

**Effects of Money Politics on Party Primaries in Nigerian 2019
General Election: Reflections on All Progressives Congress
(APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP)**

**Pengaruh Politik Uang pada Pemilihan Pendahuluan Partai di
Pemilihan Umum Nigeria 2019: Refleksi pada *All Progressives
Congress (APC) dan People's Democratic Party (PDP)***

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ABSTRAK

Politik uang telah menjadi norma yang dapat diterima dan menjadi bagian dari budaya politik Nigeria sebelum dan sesudah pelaksanaan pemilihan umum sejak kebangkitan pemerintahan demokratis di Republik Keempat (1999). Sifat dan dimensi politik uang telah mengambil gambaran baru dalam politik Nigeria selama pemilihan pendahuluan partai dalam persiapan untuk Pemilihan Umum 2019, khususnya antara dua partai besar yang bersaing; All Progressives Congress (APC) dan Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) yang terlibat dalam penggunaan uang berlebihan yang belum pernah terjadi sebelumnya dalam sejarah politik Nigeria selama pemilihan pendahuluan partai pada bulan September dan Oktober 2018. Karya ini menyelidiki peran uang dalam menentukan hasil pemilihan pendahuluan partai di Nigeria dalam APC yang berkuasa dan oposisi utama PDP dan bagaimana hal itu akan mempengaruhi Pemilihan Umum 2019. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode pengumpulan dan analisis data kuantitatif. Baik sumber primer maupun sekunder digunakan selama melakukan penelitian. Data yang diperoleh dikelompokkan dalam bentuk tematik di mana persentase tabel sederhana digunakan untuk interpretasi dan hasil. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa ada penggunaan uang yang luar biasa dari sumber daya milik negara oleh para politisi untuk menahan biaya kampanye dan ambisi politik mereka. Dalam prosesnya, pembelian suara dan pembelanjaan berlebihan melanggar proses pemilu dan membuat para pemilih kehilangan kandidat yang kredibel dalam pemilihan pendahuluan partai. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan bahwa perlu adanya sanksi yang lebih agresif dan berat kepada semua politisi yang ditemukan dalam tindakan jahat ini. Karya tersebut juga menyadari kebutuhan serius akan pencerahan publik secara masif tentang kejahatan politik uang.

Kata kunci: APC, Pemilu, Politik Uang, Nigeria, Partai Primer, PDP

ABSTRACT

Money politics has become an acceptable norm and a part of Nigerian political culture before and after the conduct of general elections since the resurgence of the democratic rule in the Fourth Republic (1999). The nature and dimension of money politics have taken a new picture in Nigerian politics during the party primaries in preparation for the 2019 General Election, particularly between the two major contending parties; the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) who were involved in excessive use of money unprecedented in the history of Nigerian politics during the party primaries in September and October 2018. This work investigated the role of money in determining the outcome of party primaries in Nigeria in the ruling APC and the major opposition PDP and how it will affect the General Election in 2019. The research used a quantitative method of data collection and analysis. Both the primary and secondary sources were used during the conduct of the research. The data obtained were grouped in a thematic form where a simple tabular percentage was used for interpretations and results. The research discovered that there was an extraordinary deployment of money from the state-owned resources by politicians to arrest their campaign expenses and political ambition. In the process, vote-buying and excessive spending violated the electoral process and deprived the electorates of getting credible candidates in the parties' primaries. The research recommends that there is a need for a more aggressive and severe sanction on all politicians that are found in this evil act. The work also realized the serious need for massive public enlightenment on the evil of money politics.

Keywords: APC, Election, Money Politics, Nigeria, Party Primaries, PDP

INTRODUCTION

An election is a legitimate process of choosing desired leaders by the electorates in a credible way. Democracy can survive only if there is an election because there is no better alternative to change of government and transfer of power except through a peaceful, credible and acceptable election (Sule et al., 2018b). One of the necessary conditions for election is for the political parties competing for power to conduct party primaries or internal democracy to determine, based on votes or consensus, who will represent the party platform in the general election (Mohammed, 2017). Nigeria is presently a democratic

state operating simultaneously a presidential and federal system of government. The experience of Nigeria with democracy and elections historically is bland and leaves much to be desired. However, the emergence of the Fourth Republic (1999-present) restored the rays of hope in the Nigerian populace that democracy could work in the country again (Odeyemi, 2014). From 1999 to date, six (6) general elections took place, heralded by party primaries and other political imbroglios that usually accompanied elections in developing democracies.

Party primaries are the best practice for piloting the best candidate by all parties to represent their respective parties in the competition and struggles for power. However, in Nigerian politics, party primaries always turned out to be bastardized, subverted, abused and made a mockery of democracy and internal politics. Party primaries are accompanied by imposition, money politics, bribery, vote-buying, corruption and an exorbitant price tag for nomination forms. This led to selfish and corrupt leaders' deliberate blockage of credible and quality leaders (Ibrahim & Abubakar, 2015). One annoying issue in the party primaries and, indeed, in the entire Nigerian politics is money politics. The whole political process has been transformed into an avenue for Clientelism, nepotism and the overt use of national wealth by the power holders to continue to secure power control at all costs. Money politics has affected Nigeria's elections since the Fourth Republic's inception in 1999. Money is used in the process of nomination, party primaries, vote-buying in the general election and bribery of judges after the election in the Election Petition Tribunal to deny any judgement against the alleged stolen mandate in various elective offices across the country (Sule et al., 2018a).

The 2019 General Election took place in March 2019, but before the election proper, party primaries involved the major parties that competed for the election. The two major parties: the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC)

and the major opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), conducted their party primaries to nominate who will represent them in the Presidential, Gubernatorial, Senatorial, Federal House of Representatives and State House of Assembly Election. There were allegations of massive corruption and the influence of money politics in the whole party primaries of these two giant parties involving buying the delegates' votes, bribing party executives and other misconducts against the law. This study examined the process of party primaries in the two major parties of the APC and PDP, how money politics influence the process, and the implications on the general election.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research used both primary and secondary sources of data collection and analysis. The primary source involved choosing respondents from across the country with geographical consideration. One state was chosen in each of the six geopolitical zones, and FCT Abuja, where 100 respondents were interviewed randomly on the subject matter. In the Northeast, Gombe State was chosen. In the Northwest, Zamfara State was selected, and in the Northcentral, Plateau State was chosen. In the Southwest, Osun State was chosen, in the Southsouth Rivers was selected, and in the Southeast, Abia State was selected and the FCT Abuja. The criteria for choosing these states were three. The first criterion was to give fair and equal representation to the country in the study. The second criterion was that three states were PDP-dominated, and three were APC dominated for a balanced analysis. Gombe, Rivers and Abia are under the PDP, while Zamfara, Osun and Plateau are under APC, with the FCT Abuja under their representatives in the National Assembly. The third criterion is the accessibility of the research assistants because the researcher used assistants to collect the data. He identified states where he has reliable aids for the jobs because of the scarcity of resources to employ assistants across the country.

