomenology. *Bagh-e Nazar*, 17(84), 71-80
DOI: 10.22034/bagh.2020.182942.4087

Mthuli, S. A., Ruffin, F., & Singh, N. (2022). 'Define, Explain, Justify, Apply' (DEJA): An Analytic Tool for Guiding Qualitative Research Sample Size. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 25(6), 809-821. www.researchgate.net

Muluken, T. (2020). The Role of Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in the Pastoral Community: An Implication for Social Solidarity in Somali Region, Shineli

Mundy, P., & Lloyd-Laney, M. (1992). *Indigenous Communication*. ResearchGate. <https://www.researchgate.net>.

Murithi, T. (2006). African Approaches to Building Peace and Social Solidarity. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 6(2) <https://www.ajol.info>

Nader, E. S., & Davies Robinson, A. (2023). Reconceptualizing Social Bonds for Emerging Adults. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 00938548231152187. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

- Nader, L. (1968). Conflict: Anthropological Aspect. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Science*. Vol. 3, 230-241. New York: Macmillan Company and Free Press.
- Nana, A. (2020). African Traditional Religion Oath Taking and Resource Management in Nigeria. *International Journal of Religion & Human Relations*, 12(1), 201-215. <https://www.ajol.info>
- Naomi, A., & Kennedy, C. (2020). Politics of Godfatherism and Sustainable Development: A Study of Delta State Politics Icheke *Journal of the Faculty of Humanities*, 18(4), 145-156. <https://ichekejournal.com>
- Nascimento, L., & Steinbrucha, F. (2019). "The Interviews were Transcribed", but How? Reflections on Management Research. *RAUSP Management Journal*, 54(4), 413-429. DOI 10.1108/RAUSP-05-2019-0092. <https://www.scielo.br>
- Nasheeda, A., Abdullah, H., Eric Krauss, S., & Ahmed, B. (2019). Transforming Transcripts into Stories: A Multimethod Approach to Narrative Analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. Vol. 18, 1–9: DOI: 10.1177/1609406919856797. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Navarrete, M., & Zohar, R. (2021). Rethinking Sustainable Development by Following Indigenous Approaches to Community Wellbeing. *Latin American Science, Technology and Society*, 4(1). <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Navas, G., Mingorria, S. & González, B. (2017). Violence in Environmental Conflicts: the need for a multidimensional approach. *Sustainability Science*. <https://doi.org>

Neuman, L. (2014). *Basics of Social Research*. (Fourth Edition). Pearson Education Inc. <https://www.academia.edu>

Neupert-Wentz, C., & Müller-Crepon, C. (2021). Traditional institutions in Africa, past and present: <http://www.carlmueeller-crepon.org>

New World Encyclopedia (2018). Max Herman Gluckman (1911-1975). <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org>

Nguyen, H., Larimo, J., & Ali, T. (2016). How do Ownership Control Position and National Culture Influence Conflict Resolution Strategies in International Joint Ventures? *International Business Review*, 25(2). <https://www.sciencedirect.com>

Ngwu, E. C., & Ajah, A. C. (2022). Intra-party Chicanery and Electoral Outcomes in Nigeria's Presidential Elections. In *Anonymous Power: Parties, Interest Groups and Politics of Decision Making in Nigeria's Fourth Republic (Essays in Honour of Elochukwu Amucheazi)*, pp. 191-210. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore.

Nicholson, R. (2020). *Natural Healing as Conflict Resolution*. Hershey, Pennsylvania, USA Information Science Reference Hershey, Pennsylvania, USA IGI Global. <https://www.worldcat.org>

Nnaemeka, M. (2013). Indigenous African Communication Systems and Participatory Development in Rural Africa: The Case of a Nigerian Village. *Development Bulletin*. <https://www.researchgate.net>.

Northouse, P. G. (2012). *Leadership: Theory and practice*. London: Sage

NOUM-301. National Open University Module. ESM 301: Introduction to Conflict Resolution. <https://www.nou.edu.ng>

- Nolen, A., & Talbert, T. (2011). Qualitative Assertions as Prescriptive Statements. *Educational Psychology Review*, (23), 263-271. <https://link.springer.com>
- Northouse, P. G. (2012). Leadership: Theory and Practice. London: Sage
- Noury, A., & Roland, G. (2020). Identity Politics and Populism in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23, 421-439. annualreviews.org
- Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16 (1), 1-13. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Noyes, J., Booth, A., Moore, G., Fleming, K., Tuncalp, O., & Shakibasadeh, E. (2018). Synthesising Quantitative and Qualitative Evidence to Inform Guidelines on Complex Interventions: Clarifying the Purposes, Designs and Outlining Some Methods. *BMJ Global Health Journal*, 4(1). <https://gh.bmj.com>
- Nwabueze, N. (2014). Ethnic and Sub-Nationalist Agitations and the State of the Nigerian Project. *International Journal of Modern Social Sciences*, 3(1). <http://www.modernscientificpress.com>
- Nwabueze, C. (2006). 'Influence of Political Culture on African Communication Systems', in Nwosu, I. and Nsude, I. (eds), *Trado-Modern Communication Systems-Interfaces and Dimensions*, Immaculate Publications, Enugu, pp. 233–143. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Nwachukwu, S., Aghemalo, A., & Okebugwu, N. (2014). Ethnicity and Electoral Behaviour in Nigeria. Article in *European Scientific Journal*, ESJ, 2(10). <https://eujournal.org>

- Nwoga, C., Ibe, K. & Nwankwo, O. (2020). Development Support Communication: A Strategy for Conflict Resolution and National Development. *Journal of Media, Communication and Languages*, 6(2), 63-81. biblioteca.clacso.edu.
- Nwokike, I., Amiara, S., Uchime, O. & Okpara, O. (2019). An Appraisal of Traditional Conflict Resolution Strategies in Nigeria: The Amasiri Example. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, X(I), 2229-5313. <https://onlineresearchjournals.com>
- Nwolise, O. (2003). War Making, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution in Africa. A Guide to Peace Education and Promotion Strategies in Africa, 1(27). <https://books.google.com.ng>
- Nyuykongwe, C., & Omotola, J. (2015). Nigeria's 2015 General Elections Challenges and Opportunities. *African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes*, 1(1). <https://www.accord.org.za>
- Obeng-Odoom, F. (2020). Property, Institutions and Social Stratification in Africa. Cambridge University Press
- Obi, N. (2018). Resolving Political Party Disputes through Alternative Dispute Resolution. *Journal of Political Science and Leadership Research*, 4(4). <https://iirdpub.org>
- Obianyo, N., & Alumona, I. M. (2022). Democratic Decay or Democratic Autocracy? Party Primaries and the Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria 1999–2019. In *Anonymous Power: Parties, Interest Groups and Politics of Decision Making in Nigeria's Fourth Republic (Essays in Honour of Elochukwu Amucheazi)*, pp. 291-325. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore. <https://link.springer.com>

- Obiora, C., & Chiamogu, A. (2020). The 2019 General Elections and Intra-Party Conflicts in Nigeria. A Cross-Sectional Analysis of APC, APGA and PDP. *Social Scientia*. (Vol. 5, No. 2). <https://www.journals.aphriapub.com>
- Obonyano, D., Asikaogu, J, & Uche, I. (2022). Tyranny of the Majority. Problem of Nigerian Democracy. *International Journal of Humanity and Arts*. (Vol. 4, Issue 1. P. 39-44), <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Odigwe, D. (2015). Nigerian Political Parties and Internal Democracy. Retrieved from: <https://journals.ukzn.ac.za>
- Ofuasia, E. (2019). Ifá Divination as an Exercise in Deconstructionism. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 38(3), 330-345. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Ofuasia, E., & Sunday Layi, O. (2021). “Is it possible to do Postmodern Philosophy Unbeknownst?” On Sophie Oluwole’s and Maulana Karenga’s “Deconstruction” of the Ifá Literary Corpus. *Philosophia Africana*, 20(2), 83-106. <https://scholarlypublishingcollective.org>
- Ogunlade, O. B., Agunbiade, O. M., & Oyelade, O. O. (2023). Context and Indigenous Structures for Managing Family Violence in a Yoruba Community. *The Qualitative Report*, 28(1), 177-199. <https://www.nsuworks.nova.edu>
- Ogunnaike, O. (2020). *Deep knowledge: Ways of knowing in Sufism and Ifa, two West African intellectual traditions*. Penn State Press.
- Oguntomisin, G. O. (2004). The processes of peacekeeping and Peace – Making in Pre-Colonial Nigeria. Ibadan, Nigeria. John Archers Publishers

- Ojebode, A. (2002). *Radio Utilisation of Indigenous Media for Development in Oyo State*, PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Ojo, I. O., & Ekhaton, E. (2020). Pre-colonial Legal System in Africa: An assessment of indigenous laws of Benin kingdom before 1897. *Umewaen: Journal of Benin and Edo Studies*. (p.38-73). <https://repository.derby.ac.uk>
- Okafor, E. (2020). Influence of Criminal and Violent Minded Interests on Nigerian Traditional Institutions: The Question of Morality in a Populous Religious Society. *Institutional Repository*. Retrieved from: 96.222.5.9
- Okhogbue, A. (2021). Oath Taking as an Instrument for Conflict Resolution in Traditional African Societies. *NOUN International Journal for Peace and Conflict Studies*. (Vol 1, No2B. p.185-199) nijpcr.nou.edu.ng
- Okoye, F. (2015). "Resolving Political Disputes through ADR. *The Herald* Newspaper. Retrieved from: <http://www.herald.ng>
- Okpako, I. F., & Famous, I. (2022). Hegemonic Struggle and Violent Extremism in Nigerian Politics: Analysis of Selected Cases. *Journal of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences*, 2(1), 171-190. <https://dymbsb.com>
- Oladipupo, S. (2021). Traditional Oath-Taking as a Panacea to 'Democratic Corruption' in Nigeria. *Journal of Philosophy and Culture*, 9(2), 11-19. <http://www.academicjournals>
- Olaoba, O. (n.d.). The Traditional Approaches to Conflict Resolution in the South-West Zone of Nigeria. *Nigerian Army Quarterly Journal*, Vol.1. p. 22-37.:<https://www.researchgate.net>

- Olaoba, O. (2005). Ancestral Focus and the Process of Conflict Resolution in Traditional African Societies. Albert, A. O. (Ed.) *In Perspectives on Peace and Conflict in Africa in Essays in Honour of General (Dr) Abdul Salam A, Abubakar*. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd
- Olajide, W. "Existential Reversals and Yoruba Philosophy." *Lumina* 22, No. 1 (2011): 1-15. <http://lumina.hnu.edu.ph>
- Olayinka, A. (2020). Peace Research in Non-Violence Contexts: A Case Study among the Southwest Nigerian Yorùbá. <https://eprints.mdx.ac.uk>
- Olaniyi, O. O. (2023). Party Affiliation and Law-making Efficiency: A Study of the Seventh and Eighth Nigerian National Assemblies. In *The Legislature in Nigeria's Presidential Democracy of the Fourth Republic: Power, Process, and Development*, pp. 153-166. Cham: Springer International Publishing. <https://link.springer.com>
- Oliver, P. (2002). Research. Great Britain. Hodder & Stoughton
- Olofinbiyi, S. (2018). Socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. *ResearchSpace*. <http://ukzn-dspace.ukzn.ac.za>
- Olowu, O. (2017). Indigenous Approaches to Conflict Resolution in Africa: A Study of the Barolong People of the North-West Province, South Africa. *AUN Digital Repository*. igitallibrary.aun.edu.ng
- Omilusi, M. (2016). An Assessment of Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *European Journal of Research in Social Science*, 4(1), 34-50. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Omọbòwale, A., & Olutayọ, A. (2011). Political Clientelism and Rural

Development in South-Western Nigeria. *Africa*, 80(3), 453-472.
<https://www.cambridge.org>

Omotayo, K. (2021). Interrogating the Traditional Ethics and Values of Religious Fundraising Strategies of *Ijo Orunmila Adulawo* (Southwest Nigeria). *Journal of Cultural Economy*. <https://www.tandfonline.com>

Omotola, S. (2010). Political Parties and the Quest for Political Stability in Nigeria. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 6(2), 125–145.
<https://www.semanticscholar.org>

Oni, M. K. (2023). Use of Non-verbal Cues as Alternative to Verbal Communication before Tyrants in Selected Yoruba Films. In *Indigenous African Language Media: Practices and Processes*, pp. 229-244. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore. <https://link.springer.com>

Onuoha, G. (2013). Cultural Interfaces of Self-Determination and the Rise of the Neo-Biafran Movement in Nigeria. *Review of African Political Economy*, 40(137), 428-446. <https://www.jstor.org>.

