

**GOMBE JOURNAL OF ADMINISTRATION AND
MANAGEMENT (GJAM)**

Vol. 5 No. 1

Print ISSN: 2705-3407

Online ISSN: 2714-2442

May, 2023

PARTY'S INTERNAL DEMOCRACY AND EMERGENCE OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF PDP AND APC (2014 AND 2018)

Mohammed Danjuma¹, Ibrahim Salawu² & Mbah Iyua³

^{1,2&3}Department of Politics and Governance
Faculty of Management and Social Sciences,
Kwara State University, Malete, Kwara State, Nigeria.

mohammed.idris@kwasu.edu.ng¹

ibrahimsalus@gmail.com²

iyuambah1983@gmail.com³

Abstract

In every society, the level at which development is engendered to some extent depends largely on the mode of organization of that society and the system of governance. Nigeria returned to a democratically elected system of governance in 1999 after a protracted military rule. Since then, the country has had a series of elections, and candidates emerged from the political party platform. This study examined the internal democracy in both APC and PDP as well as how presidential candidates in APC and PDP emerged in the buildup for the 2015 and 2019 general elections. While adopting a secondary source of data collection, the study discovered that the 2014 and 2018 presidential primaries through which presidential candidates of PDP and APC emerged were not free and failed. The reports indicate that other factors facilitated the emergence of those candidates such as vote-buying and the power of incumbency as well as the position of president as a party leader. The study recommends that activities of both parties be liberated to accommodate all party members and that members should be made equal whether rich or poor. This would in long run facilitate the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria.

Key Words: Political Party, Party Internal Democracy, Presidential Candidates, PDP, APC

Introduction

Democracy over the years has gained global acceptance as a system of governance with its ideas of elective representation, freedom in the selection of leaders, the supremacy of the law, and freedom of expression as well as association. It's equally true of the fact that democracy is centered on the realization of the common good through collective initiation and discussion of public policies. Inherent in the administration of political parties is the mobilization of support towards capturing state power and administering its policies and programs in the society. This is an indication that political parties are undoubtedly an important institution of democratic growth and development.

Nigeria returned to democratic practice in 1999 after a prolonged military regime with the initial recognition of three political parties. Political parties are therefore indispensable voluntary and informal associations of society, where people share commonly understood values, customs, and attitudes to their role in politics. Therefore, political parties rely heavily on their members to achieve their objective of capturing power for the purpose to administer their policies and program. However, the emergence of candidates at various levels for political office has been a serious challenge affecting internal democracy in both PDP and APC over the years. This has resulted in cases of defections and cross-carpeting of several members to other political parties where they believe their intention and aims could be achieved having discovered that the party structures are hijacked by powerful individuals within the party. Fundamentally, the position accorded to the president and governors as party leaders have caused a lot of controversy about the emergence of presidential candidates which is tantamount to the collapse of democracy in the country. It has been argued in several quarters that political parties are fundamental ingredients of democracy (Omotola, 2009, Saliu, 2010). However, internal activities of these political parties have left so many in doubt most especially concerning the emergence of presidential candidates in PDP and APC with reference to preparation for the 2015 and 2019 presidential elections. It is against this background that this research paper investigates the party's internal democracy with a special focus on the emergence of presidential candidates in the PDP and APC in the build-up for the 2015 and 2019

general elections. In achieving target objectives, the study adopts secondary sources as the method of generating data. Also, content analysis was adopted as a method of data analysis.

Conceptual Analysis

Democracy The concept of democracy since its inception has been used differently by various scholars. Scholars exact the meaning of the concept in their way after a deep reflection on their immediate environment. While the concept often refers to the rule of the people, some scholars define it to mean the process of electing political officeholders. Efforts of having or reaching an acceptable definition of the concept of democracy are being thwarted by various scholars due to a lack of agreement among them. Democracy has been defined as the process through which the people rule (Jande, et al, 2008).

Jega (2007:14) observed that if there is any consensus on what democracy means, it is perhaps to the understanding that it is not personal rule and that it is different from authoritarian and dictatorial rule. According to Jega, democracy is based on some form of participation and representation. Nnoli (2003) however, noticed the common problem from the above definition succinctly, when he argued that democracy is a system of government usually involving freedom of the individual in various aspects of political life, equality among citizens, justice in the relations between the people and the government on the participation of the people in choosing those in government.