The researcher also interviewed some relevant stakeholders in the electoral process who possessed firsthand information on the subject matter of study. In this perspective, two-party national executives each were chosen from the APC and PDP. Three academicians were chosen from three reputable Nigerian universities who are versatile Professors of Political Science with a rich academic knowledge of the subject matter and academic contributions. Three senior officials were interviewed from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), three senior officials from the Economic and Financial Crimes Commissions (EFCC), and five (5) politicians) and five members of the civil society organizations based in Abuja.

The tool used for data collection consists of a questionnaire designed for the interview with the seven hundred respondents from the six selected states and the FCT Abuja. Structured questions were asked for a response using affirmative stances such as yes or no or the choice of some provided options based on the questions related to the use of money and vote-buying during the party primaries of the APC and PDP. Semi-structured questions that were opened were asked for the second group of informants identified as party executives, academicians, INEC officials, EFCC officials and civil societies. Questions were designed, but they are open for the informants and flexible to generate additional information to the saturation points where obtainable. In the primary source, the researcher additionally used direct participant observation where he participated in the conduct of the primaries of APC and PDP at all levels in one of the study areas, Gombe State.

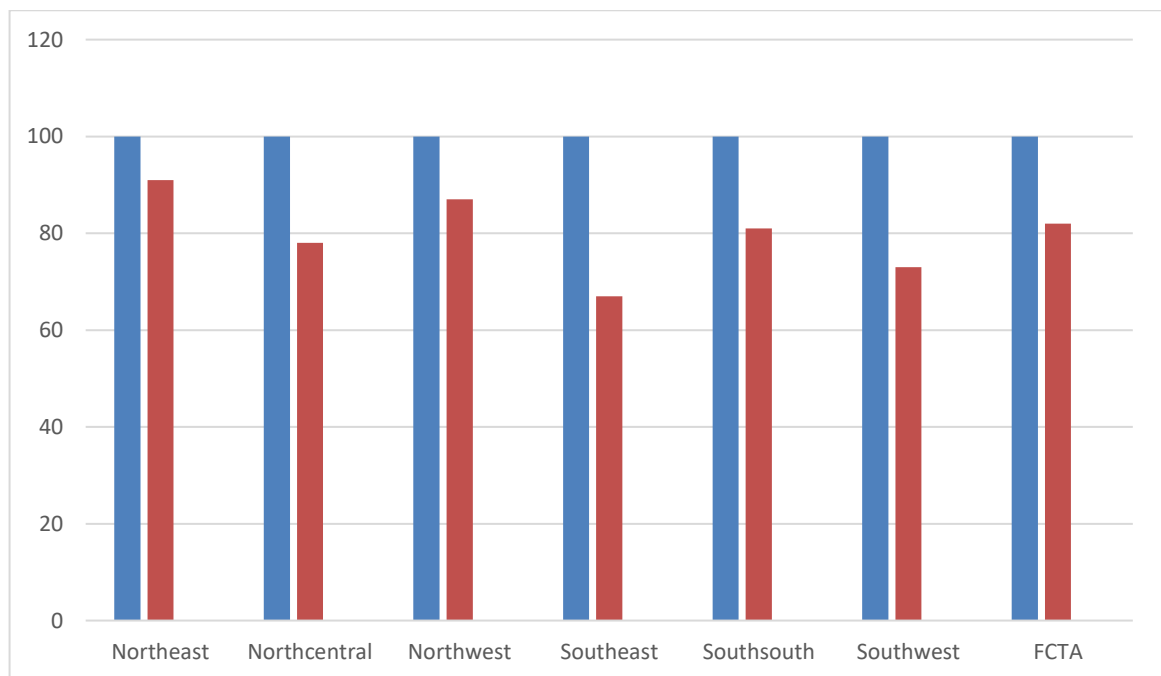
The other source of data is the secondary, which consists of books, journals, newspapers and internet sources for literature review on the existing subject matter and identifying the knowledge gap for contribution. The data obtained was presented and discussed using tables and other statistical techniques for discussions and findings, in addition to applying the adopted framework model and establishing the existing knowledge with the new

findings. The pattern of responses and other related information are presented in table 1.

Table 1. Number of Selected Respondents

S/No	Location of Interview	Frequency of Respondents
1	Northeast	100
2	Northcentral	100
3	Northwest	100
4	Southeast	100
5	Southsouth	100
6	Southwest	100
7	FCT Abuja	100
Total	Seven zones and FCT Abuja	700

Source: Field Survey 2019.



Selected Respondents

Returned Questionnaires

Diagram 1. Frequency of the Responses from the Administered Questionnaire

Source: Field Survey 2019.

Diagram 1 indicates the frequency of the questionnaire responses from the respondents. The blue bars indicated the total number of respondents selected from each area of study, while the orange bars indicated the number of those who responded. In all the six geopolitical zones selected and the FCTA, 100 respondents were targeted for questionnaire administration. Out of the total of 100 respondents in the Northeast, 91 responded, which is 91% of the respondents. In the Northcentral, 78% responded, and in the Northwest, 87%

responded. In the Southeast, 67% responded, 81% responded in the Southsouth, 73% in the Southwest and 82% in the FCTA. Essence, an appreciative overall total of 79.86% responded across the six zones and the FCTA. Furthermore, table 3 indicates the frequency of the informants selected for semi-structured interviews as follows in table 2.

Table 2. Number of Informants Selected for the Interview

S/No	Informants' Category	Frequency
1	National Party Executives	2
2	Academicians	3
3	Senior INEC officials	3
4	Senior EFCC Officials	3
5	Civil Societies	5
6	Politicians	5
Total	Six groups	16

Source: Field Survey 2019.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

This section reviewed some relevant issues critically under study in this work using the thematic approach. The essence is to clearly identify the research gap and contribute to knowledge in the field of study. The literature was reviewed under the following themes: party primaries, party primaries in Nigeria's Fourth Republic and money politics in Nigeria.

Party Primaries

Parties remain vital to democratic operations in various perspectives, such as political recruitment and representation. Thus, the success or failure of democracy can be correlated with the ability of the parties to organize themselves and pursue the desired democratic principles, including internal democracy and party primaries. Parties help in democracy by fostering the opportunity for the choice of leaders, especially in developed democracies. Parties are observed to have been less pivotal in promoting democracy in emerging democracies because of many issues. It is expected that party engagement and internal competition rules will be bright shortly in developing democracies (Webb & White, 2007).

The above submission by Webb & White (2007) indicates that parties are the most important nerve engine of democracy, and their effective functioning will facilitate democratic rule while its malfunctioning will affect the performance of democracy. The study established that advanced democracies have more ground and solid parties helping in democratic consolidation while weaker parties are associated with the newly emerging democracies. The glad tidings here is that the developing democracies are improving and will continue to improve through having improved parties with a better internal democracy in the party primaries and the principles of choice.