Onwuegbuzie, A., & Collins, K. (2017). The Role of Sampling in Mixed Methods Research. *Enhancing Inference Quality*, 69(2), 33-156.
<https://nsuworks.nova.edu>

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Leech, N. L., & Collins, K. M. (2012). Qualitative Analysis Techniques for the Review of the Literature. *The Qualitative Report*, 17(28), 1-28. <https://files.eric.ed.gov>

Onwuegbuzie, A. (2012). Putting the MIXED Back into Quantitative and

Qualitative Research in Educational Research and Beyond: *Moving Toward the Radical Middle*. *International Journal on Multiple Research Approaches*, 6(3). <https://www.tandfonline.com>

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Collins, K. M. T., Leech, N. L., Dellinger, A. B., & Jiao, Q. G. (2010). A Meta-Framework for Conducting Mixed Research Syntheses for Stress and Coping Researchers and Beyond. In G. S. Gates, W. H. Gmelch, & M. Wolverton (Series Eds.) & K. M. T. Collins, A. J. Onwuegbuzie, & Q. G. Jiao (Vol. Eds.), *Toward a broader understanding of stress and coping: Mixed methods approaches* (pp. 169-211). The Research on Stress and Coping in Education Series, Vol. 5. Charlotte, NC: Information Age. <https://scholar.google.com>

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Teddlie, C. (2003). A Framework for Analyzing Data in Mixed Methods Research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*, pp. 351-383. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Onyishi, A. (n.d.). Between Man and His Institutions: Intra-Party Politics and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. <https://www.bristol.ac.uk>

Orogun, D., & Pillay, J. (2021). Poverty, Corruption, and Religious Opportunism In Africa: A Neo-Pentecostal Perspective. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 77(4), 6960. <https://journals.co.za>

Osaghae, E. (2000). Applying Traditional Methods to Modern Conflicts: *Possibilities and Limits*. Article in: Zartman, I.W. (Ed.), *Traditional Cures for More Conflicts: African Conflict "Medicine."* Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Otite, O. (2001). On Conflicts, Their Resolution, Transformation and

Management in Otite, O & Albert, I. (Eds.). Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management Resolution and Transformation. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

Otterbein, K. (1994). Feuding and Warfare. Amsterdam. Gordon and Breach

Ottoh, F. (2022). Decolonizing Peacebuilding Research in Africa Through Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Experience of Igbo-Speaking Group of Niger-Delta Region, Nigeria. In *Decolonising Peace and Conflict Studies through Indigenous Research*, pp. 23-40. Singapore: Springer Singapore. <https://link.springer.com>

Oyedele, L. (2019). Challenges of Local Governance Institutions on Peace Building in Africa: Empirical Insights from Southwestern Nigeria. *Global Journal of Social Sciences*. (Vol. 18). <https://www.ajol.info>

Oyeniya, A. (2017). Conflict Resolution in the Extractives. *Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution*, 25(1), 56-77. <https://www.jstor.org>

Oyesomi, K. O., Onakoya, T., Onyenakeya, K., & Busari, A. (2022). Indigenous Communication's Role in Traditional Birth Attendants in Maternal Health Practices: A Selective Examination of Empirical Studies in Nigeria. In *Research Anthology on Advancements in Women's Health and Reproductive Rights*, pp. 808-821. IGI Global. <https://igi-global.com>

Oyesomi, K., Salawu, A., & Olorunyomi, B. (2017). Indigenous Communication: Socio-Economic Characteristics Influencing Contemporary Female Political Participation. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 18(4). <https://vc.bridgew.edu>

Oyesomi, K., Okorie, N., Ahmadu, F. & Itsekor, V. (2014). Where is the African

Culture? Assessing the Uniqueness of indigenous Communication in Galvanising Women's Political Participation at Local Level. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 18(4). <https://www.researchgate.net>

Palasan, E. (2018). Qualitative Research and Its Importance in Daily Life. *Slideshare*, 2(3). <https://www.slideshare.net>

Parashar, S., & Schulz, M. (2021) Colonial Legacies, Postcolonial 'Selfhood' and the (Un)Doing of Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(5), 867-881. <https://www.tandfonline.com>

Peterson, M., & Williams, D. (2002). Collecting and Analysing Qualitative Data: Hermeneutic Principles, Methods and Case Examples. Champaign, Illinois. Sagamore Publishing.

Pham, S. (2021). The Distinctions of Heideggerian Phenomenological Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 22(2), Pgs. 261-273. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-09-2021-0093>

Picavet, C. (2020). Is There a Difference between 'Triangulation' and 'Multi-methods/mixed Methods'? Or Are They Same? *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Pierce, L. (2009). Twelve Steps for Success in the Nursing Research Journey. *The Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing*, 40(4). <https://search.proquest.com>

Poggenpoel, M., Myburgh, C., & Van der Linde, C. (2001). Qualitative Research Strategies as Prerequisite for Quantitative Strategies. *Education*, 122(2). <https://go.gale.com>

Polit, D., & Beck, C. (2010). Generalization in Quantitative and Qualitative

Research: Myths and Strategies. *International Journal for Nursing Studies*.
<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>

Popoola, A. D. (2016). *The changing environment*. Ibadan: Kalio Press.

Popoola, I. (2004). 'The Role of Culture in the Survival of Traditional African System of Communication', *Stud Tribes Tribals* 2 (2) 105–111.
<https://www.semanticscholar.org>

Powel, T. C., (2019). Can Quantitative Research Solve Social Problems? Pragmatism and the Ethics of Social Research. *Journal of Business Ethics*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-019-04196-7>

Premium Times. (2018, Oct, 4). Article by Oladeinde Olaniyonu. CLOSE-UP: The Winners, Losers in Battle for Lagos APC Governorship Ticket.
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com>

Premium Times. (2023, March 2). Ibrahim Adeyemi, 2023 Elections: Four Major Factors That Led to Atiku's Loss. Retrieved from:
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com>

Priya, C. (2016, October 12). Importance of a Research Approach in a Project. *Project Guru*. Retrieved 2020, March 26 from: <https://www.projectguru>.

Purwanto, A., Asbari, M., Iman Santoso, T., Sunarsi, D. and Ilham, D. (2021). Education Research Quantitative Analysis for Little Respondents: Comparing of Lisrel, Tetrad, GSCA, Amos, SmartPLS, WarpPLS, and SPSS. *Jurnal Studi Guru dan Pembelajaran*, Vol. 4, No. 2. <https://e-journal.my.id>

- Qureshi, F. (2019). Don't Know Where To Start? 6 Tips on Identifying Research Gaps. *Editage Insight*. <https://www.editage.com>
- Rajasekar, S., Philominaathan, P., & Chinnathambi, V. (2013). Research Methodology. <http://arxiv.org>
- Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., & Miall, H. (2011). Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts. (Third Edition). Cambridge, UK. Polity Press
- Rapatalo, M. (2020). Personality Types and Conflict Management Styles. *Journal of World Englishes and Educational Practices*, 2(2), 117-128. <https://www.al-kindipublisher.com>
- Realnews Online*. (2019, October 17). Conflicts Fueling Poverty in Africa. Retrieved from: <https://realnewsmagazine.net>
- Regassa, T., Urgessa, G., & Yigezu, T. (2008). Restorative Justice in Oromia *Baseline study*. Addis Ababa. Central Printing Press. <http://libcat.aau.edu.et/cgi-bin>
- Ricoeur, P. (2016). Metaphor and the Central Problem of Hermeneutics. Chapter in Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: *Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, pp.127–143. Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017>. <https://www.cambridge.org>
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Fico, F., & Watson, B. (2019). Analyzing Media Messages Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research (4th Ed.). New York. Routledge. DOI <https://doi.org>
- Ripples Nigeria*. (2023, Feb. 23). Obasanjo Demands Cancellation of Election Results in 'Problematic Areas'. <https://www.ripplesnigeria.com>

- Riswan, R., Rajiani, I., Handy, M. R. N., Abbas, E. W., & Rusmaniah, R. (2022). The Role of Economic in Social Studies Education. *The Kalimantan Social Studies Journal*, 3(2), 144-151 Retrieved from: <http://ppjp.ulm.ac.id>
- Roberts, E. (2017). The Value of Qualitative Research. *University of Newcastle News*. <https://www.newcastle.edu.au>
- Rodehau-Noack, J. (2022). 'A Culture of Prevention': *The Idea of Preventability and the Construction of War as a Governance Object* (Doctoral Dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science). <https://www.theses.lse.ac.uk>
- Rodman, E. (2020). A Timely Intervention: Tracking the Changing Meanings of Political Concepts with Word Vectors. *Political Analysis*, 28(1), 87-111. <https://www.cambridge.org>
- Rosenberg, M. (2002). *Nonviolent Communication: A Language of Compassion*. Encinitas. Puddle Dancer Press.
- Rosetti, I., Bertrand Cabral, C., Pereira Roders, A., Jacobs, M., & Albuquerque, R. (2022). Heritage and Sustainability: Regulating participation. *Sustainability*, 14(3), 1674. <https://www.mdpi.com>
- Ross, E., & Ross, M. (2017). *Social Control: A Survey of the Foundation of Order*. London. Routledge Taylor & Francis
- Rowley, J., & Slack, F. (2004). Conducting a Literature Review. *Management Research News*, 27(6), 31-39. Retrieved from: <https://essaysprompt.com>
- Ryan, S. (2017). *The Stages of Conflict and the Practical Science of Peace*. Routledge

Sahara Reporters. (2009, June 28). How Daniel Forced Me to Take Oath — Lawmaker. Retrieved from: <https://saharareporters.com>

Sahara Reporters. (2016, May 5). Article written by Ola Balogun. Retired General Olusegun Obasanjo's Constant Pontification about National Issues: A Case of Uncontrollable Verbal Diarrhea? Retrieved from: <https://saharareporters.com>

Salawu, A. (2015). Language, Culture, Media and Development: A Nexus of Harmony. North-West University. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Saldana, J. (2013). The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers (2nd ed.). London: Sage

Sall, A. (2021). What Can Be the Position of Africa in the Contemporary Globalisation? A Few Thoughts in the Matter.... In: Bourqia R., Sili M. (eds) New Paths of Development. Sustainable Development Goals Series. <https://link.springer.com>

Salla, E. (2000). Conflict Resolution, Genetics, and Alchemy: *The Evolution of Conflict Transmutation*. Jakarta. Tabula Rasa Institute.