One striking feature of democracy as put forward by Nnoli in his definition is the freedom of every qualified citizen to have access to political offices. According to Nnoli, individuals are to be free from participating in the political activities of their society provided they are qualified to do so. However, the scholar seems to have failed to state clearly the amount of freedom that should be given to individuals. Democracy, as an ideal, aims essentially to preserve and promote the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual to achieve social justice, foster the economic and social development of the community, strengthen the cohesion of the society and enhance national tranquility as well as create a climate that is favorable for international peace (Inter-Parliamentary Union 1998).

Democracy is a system of government characterized by the participation of the people through their freely elected representatives, by which the recognition and promotion of the basic rights of citizens, including the rights of vulnerable groups such as minorities (Omotola, 2008). This is talking about the ability of the people to control their decision in the process of selecting those that would represent them. To this end, democracy can be said to mean the process by which society is organized and administered according to the laydown rules and regulations taking cognizance of individual physical and political rights, with the creation of an enabling environment that allows free participation and competition of all groups who seek for political offices in the country.

Political Party

Modern democracy derives its universal appeal from its form as a system of government in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens acting indirectly through the competition of their elected representatives. The principal instrumentality of democracy is the political party. Although, political parties are undoubtedly, a key ingredient in building a robust democracy, the recurrent issue about the concept is the phenomenon of having a universally acceptable definition or understanding of the concept across the board. One of these definitions is that offered by Boye (1998), that Political parties are vectors of democracy, they constitute the means through which individuals may influence public affairs, express their discontent, or support governmental action. Boye further notes that open competition between political parties in the framework of elections is one of the indispensable characteristics of representative democracy. He argued that competition between parties vying for the management of a country's affairs is a socially and politically divisive factor and the stakes are generally high for those involved in the competition.

Given the above position, Salih & Nordlund (2007) notes that by their very nature, political parties are representative institutions that endow regimes with legitimacy provide ideologies that represent social, economic, and political interests, and produce leaders who through democratic

elections form the machinery of government or opportunities for political participation. He further argued that Political parties intermediate and create opportunities for upward social and political mobility, the formation of a coalition of powerful political interests to sustain the government. All the functions have a major influence on politics and how parties carry them out indicates whether a particular democratic system is institutionalized or fragile.

It is not out of place to argue from the above observation that democratic consolidation would be a mirage if political parties are not performing their expected roles in a political system and this is not only in the debate but also by practicing the principle and policies they advocate. Without political parties, modern democracy would be difficult to conceive. In this sense, Abdu (2002:19) asserted that a political party is a group of people who are bonded in policy and opinion about the support for a general political cause, which essentially resolves in their pursuit to capture and control political power through democratic processes.

Party Internal Democracy Internal democracy denotes various means of carrying along all party members in internal party decision making and other deliberations (Scarrows, 2004). Internal democracy is an all-inclusive top-to-bottom approach to party decision-making involving party primaries, representation, accountability, and fair ground for all members to be carried on board by the party internally (Okhaide, 2012). Amusan (2011) posits that standards such as inclusiveness, decentralization, and dedication to policies and techniques of celebration operations if given due interest and accurately adhered to by way of political events will result in political sustainability, stability, foster deliberations, convey consensus amongst birthday celebration of leaders and cadres and will make the organizational shape of the party internal democracy is greater cohesive in the opposition for power. The query then is that are political events in Nigeria geared up for democratic consolidation? Looking seriously at Amusan's averments, political parties have to furnish avenues for internal democracy with the aid of adhering to these principles. Amusan (2011) buttresses that openness inside the political events celebration with the aid of political leaders through a balanced mechanism that cuts throughout several ethnic, non-secular and marginalized, and corporations based totally on bottom top devise is what would entrench the way to go of political party. He argued that the input and output mechanism of political party ought to no longer be managed via a faction for their narrow-minded goals which are designed usually to perpetuate them in power. The indispensable query is, would Nigerian political leaders enable openness and transparency above their egocentric ambitions, needs, and interest?