Party primaries are a private affair of political parties. It is mainly an unregulated exercise that is an intra-party selection process that is not constitutionally legal but a legal procedure within parties for identifying and choosing those who will secure their platform for representation in the final election. Party primaries are non-standardized and unregimented party principles and activities for party preparation towards fielding candidates that can face competition from other parties. Party primaries differ from one party to another in a particular country and maybe the same in legal procedures, processes and patterns (Hazan & Gideon, 2012).

Candidate selection or party primaries is different from political recruitment. Political recruitment denotes the process of engaging and training new members for an active political role in politics. Candidate selection, on the other hand, is the use of votes, consensus and other laid-down procedures for the fielding of candidates who can contest for an elective position in a periodic election in a country that is operating a democratic system (Hazan & Gideon, 2012).

Party primaries herald the general election, one of the major functions of political parties. In a multi-party democracy, this role has significantly differentiated parties from other organizations. Party primaries or party candidates that secure the nomination and representation of their respective

parties determine the characteristics, demography, geography, manifesto and ideology. The aftermath of the party primaries points to the nature, parties, executive, legislatures and policy-making (Hazan & Gideon, 2012).

Party Primaries in Nigeria

Party primaries in Nigeria are guided and regulated by some rules, including the Nigerian 1999 Constitution, Electoral Act 2010, party constitution, party manifestoes and principles. For example, Articles 1 and 2 of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) state the regulations for the conduct of party primaries. Some of the provisions of the regulations include time-frame for the conduct of party primaries some months before the general election, procedures for the conduct of the primaries, the process of nomination and selection and other related issues. However, most political parties in Nigeria, especially the APC and PDP, do not adhere to these regulations (Babalola & Abba, 2017).

Some factors that influenced party primaries in Nigeria. Some of these factors include consideration based on ethnicity. For example, parties tend to deliberately zone the ticket to either Hausa/Fulani in the North or Yoruba in the Southwest for political machinations in the build-up to the election. Religion is another factor affecting the party primaries process in Nigeria. Tickets are offered based on whether a particular candidate in a given elective office in a specific area is a Muslim and his deputy a Christian, or he is a Christian and his deputy a Muslim. Additionally, in the Muslim-dominated North, women are restricted from securing significant party tickets to represent their parties because it is perceived as becoming unreligious or too advancing, even though, in the seemingly less religiously concerned South, women are not given a better offer than in the North. Money is another vital factor determining who secures party primaries in Nigerian parties, especially the stronger ones. Party stakeholders, mostly godfathers, contribute to the candidate selection among Nigerian political parties. Persons with disability

and low-income earners are perceived as unprivileged and are not given priority in party selection (Babalola & Abba, 2017).

Party primaries in Nigeria are the organization of the polls internally by political parties before the major election to ensure internal democracy. Unfortunately, party primaries in Nigeria have turned into a war and factionalization rather than cohesion which impedes genuine national integration and development. Virtually all political parties are muddling in the mud of political clashes and conflicts during primaries due to the absence of internal democracy, imposition, money politics and godfatherism. This led to the PDP's fragmentation in 2015, leading to the loss of power to the ruling APC (Adekeye & Abdulrauf, 2017). The fate that befalls the former ruling PDP was obtainable in the build-up to the 2019 General Election with backlogs of crises, internal crises and imposition of candidates. The phenomenon may lead to the demise of the ruling APC in the 2023 General Election if adequate measures are not placed on the ground to address the menace.

The preparation for the 2019 General Election by the ruling APC and the major opposition PDP is bedevilled with crises and internal schisms concomitant to the recent boat-jumping recorded by both parties. The parties may join the 2019 race with several defects because of internal conflicts (Page & Tayo, 2018). A report indicated that one of the factors that will affect the success of the 2019 General Election is the prominence of crises among political parties emanating from the backlash of party primaries (Verjee et al., 2019).

Party primaries in Nigeria are accompanied by the deadly and bloody clash and violence that sometimes claim lives in the primaries. Killings were linked to the campaign during the quest for party primaries by the competing candidates. Levels of violence differ from one party to another. For instance, PDP accounted for 97% of the violence from 1999 to 2014. Godfatherism is the major cause of bloody clashes during party primaries because the sponsors of

politicians used thugs and intimidation to get their candidates to sail through the party nomination (Corentin, 2016). The period studied by the research mentioned above was when the PDP was the ruling party. The APC is taking a significant toll on its share of the violence during its primaries in preparation for the 2019 General Election. Violent clashes in Ogun, Rivers, Zamfara, Imo, Oyo, Ondo and other states to the extent that the ruling APC contested the election without candidates in some states like Rivers totally, while in Zamfara, the candidates for the party were smuggled into the race two days before the election day by the tribunal after the process of the primaries was disrupted severally by the warring parties.

Money Politics

For many decades, money politics has been a major decisive, influential and determining factor in Nigerian politics. There is a conglomerate bloc of money bag sponsors called "Godfathers" who play the politics of "Godfatherism" regarding shouldering the campaign expenditures of the politicians aspiring for elective political offices. Money politics is the streamline that presents who acquires political office in Nigeria. Political processes are subverted through vote-buying, bribing the electoral body officials, security personnel and all stakeholders involved. After securing power, money politics prevails and deny the public the common good through favouritism, paybacks, kickbacks and buybacks (Nwagwu et al., 2022).

The desperation to win the election at all costs is why money politics is flourishing unabated in Nigerian democracy. The nature of political competition by elites to secure the control of power, their parties and the godfathers, all for the sake of domestic accumulation and personal aggrandizement, led to their use of money to influence voters. Other related factors why money politics is palpable in the Nigerian context are ignorance from the electorates and a low level of political culture and socialization towards a clear perception of what democracy and election are all about.

Additionally, the long-standing neglect of infrastructural development coupled with the menace of the myriads of socioeconomic challenges in terms of poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, insecurity and other social malaise exposed the voters to the vulnerability of vote-selling. It allowed for vote-buying from selfish, unpatriotic, evil politicians (Dauda et al., 2019).

Money politics has many implications for Nigerian democracy and the country's general well-being. One of these implications is that it leads to vote-buying, which impedes credible elections. Rigging of elections and Manipulated results are made possible because of the illegal use of money during elections in Nigeria. One annoying issue related to money politics is political thuggery and intimidation of opposition and voters from exercising their franchise peacefully and accordingly. The moneybags are relinquished to employ the services of the restive jobless vulnerable youth to unleash mayhem on the perceived areas of threat by the overzealous politicians. They want to win at all cost. Another implication of money politics is it denies the electorates of having a quality representation and good governance because the elected or selected used their money to buy their way into the office and are not concerned about what happens to the public or what they can do to improve the living standard of the electorates (Adesote & Abimbola, 2014).