Saleem, G. (2019). Alternative and Indigenous Dispute Resolution: A Legal Perspective. Chapter in Handbook of Research on Strategic Communication, Leadership and Conflict Management in Modern Organisations. <https://www.igi-global.com>

Salkind, N. (2010). Editor. Encyclopedia of Research Design. (Vol. 1). <https://books.google.com.ng>

- Sambala, E. Z., Cooper, S., & Manderson, L. (2020). Ubuntu as a Framework for Ethical Decision Making in Africa: Responding to Epidemics. *Ethics & Behavior*, 30(1), 1-13. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Sandowicz, M. (2011). 'Fear the Oath!' Stepping Back from Oath Taking in the First Millennium B.C Babylonia. Palamedes 6. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 139(1), 215-219. <https://www.jstor.org>
- Sattar, U. (2020). How Societies Move on? Conceptualising Societal Transition Processes and Its Implications on Climate Change Adaptation. *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences*, 9(1), 61-90. <https://european-science.com>
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2012). Research Methods for Business Students. (Sixth Edition), Pearson Education Limited
- Schellenberg, J. A. (1996). Conflict Resolution: *Theory, Research, and Practice*. Suny Press.
- Schlesinger, J. & Schlesinger, M. (2006). Maurice Duverger and the Study of Political Parties. *French Politics*, 4(1). <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Schneider, L., & Silverman, A. (2010). *Global Sociology: Introducing Five Contemporary Societies* (Fifth Edition). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Seay, L. (2017). Rwanda's Gacaca Courts are Hailed as a Post-Genocide Success. The Reality is More Complicated. Article retrieved from: <https://www.washingtonpost.com>
- Settee, P. (2019). Indigenous Knowledge, Human Rights, and the Principles and Values of Co-operation. Review of International Cooperation. <https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net>

- Shakya, P. (2014). Indigenous Peoples: Expanding the Realm of Justice. *Article*. Retrieved from: <https://www.peaceinsight.org>
- Shan, Y. (2022). Philosophical Foundations of Mixed Methods Research. *Philosophy Compass*, 17(1), 12804. <https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Shivji, Issa (2012) Nationalism and Pan-Africanism: Decisive Moments in Nyerere's Intellectual and Political Thought. *Review of African Political Economy*, 39:131, 103-116, DOI: [10.1080/03056244.2012.662387](https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2012.662387)
- Shonk, K. (2020). In *Conflict Resolution*, President Carter Turned Flaws into Virtues. *Let's study President Carter's Take on Conflict Resolution*. Blog. Retrieved from: <https://www.pon.harvard.edu>
- Sibani, C. (2018). Impact of Western Culture on Traditional African Society: Problems and Prospects. *International Journal of Religion and Human Relations*. (Vol. 10, No. 1). <https://www.semanticscholar.org>
- Siedlecki, S. (2019). Understanding Descriptive Research Designs and Methods. *Clinical Nurse Specialist*. (Vol. 34. Iss. 1 p 8–12.) Retrieved from DOI: 10.1097/NUR.0000000000000493. <https://scholar.google.com>
- Simbine, A. (2015). *Political Parties and Internal Democracy in Nigeria*. Abuja, Centre of Democracy and Development. <https://yaraduafoundation.org>
- Simon, B. (2020). A New Perspective on Intergroup Conflict: The Social Psychology of Politicized Struggles for Recognition. *Theory & Psychology*, 30(2), 147-163. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

- Simojoki, M. (2011). Unlikely Allies: Working with Traditional Rulers to Reform Customary Laws in Somalia. p. 33-50. Chapter in Working with Customary Justice Systems: Post-Conflict and Fragile States. (2011). Harper, E. (Editor). <https://www.files.ethz.ch>
- Singh, A. (2019). What is a "Research Gap" or "Knowledge Gap" in Research and Literature? Is Gap Explored or Constructed? How Can Gap in Research Be Identified? *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Siregar, J. (2018). The Evolving Cultural Heritage Concept: A Theoretical Review of Cultural Heritage in Indonesia. *International organization of Scientific Research*, 8(7). <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Skoog, L., & Svensson, P. (2022). Hidden Policy Conflicts? Administrative Strategies to Manage Depoliticisation. *Acta Politica*, 1-18. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Smidt, H. M. (2020). United Nations Peacekeeping Locally: Enabling Conflict Resolution, Reducing Communal Violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(2-3), 344-372. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Smith, J., & Osborne, M. (2015). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis as a Useful Methodology for Research on the Lived Experience of Pain. *British Journal of Pain*, 9(1), 41-42. DOI: 10.1177/2049463714541642. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Smith, J., & Noble, H. (2014). Bias in Research. *Evidence - Based Nursing*, 17(4), 100. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/eb-2014-101946>. <https://scholar.google.com>

- Smith, J., & Firth, J. (2011). Qualitative Data Analysis: The Framework Approach. *Nurse Researcher*, 18(2), 52-62. <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk>
- Smithson, J. (2000). Using and Analysing Focus Groups: Limitations and Possibilities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 3(2), 103-119. <http://www.sfu.ca>
- Stanton, K., McDonnell, C., Hayden, E., & Watson, D. (2020). Transdiagnostic Approaches to Psychopathology Measurement: Recommendations for Measure Selection, Data Analysis, and Participant Recruitment. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 129(1). <https://psycnet.apa.org>
- Stark, R. (2007). *Sociology (10th Ed)*. Thomas Wadsworth.
- Statista (2023). Retrieved from: <https://www.statista.com>
- Stein, J. (1993). "The Political Economy of Strategic Agreements: The Linked Costs of Failure at Camp David," in P. Evans, H. Jacobsen, and R. Putnam, eds., *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stipanowich, T., & Lamare, R. (2014). Living with ADR: Evolving Perceptions and Use of Mediation, Arbitration, and Conflict Management in Fortune 1000 Corporations. *Harvard Negotiation Law Review*, 19(1). <https://heinonline.org>
- Sobowale, I. (2008). Scientific Journalism. Nigeria. School of Communication and Information Science, Olabisi Onabanjo University.

- Soetana, S., & Osadola, O. (2018). Intra-Party Primaries in Nigeria's Democratization Process: A Historical Assessment. *American Journal of Educational Research and Reviews*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Suetzi, W. (2016). Elicitive Conflict Transformation and New Media: In Search for a Common Ground. *Media and Communication*, 4(1). <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Sule, B., Azizuddin, M., Sani, M., & Mat, B. (2018). Godfatherism and Political Party Financing in Nigeria: Analysing the 2015 General Election. *Geografia: Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, 14(1), 1-14. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Sule, B., Sani, M. & Mat, B. (2018). Corruption and Electoral Process in Nigeria: Examining the 2015 General Election. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Sule, B. & Yahaya, M.A. (2018). The Politics of Decamping and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria. Conference Proceedings. Universiti Malaysia Kelantan. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Suleiman, M., Onapajo, H., & Maiangwa, B. (2017). Perspectives on New Conflicts in Africa. *A Journal of Social Justice*, Vol. 29. <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Sultana, R., Muhammad, N., & Zakaria, A. (2018). Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Sustainable Development. *International Journal of Development Research*, 8(1). <https://www.journalijdr.com>
- Sunday, A. (2023). Religion and Culture. *Dynamic Journal of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences*. <https://dymbsb.com>

Sushil, P. (2017). Is There a Difference between 'Triangulation' and 'Multi-methods/mixed Methods'? Or Are They Same? *ResearchGate*.
<https://www.researchgate.net>

Survey Monkey. Retrieved July 20, 2020 from: <https://www.surveymonkey.com>

Syarifuddin Dollah, S., Abduh, A., & Rosmaladewi, R. (2017). Benefits and Drawbacks of NVivo QSR Application. *International Conference on Education, Science, and Technology*. DOI:10.2991/icest-17.2017.21.
<https://www.researchgate.net>

Tadesse, M. (1999). The Eritrean-Ethiopian War: Retrospect and Prospects: Reflections on the Making of Conflicts in the Horn of Africa, 1991-1998. SNJ Publishers

Tagel, W. (2022). "Ethiopia: Asha Indigenous Conflict Resolution Apparatus of the Me'en Community." *Conflict Studies Quarterly* 40
<https://scholar.google.com>

Tafese, T. (2016). Conflict Management through African Indigenous Institutions: A Study of the Anyuua Community. *World Journal of Social Science*, 3(1). Sciedu Press.

Tansey, O. (2007). Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling PS: *Political Science and Politics*. 40(4).
<https://www.researchgate.net>

Terry, G., & Hayfield, V. Clarke, and V. Braun. (2017). Thematic Analysis. (Eds.). Willig, C. and Stainton-Rogers in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, p.7–37. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Terry, G., and V. Braun. (2011). "It's Kind of Me Taking Responsibility for These Things": Men, Vasectomy and Contraceptive Economies. *Feminism & Psychology*, 21 (4):477–95. doi:10.1177/0959353511419814.

The Cable (2022, Aug. 16). Article Written by Israel Ojoko. Tinubu, Muslim-Muslim Ticket and APC's All Shades of Wrong. <https://www.thecable.ng>

The Cable. (2023, Feb. 16), Article Written by Idris Shehu, 'It's Over' – Wike Rules Out Last minute Truce Between G5 Governors, Atiku. <https://www.thecable.ng>

The Conflict Prevention Network of the European Commission. Understanding Conflict Cycle. <https://ec.europa.eu>

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Retrieved from: <https://www.concourt.am>

The Faro Convention. (2005). <http://www.coe.int>

The Guardian. (2023, Feb. 17). Article written by Dennis Erezi. El-Rufai, Gbajabiamila, Ganduje dares Buhari Over Use of Old Naira Notes as Legal Tender. <https://guardian.ng>

The Punch. (2022, June 2). Article writers. Eniola Akinkuotu, Friday Olorok, Adebayo Folorunsho-Francis, Stephen Angbulu and Deborah Tolu-Kolawole. APC Presidential Ticket: Adamu's Consensus Plot Fails, 21 Aspirants in Battle Royale. <https://punchng.com>

The Punch. (2023, Feb 25). Amarachi Okey PICTORIAL: EFCC Storms Tinubu's Polling Unit for Inspection. Retrieved from: <https://punchng.com>

The Sun Newspaper. (June 16, 2023). *Olusegun Obasanjo: Truly a Letterman*. Retrieved from: <https://sunnewsonline.com>

Thisday. (2023, Jan. 26). Article written by James Sowole Tinubu: Petrol Scarcity, Naira Redesign Ploy to Sabotage My Victory in the Election. Retrieved from: <https://www.thisdaylive.com>

Thisday. (2022, Oct. 2). Article written by Ejiofor Alike, The Peter Obi Phenomenon. Retrieved from: <https://www.thisdaylive.com>

Thomas, J. (2018). What Is SPSS and Its Importance in Research & Data Analysis? <https://medium.com>

Thorne, S. (2016). *Interpretive Description: Qualitative Research for Applied Practice* (2nd Ed.). Routledge

Thorne, S. (2020). Beyond Theming: Making Qualitative Studies Matter. *Nursing Inquiry*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nin.12343>.