The essence of internal party democracy, Momodu & Matudi (2013) contend is essentially to create a stage taking part subject for the energetic participation of each member in the internal party affairs and to construct a cohesive operation that is vivid and adequate to win an election and as such grant robust authorities dedicated to an exceptional provider of services that will meet the yearnings and aspirations of the citizens. Omotola (2010) affirms that a political party's decision-making constructions and approaches ought to grant possibilities for members to decide on certain decisions. This converges with the views of Momodu & Matudi (2013) on the efficiency and advantages of inclusive decision-making procedures in boosting internal party democracy.

Mike (2016) submits that the internal democracy of political parties has an impact on democratic consolidation and representation, due to the fact internal party organizational troubles such as membership, recruitment, socialization, training, self-discipline and sources of income have profound effect on electoral processes in Nigeria. Politics is reduced to free opportunism and open self-serving pastime of character politicians who may additionally derail the nation-building system and the democratic project.

Babayo & Muhammad (2019) assert that for political parties to keep away from manipulation warfare to stop subjective selection or imposition of candidates towards the majority individuals wish, individuals have to work within the ambit of laid down tactics and standard of mutual decision. They similarly posit that internal democracy offers an avenue for suitable recruitment of members, political socialization, training, discipline, accountability, and transparency, with the closing impact of assemble the yearnings and aspirations of the citizenry.

Theoretical Framework

The field of political science experienced the existence of various theories. These theories include but are not limited to systemic theory, structural functionalism, elite theory, group theory, democratic peace theory, and participatory democratic theory. However, for this study, group theory will be utilized as a tool of analysis. The reason for the choice of group theory as a framework of analysis is simple. Political parties which are the group of able men and women with the common goal of contesting and winning the election for the purpose of running the administration of the government of a given modern democratic society are the product of a group. It, therefore, follows that political parties serve as the only vehicle for modern democracy where people contest elections under a particular group, win and run the administration of a given democratic society.

Group theory came into being following the failure of the elitist theory which centered on the organization and concentration of society in the hands of a few people. Group theory, therefore, refutes or debunks this argument and suggests that other than concentrating the society in a few hands, society should be organized according to groups with many interest groups competing against each other for power. The intellectual roots of the group theory are anchored on the doctrines of pluralism as developed by several of early twentieth-century English writers (Bentley, 1926, Truman 1953, Dahl 1961 & McConnell 1966). Group theorists emphasize the organization of society according to groups rather than individuals. They argue that the study of politics should not be based on individuals as the unit of analysis but rather groups should be the basic unit of study in politics.

The origin of the group theory in its present form is traced back to Arthur F. Bentley, (1908). The theory was, however, not popular until the fifties and sixties when it was revived by Daniel Truman, Robert Dahl, Grant McConnell, and Teodora J. Lewis among other writers. (Bentley, 1926, Truman, 1953, Dahl 1961, McConnell 1966, and Theodora 1971 cited in Varma 2011:161-166). According to Bentley (1926), the politics we studied is never found in one man by himself, it cannot even be started by adding men to men. It must be taken as it comes in many men together. The position of Bentley (1908) is that politics must be studied according to groups as they compete to acquire political power to authoritatively allocate resources in society. These groups are in a state of perpetual interaction with each other and politics consist of the shunting by some men of other men's conduct along changed lines, the getting of forces to overcome resistance to such alterations, or the dispersal of one grouping of forces by another grouping.

To this end, Bentley defined group as a certain portion of the men of society, taking, however, not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men but as mass activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in many other groups' activities. The exponent of group theory asserted that the form of politics of any given society is ultimately determined by the interaction among groups within the society and the competition among such groups to influence government in the allocation of societal resources and exercise of power. The point being made here is explicit of the groups that politics in virtually all societies with the practice of democracy is predicated on group interaction and competition to acquire political power that would allow them to authoritatively allocate resources in the society. Each group, therefore, bids to gain access to the position of decision-making in the government and the success of these groups is usually affected by certain factors like cohesion and organization of those groups, quality of leadership, and financial status of those groups. As good as the group theory is in the analysis of politics in society; the theory is being criticized on account of its failure to recognize the power of individuals and the role of the state in politics. The theory is incomplete in ruling out the individual's characteristics. This reveals that an individual's characteristics are very critical in politics as well as the role of the state.