The All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

The APC

The All Progressive Congress (APC) was formed on 6 February 2013 in preparation for the 2015 General Election. The APC is an outcome of the merger of the three biggest opposition political parties and a faction of the fourth to establish a stronger opposition that will challenge the ruling PDP which has ruled for sixteen years. The parties that formed the APC merger are the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), a faction of the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) and the Congress for

Progressive Change (CPC). The merger resulted from a prolonged attempt to wrestle power from PDP because the opposition parties realized that they can never defeat PDP individually since each opposition has its stronghold. For instance, ACN dominated the Southwest, ANPP and CPC dominated the Northeast and Northwest, while APGA dominated some Southeastern states. The first attempt was made in 2011 between the ACN and CPC, which failed to materialize in the late hours due to a clash of personal interests by the party stalwarts (ngvotes.com, 2018).

The major challenge faced in the merger of APC was an attempt that was allegedly believed to have been staged by the ruling PDP to scuttle the registration of the party by sending other parties called African People's Congress and All Patriotic Citizens with the same abbreviation 'APC' to deny the actual APC from being registered owing to its strength and threats to the ruling PDP. The electoral body, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), went ahead to register the APC after fulfilling all the criteria for the registration of parties constitutionally. The major boost or strength that the newly established APC received was the emergence or decamping of strong PDP members called the new PDP, which was a faction that emerged after the disenchantment of some members of the PDP from the party's convention in 2014. The party welcomed the new PDP members involving five state Governors of Adamawa, Kano, Kwara, Rivers, and Sokoto, ten serving Senators in the upper chamber, 22 serving Members Federal House of Representatives, including the Speaker of the House and other top PDP founding fathers such as Alhaji Atiku Abubakar.

The party's major contribution was its ability to win the Presidential Election barely two years after its formation with 53.96 % of the total votes; the party won most of the seats in the upper chamber with 55.05 %, and the party won the lower chamber with 62.5 % and the Governorship seats with 61.29 % (INEC, 2017). APC is one of the major parties contesting various

electoral offices at all levels in the 2019 General Election. It has recently conducted its party primaries full of contradictions, contestations, outcries, impositions and moneybags. It is one of the parties allegedly involved in massive corruption in vote-buying during the party primaries it has conducted. It is one of the case studies adopted in this study.

The PDP

The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) was established in August 1998 by people of diverse interests from across the divide of the country after the declaration by the military regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar for a democratic transition to hand over power to the civilian government in 1999. The critical members that spearheaded its formation were the G-14 and G-34, seen as the national elders who opposed the Abacha military regime. When Abacha died in 1998, they consolidated their political movement by registering the party to participate in the announced democratic transition. Alex Ekwueme was adopted as the party chairman, while Jerry Gana was appointed as the secretary at its inception (Udeze, 2017).

The PDP won the 1999 Presidential Election in a landslide victory and cruised ahead to win the majority seats in the National Assembly and state governors. The party established itself and consolidated its hold on power in 2003 through alleged rigging and Manipulation of election results as well as money politics in terms of vote-buying and Clientelism. The party continued to dominate Nigerian politics from 1999 to 2015, when it was defeated by the rival APC, making it the longest party that ruled in Nigerian democracy for sixteen (16) years. During its tenure as the ruling party, PDP established itself as the national party with political seats across all six geopolitical zones and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja (FCTA). Still, it has also been identified as a notorious rigging machine, corrupt, poor performance in terms of delivering the dividend of democracy and various practices that ridiculed democratic process in the country, such as intimidation of voters and opposition, diversion

of public resources for personal gain, increasing the socioeconomic crises in terms of poverty, insecurity, unemployment, disease, inflation, hunger, corruption, bribery and depletion of foreign reserve amidst a boom in the oil revenue and other issues (Ibrahim & Abubakar, 2015).

The party was sharply affected by intra-party conflicts since its inception. It has been able to manage the internal conflicts for many years until 2015, when the clash between contending interests among members led to the mass exodus of its members, especially in the Northern part of the country, into the opposition newly formed APC, including five (5) serving Governors, ten (10) Senators and twenty-two (22) members of the Federal House of Representatives. The decision by President Jonathan to re-contest the 2015 Presidential Election after he took over power in 2010 when President Yar'adua died and contested in 2011 and won infuriated many of its members. The conflict led to the APC's defeat of the PDP in 2015 after a gang-up against the PDP by the warring factions (Ibrahim & Abubakar, 2015).

The PDP was one of the major contending parties at all electoral positions in the 2019 General Election, and it has conducted its party primaries at various levels full of protracted conflicts, vote-buying, Manipulation, violence, imposition and godfathers' influence. It is one of the parties studied in this research.

A Framework of Analysis

This study adopted "Clientelism" as the framework of analysis for explaining the context of the literature and strengthening the discussions and findings. Clientelism is a model of explaining the political economy of election in some democracies like Nigeria and, indeed, worldwide.

Clientelism

Clientelism is a model and a framework of analysis that different

scholars developed at different stages and in various dimensions to explain the political economy of corruption in the electoral process and the entire political process in democracies worldwide. It is a term which emerged from ancient Roman politics as "Clue", which means to submit or to be subservient. The other term, "Clintela", refers to someone or the group of people pursuing a given political interest on behalf of their clients. At the same time, "Patronus" means the clients of the aristocrats. The patrons offered their clients incentives in cash, kind, payback, kickbacks and other means in return for political support (Sigman & Lindberg, 2019).

Clientelism flourished in the pre-industrial European societies, where clientelistic practices and patronage-bound politics dominated the choice of leaders and the electoral process (Carbone & Cassani, 2016). Clientelism remains influential in the political decisions and power struggles in our contemporary societies, as observed by Enejoh and Ekele (2021). In the 1970s and 1980s, there were deluges of works and research involving case studies on Clientelism, specifically attempts at conceptualizing, constructing the framework and grounding the theory by Political Scientists and Anthropologists. The second wave of research on Clientelism occurred in the 1990s when some scholars, Enejoh and Ekele (2021), argued that genuine democratization would crush Clientelism and usher in a transparent and credible political process in the age of modernity. However, the same researchers concluded that Clientelism had not been suppressed by democracy in modern times as the phenomenon continued in both the developing and developed democracies.

The third wave in research on Clientelism spanned the 1990s to 2000 and beyond. The emergence of civil societies, informal groups and a socialized citizenry rejuvenated the study and analysis of Clientelism. The studies in this stage identified Clientelism as a phenomenon contrary to the democratic governance process. They identified patronage through the biased distribution

of political offices, developmental projects and illegal campaign financing as anti-clockwise problems with democratic principles (Enejoh & Ekele, 2021).

Clientelism is a model and tool for explaining the political process, which involves vote-buying and compensating opposite voters who switched their votes to the bidder illegally, which can involve corrupt practices and abuse of political office. The interpretation of the above statement is that the political process, especially elections, was subverted and manipulated with patronage and corruption that is reminiscent of the emergence of corrupt public office holders who, in return, use the advantage of holding a public office for private gain such as personal enrichment and rewarding of political allies instead of just, fair and equitable distribution of public projects. Nigeria was a good example of this practice, where vote-buying has been the norm and constant practice during an election (Gans-Morse et al., 2014). The above view is shared by Isaksson & Bigsten (2013), taking a broader perspective of many democracies.