Thurmond, V. A. (2001). The Point of Triangulation. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 33(3), 253-8. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1547-5069.2001.00253.x>. <https://scholar.google.com>

Tijani, A. (2019). Traditional Leadership and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ghana: The Case of Buiepe. *ADDRI Multidisciplinary Journal*, 28(5). <https://journals.adrri.org>

- Tina Du, J. (2017). Research on Indigenous People and the Role of Information and Communications Technology in Development: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of the Australian Library and Information Association*, 66(4). <https://www.tandfonline.com>
- Torraco, R. J. (2016). Writing Integrative Literature Reviews: Using the Past and Present to Explore the Future. *Human Resource Development Review*, 15(4), 404-428. <https://sageprofessor.files.wordpress.com>
- Tracy, S. (2019). *Qualitative Research Methods. Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*. John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Trewm, T. (2018). “What the Papers Say’: Linguistic Variation and Ideological Difference. Chapter in *Language and Control*.: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com>
- Trosset, C., & Caulkins, D. (2020). Cultural Values and Social Organization in Wales: Is Ethnicity the Locus of Culture? Chapter in *British Subjects: An Anthropology of Britain*. Rapport, N. (Editor). <https://pdf-drive.com>
- Tsado, J. (2016). Reporting Violence or Mediating Peace? The Nigerian Press and the Dilemma of Peace Building in a Democracy. <http://www.open-access.bcu.ac.uk>
- Turjeman, E. (2022). *Beyond Resolution: The Invitation for Self-Growth Inherent in Conflicts* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon). <https://scholarsbank.uoregon>
- Tyoden, S. (2013). . Inter and Intra-Party Relations: Towards a more Stable Party System for Nigeria. *Journal of Constitutional Development*, Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarisation. Retrieved from: cencod.com

Ubanyionwu, C. (2023). Restructuring the Nigerian Federation: Which Way?
Journal of Public and Private Law, 4(1), 179-201.
<https://www.nigerianjournalonline.com>

Ubink, J. (2011). Gender Equality on the Horizon. The Case of Uukwambi
Traditional Authority, Northern Namibia. P. 51-72. Chapter in Working with
Customary Justice Systems: Post-Conflict and Fragile States. (2011).
Harper, E. (Editor). <https://www.files.ethz.ch>

Ufomba versus INEC & Others (2017) LPELR-42079(SC), Retrieved from:
<https://lawpavilion.com>

Ujumadu, V. (2015). Okija Shrine: No Longer a Bee-Hive of Activities for
Politicians. *The Vanguard* newspaper. Retrieved from:
<https://www.vanguardngr.com>

UNICAF Notes. Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods Lecturer's
Notes: *Qualitative Research Data Collection Quantitative and Qualitative
Research Methods 1* UU-PhD-801. <https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-801 Quantitative Research Methods Lecturer's Notes
Quantitative Research Approach and Its Designs. <https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-801 by Tsoukatos, E. Research Methods Lecturer's.
<https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-801-ZM: Quantitative Research Methods Lecturer's
Notes: The Philosophy of Research in Any Field of Study. <https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-802-ZM-169916 Qualitative Research Methods

Lecturer's Notes: Research Ethics. <https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-802-ZM-169916 Qualitative Research Methods

Lecturer's Notes: Research Problem and Purpose Statement. <https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-802-ZM-169916 Qualitative Research Methods

Lecturer's Notes: The Philosophy of Research In any Field of Study. <https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

UNICAF Notes: UU-DOC-803-ZM-18751 Current Issues in Research

Lecturer's Notes: Guidance for Week 7.

<https://zm-vle-uu.unicaf.org>

University of Southern California, USC Libraries Research Guides.

Organizing Your Social Sciences Research Paper: *Quantitative Methods*. <https://libguides.usc.edu>

Uwaezuoke, O. P., & Udominyang, E. N. (2023). African traditional oath as a mechanism for peace and social order. *AMAMIHE Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 21(2). <https://acjol.org>

Vaismoradi, M., & Snelgrove, S. (2019). Theme in Qualitative Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis. *Qualitative Social Research*, 20(3). Retrieved from DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-20.3.3376>

van Eeuwijk, P., & Angehrn, Z. (2017). How to Conduct a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) *Methodical Manual*. Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute/Swiss TPH. <http://creativecommons.org>

- Vassallo, V. (2019). The Importance of Culture in Conflict Resolution. *ResearchGate*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Vieira, K., & de Queiroz, M. (2017). Hermeneutic Content Analysis: A Method of Textual Analysis. *International Journal of Business Marketing and Management*, 2(8). <http://www.ijbmm.com>
- Viejo-Rose, D. (2011b). *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory after Civil War*. Brighton: Sussex Academic.
- Vignato, J., Inman, M., Patsais, M., & Conley, V. (2022). Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, phenomenology, and Colaizzi's method. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 44(12), 1117-1123. <https://journals.sagepub.com>
- Vinson, A. (2021). Culture as Infrastructure in Learning Health Systems. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>
- Wacker, J. G. (2008). A Conceptual Understanding of Requirements for Theory-Building Research: Guidelines for Scientific Theory Building. *Journal of Supply Chain Management*. 44(3), 5-15. <https://search.proquest.com>
- Waisbord, S. (2005). Five key ideas: coincidences and challenges in development communication. *Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO)*, Pgs. 77-90. www.clacso.edu.ar.
- Wallace, R., & Wolf, A. (2006). *Contemporary Sociological Theory; Expanding the Classical Tradition*. (Sixth Edition). New Jersey. Pearson Prentice Hall
- Wallensteen, P. (2018). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. (Fifth Edition). Sage Publications Limited

- Wall, J. (1985). *Negotiation, Theory and Practice*. Pearson Scott, Foresman
- Walsh, W. (2019). *Metaphysics*. London. *Routledge Library Editions*. London. Taylor and Francis Group
- Wang, S. (2020). A Stratified System of Knowledge and Knowledge Icebergs in Cross-Cultural Business Models: Synthesising Ontological and Epistemological Views. *Journal of International Management*, 26(4). <https://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis Process. *FORUM: Qualitative Social Research*, 3(2). Art. 26. <https://www.qualitative-research.net>
- Wertz, F., Charmaz, K., McMullen, L., Josselson, R., Anderson, R., & McSpadden, E. (2011). *Five Ways of Doing Qualitative Analysis: Phenomenological Psychology, Grounded Theory, Discourse Analysis, Narrative Research, and Intuitive Inquiry*. New York. Gilford Publications.
- Wiessner, P. (2020). The Role of Third Parties in Norm Enforcement in Customary Courts among the Enga of Papua New Guinea. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(51), 32320-32328. <https://www.pnas.org>
- William, N., & Udo, J. (2012). Trado-Media and the Resolution of the Mbiakong and Ifiayong Usuk Conflict in M Mboho and H Batta (eds), *The Companion to Communication and Development Issues*, University of Uyo, 170–185. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Wilson, D. (1987). *Traditional Systems of Communication in Modern African*

Development: An Analytical Viewpoint. *Africa Media Review*, 1(2). African Council on Communication Education.
<http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals>

Wimmer, R., & Dominick, J. (2003). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Ninth Edition. USA. Wadsworth.

Wohlfeld, M. (2010). An Overview of the Conflict Cycle.
<https://www.um.edu.mt>

Wollentz, G. (2014). The Cultural Heritage as a Resource in Conflict Resolution. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E., & Sheafer, T. (2013). Social media and the Arab Spring: Politics comes first. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 115-137. <https://journals.sagepub.com>

World Bank, (1998). *Indigenous Knowledge for Development: A Framework for Action*. Washington, D.C. The World Bank. <https://www.worldbank.org>

Worldometers, (2023). Population of Nigeria 2023. *Nigeria Demographics*.
<https://www.worldometers.info>

Yagboyaju, D. & Simbine, A. (2020). Politics, Political Parties and the Party System in Nigeria: Who's Interest? *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, (89), 33-50. <https://www.researchgate.net>

Yahaya, M. (2019). The Changing Nature and Pattern of Intra-Party Conflict in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Critical Assessment of All Progressives Congress. *Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, 15(2), 57-68.
<https://ejournal.ukm.my>

- Yale Global Health Leadership Institute. Cyclical System: Using Software Supports Transparency in Research. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com>
- Yudarwati, G. A., & Gregory, A. (2022). Improving government communication and empowering rural communities: Combining public relations and development communication approaches. *Public Relations Review*, 48(3), 102200. <https://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Zarah, L. (2020). Seven Reasons Why Research Is Important Within and Beyond the Academe. <https://owlcation.com>
- Zartman, I. W., & Vuković, S. (2023). Rethinking Ripeness: in Search of Mutually Enticing Opportunities. In *Rethinking Conflict Resolution and Management* (pp. 68-82). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://www.elgaronline.com>
- Zhang, L., Fu, Y., Lu, W., & Liu, J. (2023). Toward an Event-Oriented Conceptualization of Conflict: Reflections on Three Decades of Conflict Research. *International Journal of Conflict Management*. <https://www.researchgate.net>
- Zimmermann, K. (2017). What is Culture? <https://www.livescience>
- Ziolkowski, R., Giscione, G., & Schwabe, G. (2020). *Exploring Decentralized Autonomous Organizations: Towards Shared Interests and 'Code is Constitution'*. *Forty-First International Conference of Information Systems*. Retrieved from: <https://www.zora.uzh.ch>

APPENDIX -1



UU_GL - Version 2.0



Gatekeeper letter

Address: The Lagos State Chairman, APC

Date: 30-Mar-2022

Subject: Research on APC members

Dear Sir

I am a doctoral student at Unicaf University, Zambia

As part of my degree I am carrying out a study on Indigenous Communication Channels and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of the Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria

I am writing to enquire whether you would be interested to assist in this research.

Subject to approval by Unicaf Research Ethics Committee (UREC) this study will administer questionnaire on your members

The project is on the use of African traditional resources for conflict resolution, titled: Indigenous Communication Channels and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of the Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria, and it is supervised by Dr. Myriam Benraad

We shall expect you to avail us the register of your members from which we shall select a fraction of the total number of whom we shall administer the questionnaire in your party premises. We do not intend to spend more than 10 minutes with each interviewee and the exercise shall not go beyond three days.

Thank you in advance for your time and for your consideration of this project. Kindly please let me know if you require any further information or need any further clarifications.

Yours Sincerely,

Akinniyi I. SOWUNMI

Student's Name: SOWUNMI, Akinniyi Irewole

Student's E-mail: ololapoplye@yahoo.com

Student's Address and Telephone: 16, Safebirth Street, Yaba, Lagos, NIGERIA. 0809-600-0745

Supervisor's Title and Name: Dr. Myriam Benraad

Supervisor's Position: Associate Professor

Supervisor's E-mail: m.benraad@unicaf.org

APPENDIX -2



UU_IC - Version 2.1



Informed Consent Form

Part 1: Debriefing of Participants

Student's Name: Akinniyi I. SOWUNMI

Student's E-mail Address: ololapopiye@yahoo.com

Student ID #: R1908D9083572

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Myriam Benraad

University Campus: Unicaf University Zambia (UUZ)

Program of Study: UUZ: PhD Doctorate of Philosophy

Research Project Title: Indigenous Communication, Culture and Tradition for Conflict Resolution. A Case Study of Nigeria's Two Major Political Parties

Date: 30-Jan-2022

Provide a short description (purpose, aim and significance) of the research project, and explain why and how you have chosen this person to participate in this research (maximum 150 words).

This research investigates the application and value of native resources, as conflict resolution tools, particularly for resolving the prevalent destructive intra-party conflicts in Nigeria's two major political parties.

The primary concern is to examine and explore the effectiveness of cultural institutions and indigenous communication systems to resolve the political conflicts impeding socio-economic development of Nigeria. You have been chosen on research sampling procedure because of your knowledge on and involvement in political party activities in Nigeria.

The study is significant for expanding knowledge base on how to promote social and political harmony with the option to explore and adopt more effective, efficient and relevant native resources for less hostilities, greater concord, cooperation and involvement of group members as well as communities in the resolution of conflicts.

The above named Student is committed in ensuring participant's voluntarily participation in the research project and guaranteeing there are no potential risks and/or harms to the participants.

Participants have the right to withdraw at any stage (prior or post the completion) of the research without any consequences and without providing any explanation. In these cases, data collected will be deleted.

All data and information collected will be coded and will not be accessible to anyone outside this research. Data described and included in dissemination activities will only refer to coded information ensuring beyond the bounds of possibility participant identification.

I, Akinniyi I. SOWUNMI, ensure that all information stated above is true and that all conditions have been met.