Notwithstanding the criticism leveled against group theory, the theory is still much relevant in the study of politics because modern democracy is being made along with political parties notably groups competing for political power to control societal resources. The theory is relevant as it offers an in-depth analysis of the study of political parties in a modern democracy. The theory is much aware of the role played by individuals in those groups. These individuals' roles are duly acknowledged as necessary

for the strength of these groups as the theory emphasizes the quality of leadership as one of the successes of those groups. Invariably, the theory is talking about the essentiality of individuals and the role of the state in those groups.

Party's Internal Democracy and Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An Overview

There are legal and institutional frameworks that are considered important for the effective administration of political parties. This is due to the already organized structure of the party that guide and regulate the behaviors of the party members (Kura, 2014). Furthermore, organize political parties allows for the propagation of democracy since political parties which are institutionalized are not subjected to the whims and caprices of a few ambitious leaders within the party.

Lending credence to the above, Ikechukwu (2015), painstakingly highlighted five categories of institutional and legal framework guiding the operation of political parties in Nigeria which are subsumed to the legal frameworks guiding primaries and candidate selection in virtually all political parties in Nigeria. These include;

- The 1999 Constitution;
- The Constitution of the Political Party
- The Electoral Acts
- Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) statutory rules and
- Other informal rules.

The 1999 constitution of Nigeria provides rules guiding the operation of political parties in Nigeria. Thus, the internal constitutions of both PDP and APC are tailored to the stipulations of the 1999 constitution. Sections 221-229 provide that, every political party must guarantee the registration of names and addresses, open membership, registered constitution, ethno-religious free party nomenclature, and location of headquarters in Abuja (Nigeria Constitution, 1999).

The conduct of primaries and the selection of candidates is a compulsory mandate of political parties. The 1999 constitution cum electoral act stated clearly that all political parties must conduct primary elections to select candidates that would contest for various political offices which must be monitored and supervised by INEC officials. For instance, Section 85(1) (2) and (3) of the 2010 Electoral Act lays the foundation for a transparent party internal democracy. The section provides that INEC shall attend and monitor any convention, congress, conference, or meeting convened to elect members of a party's executive committees or other governing bodies; nominating candidates for an election at any level. The INEC is to ensure that the exercise is conducted in a democratic manner, which allows for all members of the party or duly elected delegates to vote in support of a candidate of their choice (Electoral Act, 2010).

Similarly, the constitution of both APC and PDP also stipulates the guiding principle for the conducts of primaries and the emergence of candidates for political offices from the office of the President to the local level. It's on record that registered members of the parties who meet the requirements are considered eligible to contest for political positions like President (APC constitution, 2014, PDP constitution as amended 2012). The rules of the independent national electoral commission are not to be neglected as they provide legal frameworks binding candidate selection and conduct of primaries in the All Progressive Party and Peoples Democratic Party. To this extent, Ikechukwu (2015) argued that INEC is the second most important institutional framework for monitoring the activities and directing party politics in Nigeria.

The constitution of Nigeria has authorized INEC to monitor all-party operations in the country from registration and the conduct of primaries. These rules are thus made available to political parties before to the conduct of elections as a guiding framework for their operations. These rules were readily available before to the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015, and 2019 elections respectively. Certain informal designs of candidate selection and primaries were outlined by Ballington (2004) to include an assessment of the costs of time, energy, the likelihood of winning, and an estimation of the resources needed to run an effective campaign. In the People's Democratic Party, certain unconstitutional

considerations such as nepotism, ethnic cleavages, clientelism, and an aspirant's war chest such as the ability to rig elections, influence party officials or delegates who vote at primaries have been institutionalized in the process of candidate selection.

Discussions on party internal democracy have targeted the extent to which political parties recognize regulations and legal frameworks that govern their operations. In Nigeria, there are about five predominant classes of regulations that formed the modus operandi of political parties as enunciated above. Despite these legal frameworks, the Nigerian political parties have been very infamous for disobedience to guidelines of engagements which over the years have undermined democratic growth (Adejumobi, 2007; Ikechuckwu, 2015). This was once additionally the case in the prelude to and after the 2019 general elections. Like the preceding elections in Nigeria, the fantastic of the 2019 election was once affected by inordinate complaints referring to the behavior of political parties as regards internal democracy before the elections. For example, each of the All Progressive Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) had a variety of court docket instances involving the habits of their internal operating system mainly in relation to the nomination process.