The notion that Clientelism is the use patron-client process to lure votes and political support is not acceptable by all advocates of the framework. Sometimes it is believed to include threats and coercion to garner political support. This is because Clientelism is a kind of political corruption which entails offering material benefits in exchange for electoral support, where allocation of political appointments and distribution of resources are made based on who supports the political leader. Compliance is compelled for electoral and political support here because of the fear of being at the receiving end of the opposed win (Stokes, 2013).

The proponents of the theory argued that it negatively influences politics and the democratic process. It stagnates the state's economic development by impeding the leaders from providing public goods and services. It also deepens the poverty of the public because the patrons prefer the larger section of the population to remain impoverished for future

Clientelistic bargains. It pollutes the electoral process because the well-meaning voters who are supposed to use their votes to express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with government policies are overshadowed by those who sell their votes in return for a token. The process consolidates dictators in power through the emasculation of sound competition where the voters that prefer to vote against the current government are oppressed from doing so for fear of reprisal policies after the election. Massive political corruption emerges in the process owing to the foundation of the system that the leaders emerged from itself, which was corrupt (Stokes, 2013).

Clientelism has five basic assumptions. The first is that the relationship is dyadic in that it involves two persons and processes between the patron and client. The patron controls money, material benefits and appointments while the client controls votes, but there are brokers sometimes. The second assumption is the relationship is always asymmetrical, either vertical or horizontal, where the two actors are not equal in terms of the reward and benefits of the outcome. The third assumption is that the relationship is personal because it is not an official dealing but a personal affair clandestinely and covertly. The fourth assumption is that the relationship is reciprocal because both the patron and client stand to gain personally from the deal. The fifth assumption is that the relationship is voluntary because it is not being coerced in most cases but by personal will. These assumptions are presented in figures 1, figure 2 and figure 3 below for easier illustration.

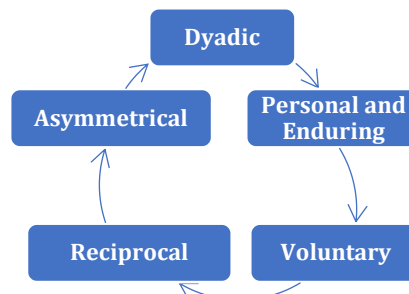


Figure 1. Showing the Circular Relationship of the Assumptions of Clientelism
Source: Adopted from Sule 2018.

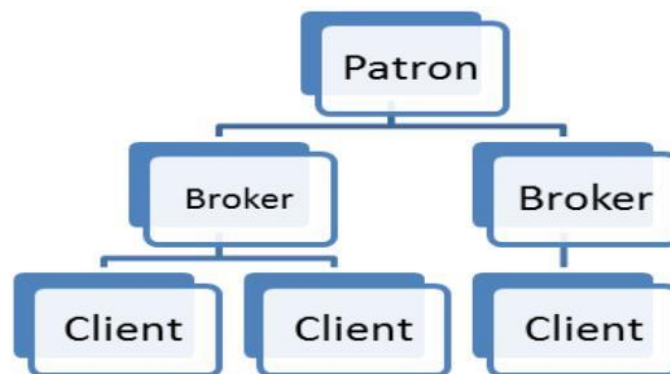


Figure 2: Showing Patron-Client Relationship in Clientelism

Source: Adopted from Sule 2018

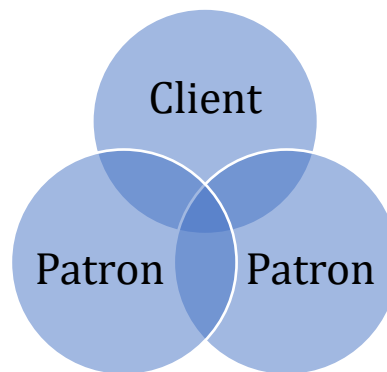


Figure 3: Showing Patron-Broker-Client Relationship

Source: Adopted from Sule 2018

Clientelism is a good explanation of the context of this work because it is a clear illustration of the happenings in Nigeria during the preparation for the 2019 General Election in the party primaries of the selected parties of study in this work. A section in the discussion and findings will reveal how Clientelistic was the parties' primaries in vote-buying, material benefits, rewards and promises and the use and abuse of office for personal gain by the politicians.

Rules of Conduct for Party Primaries in APC and PDP

The two major parties of APC and PDP in Nigeria have their separate laws for party primaries. PDP is the oldest party and, in most cases, conducted its primaries with controversy. In the case of the APC, there are three laid-

down procedures for the conduct of party primaries as narrated by one of the informants in the interview:

"APC has adopted three measures for the conduct of party primaries in its preparation towards the 2019 General Election. It used direct primaries where all bonafide registered party members can queue and elect those who will represent the party in the final election. This has been the situation in the Presidential primaries; even though there were no opponents yet, they decided to conduct the direct primaries, where Muhammadu Buhari earned 13.6 million votes. In other seats such as the senatorial, house of representatives, gubernatorial and state house of assemblies, indirect primaries and consensus occurred separately according to the nature of the contest" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 1 on 5 January 2019).

In another view, the PDP was believed to have conducted its party primaries during its preparation for the 2019 General Election through two methods which are:

"The PDP used the indirect primaries and consensus in selecting its party flagbearers for the 2019 General Election. Virtually, in the Presidential primaries, indirect party delegates were used, but in some positions of national assembly, state governorships and state house of assemblies, consensus candidates emerged, which did not augur well for some aggrieved members who defected to the ruling APC after the aftermath of the primaries" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 1 on 29 December 2019).

The party primaries created many problems for both the ruling APC and the opposition PDP after the primaries. For instance, one of the reasons was expressed by Oparah (2018), who believed that only direct primaries could avoid internal schism in the outcome of the party primaries. He further recommended the introduction of direct primaries by the APC party chairman Adams Oshiomhole. However, Oparah (2018) was unaware that the same Oshiomhole would later violate the direct primaries principles in many places, leading to mass defection of APC members and anti-party in the General Election.

It is observed that the direct and indirect primaries post a dilemma for the parties, especially the ruling APC, which provided the opportunity for that.

In its preparation for party primaries, the APC debated and argued whether to impose direct or indirect primaries on its members, but it later agreed to allow for flexibility. The issue is that corruption abounds in all two through vote buying of delegates and party members during the party primaries (Hardball, 2018). Party primaries have become an albatross on the neck of Nigerian political parties, as observed by one of the informants below:

"Party primaries in Nigeria are bedevilled with internal crises, imposition, corruption, dictatorship, grievances, make or mar politics due to lack of party ideologies and political principles by the politicians. You can see that immediately after the primaries, the disgruntled and aggrieved members tend to decamp to opposing parties in search of an alternative" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 2 on 2 February 2019).