Student's Signature: Akinniyi I. SOWUNMI

APPENDIX-2



UU_IC - Version 2.1

Informed Consent Form

Part 2: Certificate of Consent

This section is mandatory and should to be signed by the participant(s)

Student's Name: Akinniyi I. SOWUNMI

Student's E-mail Address: ololapopiye@yahoo.com

Student ID #: R1908D9083572

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Myriam Benraad

University Campus: Unicaf University Zambia (UUZ)

Program of Study: UUZ: PhD Doctorate of Philosophy

Research Project Title: Indigenous Communication, Culture and Tradition for Conflict Resolution. A Case Study of Nigeria's Two Major Political Parties

I have read the foregoing information about this study, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss about it. I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions and I have received enough information about this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time without giving a reason for withdrawing and without negative consequences. I consent to the use of multimedia (e.g. audio recordings, video recordings) for the purposes of my participation to this study. I understand that my data will remain anonymous and confidential, unless stated otherwise. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Participant's Print name:

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

If the Participant is Illiterate:

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had an opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the aforementioned individual has given consent freely.

Witness's Print name:

Witness's Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX -3



KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE SHEET

Dear Participant,

My name is Akimiyi SOWUNMI, a PhD candidate with UNICAF University, Zambia.

You have been purposively selected to be interviewed for my thesis research on **Indigenous Communication Channels and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of the Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria**.

Be assured that the information you give shall not be used for any purpose other than academic research and your identity and contributions shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

By participating in this interview, it means you understand that your identity is only known to me and shall be coded in the study. Your responses are therefore anonymous, will not be identified with you in any way.

You may skip any question that you find intrusive or offensive, but it will help the study if you respond to as many questions as you feel comfortable with.

You have the right to withdraw at any stage of this interview without an explanation and there will be no consequences for your action as the data collected from you shall be deleted.

This interview shall be fully recorded on audio tape that shall be kept secured with me for the next five years.

Kindly answer all questions and feel free to air your views and opinions on the issues raised.

You are expected to sign the informed consent form, standard research regulation, to show you freely grant this interview and understands its purpose.

You would be asked the 15 questions on this list. However, some of your answers may generate follow up questions to enable you clarify your views and standpoints for better understanding.

Thank you

1. What gender do you identify as?
2. What is your age?
3. Which political party do you belong to?
4. What is the highest educational qualification you have?
5. What is your current employment status?
6. How long have you been a member of this political party?
7. How frequent is the incident of internal conflict within your party?
8. Is your political party involved in any form intra-party conflict at the moment?
9. What in your opinion is cause of the intra-party conflicts among your members?
10. What methods have your party and members embroiled in conflicts been using to resolve the disputes?

APPENDIX -3



11. Are the conflicts effectively resolved and members' interests well covered with the methods?
12. Would you say your party can do with a better way to resolve its internal conflicts?
13. Would you consider use of African native resources as better, just and more effective means to resolve your party's internal conflicts?
14. What major benefits can you see in your party's adoption of these native methods?
15. Would you subscribe to your party's use of African native resources to resolve its internal conflicts?

APPENDIX -4



FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE SHEET

Dear Panelists,

My name is Akimiyi SOWUNMI, a PhD candidate with UNICAF University, Zambia.

You have been purposively selected to be one of the five panelists to discuss my research thesis topic: **Indigenous Communication Channels and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of the Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria.**

The panel, aside from me, consists of five other members comprising two ward chairmen of political parties, one each from the APC and the PDP, the two major political parties in Nigeria. In addition, we have a seasoned journalist who covers political activities, an academic and scholar on Nigerian politics as well as a distinguished political affairs analyst.

Be assured that your contributions on the panel shall not be used for any purpose other than academic research and your identity and submissions shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

By being a discussant on this panel, it means you understand that your identity is only known to me and members of the group and shall be coded in the study. Your responses are therefore anonymous, will not be identified with you in any way outside the discussion.

You may decline to respond to any question or issue you find intrusive or offensive, but it will help the study if you freely participate in the conversation as shall be moderated by me.

You have the right to withdraw at any stage of this discourse without an explanation and there will be no consequences for your action. Whatever data has been collected from you, prior to your decision, shall also be deleted.

The discussion shall be fully recorded on audio tape that shall be kept secured with me for the next five years. Kindly feel free to air your views and opinions on the issues raised to enrich our learning experience.

You are expected to sign the informed consent form, standard research regulation, to show you freely participate on the panel and understands its purpose.

Together we shall discuss nine main questions on the project's sub-topics aside from the six questions on your personal details.

Thank you

1. What gender do you identify as?
2. What is your age?
3. To which political party do you belong?
4. What is the highest educational qualification you have?
5. What is your current employment status?

APPENDIX -4



6. Are you a member of a political party in Nigeria? If yes, how long have you been a member?
7. How frequently do you notice incidents of internal conflicts within political parties in Nigeria?
8. Are you aware of an intra-party conflict in any of the two major Nigerian political parties as of now?
9. What in your opinion is the cause of the intra-party conflicts among the party members?
10. Do you know the methods political parties in Nigeria have been using to resolve conflicts between their members?
11. Would you say the methods have been effective, the conflicts resolved and members' interests protected?
12. Do you think Nigerian political parties need a better way to resolve their internal conflicts?
13. Would you consider African native resources as better, just and more effective means for the political parties to resolve conflicts among their members?
14. What major benefits can you see in the parties' adoption of the African native methods?
15. Would you support Nigeria's political parties adopting and using African native resources to resolve their internal conflicts?

APPENDIX -5



QUESTIONNAIRE ON AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RESOURCE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Dear Respondent,

My name is Akinniyi Irewole Sowunmi, a PhD candidate with UNICAF University, Zambia, conducting a survey for my thesis.

You have been scientifically selected from the list of registered members of your party to be part of the study on the topic: **Indigenous Communication Channels and Traditional Institutions for Intra-Party Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of the Two Major Political Parties in Nigeria.**

Be assured that the information you give shall not be used for any purpose other than academic research and your identity and contributions shall be treated with utmost confidentiality. By participating in this survey, it means you understand that your responses are anonymous and will not be identified with you in any way.

You may skip any question that you find intrusive or offensive, but it will help the study if you respond to as many questions as you feel comfortable with.

You have the right to withdraw at any stage of this interview without an explanation and there will be no consequences for your action. The data collected from you shall also be trashed.

Kindly answer all questions according to the instructions you shall be given.

The questionnaire should only take 10 minutes to complete and it comprises 15 questions.

Thank you

1. What gender do you identify as? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. Male
 - B. Female
 - C. Prefer not to answer.
2. What is your age? *(Write the exact age in years)*
3. Which political party do you belong to? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. APC
 - B. PDP
4. What is the highest level of education you have completed? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. No formal education
 - B. Primary school education only
 - C. SSCE or equivalent
 - D. NCE/OND
 - E. HND/BSc
 - F. MSc/Equivalent

APPENDIX -5



- G. MPhil/PhD
- H. Professional qualification
- I. Prefer not to say

5. What is your current employment status? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. Employed Full-Time
 - B. Employed Part-Time
 - C. Self employed
 - D. Unemployed
 - E. Retired
 - F. Prefer not to say
6. How long have you been a member of the political party? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. Since inception
 - B. In the last 10 years
 - C. In the last five years
 - D. Less than three years
 - E. In the last one year
 - F. Prefer not to say
7. How frequently has members of your party been involved in internal conflicts? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. Very frequent
 - B. None in the past one year
 - C. Regular conflict is natural in human associations
 - D. This is confidential to our party
 - E. Prefer not to say
8. Is your political party involved in any form intra-party conflict at the moment? *(Please choose one option.)*
 - A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Not sure
 - D. This is exclusive party information
 - E. Prefer not to say

APPENDIX -5



9. If your answer to Q.8 is yes, what would you say is the cause of the intra-party conflict? *(You can choose more than one option.)*
- A. Lack of internal democracy
 - B. Imposition of candidates for elective offices
 - C. Dictatorial tendencies of party leaders
 - D. Injustices within the party
 - E. Unacceptable breach of party constitution
 - F. Inadequate attendance to members' interests
 - G. Struggles to control resources and dominate party affairs
 - H. Prefer not to say
 - I. Other, please specify-----
10. How are your party and the members embroiled in conflicts resolving the disputes? *(You can choose more than one option.)*
- A. By mediation through committees set up by the party
 - B. Via court actions
 - C. By caucus meeting of party and government officials with the disputing members
 - D. The conflicts are never resolved
 - E. By violently fighting it out
 - F. Prefer not to say
 - G. Other, please specify-----
11. How effective are these means of conflict resolution on your intra-party conflicts? *(You can choose more than one option.)*
- A. Very effective, the conflicts are always well resolved
 - B. Not effective, the conflicts are never resolved
 - C. The methods are problematic and cause more conflicts among party members
 - D. We need a more effective and just method of conflicts resolution for the party
 - E. That is exclusive information to our party
 - F. I do not worry myself about that
 - G. Prefer not to say

APPENDIX -5



12. Do you think your party needs a better way to resolve its internal conflicts? *(Please choose one option.)*
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Let the conflicts continue
 - D. The present methods are good enough
 - E. I can't think of another
13. Do you consider African native resources as effective to resolve your party's internal conflicts? *(You can choose more than one option.)*
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. I don't know
 - D. I don't like native methods
 - E. Prefer not to say
14. Would you subscribe to your party's use of African native resources to resolve its internal conflicts? *(You can choose more than one option.)*
- A. Yes
 - B. No.
 - C. African ways are always better than litigations to resolve internal party conflicts
 - D. I don't subscribe to use of African native resources to resolve our conflicts
 - E. Prefer not say
15. Would you consider African methods of conflict resolution just and effective? *(You can choose more than one option.)*
- A. Yes, they are just and effective
 - B. No, they are not just and effective
 - C. The methods are just but not effective
 - D. The methods are effective but not just
 - E. I don't know much about the methods

APPENDIX -6

[illegible]

Composite Data

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGES</u>
FGD: -----	2 - 8
KII: APC - 1: -----	9
KII: APC - 2: -----	10
KII: APC - 3: -----	11
KII: PDP - 1: -----	12 - 13
KII: PDP - 2: -----	14
KII: PDP - 3: -----	15

Focus Group Discussion, FGD

Details:

A: Male, 54, No party, PhD, Academic Professor of African Philosophy, Objective observer, never a member of a political party
 B: Male, 64, APC, WASC, Retiree, Involved in political party activities since inception
 C: Female, PDP, Modern III, Trading. Member of PDP in the past ten years
 D: Male, 62, No party, MA, Self Employed, Public Affairs Analyst, Not a card carrying member of any political party
 E: Male, 58, No party, M. Sc., Media Professional

THE DISCOURSE:

Frequency of political conflicts?