The nomination technique of the two political parties before the 2019 general election suffered immensely from brazen disdain for electoral pointers and breach of extant legal guidelines that informed such process (Idacheba & Makinde, 2021, Atelhe, Muhammad & Alagh, 2019). This is for instance according to Idacheba & Makinde (2021) who observed that principal disaster eventualities referred to the internal democracy of the APC and the PDP before the 2019 general elections. For example, APC in Zamfara State failed to conduct legitimate primaries earlier than the stipulated cut-off date for the election of their governorship, residence representatives, and senators' aspirants opposite to the provision of Section 87, subsection (1)(2)(3)(4)(5)(6)(7) (8) of the Electoral Act as amended. Even though APC won all the election there were automatically given to the Opposition party whose results shows that there were next to APC. In Imo State also, there was an internal disaster in the APC which prompted the failure of party bigwigs to settle on the nomination system for the governorship aspirant of the APC. The result of which saw the PDP candidates emerge as the winner of the election. Though APC was later declared the winner of the election by the Supreme Court.

Also in River state, the conduct of primaries in APC failed to habit free primaries in the state due to the dispute emanating from Rotimi Amaechi, the immediate past minister of transport, and Senator Magnus Abe which influence the disqualification of APC into participating in the election. While in Ogun state there were issues of imposition of consensus candidate purported by the then incumbent governor in opposition of party leaders. This resulted in a fundamental disaster in APC in the state losing the presidential election.

Similarly, there were questions revolving around the legitimacy of the PDP's foremost election in Kano state. There have been allegations that no primary election was conducted for the nomination of governorship aspirant in the state. The essential election was once marred in violence as gunmen disrupted the exercise. Though marred by using violence, the primary election was once upheld through the Judiciary. The PDP presidential aspirant, Atiku Abubakar was once alleged to have handed the most marketing campaign spending directly in opposition to Section ninety-one of the Electoral Act. The instances above printed the challenges of intra-party democracy in Nigeria.

The principal political parties, the PDP and the APC carried out their intra-party things to do barring recourse to regulations guiding such activities. As we have argued earlier than now, for democracy to be consolidated, there is a want for constant and recurring adherence to primary standards of democracy which encompass but are not constrained to a free and truthful electoral process, strict appreciation of the regulations of democratic opposition (intra-party democratic rules), and popular mandate. However, as some of the instances above show, the system of nominating preferred bearers of each the PDP and the APC in the direction of the 2019 standard elections had been characterized by way of many flaws and challenges that no longer solely negate simple democratic principles, however additionally undermine democratic consolidation.

The Emergence of Presidential Candidates of PDP and APC for the 2015 and 2019 General Elections

At least 8000 delegates of APC gathered at Teslim Balogun stadium in Lagos to select party flag bearers for the February 14 presidential election. The delegates both elected and statutory were drawn from the 36 states and the federal capital territory made from the five aspirants who were seeking to be the party candidates for the presidential election. The aspirant that seeks to be the party presidential candidate was the former Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, former head of state, Muhammadu Buhari, former governor of Kano State, Rabiu Kwankwoso, Imo State governor, Rochas Okorocha and the publishers of leadership newspaper, Sam Nda-Isaiah (Tukur & Ibekwe, 2014). Reports from several newspapers revealed that Muhammadu Buhari emerged as the presidential candidate of APC in the 2014 primaries having scored the highest number of votes as declared by the then-current governor of Ekiti state, Dr, Fayemi Kayode who was the returning officer. The Report indicates that Muhammadu Buhari scored 3430 votes and defeated his closet contestant, Rabiu Kwankwoso who scored 974. Others such as Atiku, former vice president, Rochas Okorocha, and Sam Nda-Isaiah scored 954, 624, and 10 votes' respectively (Akinrefon, et al, 2014).

On the other hand, PDP 2014 presidential primaries started with the election of the national chairman of the party. This was imperative considering the crisis of the party at that time. The essence of the national convention was to ensure that the party have a chairman that could sign the necessary documents and presentation of their presidential candidates for election to INEC (Umoru, 2014). In preparation for a presidential convention to rectify the presidential candidate of President Jonathan. Given the above, the party men deemed it feet to first of all organize a convention to give Muazu's emergence the needed constitutional recognition. According to Sahara reporters (2014), President Goodluck Jonathan won the PDP presidential primaries election in Abuja. The PDP primaries were held at Eagle Square in Abuja and in the process, President Goodluck Jonathan's presidential ambition was rectified and he became the PDP presidential candidate for the 2015 general election.