The above statement proved true when Chioma (2019) reported that fresh crises in February 2019 heralded the party primaries of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) and the two major leading parties of APC and PDP as well. In a report by one of the newspapers columnist, the Punch, he described the party primaries in Nigeria in general in preparation for the 2019 General Election as characterized with:

"Instead of a free and fair democratic ritual, the exercise became an ominous sign-post as thuggery, gunshots, snatching of electoral materials, parallel contests, and vote-buying took centre stage" (Ojo, 2018).

Thus, it can be inferred from the above diverse views that the party primaries in APC and PDP were full of imposition, money politics in vote-buying and corruption, internal crises, political turmoil and undemocratic practices. The processes were abused, violated and bastardized by politicians and the party executives for their ambition. This is tilting towards establishing the assumption of this research that money politics has discredited the party primaries of the APC and PDP. Additionally, Clientelism explains that elections in democracies are sometimes conducted under the patron-client benefits where the patrons seek political offices for their gain and use rewards to the voters to secure their support and loyalty. At the same time, the clients vote

for the candidates based on the anticipated rewards in terms of appointments, contracts and allocation of developmental projects that they will incur from the transaction.

Money Politics and Party Primaries in APC and PDP

Money politics and vote-buying have been evidenced in Nigerian politics since 1999. They have been influential in determining who emerges as a winner or secures the platform of the party nomination to represent his party in the final election, as observed by many scholars (Sule et al. 2018). During the parties' primaries conducted in October 2018 in preparation for General Election in 2019, there was evidence of vote-buying, bribing the delegates and corrupting the party executives to secure the party nomination. The evidence is presented below from the data obtained in the field. The primaries were for the Presidential, Senatorial, Federal House of Representatives, Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly Elections. Starting with the Presidential party primaries in the APC and PDP, the following data were obtained from the respondents in figure 4.

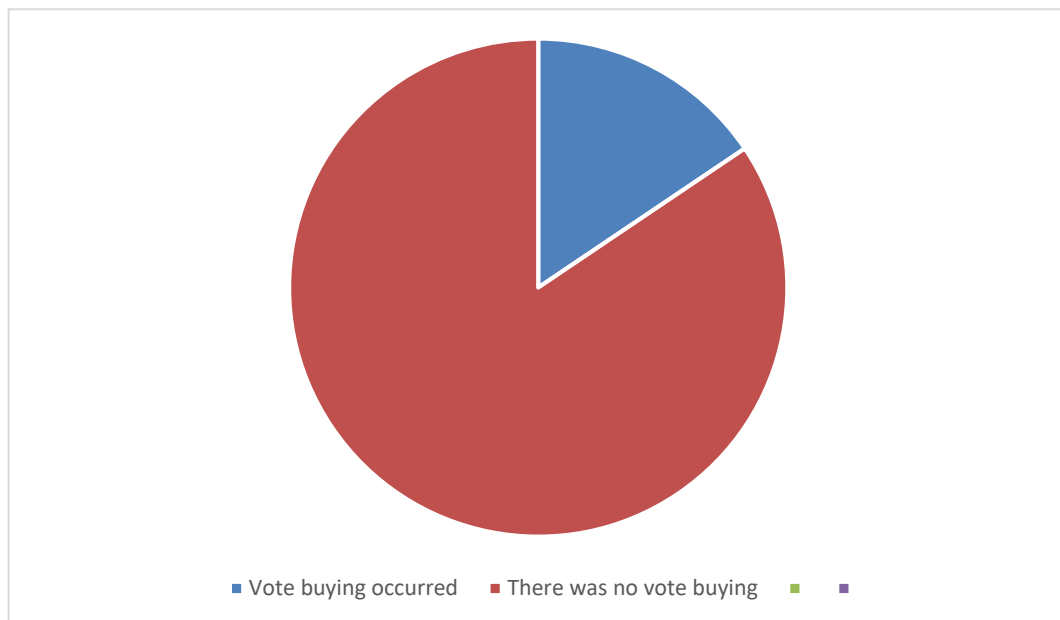


Figure 4: Respondents' Views on APC Presidential Primaries and Money Politics.
Source: Field Survey 2019.

On the issue of Presidential primaries in APC, which were held on 29 September 2018, 84.44% of the respondents believed that there was no vote-buying, bribing of the party delegates and corruption of the party executives in the conduct of the primaries. The remaining 15.56% believed that there were corrupt practices in the process, especially that there was no disclosure, sources of the party's income for the undertaking of the primaries were obscured, and the state Governors were allegedly reported to have contributed N50 million (\$138, 888.89) each for the final affirmation of the President as the party flagbearer. Besides, the 12 million votes accrued to the Presidential flagbearer were believed to have been inflated. Some informants have corroborated the above submissions consulted in the research work. One of them narrated that:

"The APC Presidential primaries were conducted unopposed with President Muhammadu Buhari as the sole contestant through direct primaries. The process was fair without recording the usual money politics, vote-buying, bribery and corruption process except in the aftermath when the state governors were speculated to have donated a sum of N50 million each for the formal declaration of the President as the APC flagbearer in the Eagle Square in Abuja on October. This was corruption because the money might have been siphoned from the state treasuries. Even if the money was not from the public treasury, then the disclosure principle was violated. Because of the above phenomenon, I cannot exonerate the APC Presidential primaries from corruption in the real sense of it" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 2 on 2 January 2019).

Diagram 2 shows that out of the 559 respondents in the six geopolitical zones, about 94% of the total agreed that there was vote-buying in the PDP primaries, which took place on 6 October 2018 in Port Harcourt while only about 6% of them disagreed based on their perception. In the geopolitical zones, 81 agreed that vote-buying took place in the Northeast, while 10 of them disagreed. In the Northcentral, 73 of them agreed that there was vote buying in the PDP's Presidential primaries, while four disagreed. In the Northwest, 83 agreed, while four disagreed that vote-buying took place in the PDP's

Presidential primaries. In the Southeast, 59 agreed that there was a vote-buying, while eight disagreed. In the Southsouth, 70 of them agreed that vote-buying took place, while 11 of them disagreed. In the Southwest, 69 of them agreed that there was vote-buying. At the same time, four disagreed. In the FCT Abuja, out of 81 who responded to questionnaires, 79 agreed that there was vote-buying in the PDP's Presidential primaries, while two disagreed. The above interpretation from the field indicates that money politics, vote-buying, bribery and corruption took place tremendously in the PDP's Presidential primaries, unlike that of the APC, which seemed to be lesser or totally when compared with the PDP. The same views of the respondents were supported by the views provided by the informants, as presented below.