C: The conflicts are regular, we have no preventive solution. Whenever we meet to discuss and debate issues, we have various positions that generate conflicts. When we notice this, we try to harmonize our positions to reach agreements, so, we deploy our knowledge of the rules and native wisdom to reconcile our positions to reach agreements and form consensus. (C1)

B: Poverty is the major trigger of conflicts in the political parties. Conflicts occur every time we meet. The conflicts make our political parties strong. After intense dialogue, we agree. We have conflicts to resolve every time we need to share positions and offices in the party, some people want more posts; others may not want some particular persons or groups to occupy or hold certain positions of influence and authority. Conflicts of interests arise always. What is noteworthy is that we always have a way to resolve the conflicts. (B1)

E: Fundamentally, the entire process is about interests. Personal interests and group interests that conflicts. People join the parties and attend the party meetings to push their positions and interests. Naturally, their interests conflict. (E1)

A: Conflicts are not unusual among human beings and groups. It is about rivalry and interests. When such interests are crossed, there would be crisis. The way a political party resolves its' internal crisis should depend on its written and unwritten rules as well as the wisdom from anchors of the political parties. The types of interests pursued by party members depend on whether or not individuals joined the party to pursue the national agenda or for personal interests. The party basically gives them the platform to pursue their interests. If the person is there to pursue personal ambitions that override national and party interests, he or she may not be ready for consensus on many issues. Whereas, the individual who joined the party for national interests is likely to be willing to seek agreements and forge consensus. (A1)

D: I believe it is the nature of human beings to seek to expand their influences and have some form of power. People want to be supreme wherever they find themselves. They jostle. It is when their pursuits of power is getting oppressive or encroaching on others' sphere of influences that we have conflicts. People by nature are created to seek power within, before they seek peace on a larger scale. This is what brings about the jostling, the hustling and the conflict within the parties. It is the nature of politics and political parties. On the academic level, people trace conflicts to clashes in ideology and aspirations. (D1)

E: In Nigeria, politics basically is about personal interests and the clash of these interests. I really cannot see much difference in the ideological makeup of the parties. People cross from APC to PDP without really missing anything or changing form. The intra-party conflicts are caused by the clashes of interests and not by ideological differences. (E2)

Ongoing conflicts in the parties?

C: In politics, we don't push ourselves away, we shove ourselves aside. We always have conflicts. (C2)

B: In our party, there are hot conflicts now at all the levels of our political group. We have at the wards, local governments, states and federal government levels. We are struggling over control of the party machinery. Reason is, the elections are coming and we are struggling for party positions and party tickets for elective offices. Control of party structure enhances the chance to influence members and curry favour. Now, people are contesting for party executive offices at all levels. (B2)

D: Now, there are noticeable media highlights on intra-party conflicts in the two political parties. We hear of zoning some elective offices to some groups and regions, many disagree on these. People seeking elective offices are hustling to have their loyalists as chairmen and secretaries of the party at the levels they wish to run for offices, so they can influence outcome of the primaries for tickets or at least have their interests protected. (D2)

E: The spate of intra-party conflicts would keep mounting till after the elections. Now, we have the pre-election conflicts that arise mainly from people and groups getting political offices. After the elections, we would still have intra-party conflicts on the way forward. The party that wins would have conflicts in the sharing of political appointments and offices.

The money bags, those financing party activities, believe they should dominate affairs and impose their interests. This is a major conflict trigger. We do not have much of ideological differences. Basically the constitutions and manifestoes of the political parties are similar. To me, it means Nigerians do not have much beef over ideology, but personal interests. (E3)

A: The parties are hardly communal in nature, rather we have those who have the resources dominating affairs at their levels. In African culture, three sets of people conjoin to make an association function. Those with ideas align with people of means to activate those with the operational capacities, each bringing what they have to the table at the central coordinating points. But the two parties we have lack central coordinating centers. Instead, we have men and women of means having their own coordinating points within the parties due to extreme individualism. These sub groups become factions within the party and they are the hot beds for brewing conflicts. We do not have consistent overriding party hierarchy, but rather silos of people's interests. These do not help to create understanding and solid structure, instead it sows conflicts into the system. Once there are money bags that defy party hierarchy, there would be splinter groups that would make conflicts difficult to resolve. (A2)

Causes of conflicts?

C: Betrayals, the struggle for positions, money and breach of promises made to people to get their support during contests. (C3)

B: Many party men are self-centered and care less about the interests of the party. Power sharing and struggles among party financiers to get party positions and elective offices for their candidates. Resistance to party financiers who impose their favourites on the parties for plum positions and offices. (B3)

E: The struggle for power will always brew conflicts within the parties and poverty would sustain the conflicts because people would use money to sway members to their sides, no matter how unreasonable the interests they pursue. The general poverty in the land is reason many party members would rather die for their leaders than pursue party interests. These leaders are the main sources of their livelihood and sustenance. They would rather protect the interests of such sources of livelihood than promote the best interests of the parties. (E4)

B: Poverty engenders sycophancy in the parties and these have deprived the associations of capable and credible leaders who can better manage the affairs to reduce the spate of unnecessary conflicts. (B4)

D: The struggle over scarce resources, few positions and pursuit of personal interests and contests to promote personal agenda are the major causes of conflicts. (D3)

Intra-party conflict resolution methods?

C: Leaders of the party intervene to resolve the conflicts. When the leaders are themselves involved in the conflicts and they could not resolve it, aggrieved members might resort to litigations or break away from the party (C4)

B: Most of the time, people who are not gunning for elective offices usually reach agreement with the party to resolve the conflicts, using the party rules and regulations. However, those contesting for positions give conditions and seek accommodations to negotiate for benefits. The parties also use money to solve some of the major conflicts. They defray the expenses incurred by some aspirants to pacify them. When contestants feel cheated and sidelined, they resort to litigations. (B5)

How effective, fair and just are the methods adopted?

C: The party leadership mediate and attempt to resolve most of the conflicts. The current method hardly leads to final and amicable resolution of the conflicts. Many members merely acquiesce because they have little options. They stay aggrieved and bottle their dissatisfaction until they have another opportunity to ventilate their grievance. (C5)

B: In politics, we say majority carry the vote, so whenever we have serious conflicts, we discuss resolution options and put the matter into vote. Whatever be the outcome of the vote on the issue is adopted. We let it be and abide by the decision, even when many people are not happy. (B6)

Do Nigerian political parties need better ways to resolve their internal conflicts?

A: One of the greatest problems faced by the political parties in conflict resolution is the foreign idea of majority having their way and minority having their say in the resolution of conflicts. This is a defective way to resolve conflicts. This is not the African way and method. In Africa, everybody's interest must be taken care of, the general will must be obtained and sustained. This is reason we have guilds, age grades, gender groups and family groups to take care of all interests, including that of the newborn. In conflict resolution, closing decisions cannot be taken until everybody's interest is

factored into the final determination. The idea of majority having their way and minorities having their say cannot bring about a permanent and long lasting resolution of conflicts. The political parties in Nigeria need a comprehensive, holistic and enduring method to resolve their internal conflicts. In the African way, final decisions are hardly taken until all concerned are consulted and interests covered. In this way, even when people do not have exactly or all what they want, it cannot be said that they lost all and left empty handed. Winners drop something to compensate losers and losers' interests are taken care of. The idea of majority having their way and minority their say is an indirect way of saying winner takes all and losers get nothing.

The parties need the African way of conflict resolution that caters for each person's interests and leaves no one in the cold. The method is pragmatic, conciliatory, reconciliatory, complimentary and integrative. It must be based on the principles of catering for the general will, every one's interests must be taken care of. It may take a longer time, but ensures conflicts do not escalate. (A3)

E: In all honesty, our political parties need a better way to resolve their internal conflicts. The political parties need a conflict resolution method that restores African values into their operations to be effective, fair and just. The conflict resolution method needed for the political parties must however be one that factors the economic conditions of the party members into the resolution processes. Politics has become monetized and the only job most politicians have is politics, so, we have the professional politicians. The high level of poverty and the economic costs of the resolution to party members are important. (E5)

A: The political parties must evolve conflict resolution methods and mechanisms that work for them. They need to examine and factor in the intrinsic values of the individual and not the extrinsic values, if they must have better ways of resolving their intra-party conflicts. The people must believe in the party, subscribe to its ideology and be committed to its success, rather than keep their membership of the group for what they can eat. (A4)

Is the use of African native resources the better, just and more effective way to resolve conflicts?

C: The African way of resolving conflicts are definitely better, just and more effective because of the integrity of the process. There is hardly deceit and the people say clearly what they consider unacceptable rather than acquiesce to what is not agreeable to them. Under the native system, people freely state their stands and express their views. At the end of the day, they all apply good wisdom to bring about an acceptable proposal to reconcile all positions. The elders, leaders and men of authority within the groups propose acceptable formulae, based on fairness and wisdom not to cheat or change anybody, but to carry all along. (C6)

B: In the African system, people know how to solve their problems within their norms and mores, without resort to litigations. The African culture permits resolution of conflicts in a communal, integrative arrangements, not in the foreign way of alienating those who have irreconcilable differences, until they are able to work out an acceptable accommodation despite their differences. Sometimes, when the interests are catered for, agreements reached and decisions made, they back it up with oaths that have consequences against breach to ensure compliance and final settlement of the differences.

Also, the African system is not only based on trust, the sacred oaths taken raise the confidence of all and ensure compliance. People also avoid what the society considers

as abominable acts in their dealings and relationships with others. The use of our African method would make things easy for us. (B7)

A: The use of African native resources is the better way. But for the political parties to adopt and apply the way for conflict resolution, they must realise that we are now operating systems that dislodge our basic ways of life as Africans. As of now, the parties operate as orphans in an alien system about which they have little knowledge. First, there must be better understanding of the basics and benefits of the African ways for handling African affairs as opposed to the prevalent foreign ways. When people have this basic reorientation and are willing to buy in, then, the problem is half solved and the possibilities of sabotage and incidents of renegade actions are reduced. In traditional African culture, groups and societies constitute the foundation, dominating affairs and giving directions. They operate as one family with knowledge and wisdom and they are concerned with the promotion of the general welfare and protection of every member's interests. This is not the case with the political parties when rich individuals constitute the base and direct affairs based on their personal interests, whims and I dare say, sometimes on their caprices. So, we need to first take out social control that used to be with the communities, but now in the hands of the individuals and return same to the communities. Same should apply to the political parties, in the most pragmatic ways possible.

In traditional societies we check individual excesses and betrayals with active oaths. This prevents whatever could constitute an abomination in the community. The use of these psychic forensic media through rituals for regulation act as deterrents to wrong doing. These are what might need to be repackaged for modern applications. Community, not the individual, form the institutions. Communities are about the people and not about individuals. Before matters reach the final authorities, they must have passed through several stages of consultations, deliberations, negotiations and the parties concerned given long ropes for amicable resolutions prior to the final determination and legislation.

Even the rulers and kings, placed next to the gods, do not have the absolute authority. They explore series of ways through the elders, groups, etc. It is to the extent that the kings and rulers keep to the rules and guidelines, backed by the sacred oaths taken, that their authorities remain sacred, not abominable. The day the kings and rulers begin to cross the lines on the sacred rules and regulations of the community, they cease to be next to the gods and the people begin to caution them and question their acts. There were checks and balances regulating authorities. These are at variance with attempts of party financiers who do all they could to totally dominate and control all the levers of power, structures and machinery of the political parties as the sole authorities. The resort and attempts to use efficacious active oaths to regulate conduct and resolve conflicts in the society must be based on a proper understanding of the working of the forces to be deployed. The forces do not discriminate nor segregate once triggered to action. If the political parties do not do the needful and they deploy African forensic forces to regulate conduct, then, it means the people would probably wipe out themselves totally.

The point is, for us to use any African tool to resolve conflicts in the political parties, we must first lay the right foundation or the base on which to erect the structures. The parties must have regular rules and guidelines that would prevent the money bags from hijacking the traditional African resources to be deployed. We need to reconstitute the regulatory authorities of the political parties on the African traditional machinery. Our cultures should originally determine the party ideologies, so that the

political parties can take their positions and perform their duties as appropriate in our societies within the structures of our culture. Then, the people would be those who have been conditioned to know the intricacies and obey the rules on activating the sacred African traditional resources to regulate conduct. (A5)

E: Yes, I agree to the extent that we first need to repair ourselves as human beings. As of today most Africans and the political class, who constitute membership of the political parties, are damaged human beings. We need serious social engineering programmes. (E6)

Are African native resources better, just and more effective ways to resolve parties' internal conflicts?