In preparation for the 2018 presidential primaries of both parties in line with the constitution of the country and of political parties. APC on their part, the national working committee met in Abuja and appointed the governors of respected states to serve as returning officers for the presidential direct primaries which would hold across the states of the federation and the federal capital territory. It was also agreed that in the state where the sitting governor is not a member of APC, senators and ministers in such state would serve as returning officers for the exercise (Vanguard, 2018). The result of the APC presidential primaries was held on 29th September, 2018 and the result of the direct primaries was announced on the 30th with President Muhammadu Buhari retuning unopposed. With this, the presidency described the outcome of the primaries across the states as a major boost to the success of President Buhari during the 2019 presidential election (Adetayo, 2018). Garba Shehu argued that Buhari who contested the party's presidential primaries unopposed has shown that one does not have to be a party owner or go through a difficult inner party consensus to emerge a candidate (Punch, 2018).

In a similar vein, Kazeen (2018) asserted that President Buhari's main challenger in Nigeria's coming election was a familiar rival, Nigeria's former Vice President Atiku Abubakar who was picked as the presidential candidate of the PDP. Atiku was a member of APC until December 2017 when he decamped and returned to PDP. With Atiku's candidature for PDP, it's shown that Atiku is running for the fourth time after failed attempts in 2007, 2011, and 2015. Atiku's frequent switching of party tent and alliance with ease has become a key feature of Nigeria's politics since the beginning of the fourth republic (Bakare, 2018). The results of the PDP primaries held in Port Harcourt revealed that Atiku Abubakar emerged the winner and became the party ag bearer having scored the highest votes of 1532 to beat his closet rival, Aminu Tambawal who scored 693 votes (Punch, 7th, October, 2018).

Factors Affecting Party Internal Democracy in PDP and APC

The financial demands in party politics are more felt in the procurement of nomination and expression of interest forms by all aspirants which range between N27.5 million and N1.2 million Naira

depending on what office is involved. During the recently concluded 2019 election, APC sold his presidential nomination for as much as 45 million. Lending credence to the above, INEC has made some observations on the sponsorship of candidates for motives other than to engender democratic practice in the country. According to INEC; Many Nigerian politicians are 'sponsored' by local and regional power brokers cum political entrepreneurs who finance their campaigns for public office. The 'sponsorship' is effectively a business transaction in which the patron recovers the 'investment' in the form of public works and procurement contracts...on assuming public office (INEC, 2005). This distorted the main essence party's internal democracy. Similarly, incumbent candidates at primaries, with less stress, pick party tickets. This development establishes that there is an unequal playing ground whereby the incumbent control the political apparatus and uses it to his advantage (Ukase, 2015).

The votes buying in politics is arguably the biggest threat to democracy worldwide today. INEC observes that money distorts the candidate's selection process within parties and largely influences who emerge at primaries in Nigeria's biggest parties most especially PDP and APC. The wide variance in the level of votes buying by candidates within political parties restricts opportunities for political competition and tend to disenfranchise challengers (INEC, 2005). As such, aspirants seek to out-spend one another to emerge victorious at the party nomination processes

The sponsorship of political and electoral activities is therefore synonymous with the abuse of office and corruption by political officeholders. The adverse effect of vote buying is that once a person is elected into public office, the task is to pursue policies and programs, which translate to the payment of electoral costs as against the popular and usual practice of democracy. This is a clear demonstration of the highest bidder taking the day. Against this backdrop, INEC has observed that the financial requirements for nomination form and electoral competition seem to be soaring higher, shorting out many credible candidates that would have to emerge giving a level playing ground but have no financial capacity to prosecute his or her ambition.

Major Findings

Though the modus operandi of the party administration in Nigeria is clearly stated both in Nigeria's 1999 constitution and 2010 electoral act however, a colossal study on the major political parties (PDP and APC) in Nigeria shows the contrary to the laid down procedures. Similarly, the constitution of both PDP and APC acknowledges the ability of party members to elect the party's nominees to public positions and the provision for independent judicial review of internal party democracy (Olaniyi, 2016).