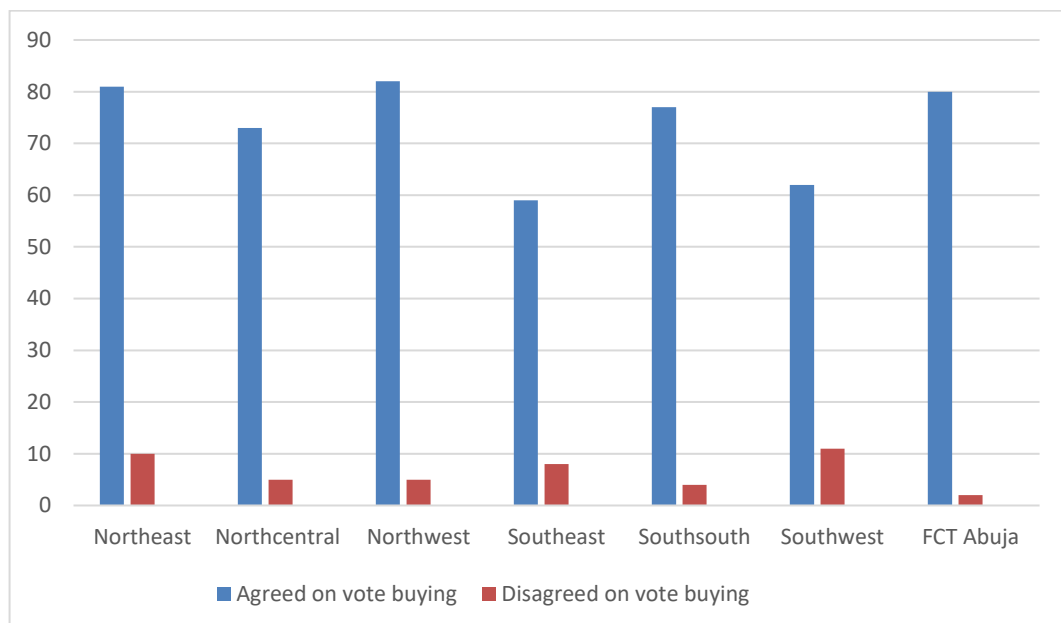


Diagram 2. Respondents' Views on the PDP Presidential Primaries.

Source: Field Survey 2019

In an interview with one of the informants, he confessed that:

"I have witnessed the process of PDP Presidential primaries in Port Harcourt, and what I saw was a bold display of financial muscle and money politics. Delegates' votes were bought at the cost of \$1000, \$2000 and \$5000 by the prospective contestants. Some of the delegates ended up with over \$10,000 collecting various Presidential candidates in the square where the primaries were conducted. We all believed that Alhaji Atiku Abubakar emerged

because he was the highest bidder paying as much as \$5000 for each delegate. The PDP Presidential primaries was another milestone in bribery, corruption, vote-buying and imposition of candidates in Nigerian politics" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 3 on 11 January 2019).

In another view, another informant submitted that:

"The PDP Presidential primaries in its preparation for the 2019 General Election was bedevilled with vote-buying, bribery, corruption, imposition and violence leading to the emergence of the candidate who paid better. It was alleged that one of the contestants bought delegates as much as \$5000 each, which means that he spent nearly N5 billion Naira on the delegates alone. What about the party excos and other stakeholders? Indeed, the process was rubbished, and it has ridiculed democracy in Nigeria, where the people's representatives that are expected to vote for candidates that are credible and can give good representation, decided to vote for their stomachs by collecting bribes and voting for the contestants that pay higher" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 4 on 29 December 2018).

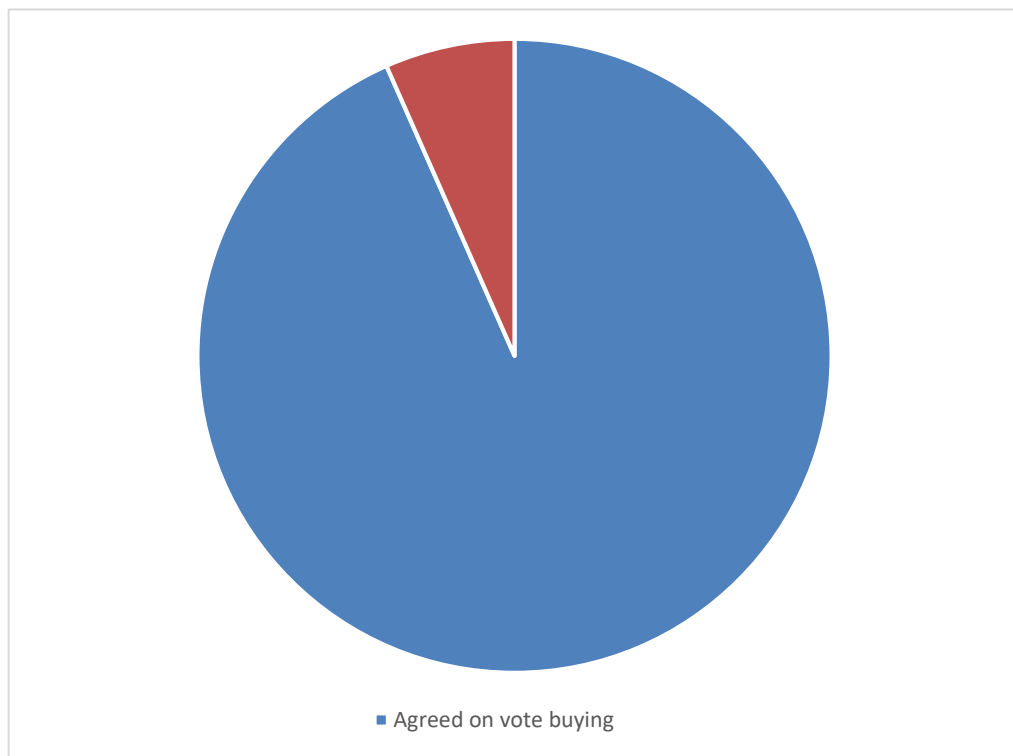


Figure 5: Summary of Respondents' Views on Vote Buying during the Senatorial, Federal House of Representatives, Gubernatorial and State House of Assemblies Primaries in APC and PDP.

Source: Field Survey 2019

In other elective positions, apart from the Presidential primaries in the APC and PDP, the respondents agreed in their majority that both the APC and PDP are as corrupt as each other and are equal in vote-buying and bribery. From the data obtained, most of the respondents agreed that APC and PDP at the Senatorial, Federal House of Representatives, Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly elections, vote-buying massively occurred on the part of the politicians and the delegates. The summary of their responses is presented in figure 5.

Thus, it can be inferred that the corruption in terms of vote-buying between the APC and PDP during the parties' primaries differed only in the Presidential elections the two. In the other elective competitive positions, they are equally and similarly corrupt in all ramifications. The respondents further confirmed that vote-buying dominated the emergence of candidates across the parties in various elective offices who represented their parties in the final election in February and March 2019, respectively. Clientelism is applicable here because the patronage between the politicians and the clients of the delegates indicates that material benefit occurred in the relationship between the two where the politicians bought votes and paid in cash from the voters for political gain, as rightly assumed by Clientelism. Also, other informants in different categories attested to the above findings. In one of the interviews, an informant revealed that:

"The party primaries of the APC and PDP were just mere shambles and pretensions of political diversion and subversion, which can rightly be perceived as an abrupt declaration of the raping of democracy and the reiteration of the relevance and importance of money politics. In all the states where the primaries took place, vote-buying, bribery, corruption, imposition, and violence occupied the procedures. The volatility in the primaries compelled some states like Rivers and Zamfara to lose APC vacancies in the fielding of candidates due to a zero-sum game" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 4 on 23 December 2019).