A: Effective, yes. The issue of justice depends, because there is a way you use it and it becomes unjust. The misapplication of African resources is unjust to all. Human beings determine right and wrong and if we put African native resources in the wrong structure, it would lead to the highest level of injustice. Within the right structure, it will perform as expected and achieve what it is intended to achieve. The issue is whether or not the African method, in the right structure, shall give us a more comprehensive, holistic, acceptable, well-balanced and more outlasting framework for the creation of justice and equity. (A6)

D: Because the African system has been corrupted and compromised in modern times, I believe the regulatory frameworks like the active oaths have been trivialised and demonized. People in recent times have either lost confidence in them or they deliberately shun them because of their new found religion in Christianity and Islam. (D4)

A: On the issue of active oaths, we take responsibility for the consequences of our actions and make pronouncements. In active oaths, people use their own mouths to issue words of pronouncements upon themselves with the sacred elements or before the sacred deities. (A7)

Benefits of African resources in intra-party conflicts resolution. Would you support the use?

C: I support the adoption of African native resources for intra-party conflict resolution for my political organization. The benefits are many. It would reduce the rate of betrayals, now very prevalent, among us. It would also encourage honesty in our relationships and dealings. (C7)

D: I support its use. But I would like us to fully understand it and take cognizance of the implications of its adoption. (D5)

E: I prefer and support its adoption any day. I cannot be evicted from my culture which I know has great benefits. For instance, its adoption would give us a more peaceful society. It would regulate conduct, make people more responsible and accountable, reduce spate of pilfering and selfishness. It would engender justice, fairness and even development, progress, continuity as well as confidence in the system. However, inasmuch as I subscribe to the effectiveness of the African way in the resolution of conflicts, I doubt if we can really adopt the methods now because of the complications its adoption would likely generate from the religious angle. People not familiar with its workings would also be afraid to go into what they really do not understand and they have had to shun and flee from. If the serious work of re-education and modernization

can be done on the processes, then, it could be the solution to the many conflicts destabilising the political parties now. (E7)

B: I prefer the African ways of conflict resolution. (B8)

A: I subscribe to it. The benefits include our return to the original African ways and concept of society. In Africa, the society functions for the benefits of all its members, not for the few rich, powerful or influential ones. It is not the African way to lord one's self over people without responsibilities and consequences. (A8)

KII: APC 1

Male, 46 years old, APC member since inception, HND holder. (FCT-Abuja)

Frequency of conflicts? Very frequent, particularly at time of elections like this. (A1) In electioneering years, we normally have conflicts in the selection of candidates to represent our party and in the sharing of available posts in the party and in government. (A2)

Current conflicts? Yes, we have conflicts now. (A3) We just elected the party national executives and we are about to elect the party's flag bearers for the elections. (A4) We have our members taking positions in the pursuit of their interests now and we expect some disagreements with the emergence of candidates for elections. Some members would be aggrieved when they or their favourites do not get the tickets. (A5)

Main cause of conflicts? The contests for party positions, party tickets and office sharing are the main causes of the conflicts. (A6)

Conflict resolution method in use? We have reconciliation committees to resolve whatever conflicts or disagreements that may arise according to our party's laid down rules and regulations. It is the right of any citizen of Nigeria to contest election, but we would have many people eyeing and gunning for same seat. Naturally there would be competition. (7) Our party has the preemptive rule for candidates and they are expected to sign an agreement with the party to abide by the outcomes of the primary contests or decisions. (A8) After the primaries, we set up reconciliation committees to meet the aggrieved members, resolve whatever conflicts there could be and workout accommodation for them to ensure we do not have outright winners and losers. (9)

Effectiveness of conflict resolution method in use? I can say we have about 90% success rate. (A10) Normally members who believe in the party, have commitments to the party and contribute their quotas accept party decisions and respect the party supremacy in the resolution of conflicts. Loss of party tickets or party posts are not enough reasons to leave a party or engage in litigations. (A11)

Do you see a better way? Yes, we can always do better. (A12)

African native resources as option? The African ways and native resources are parts of the ways and methods available to the party for conflicts resolution. (A13) As party members, we have family, tribal and group associations and we relate in many ways. (A14) We have had occasions when we set up committees to meet respected family members of aggrieved persons to make them to agree to the settlement terms. (A15)

Benefits of the traditional methods? It is a politically beneficial method that helps the party retain and reintegrate aggrieved members because it offers accommodation to all. (A16) The party at the end of the day benefits greatly because it is able to win elections easily when all members' interests are attended to. (A17)

Do you subscribe to African native ways for conflict resolution? I buy the idea that we must always find ways to reconnect and operate as a family to accommodate all interests for the progress of the party. (A18)

KII: APC-2

Male, 35 years, APC member since 2017, MSc holder (South-South, Bayelsa State)

Frequency of conflict? Intra-party conflicts mainly arise at electioneering seasons when candidates must be nominated for elective offices and when there are political appointments to be shared at the federal, state or LG levels. (B1)

Current conflict? I will not say we have conflicts in the party now, rather, I will say we have disagreements within certain factions of the party that point to the season we are in as it relates to the appointments of certain political office holders and the candidates seeking political offices in the land at the various levels. (B2)

Main cause of conflicts? The major cause of conflicts in our part is unresolved disagreements among party members on placements and positions within the political structure of the country. (B3) People vying for offices, those trying to retain their positions or protect the interests of their favourite persons. (B4) Sometimes, the imposition of consensus candidates on members of the party has a way of causing rancor. (B5) Many party members would agitate and fight for the open system that allows candidates for certain positions to be picked on popularity, merit and general acceptance by the party members. (B6)

Conflict resolution method in use? The greatest method we have been using is amicable resolution of whatever conflicts we have between the party members and stakeholders is deliberations on the issues causing the conflicts. (B7) We get all affected individuals and the stakeholders to the table to express their wishes, ideas, perspectives and grievances. (B8) Resolutions are easily reached this way. (B9) We get consensus and agreements in good time in an open process where selections are based on open criteria rather than on imposition from the party leadership. (B10)

Effectiveness of conflict resolution method in use? I have to be honest, the conflicts are not always resolved because we have human expectations from every angle. (B11) When these expectations are not met, the other and quicker solutions would be took for alternative ways to achieve their aims outside of the party structure, which I must say are never the way out. (B12) So, not everyone gets satisfied to the premium levels. (B13) But I must say, within the reasonable limits, most people adhere to the principles of the resolution set at these discussion tables and moving forward, they agree to it one way or the other for the good of the party and the good of the nation at large. (B14)

Do you see a better way? Yes, I do believe there is room for considerable improvements. (B15) I do not think that conflict resolution has a blue print. (B16) It is a reoccurring process that gets better by the day in terms of developments and implementations. (B17) Definitely resolutions to conflicts and to the agreements and betterments of the party and the nation at large can definitely be looked into, be improved and worked upon. (B18)

African native resources as option? Absolutely. (B19) First, we are cultural people and culture has a way of nullifying the Western antecedents in our systems that have in some sense corroded our vibrancy as people and as party members. Returning and resorting to our native means of solving conflicts definitely has an upper hand in pushing us forward progressively as a party and as a nation at large. (B20)

Benefits of the traditional methods? Beyond conflict resolution, the native method is so effective in that it brings long lasting solutions which is what every political structure in the country needs. (B21) When you have solutions to all conflicts which rise to become problems, with the greatest tools at resolving the matters for the overall betterment of the society, then, you have the final imprint of success for reaching consensus and agreements. (B22)

Do you subscribe to African native ways for conflict resolution? If it results in constant peace and settlement of conflicts for progress, as we have noticed is the case mainly, I subscribe wholeheartedly. (B23)

KII: APC-3

Man, 50, APC member since inception, a professional holding political office. (North-West, Kebbi State)

Frequency of conflicts? There are conflicts within the party, but it is not at all times. (C1)

Current conflict? None. (C2)

Main cause of conflicts? Normally each and every one of us cannot be contented. (C3) My interest must be different from yours most of the time. (C4) We all try to achieve our interests under the banner of the party and we accept its supremacy. (C5) The decisions are accepted by the generality of the people and we obey the rules and regulations. (C6)

Conflict resolution method in use? We discuss and put up the leadership qualities required to resolve any conflict. (C7) We normally resolve the conflicts within our capacity. (C8) We cooperate and we have so far been able to manage the conflicts. (C9) Not a huge thing. (C10)

Effectiveness of conflict resolution method in use? It has been very effective. (C11) We discuss, we deliberate and we settle on every issue of disagreement. (C12)

Do you see a better way? Of course, we can always do better. (C13) We have all it takes to settle all conflicts within the party at all levels. (C14) We have able and capable men to moderate and resolve the issues within the ambit of the rules and regulations of the party. (C15) This does not mean we can still not improve on our methods at all times. (C16)

African native resources as option? Yes, as Africans we are naturally talented. (C17) With our resources and endowments, we can manage conflicts better. (C18) The APC is very strong, we obey the rules and follow the laid down process of conflict resolution. (C19) This process is interlaced with the African method, because there are limitations to powers. (C20) In Africa we have positions and authorities at all levels till we get to the Sultan, Emirs, Serikis and other traditional rulers. (C21) These are the custodians of power and cultures of the society. (C22) Whenever there are crisis, these people get to the table and when necessary the drawing boards, to seek the best ways to bring amicable settlements to the conflicts. (C23) Of course, the measure of respect accorded the authority figure determines how easily the conflicts can be addressed and determined. (C24)

Benefits of the traditional methods? Ability and authority to determine resolve and to settle the conflicts for the benefits of all and to cater for all interests. (C25)

Do you subscribe to African native ways for conflict resolution? Of course yes. (C26) That is what I believe the generality of our people and Nigerians are clamouring for now, that we should revive and modernize our traditional ways of conflict resolution to improve the integrity of the process. (C27) We need to go back to the drawing board and respect the traditional ways of our people. (C28) We must bring the rules, regulations and laws that people cannot compromise on easily. (C29) There is need for enlightenment on this and when we can ensure this, there would be great and considerable benefits to the Nigerian nation. (C30) We may even need a referendum on this in the nearest future, so, people can have a say in the determination of their interests. (C31)

KII: PDP -1

Male, 69 years old, MSc holder. Retired Administrator, now in agro processing. PDP member since inception. (South-West, Ogun State).