However, this study finds out that the 2014 primaries did not reflect the real meaning of democracy as party members were not allowed to elect their candidates in free and fair primary elections. While the People's Democratic Party at the so-called primaries held in Abuja was meant to ratify the candidature of the then president, Goodluck Jonathan. To this extent therefore many intending contestants were shorted out as he was returned unopposed. Similarly, the All Progressive Party which held its first National convention in Lagos turned out to be a market square where the highest bidder carried the day. One would argue here that Muhammadu Buhari who won the primaries has no money at the time he contested however, significance indices show that he was sponsored by some former governors who defected from PDP.

The findings also show that one of the major obstacles against party internal democracy in Nigeria is the position of the president and governors of 36 states as party leaders in various capacity. The president who is made the leader of his party can decide to emerge as the sole candidate of his party without any objection from members. The position being made here was the reflection of the PDP 2014 presidential primaries and APC 2019 presidential primaries in Nigeria. The 2018 presidential primary of both PDP and APC show vice versa. While the All Progressive Party (APC) held its conventions to return President Buhari as its presidential candidate in unopposed primaries. The People's Democratic Party on the other hand held its national convention in rivers state headquarters, Port Harcourt where the former vice president Atiku Abubakar emerged as the presidential candidate of PDP. This convention was widely reported as a show of dollars as delegates who switch tents with Atiku were given thousands of dollars.

The study discovers voting buying among other things as factors affecting the achievement of party internal democracy among Nigeria's political parties. Vote-buying can create a collective action problem when all parties are buying votes, which can have inverse impacts on the final results (Molina & Lehoucq, 1999). As Molina & Lehoucq (1999) outlined in their study, while the unilateral use of vote-buying can help one party achieve better results (win the election), if all parties engage in such a process, it can create a deadlock and even disadvantage specific parties. They conclude that even if there is a victory, the high level of the perception of vote-buying can deny their legitimacy (Molina & Lehoucq, 1999). This theory can be true if all parties had the same resources, however, this is rarely the case.

Conclusion

Fundamentally, political parties are a special ingredient of deepening democracy in society. They are considered a lubricant for consolidating democracy. To this end, political parties can either make or mar the achievement of democracy in a given society. Nigeria again returned to democratic rule in 1999. From this period, the country has organized several elections in which many political parties participated. The internal activities of political parties in Nigeria show that the country has a long way to go in terms of consolidating democracy. This study examined party internal democracy regarding to the emergence of presidential candidates of both PDP and APC for the 2015 and 2019 general elections respectively. It was discovered that party internal democracy has nothing to write home about especially concerning the emergence of presidential candidates. Factors that account for this decimal situation are the position accorded to the president as a party leader and to buy votes.

The study recommends among other things liberalization of political activities of both parties in order to accommodate all party members irrespective of whether rich or poor, in place of authority or not.

References

- Abdu, H. (2002). "Political Party Formation and Electoral Process in Nigeria: Examining Some Contentious Issues in the Review of 1999 Constitution", in I. Otiye & B. Ololade, eds., *Contentious Issues in the Review of the 1999 Constitution*. Lagos: Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reforms. pp 93-118
- Adetayo, O. (2018). APC Presidential Primaries Results, a Boost for Buhari; *Punch Newspaper* September 30, pp.1
- Akinrefon, D., Oke, G., Nwabughio, L. & Olowopojo, M. (2014). Buhari Win APC Presidential Primaries; *Vanguard Newspaper*, December 11, pp.1-2
- Aleyomi, M. B. (2013). Inter-Party Conflicts in Nigeria: The Case Study of People Democratic Party. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*. Vol 15 No. 4.
- Amusan, L. (2011). *Intra-Politics and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Five Decades of Undue Journey*. Ibadan: Codat Publication
- Anifowose, R. (Eds.) (2004). *Issues in Nigeria's 1999 General Elections*. Lagos; John West Publications Limited and Reboink Publications Limited. pp. 55-78.
- Anifowose, R. & Enwmuo, F. (Eds); (2008). *Element of Politics*. Sam Iroanusi Publications, Lagos
- Babayo, S. & Muhammad, A. (2019). Internal Democracy and Nigerian Political Parties: The Case of the All Progressive Congress (APC). *Qualitative and Quantitative Research Review*. Vol. 4. No. 1.
- Bakare, T. (2018). PDP Presidential Primaries: How Aspirant Stand; *Guardian Newspapers* October 7; pp. 1 & 4
- Boye, A. D. (1998). Some Important Problems and Aspects of Democracy in the Context of the Black African States in Democracy: Its Principles and Achievement. The Inter-Parliamentary Union; ATAR, Geneva, Switzerland.