Another informant narrated that:

"What transpired during the APC and PDP primaries, especially at the state and National Assembly levels, was undemocratic and a Clientelistic process of political bargain using money nakedly to woo voters by the corrupt politicians to select them to represent their parties' platform. PDP begets APC, and APC is begotten APC in return which will make a vicious circle of recycling the same non-ideological and unprincipled politicians who are buying votes and bribing stakeholders during party primaries and in the general election by extension" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 5 on 11 January 2019).

In another version, an informant called in a live radio programme broadcast on Progress 97.3 FM in which the researcher was involved in the programme is a political analyst in the radio station called "Viewpoints" from category five and confessed that:

"As party delegates, we were all bribed, and our votes are bought by the politicians. I belong to PDP, but I swear the APC in Gombe State during the primaries bought votes and was involved in bribery and corruption more than the accused PDP. For instance, we were given N350, 000 (\$953. 68) each during the PDP primaries. Still, the APC offered around N800, 000 (\$2179. 84). The two parties are all corrupt and to me, from what I saw visibly, the APC in Gombe is more corrupt than the PDP in terms of party primaries" (Personal in-depth interview with an informant in category 6 on 8 December 2019).

Discussion

In this section, the data obtained were presented, analyzed, discussed and interpreted for the major findings. The discussions were made based on thematic forms where sub-themes were established for convenience and clarity of expression.

The Consequences of Money Politics in the Party Primaries of the APC and PDP on the 2019 General Election and Nigerian Politics

There are many consequences of the money politics from the primaries of the APC and PDP in their preparation for the 2019 General Election. The effects are spillover to the post-election, which will continue to obstruct good governance and performance in the political office. Some of these consequences are discussed below.

Vote Buying, Bribery and Corruption: the corrupt practices that permeated the party primaries of the APC and PDP during their nomination for party representatives in the General Election in 2019 led to the massive vote-buying in the 2019 General Election (Danasabe, 2020), bribery of stakeholders in the electoral process and corruption of a large scale magnitude as expressed by most of the informants that were interviewed. It was reported by many agencies and monitoring groups such as the European Union, and also it was observed by the researcher that votes were bought at the cost of N500, N1000, N5000, N10, 000, N15, 000 and even N20, 000 in some places during the 2019 General Elections especially in the places that the elections were declared inconclusive and where the supplementary elections hold. This has been established in a study by Sule, Sani Azizuddin, and Mat (2018b) that the Nigerian electoral process is bedevilled with corruption. Clientelism was practically in the election process between the patrons (politicians) and their clients (voters).

Violence and Manipulation: large-scale violence was reported, especially in the gubernatorial elections in many states such as Rivers, Benue, Kano and other places, because of the spillover influence of money politics (Akpan & Reason, 2019). Politicians that used their money to secure the platform of party representation were the same ones that used their money to employ the services of thugs who disrupted the electoral process in the case of Rivers, Kano and Benue, intimidating and terrorizing voters and opposition in the respective states rampaging and ransacking polling units to deprive the winner of emerging victorious. This means the hitherto 2015 General Election success of lesser violence was retrogressed in the 2019 General Election. Clientelism assumes that sometimes the relationship is not only voluntary but may also involve coercion and threats to ensure compliance from the electorates. This has been the exact situation in the 2019 General Election in the above-listed areas.

Intra-Party Conflict: one of the negative consequences of the money politics and vote-buying during the party primaries of the APC and PDP was the escalation of intra-party conflict, which has been already hitting the two major parties harder even after the primaries. Many disgruntled and aggrieved party members expressed their anger with the primaries where moneybags subverted it from those who paid higher to secure the tickets. This led to anti-party activities in many areas and conflicts of representation where some states ended up without representatives, as in the case of APC in Rivers, where it has no contestants because of internal crises and Zamfara too.

Politics of Decamping: the aftermath of the APC and PDP's party primaries and preparations for the 2019 General Election led to the continuation of the commenced pre-primaries mass defection or cross carpeting from the commenced pre-primaries mass defection or cross carpeting APC to PDP or vice versa. This is because those who felt the money politics shortchanged them because they could not financially compete with the stronger financial contestants moved to other parties to secure the nomination. Sule & Yahaya (2018) reported that the Nigerian politicians found it expedient to decamp willingly once their political interest of acquiring power was at stake in their parties. After the primaries, the researcher, as a participant-observer of the daily events in Nigerian politics, recorded about 200 major decamping from the APC to PDP or from the PDP to APC or other parties such as PRP, DPP, SDP, APGA and other smaller parties. Clientelism postulates that election in countries like Nigeria is a political economy process of sharing and allocating values based on agreed relationships. The failure to secure the platform to acquire power compelled the corrupt and selfish politicians to re-negotiate their power ambition in other parties.

The emergence of Weak Leaders: the outcome of the 2019 General Election indicates that because of the use of money to secure tickets for party representation, many credible leaders were weed out in the process, leaving

the crook, corrupt, weak, incompetent and selfish ones to have their way into the final election and many of them progressed to win various elective offices. This, by implication, means that people will not get good governance and responsive, credible representation as anticipated in democratic rule.

CONCLUSION

The study concluded that the process of party primaries of the two major contending political parties in Nigeria; the APC and PDP, is heavily influenced and sharply affected by money politics, bribery and corruption through vote-buying of the delegates, bribing the party officials and corruption in terms of imposition, violence and violation of due process in the conduct. The study concludes that the process of the party primaries affected the 2019 General Election with money politics leading to vote-buying, bribery and corruption, violence, politics of decamping, weak and poor leaders and a sharp intra-party conflict. The study concludes that the party primaries of APC and PDP, especially at the Senatorial, House of Representatives, Gubernatorial and State House of Assembly, were not appreciable and are not recommendable. They denote a retrogression in Nigerian politics and the inability of the polity to steer ahead for a required development.

The above conclusion indicates that there is an urgent need to address these issues of money politics, vote-buying, bribery and corruption in the electoral process. One of the recommendations is for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to devise measures that will financially monitor the party primaries process to ensure compliance with legal spending. Secondly, there is the need for the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to be involved in the entire electoral process, from the party primaries to the general elections, to monitor and curb money politics. Since there are existing rules on violation of financial spending during campaign and money politics in the country, an investigation should be carried out to identify the perpetrators and punished accordingly. The work also recommends that there

is a need for massive public enlightenment campaigns to awaken the public from the dangers and evil of money politics, especially vote-buying.

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