Frequency of conflict? It is an ever recurring phenomenon. (D1) Whenever we have associations and competitions, disagreements and conflicts are naturally expected. (D2)

Current conflict? We have a number. (D3) But we are treating them as they come. (D4)

Main cause of conflicts? The major cause of conflicts in the party is the competition to become the party candidate in an election. (D5) Another factor is greed, leaders and traditional rulers want money and encourage everybody to aspire, so, as to collect money from them. (D6) Imposition and swapping of candidates' names for elections also cause conflicts, just as the sharing of available party and government positions. (D7) Inappropriate planning also breeds conflicts. (D8) For instance, once a governorship candidate is chosen, the party leaders ought to sit down with such candidates, not leave him or her alone to do things as he or she wished. (D9) If candidates are left to their devices, they would create conflicts because there was no previous agreements on how things should be done. (D10) Planning should be done to formulate policies and to share/zone positions, even before going for elections. (D11) This is to spread dividends of democracy and forge agreements. (D12) Since the party is supreme, things have to be decided and the zones/divisions and constituencies know for certain what they are entitled to, even when the exact portfolios are not specified. (D13) This will reduce agitations and conflicts for members to close ranks and work for the election of party candidates. (D14)

Also, some governors are over empowered. (D15) They have become the party in their states. (D16) It is what they want that parties do, instead of what the party members want. (D17) No control. (D18) This is due to the dearth of guiding principles and proper framework for party operations. (D19) Adequate planning would have taken care of this. (D20)

Conflict resolution method in use? Within the party, we have a way of handling conflicts. (D21) Naturally many people from the same constituencies would aspire for the same office. (D22) We dialogue, set standards, interview aspirants before they collect forms. (D23) We see if they have what it takes, confirm if they have the money to spend on the day of the election and the days before. (D24) Politics now is money. (D25) This is to ensure we do not waste money on primary elections and then run out of money for the main/general elections. (D26) We sit down with the constituencies and make sure the people are agreed on one of the aspirants, so, we can face the other party united. (D27)

As chairman, I make myself available, so they see me whenever they want or need me. (D28) I have to humble myself and bring myself to their levels to relate. (D29) I accept insults. (D30) Patience is key. (D31) You must be able to tolerate insults. (D32)

Three, we have to be impartial and fair to all the candidates in a transparent manner, they are free to say their minds freely. (D33) We are not godfather to any of the contenders. (D34) When the people see the transparency and honesty of the process, they cooperate and they have that confidence in the process. (D35)

At the constituencies we set standards, anyone that had served in elective positions or official capacities in the party is regarded as a leader to regulate affairs. (D36) We aggregate leaders from across the constituencies, zones and domains. (D37) We call them into a meeting and ensure they reach an agreement on the candidate for their constituencies. (D38) These people know the candidates that can win elections and when they cannot reach agreement that day, they are given more time. (D39) Wherever they are unable to reach agreement, we call for voting by whatever method they may want. (D40) So they see the democratic process in action. Whenever and wherever we have situations where agreements are not reached, the best thing we do is to call for an open congress and then follow the party rules, guidelines and constitution. (D41)

Effectiveness of conflict resolution method in use? One important thing we do is not to allow or encourage any aspirant to obtain the party nomination forms before this simple process. (D42) This is where many leaders get it wrong. (D43) The forms cost a lot of money and when aspirants go and obtain forms they must have consulted some people and committed a lot of money to pursue the ambition. (D44) Some of these aspirants take loans to travel to the party headquarters to collect these forms. (D45) If there is conflict at that time, it would be very difficult to resolve. (D46) The alternative is an open congress. (D47) The leader handling this must be honest and transparent. (D48)

You need to note that before people come out for an elective position, they must have done a lot of work, consulted their family members, spent a lot of time networking and must have been given assurance of support

by some people who have a lot of influence on them. (D49) For them to go back to these people and say they were no more pursuing that goal might be very difficult. (D50) They have committed resources, made pledges and promised not to disappoint. (D51) For them to go back and say they were no longer representing their supporters and the people may be very injurious to their political careers. (D52)

When members feel so aggrieved without concrete and satisfactory remedy from within the party, they resort to litigations. (D53) Attempts to resolve conflicts through litigations is what destroy the parties. (D54) The litigations are unending. (D55) Litigations are not beneficial at all, they take a lot of time and resources and are not effective. (D56)

Do you see a better way? Yes, we need a better alternative. (D57) A better method that resolves conflicts and douses or at least makes it better to handle all forms of tensions, disagreements and enmity in the party. (D58) **African native resources as option?** We can only work with the traditional institutions when there is a solid framework to guide their operations and activities. (D59) The traditional rulers have no business dabbling into politics *ab-initio*. (D60) They are supposed to be concerned about the sanctity of their traditional institutions. (D61) What politicians concern themselves about is how to organize parties and win elections. (D62) The political parties sometimes use the traditional institutions to woo more people, because we have some traditional rulers that are more powerful than the political parties. (D63) However, politicians make sure they alienate the traditional rulers from partisan politics to reduce their influence, so we take the support directly from the people. (D64)

If there is a problem in the community or domain where the Oba is, definitely the Oba must have a role to play, but normally politicians do not allow the traditional institutions to wield power in areas outside their immediate communities and domains. (D65) They are restricted. (D66) By the time you allow the Oba to wield power outside their domains, they become partisan. (D67) When an Oba is partisan and the government changes, there would be problems. (D68) But we support the Obas, before we do anything, we receive their blessings before we go ahead and do things. (D69)

The traditional institutions have limited relevance and influence in their immediate communities. (D70) It is always important to define the African way as intended. (D71) When I hear "African way", the thought that comes to my mind is getting busy with worship of deities, consulting oracles for decisions, performing sacrifices etc. (D72) The African way has so many things attached to it, especially traditions. (D73)

Benefits of the traditional methods? Benefits are many. (74) In the African way of doing things, you call people to discuss, you ask questions and engage the people first. (D75) It saves money. (D76) It reduces intra-party rivalry and ensures we do not see our party members as enemies. (D77) It facilitates peaceful party primaries and the result is also a harmonious congress. (D78) The African way gives people the opportunity to concentrate on the elections instead of in-fighting. (D79) It enables free contest and respect for others' opinions and perspectives. (D80)

Do you subscribe to African native ways for conflict resolution? The African perspective to conflict resolution that involves and carry everyone along is the better way. (D81) I have tried it and continue to work with it, it is the better way to conflict resolution, provided we can follow the rules. (D82) The people understand the ways better, they are convinced of the outcome and majority always have their ways, but minority have their say and they are glad they have been listened to. (D83)

The African way is also leadership by example and caters for the interests of all. (D84) It also gives orientation to people on the right approaches to issues and the right way to relate with others in the society. (D85)

KII: PDP -2

Male, 58 years, Chattered Accountant. Self Employed in Real Estate. PDP member since 2004. (North-West, Kebbi State)

Frequency of internal conflicts: It is always there. (E1)

Current conflicts: Many, they are even intense now. (E2)

Main cause of conflicts? Old leaders clinging to power perpetually and excluding others, particularly the new generation, from leadership and decision making. (3) Elders more interested in cornering money meant for elections. (4) Depriving the party of the funds people need for critical projects and election purposes, like get adequate security and mobilise polling agents to represent the party at voting and counting points. (5) The non-adherence to the guiding rules and regulations and lack of a good party structure are other causes. (E6) Really, money and imposition of candidates are the main causes of conflicts in PDP. (7) The imposed officers and selected aspirants dare not refuse to turn over the party funds to the leader that imposed them. (8) He who pays the piper calls the tunes. Indiscipline is another factor. (9)

Conflict resolution method in use? The new thrust is conciliation, reconciliation of aggrieved members, getting the people involved. (10)

Effectiveness of conflict resolution method in use? Whatever method does not bring about violence and pulling out the dagger or gun is effective. (E11) All that is needed is time. (E12) Violence is the only method that can never be effective. (E13)

Do you see a better way? The best method is to get conflicting members to sit, discuss and resolve their differences. (E14) This is the African way and it is the ideal way. (E15) The African way that brings together parties in dispute to sit down and resolve their differences is the only way to resolve problems. (E16) Violence does not solve problems. It is always good and proper when you sit down to resolve your problems. (E17) The traditional way is still the best way. You give and take, you cannot sit and take everything. (E18) It is not possible. (E19) You must concede something. (E20)

The courts are just the avenue to create more money for the lawyers. (E21) If I were to be a lawyer right now, I would tell you the court is the best way to go. (E22) It is the last hope of the common man to get justice. But this is not true here, justice is given to the highest bidder. (E23) Also, there is no way you go to court and come back to be friends again. (E24)

African native resources as option? The natural way to solve problems and still retain the friendship is the African traditional way. After resolution, there is still the family bond. (E25)

Benefits of the traditional methods? The African way is about discussing all the issues together, bringing in other folks. (E26) The traditional way involves the entire family structure and both sides thinking and talking to untie all the knotty issues and resolve all the conflicts. (E27) At the end of the day, post resolution, people are still on talking terms and the family bond is not broken. (E28) The court does not guarantee that. Once you are back from court you become permanent enemies for life. (E29)

Do you subscribe to African native ways for conflict resolution? Our African way is the best way to solve problems, if you still want the party members to work together to win elections. (E30) Political parties should use the African way to resolve their internal differences and people should not come to the negotiation tables rigid on fixed stands. (E31) People should be willing to take the superior argument, to get the best of the situation. (E32) Discussing with an open mind and willingness to tolerate alternative opinion is best. (E33) It guarantees progress and amity. (E34) It ensures give and take as well as recognizes the superior argument as the best way to solve problem. (E35) Imposition and fixation or lording over others cannot solve problems. (E36)

KII: PDP -3

Female, in her 50s. Self-employed trained teacher with NCE. Party member for more than 10 years. (South-East, Abia State)

Frequency of conflicts: Human conflict is part and parcel of politics. (F1) It is a regular occurrence with political parties and politics. (F2) At any given time there must be conflicts that have to be resolved by every political party. (F3)

Current conflicts? These come to the fore more now when we are heading for elections and just out of two congresses that determine whoever shall be nominated as party candidate in elections. (F4) This is usually time for many conflicts because of different interests. (F5)

Main cause of conflicts? Generally conflicts occur when there is no justice, no equity. (F6) When some individual members of the party felt cheated or believe they have not been well treated, given their dues or sidelined in certain decisions of the party. (F7) The aggrieved person might start protests and trouble and this may easily escalate. (F8)

Conflict resolution method in use? In the PDP, we resolve conflicts and prevent most from blowing out of proportion. (F9) Generally, individual levels of patience and tolerance vary. (F10) Some patient members would lodge complaints with leaders and excos of the party to register their protests, complaints and concerns to seek remedy. (F11) They expected the leaders to wade into the conflict situation, proffer solutions and amicable remedies. (F12) Some others may not be as patient, but would go straight to court. (F13) These types of conflicts are not easy to resolve. (F14)

Personally, I do not believe court is the best way of resolving conflicts or seeking remedy for intra-party disputes. (F15) The party leadership and hierarchies exist at the ward level, the local government level, the state level and even the apex leadership of the party beyond the state. (F16) I believe the issues of disagreements should have been resolved before all these options are explored. (F17) It is when the leadership of the party is not keen for the party to survive that we would not be able to look into the matter and proffer some sort of amicable solution, which could be political. (F18)

Effectiveness of conflict resolution method in use? Most conflicts are being resolved and members' interests covered within the internal conflict resolution framework of the party. (F19)

Do you see a better way? There is hardly a better way to resolve conflicts than what my party is doing. (F20) We try to resolve conflicts by interventions within the party guidelines and hierarchy. (F21) In most cases, before conflicts get to the apex leaders of the party, there must have been resolutions. (F22) It is only when it comes to extremes that you see people going to courts. (F23)

African native resources as option? Yes and No. (F24) It depends. (F25) If the traditional institutions are not members of a political party, and it is not a family or community affair, they have no business in political party matters. (F26) You know political parties entail different tribes. (F27) Different people from different cultures coming together to form political groups. (F28) It might not be the right way to resolve a conflict. (F29) If I do not believe in you or trust in your leadership, I would not submit myself to your decisions, suggestions or solutions to the conflict. (F30) I don't think traditionalists are in a better position to resolve political party conflicts. (F31) Political conflicts are better resolved within the political parties and not outside the political institutions. (F32)

African way, better way? Not really. (F33)

Benefits of the traditional methods? We have never adopted the native method. (F34) Political conflicts are better resolved within the political party framework. (F35) If you are not a member of the political party, you would not even be allowed to intervene. (F36) Except in a situation where the person involved has so much respect for traditional institutions, then, we may use the traditional authority for mediation. (F37)

Resolving conflicts outside the courts with native intelligence is exactly what the PDP has adopted. (F38) The point is the framework must be within the political party set up. (F39) This is why we have elders, excos, leaders etc. in the party. (F40) This is also the outline for traditional institutions and it is already adopted into our political framework. (F41) We are using the African way to suit our own peculiar circumstances as political parties. (F42) We believe the African institutions must be part and parcel of the political party conflict resolution process to be relevant. (F43)

Do you subscribe to African native ways for conflict resolution? For me, with the much and the little experience I have in politics, political conflicts are better resolved within the political circle, except where the traditional institution is so highly respected and has some kind of overriding influence on the people involved or in the matter. (F44)