- Connelly, M. (1953). Democracy: *The Irish Monthly*, Vol. 81 No.954, Pp43-48; Irish Jesuit Province. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20516492>.
- Electoral Act (2010). Section 85 (1-3).
- INEC (2005). Political Party's Finance Handbook, INEC, Abuja.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (1998). Universal Declaration on Democracy Adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its 161st Session held in Cairo, 16 September, 1997,
- Janda, K. et al (2008). *Challenge of Democracy: Government in America*, Ninth edition; Houghton Mifin Company, New York.
- Jega, A. M. (2007). *Democracy, Good Governance, and Development in Nigeria: Critical Essays*. Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan.
- Johari, J. C. (2012). *Contemporary Political Theory: New Dimensions Basic Concept and Major Trend*; Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi.
- Kazeen, Y. (2018). President Buhari's Main Challenger in Nigeria Election Next Year is a Familiar Rival, *Quartz Africa*. October, 7.
- Molina, I. & Lehoucq, F. E. (1999). Political Competition, and Electoral Fraud: A Latin American Case Study. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 199-234. The MIT Press. Retrieved from www.jstor.org.
- Momodu, A. J. & Matudi, G. I. (2013). The Implications of Intraparty Conflicts on Nigeria's Democratization. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 13(6), pp. 1-13.
- Nigerian Constitution (1999). Constitution, Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- Nnoli, O. (2003). *Introduction to Politics*. Revised 2nd Edition, Enugu: PACREP.
- Ogale, G. (2018) APC Presidential Primaries; Buhari Polls 802,819 Votes in Home State Katsina; *Premium Times*; December 11, pp. 3.
- Okhaide, I. P. (2012). Quest for Internal Party Democracy in Nigeria: Amendment of Electoral 2010 as an Albatross. *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, 3(3) 57- 75.
- Olaniyi, F. O. (2016). The Impact of Parties Internal Democracy on Nigeria's Development, *Akungba Law Journal*; Vol.4, No 1; Research Gate
- Omotola, J. S. (2008). 'Democracy and Constitutionalism in Nigeria under the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007' *Africana*, Vol. 2(2)
- Pulse Newspaper (2018). NANS Blast Governors Imposing Successors Ahead of 2019 Election; pulse.ng, September 16, 2018 pp 2
- Punch (2018). PDP Presidential Primaries Results, *Punch Newspaper*, October 7, 2018 pp 2.
- Sahara Reporters (2014). Goodluck Jonathan wins PDP Presidential Primaries Election in Abuja
- Salih, M. A .M. & Nordlund, P. (2007). Political Parties in Africa: Challenges for Sustained Multiparty Democracy; International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
- Saliu, H. A. (2011). Challenges of Democracy in Nigeria and the Pathways: Nigerian Forum, the Nigerian Institute of international affairs. *Journal of Opinion on World Affairs*, Vol.3 2, No.7 & 8 pp.223-238
- Saliu, H. A. & Muhammed, A. A. (2021). Growing Nigeria's Democracy through Viable Political Parties. Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin PMB 1515, Ilorin, Nigeria retrieved on 28 June 2021.
- Saliu, H. A. (2010). *Democracy, Governance, and International Relations*. College Press and Publishers Limited, Lead City University, Ibadan
- Scarrow, S. (2005). Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy. Washington: National Democratic Institute.
- Schumpeter, J. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row
- Tukur, S. & Ibekwe, N. (2014). Presidential Primaries, *Premium Times*, December 10, pp 2

- Ukase, P. I. (2015). Political Parties and Electoral/ Campaign Financing in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 General Elections; Department of History and International Studies, Kogi State University Anyigba.
- Umoru, H. (2014). PDP Presidential Candidates to Emerge at November Convention; *Vanguard Newspaper*, August 27 pp 8
- Vanguard Newspaper (2018). APC Presidential Primaries, Governors to Serve as Returning Officers; September 28, pp.2
- Varma, S. P. (2011). *Modern Political Theory*, New Delhi; Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd