

**INTRA-PARTY RIVALRY IN THE BUILD-UP TO 2023 GENERAL
ELECTION: A CASE OF 2022 ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS
(APC) PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY ELECTION**

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**BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL
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ABSTRACT

Democracy as a form of government towers above all other systems of government in the modern world. Political parties are the veritable platforms in which leaders are recruited to pilot the affairs of a state. In party politics, intra-party rivalry thrives on absence of internal democracy which ultimately leads to a decline in democratic process and governance. In Nigeria political parties, consequent upon primary elections there are always witness serious intra-party dissents and these have grave challenges to democratic consolidation and sustainable development. Therefore, the main objective of this study was to look at intra-party rivalry in the build-up to 2023 general elections with a specific focus on the 2022 All Progressives Congress (APC) presidential primary election. The justification was to identify the factors responsible for intra-party rivalry in APC and the challenges it would have on the 2023 general election.

The study relied on both primary and secondary data. The primary data were sourced through the administration of questionnaire for a total of 195 respondents and 124 responded successfully. The secondary data were information obtained from books, journals, newspapers, magazine and on-line materials. The simple procedure used was simple random sampling and the rationale was to ensure that every member has equal chance of being selected. The techniques of data analysis were simple percentage method.

The major findings showed that intra-party rivalry had been in APC since inception; and that it had the tendency to negatively affect the democratic consolidation and sustainable political development as the nation looked towards 2023 general election.

The study concluded that the general view on intra-party rivalry had the capacity to derail democratic process in the country. The study made the following recommendations among others: Parties members must ensure that they confine themselves to Party Constitution, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and other relevant extant laws including electoral guidelines. Actors and members of political parties should be treated equally and fairly by a level playing field during primary election. The conduct of primary election should be free, fair and credible in order to produce a well acceptable candidate. Political parties should avoid imposition of candidates so as to avoid internal rivalry. Power rotation between the North and South should be entrenched in APC Constitution with consideration for each geopolitical zone for the sake of justice, fairness and equity. There should be an internal mechanism for prompt identification of rivalry that might lead to conflicts for the purpose of resolving them promptly. Members of ruling party in governance should not design policies/regulations that would have negative impact on democratic consolidation and sustainable development in Nigeria.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Democracy as a form of government towers above all other system of government world over. The definition of democracy by Abraham Lincoln puts democracy as people-centered government. This explains why most developed democracies and other less developed ones embrace this system of government. This is in opposition to the excesses of dictatorship of the likes of Joseph Stalin of the USSR, Adolf Hitler of Nazi Germany, Idi Amin of Uganda, Mobutu Sese of Zaire, Benito Mussolini of Italy, just to mention a few who jeopardized the global preference for a democratic system of government. Therefore, politics which man has designed for himself as a vehicle of service has become an instrument of unedifying struggle for power, for place hunting, personal aggrandizement, for renowned and kindred ephemeral as well as the attendant hate and viciousness.

Politics as an art is actually anchored on the key fundamentals of providing services for people across all democracies. If well played, it holds enduring principles and values that contribute to the overall well-being and happiness of all and sundry in the society. Political parties are the veritable platforms in which leaders are recruited to administer or pilot the affairs of a state or government. In any party politics, intra-party rivalry flourishes on absence of internal democracy and ultimately leads to a decline in governance and democratization owing to lack of virile institution when there is no respect for party constitution, party discipline, the rule of law and lack of party ideology: all these could be responsible for intra-party rivalry. In the advanced democracies like the United States of America, United Kingdom, Germany, Canada,

etc. there is adherence to the constitution of the party and discipline in all ramifications of their political lives including respect for the rule of law and presence of party ideology.

In Nigeria political parties, there is always serious intra-party rivalry after primary election. In mid-2022, the various parties in Nigeria were in primary elections season where there was a contest between the powerful and the not-so-powerful politicians. The internal party has been challenging for political parties in Nigeria because there is the need to affirm the supremacy of the party due to the fact that it is the utmost essence. The entire leadership selection process should involve the participation of members, especially members of the political party. To succeed, any party needs internal cohesion which can be achieved through unity of purpose, strategic alignment, consultation, fairness, determination, and effective leadership (The Guardian, Saturday, June 4, 2022). The right conduct of elections within a political party in selection of party leadership or candidates to context for elective position encourages and sustains democracy from the inception of party politics. In Nigeria, political parties have witnessed internal rivalry resulting in factions, breakaway, with the ultimate resultant in the formation of new parties owing to lack of internal democracy most especially in the conduct of primaries.

Nigeria was until 1999, devastated with military rules. However, almost 24 years (1999-2023) into democratic rule and in spite of sustainable democratic government; peace and security have been threatened and difficult to achieve. To maintain peace and security, the role of political parties in the country is paramount. These among other roles include: democratic sustainability maintenance of peace and security and serve as a unifying force in a divided polity (Aleyomi, 2013). Given the stable democratic journey in Nigeria's Fourth Republic with

a pivotal role played by political parties; therefore, this study is set out to interrogate intra-party rivalry in relationship with the All Progressives Congress 2022 presidential primary election in a build-up to 2023 general elections.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The issue that usually rears its head in elections is the manner in which primaries of political parties are conducted. Nigeria is one of the numerous nations whose political parties have structural and organizational problems which include among others lack of intra-party democracy with emphasis on the mode of selecting candidates for elective positions. The poor organization of political parties has adversely affected their electoral fortunes on membership and voters' turnout in the country since the beginning of the fourth republic. Political parties across democracies normally retain exclusive control over recruitment of candidates in political institutions; this includes parliament and in governance. According to Ichino and Nathan (2012), political parties are conduits for voters to their representatives. In Nigeria, political parties have been leveled with complaints with respect to how they select their candidates. They have disappointed in entrenching internal democracy in choosing candidates and have resulted in factions within parties and defectors or carpet crossing to other political parties. The power of choosing these representatives may be reserved for few people who lead the party terming it as "non-law of oligarchy" coined by Mitchel in 1915 (cited in Addae, 2021). Personalizing and regulating the operations of parties to a handful members which are prominent in most African countries, may not be widely accepted for the enhancement of democracy this makes citizens passive member of the polity (Osei, 2013; Sandbrook,1996).

Nigeria has made a giant stride in developing its party system since return to democratic rule in 1999 notwithstanding the deficit of internal democratic procedures in party administration which continues to be contended with by party leaders. There has been a clarion call for internal democracy because parties are perceived as the mobilizers with a main objective of capturing political power. The conduct of primaries in selection of party candidates demonstrates intra-party democracy but has turned out to be a challenge for various parties in Nigeria. This plays important role in the defeat of these parties in their outing in general elections. The significant step is to revise intra-party structure and organizational strategies (Fobih, 2011; Meissner, 2010: cited in Addae, 2011).

It has been observed in recent times that many political parties in Nigeria find it difficult to adopt an open system that will not only allow members of the party to participate in the decisions making but also give them limited opportunity to contest in electioneering under the party's platform. This kind of socio-political restriction is poisonous and has resulted in party wrangling, acrimony and cross-carpeting in many Nigeria political parties. This works, therefore, seeks to look at intra-party rivalry with specific focus on the All Progressives Congress (APC) 2022 Presidential Primary in a build-up to the 2023 general election.

1.3 Research Questions

Specifically, the research is guided by the following questions:

- i. Was there intra-party rivalry in APC in the conduct of its 2022 presidential primary election?
- ii. What are the factors responsible for this intra-party rivalry in APC?
- iii. How do these factors affect Nigeria as it glides towards democratic consolidation and sustainable development in 2023 general election?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

Broadly, the objective of this study is to decipher the effect of intra-party rivalry in APC in the conduct of its 2022 presidential primary election in a build-up to 2023 general election in Nigeria. However, the following are the specific objectives:

- i. To survey whether there was intra-party rivalry in APC in the conduct of its 2022 presidential primary election.
- ii. To examine the factors responsible for this intra-party rivalry in APC.
- iii. To determine how these factors affect Nigeria as it glides towards democratic consolidation and sustainable development in 2023 general election.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study is an examination of the effect of intra-party rivalry in the build-up to 2023 general election with a focus on the All Progressives Congress (APC) presidential primary election held in June 2022. The APC is selected for this study because it is the governing party in Nigeria since 2015. Therefore, how it conducted its presidential primaries would have effect on the democratic process, consolidation and sustainability in Nigeria. This study is focused

on intra-party rivalry in Nigeria and because the nation is a multi-party setting. The study is limited to All Progressives Congress due to its intermittent rivalry since its formation in 2013 and being a ruling party in Nigeria from 2015 to date. The frequent rivalries that generate from the party will help the researcher to arrive at reliable and verifiable conclusion.

1.6 Significance of the study

Intra-party rivalry is a challenging phenomenon. It is very common among the major political parties in Nigeria. Therefore, this study is expected to enlighten various groups as follows:

Researchers and Academicians: It will add to the existing body of knowledge and provide a source of reference to further empirical studies into intra-party rivalry and its effect on political parties and general elections in Nigeria.

Politicians and the society at large: It will also assist politicians and students of politics to understand the effect of intra-party rivalry on the political stability of a nation. Furthermore, it will give a deep understanding into reasons for political instability and on the whole, findings of the study will recommend how the occurrence of intra-party rivalry can be curtailed in future.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Conceptual Review

This chapter looks at the concepts that are used in the context of this study. This section features a conceptual redefinition of the primary concepts used in this study and demonstrate a critical review of their usage in the Nigerian electoral democracy. We shall lay bare the meaning of the following concepts for ease of focused understanding in the study: political party, democracy, intra-party rivalry/conflict, and internal democracy. Each of the concepts shall be reviewed one after the other.

2.1 Political Party:

The concept of political party has no generally accepted definition. It has been conceptualized in various ways by different scholars. No wonder, the National Democratic Institute (n.d.) posits that political party constitutes one of the primary avenues through which citizens can exercise authority and participate in political life. Schattschneider (1942, p.35), observes that political parties aggregate and represent the interests of their constituents while seeking to form and control the government. Political party is an assemblage of men with similar views on homogeneity on their approach coupled with the series of activities that take place within the party conflict leading to fractionalization within such a party (Momodu & Matuidi, 2013). As an emerging democracy, party men decide both party action and citizens' action in Nigeria. Who are the party men? They are those members whose interests reign supreme at any period in the political party. They hold the party structure and have access to the President or Government as the case may be.

According to Sartori (1977:63), a political party is any group identified by an official label that presents at elections candidates for public offices. In the view of Lapalombara and

Anderson (2001:143), a political party is any political group, in possession of an official label and a formal organization that links center to locality, that presents at elections and is capable of placing through elections (free or non-free) candidates for public offices. To Ikelegbe and Osumah (2008:34), they conceptualize a political party as a voluntary association, organized by persons bound by common interests, which seeks to acquire or retain power through the election of its candidates.

From the above, we can deduce from all ramifications that (All Progressives Congress) is qualified to be called a political group. It presents candidates for public offices and it seeks to acquire (though currently acquiring power at the center) but seeks to retain power through election of its candidates for various elective offices in Nigeria. Arising from the foregoing, therefore, a political party is an entity that is different or stands out from other institutions of democracy by the copious functions it administers in a democratic dispensation. It is because of this that Agbaje (1999) apparently classifies these into three: electorate-related functions; government-related functions and linkage-related functions. However, it has to be stressed that, in the case of members struggling for power, the dispensation or administration of these functions is not given but rather depends on how well a political party should have internal mechanisms for conflicts resolution (Adeniyi, n.d.). The point to note is that a political party should have internal mechanisms for conflicts management that may arise among its members.

For us to understand political parties further as platform for candidate selection, we need to take recourse to the provision on political parties in the context of Nigeria as enshrined in the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) in Section 221 which states:

No association other than a political party, shall canvass for votes for any candidates at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at the election.

This means that a political party is first and foremost an association with the monopoly of platform to canvass for votes from the electorates for their candidates or that is legally empowered to contribute funds to the electoral pursuits of candidates during elections. In effect, it portrays that no other associations can field candidates in elections and that it is only political parties that are in the business of canvassing for votes in a bid to win the power of ruling the Nigerian state or parts thereof.

According to Norris, (2004); Peters, (2000) cited in Ikechukwu (2015), there are five categories of institutional framework governing the formation, operations and activities of political activities in Nigeria; and they are:

1. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999;
2. The Constitutions of various political parties;
3. The Electoral Acts (2002, 2006, 2010, and 2022) as amended
4. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Statutory rules; and
5. Other informal rules

Sections 221-229 of the CFRN, 1999 (as amended) stipulate criteria for the creation of political parties. Importantly, for any political association to qualify as a political party, it must fulfill the following criteria:

- (a) Its names and addresses of its national officers are registered with INEC;

- (b) Its membership is open to all Nigerians;
- (c) Its Constitution is accepted and registered with INEC;
- (d) Its name, symbols or logo does not contain any ethnic or religious or regional connotation;
- (e) Its headquarters is located in Abuja (Section 222).

In a similar vein, the Constitution and other statutory rules of the political parties must accordingly provide:

- (a) for the conduct of a periodic election on a democratic basis for the election of its principal officers, executive members, and members of its governing body, at regular intervals not exceeding four years.
- (b) members of its executive committees and other Principal officers must reflect the federal character of Nigeria, and these officers must belong to different states not less than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the 36 states and FCT (section 223, sub-section 1-2). Individual Political Parties' constitutions provide detailed rules and regulations governing the internal operations of the party including the *modus operandi* for the appointment, selection, nomination and/or election of the principal officers and nomination of candidates for public officers among others.

In addition to constitutions, guidelines are also periodically formulated to regulate party convention and congresses. Electoral Act is another category of statutory rules governing the activities of parties. It is usually provided by INEC subject to enactment

by the National Assembly. It is provided prior to general elections. The INEC is the second most important source of institutional designs governing the activities of political party in Nigeria. The 1999 Constitution empowers it to register and monitor all the operations and activities of political parties

2.1.2 Democracy

Democracy took its root form the Ancient Greek but it received its universal currency and practice among the Western world like USA, UK, Canada, France, and Germany and so on. Democracy as a result of its universal acceptability spreads to other parts of the world, including Nigeria. In the third century BC, Aristotle stated that government might be exercised by few powerful people which is Aristocracy, proper rule by few known as Oligarchy, rule by one person known as Monarchy, and a rule by majority decision making which is Democracy (Aristotle, 1986) cited in Sule & Yahaya, (2019). Amazingly, Aristotle did not see democracy as the best as he settled for aristocracy. Yet, democracy is the supremacy of the people above the political system.

Going by Harold Laswell's definition of politics as who gets what, how and when (Laswell, 1936), the political-economic tendency of man propels him to aspire for ownership, control and retention of political power which, to him, is a harbinger of economic success. Harvey and Harvey (1974) are of the view that democracy goes beyond periodic election and "one man, one vote". To them, democracy encompasses among other things, doing things according to the set rules of government, accommodation of minority views, periodic elections, and freedom of speech and largely observance of the rule of law. According to Lively (1975), democracy is

a mechanism through which the society maintains its equilibrium. To Johari (2002), democracy is constituted based on the Constitution of the land, acts according to the will of the people and is accountable to them in everything. According to Okolie (2016) cited in Okonkwo & Unaji (2016), democracy as a way of life in a society in which individuals are believed to have equal right and liberty as regards the chances of freely participating in the values of that society. Democracy, therefore, may be perceived as a system of government based on the constitution of a government that encourages citizens' participation in governance through periodic, free and fair elections that are based on integrity with regards to citizen rights, liberty and rule of law.

All over the world, it is indisputable that democracy as a form of government stands out among others. Abraham Lincoln as noted in Egobueze. (2020:52) concisely states that "democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people" (cited in Tsaro, Egobueze & Nwaoburu, 2021). From the above popular definition of democracy puts people as the centre-piece of government. That is why, most of the advanced countries and others practice this system of government. It is the direct opposite of dictatorship.

According to Bowman & Allenheld (1985:17), democracy is a system of government that fosters civic equality by allowing all members of the society that attained the maturity age to vote freely for their leaders and offer their part in running the affairs of their society. However, contemporary scholars have given democracy a thorough and concise meaning in different ways for instance: Appadorai (2004), Varma (2005), Laski (2011), Kapur (2012), Johari (2015) and Arora (2016) identified democracy as a form of government that is operated based on the principle of collective decision, majority participation, supremacy of the electorates and a

system in which people participate freely by contributing their quota in the running of their state (cited in Sule and Yahaya, 2019)

Democracy may be either liberal or social. Liberal Western democracy is anchored along liberal values where the society is free for equal participation and free participation in their state. This system of government is encouraged by the advanced democracies like USA and Western European Countries. Socialist democracy, on the other hand, is practised mainly by Eastern communist countries of Europe and China where freedom of participation is limited, and decision making is restricted (Appadorai, 2004: 74). From the above, democracy is unrivaled the best form of government because it is people-orientated and for it to thrive, it must be practised in line with the rules of the game in any given society.

2.1.3 Intra - Party Democracy

Intra - party democracy is very important for democratic consolidation and representation. It is a veritable platform for adequate recruitment of members, socialization, training, discipline, accountability and transparency. It is so relevant in any democratic dispensation that any political party that lacks internal democracy is seen as anti-democracy even though no political party can consider itself so even if it is perceived as undemocratic.

Intra-party democracy denotes various means of carrying along all party members in internal party decision making and other deliberations (Scarrow, 2004). According to Duverger (1963), internal democracy is the pillar behind a proper civil rule. Put differently, Satori (1977) observes that the logic of party competition is what makes a vibrant functioning democracy and internal democracy. While to Okhaide (2012), internal democracy is an all-inclusive top to

bottom approach party decision making involving party primaries, representation, accountability and fair ground for all members to be carried on board by the party internally.

The adverse effects of lack of intra-party democracy create anti-party activities, rivalry/conflict, failure in election and deviation from the principles democracy (Omilusi; 2016). Hallberg (2008) identifies two major methods of promoting internal democracy: the advocacy and legal/regulatory measures. The advocacy perspective includes selection of party leaders, party representatives for election, collective decision making and peaceful negotiation. The second aspect is legal/regulatory means which should consist of party constitution, gentlemen agreement on principles and regulations governing representation, minority consideration, negotiation and punishment for members (cited in Sule & Yahaya, 2019).

2.1.4 Rivalry/Conflict

The use of the concept of rivalry/conflict dominates the field of Peace Studies; therefore, it cannot be reduced to one clear-cut definition. According to Coser (1956:8), rivalry/conflict is a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. In all political parties across democracies, rivalry/conflicts are unavoidable. A rivalry or conflict occurs in a situation when two or more persons seek to possess the same objects or occupy the same position and play incompatible means of achieving their purposes (Tsaro & Nwaoburu (2015). Across democracies, rivalries/conflicts happen within political parties because they are made up of people with differential characteristics, interests and values.

Rivalry/Conflict in this research is premised around two major propositions. One, rivalry/conflict is unavoidable in any political party where the elites deny members their fundamental human rights for identity, recognition, dignity and participation. This was made manifest during the APC last presidential primary and convention. Two, is that conflict is inevitable any time the achievement of a government policy is skewed in favor of some dominant group or individuals in the party. Boulding (1963:5) sees rivalry/conflict as a “situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatible of potential future positions and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other”. Olabode and Ajibade (2010) conceptualize rivalry/conflict as a condition in which one identifiable group of human beings in a given environment (whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religions, socio-economic, political, among others) is engaged in conscious opposition to one or more identifiable human groups because these groups are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals (cited in Adeyeri, 2013). According to Chaplin (1979), rivalry/conflict is the simultaneous occurrence of two or more mutually antagonistic impulse or motives. Wilson and Hanna (2010) see rivalry/conflict as a struggle involving opposing ideas, values, and or limited resources (as cited in Adeyeri, 2013). Horowitz and Borden (1995) define rivalry/conflict as disagreement over social issues, beliefs and ideologies. Therefore, in the context of this study, we are looking at rivalry/conflict in a political sense because it has to do with disagreement on the procedure of distributing powers and resources in a political party.

2.1.5 Intra-Party Rivalry/Conflict:

This concept is a coined phrase to mean all manifestations of power wrangling and tussles within a political party. Intra-party rivalry/conflict refers to series of disagreement, disputes and

displeasure that emanate within the party from or about the conduct of party affairs (Adaka & Olorunsuwa, n.d.). Okoli (2001) opines that intra-party opposition is a political opposition that takes place within a political party. Norris (2004 cited in ACE (2008) points out that one of the main issues in party internal democracy is the process of nominating candidates for elections, which according to him, depends on (1) centralization of power (whether the state chapters are empowered to make selections), (2) the scale of participation by members is a considered factor and (3) the scope of decision making-talking about the number of candidates vying. Rubin et al. (1994) and Shale and Maltose (2008) advance some factors responsible for rivalry/conflict within political parties to include: (1) favoritism in the form of promoting the interests of kith and kin; (2) unequal sharing of resources-conferring huge resources on the leaders(s); (3) centralized authority-concentrating power at the top. Shale and Maltose (2008) however add lack of regular meeting as part of the triggering factors for intra-party rivalry/conflict in Nigeria. Ibrahim and Abubakar. (2016) add a new dimension to the triggers of intra-party crisis that another party could sponsor crises in the camp of its opponent so as to brighten its chances for winning election.

The phrase 'intra-party rivalry/conflict' is a clash of interests among citizens of a political party who are struggling over the control of the power sharing machinery, decision-making and other resources that could place certain advantages on themselves. Rivalries/Conflicts among members often arise over issues of internal leadership recruitment, the selection of candidates for general elections, the sharing of appropriate posts (in the case of the ruling party), among others. Adeniyi, (n.d.). The ugly trend reflects in the form of political opposition within a political party (Okonkwo & Unaji, 2016). Therefore, intra-party rivalry/conflict is a reflection

of all manifestation of tussles and wrangling within a political party. To Okoli (2001), it is a political opposition that takes place within a political party. According to Adakai and Olurunsuwa (2011) intra-party rivalry/conflict refers to series of disagreement, disputes and displeasure that emanate within the party from or about the conduct of party affairs. They add that it is manifested through overt or covert confrontations between faction, which sometimes are violent in nature thereby resulting in bodily harm or injury, and or anti-party activities and subsequently a dwarfed electoral fortune for the party. To Obiora and Chiamogu (2020), intra-party rivalry/conflict explains the situation that arises as a result of irreconcilable interests and drives of members of a political party to access use and or consolidate vantage public positions and their lucre to themselves.

For instances according to them, the case of All Progressives Congress (APC) when Alhaji Baba Galadima declared himself factional Chairman of APC. It was believed that Buba Galadima was sponsored by Atiku and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to destabilize APC during the run-up to the 2019 elections. Subsequent happenings later confirmed the link between PDP and Galadima as the former continued to ceaselessly tongue lash APC and Buhari (cited in Adakai and Olorunsuwa n.d.).

At this juncture, we need to add that the eclectic nature of Nigerian society equally plays active role in encouraging intra-party crisis as every region of country strive/ struggle vigorously for the ownership of state's resources through political offices. These are made manifest in the governing APC and also the major opposition parties in Nigeria. Intra-party conflicts have become a component part of Nigeria politics which has resulted in acrimony, war of attrition,

problems in coordinating party affairs and internal wrangling within the party (Ojulewu & Olaifa, 2011).

2.1.6 Party Congress/ Party Primaries

Party primaries are provided by law to serve the purpose of candidate selection, which is one of the most important activities of party organization through which clientele networks are strengthened. Studies on the issues of political party primaries (candidate selection) are grossly limited. This is why Fisher and Eisensted (2004) cited in Ikechukwu (2015) argue that ironically, despite extensive studies on virtually all aspects of parties, political primaries, albeit parallel primaries seem to have eluded and escaped the attention of academic researchers.

Political parties' primaries or candidate selection and nomination procedures differ among democracies and among typologies of political parties (Ikechukwu, 2015). There are two categories of candidates selected and/or nominated by political parties. Candidates are selected for manning party offices across all the branches and chapters of political parties. Candidates are nominated also to contest in general elections. Unlike for party leadership positions, in the latter, candidates are selected by different political parties to compete in national or local elections. In any case, candidate nomination, or recruitment, is one of the important functions of political parties across democracies. It is in this context that political party's primaries find relevance in a democracy (Ikechukwu, 2015).

A party congress is a large gathering of a political party that is held to converse ideas and policies in relation to the course of the party. Many political parties also have a party congress every few years to make rules for the party and elect governing bodies, sometimes called a

political convention (Tsaro, Egobueze & Nwaoburu, 2021). Primary elections are the processes by which party members indicate their choice for their party's candidate or a candidate in an upcoming general election, local election, or bye-election with the intent of pruning the number of participating candidates (Tsaro, Egobueze & Nwaoburu, 2021).

To Mohammed (2018), the essence of primary election is to give party members a right to have their say in the process, that the popularity of the candidate, and also to present the acceptable aspirant to the citizens. In addition, he maintains that there are two ways to conduct party primaries in Nigeria that is direct and indirect method. The direct method simply involves registered members of the party getting an equal opportunity to vote for the flag bearer of the party. All registered members of the party are allowed to vote in the party primary election to elect the party's representatives in the general election. The indirect method, which the APC adopted in its presidential primary election, empowers a special group of voters called "delegates" to make the preferences for all and sundry (Tsaro, Egobueze & Nwaoburu, 2021).

Therefore, party primaries may be considered as an elementary model of election allowed within the political party framework, regulated by the National Constitution, electoral umpire and party constitution to choose candidate that will fly the party's flag in the general election. Adeyeri, (2013) maintains that the best way to test the tenacity and authenticity of any party's internal democracy is the conduct of primary elections. It could be deduced from the above assertion that party primaries open up the party-political space for membership participation. It creates room for inclusiveness as members are carried along and given aura of belonging; hence their views and votes are asserted which is the bedrock of democracy (Tsaro, Egobueze

& Nwaoburu, 2021). In this work, some major intra-party rivalries are off-shoots of party primaries. If poorly conducted, it is an incubator for intra-party rivalries/conflicts.

2.1.7 Brief History of All Progressives Congress and Internal Rivalry/Conflict in the Party

From the beginning of the fourth republic in 1999 till 2015, the PDP prided itself as the biggest party in Africa because for 16 years it consistently controlled the electoral fortune in Nigeria political arena. Apart from winning the presidency, PDP used to maintain comfortable majority in the National Assembly and had majority of the state governors including the state Houses of Assembly in its fold.

According to Saka and Amusan (2018), the electoral fortune of other opposition continued to dwindle while PDP was waxing stronger, surmounting all known challenges and winning elections at all levels with much ease compared with the fragmented opposition parties (cited in Adakai and Olorunsuwa, n.d.). A former PDP Chairman Prince Vincent Ogbulafor had boasted that PDP would rule the country for an uninterrupted 50 years. At the tail end of 2012, an attempt was made to rally all major opposition parties under a single platform to provide a strong challenge to the governing PDP political dominance. Several talks were held and an agreement was reached for four main opposition parties of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and a faction of All Peoples Grand Alliance (APGA) led by Owelle Rochas Okorochoa. The merger arrangements were concluded on the 6th February, 2013; hence, the merging opposition parties dissolved their structures into the new party- All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Mega

party was formerly registered by Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) on the 31st of July, 2013 (Saka and Amusam, 2018). The rank of the new mega party received a boost when it admitted 5 governors, 49 members of the House of Representatives, and 11 Senators from the ruling PDP (The Guardian, July 12, 2017). The event of party switching reached a climax with the then Speaker of House of Representatives, Honorable Aminu Tambuwal and former Vice President Atiku Abubakar announcing their decamping to the mega party APC (Hassan and Lamidi, 2017 cited in Adakai & Olorunsuwa, n.d.). The mega party was an accommodating politician with variegated backgrounds, orientations and political ideologies; but was only united with a common goal of dislodging PDP mainly at the center.

Olisa Metuh, former PDP publicity secretary described APC thus:

“The APC has shown itself to be nothing but a party of ill-bred frustrated and intolerant politicians; bad losers for whom resorting to personal attacks, blackmail and mudslinging, in addition to promoting violence, has become an ideology” (Premium Times, September 26th, 2014)

Barely after the take-off of the fledgling party, it was rocked with series of internal tussle. There was crisis in almost all the state chapters of the party across the country, especially in the states where there were no sitting governors. Political gladiators tried hard to emerge as leaders of the party in their respective states. Alhaji Ibrahim Shekarau former Kano State Governor announced his resignation from the party in January 2014 for reasons he cited included lack of commitment by the party hierarchy and disregard to him for handling the party structure in Kano to the state governor that decamped to the party the previous year (Adakai and Olorunsuwa n.d.).

Tom Ikimi who had played a very prominent role in the merger, felt he should be rewarded with the chairmanship position of the party, but, lost to John Odigie Oyegun. Ikimi feeling very frustrated and disappointed, angrily resigned his membership of the APC (Premium Times, August 27th, 2014). Senator Annie Okonkwo, former National Vice Chairman (South) also abandoned the party on the account of lack of internal democracy (Daily Post, 2 October, 2014). The party went into the 2015 elections and came out with brilliant performance defeating the incumbent president, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan. The party also secured comfortable majority in both Houses of the National Assembly. The electoral fortune of the party ushered in a new set of intra-party conflicts that plagued the party for the entire dispensation. Bukola Saraki and Yakubu Dogara had emerged as the President of the Senate and Speaker of House of Representative respectively against the wish of the party hierarchy. The incidence later turned to be a nightmare that haunted both the duo of Saraki and Dogara on one side and the party and the presidency on the other side. The crises culminated in the quitting of the party by both Saraki and Dogara along with their supporters in both Houses.

The most devastating and damaging intra-party rivalry/conflict in APC was that of the leadership tussle that rocked its chapter in Rivers State and the primary election crises that destroyed the soul of the party in Zamfara, Ogun and Imo states. The party state congress had produced factional executives in virtually all the states. While some states were able to handle their crises, Zamfara, Imo and Rivers States wrecked irredeemable losses on the party's electoral fortune in 2019.

In Zamfara State, the crises on the choice of the governorship candidate of the party tore the party into shreds that they failed to select candidates for all elective offices before the expiration

of October 7th INEC deadline (Punch, Thursday, January 18, 2018). The party lost all the elective offices through the law court. With this damaging outcome, the soul of the party in the state seemed to have been severed from its body; its survival is only what may be a herculean task (Adakai & Olorunsuwa).

In Imo State, the party executive was sharply divided between the state governor Owelle Rochas Okorochoa who was bent on having his son-in-law, Uche Nwosu succeed him and Senator Hope Uzodinma who had the backing of the National Executive Committee of the party to contest as governor of the state. The party governorship ticket was handed to Uzodinma after a lot of horse trading; the governor was embittered and his own faction entered into an accord with another political party (Action Alliance) under whose platform the governor's Godson later ran for governorship. The party lost the governorship seat to PDP. After series of verbal attack between the party's national Chairman Comrade Adams Oshiomhole and the governor Rochas Okorochoa, the latter was suspended for anti-party activities that resulted in party losing the governorship (Daily Post, Monday, March 4, 2019 cited in Adakai and Olorunsuwa n.d).

The happening in Rivers State was a replica of the Zamfara incidence. The party in the state was fractionalized along Rotimi Amaechi and Magnus Abe camps. The latter was interested in the governorship ticket but the former (a former governor of the state and minister) who is the leader of the party in the state preferred Tonye Cole. Stemming from the state congress of the party, the Magnus Abe led faction had instituted a legal proceeding against the state APC (faction loyal to Amaechi and the recognized state executive). Magnus Abe obtained a court order barring the state executive from conducting primary elections pending the determination

of the suit. The party (being aware of the INEC deadline for conduct of primaries), in violation of the court order went ahead to conduct primary election that produced Tonye Cole as governorship candidate. Magnus Abe's faction approached the court to challenge the legality of the elections that produced Mr. Cole. The primary elections of all party candidates were declared null and void having being conducted in breach of a subsisting court order (BBC News, February 8, 2019 cited in Adakai & Olorunsuwa n.d.). The party was denied the opportunity to present candidates for all elective offices in the 2019 governorship election.

In the fourth republic, it is instructive to note that APC lost elections in its own strongholds due to endless wrangling within the party. The intra-party rivalries/conflicts were mainly caused by excessive ambition of the party leaders in these states to institute their control on the party at the detriment of electoral fortune.

Ahead of the 2015 elections, the party presidential primary was held on 10th December, 2014 with former head of state, Muhammed Buhari winning by a significant margin. In the federal elections on 28 and 29 March 2015, Buhari emerged victorious over incumbent Goodluck Jonathan. The APC expanded its House of Representatives majority and gained a majority in the state. In state elections (mainly on 11 April, 2015) 21 governorship elections were won by the APC while it also won the majority of State Houses of Assembly.

As an organization, the party faced problems, during this period as party Chairman John Odigie Oyegun, who had served in the role since party foundations, came under intense criticism from various internal factions in 2017 and 2018 despite Buhari's support for Odigie Oyegun. Although Buhari initially pushed for Odigie Oyegun to continue in the position, he eventually

agreed with governors in April 2018 to hold party congresses and elect new leadership. After state parties held state congresses in May 2018, the national party held its convention in June and elected former governor of Edo State Adams Oshiomhole as National Chairman; Mai Mala Buni continued in the National Secretary role while former Senator Lawali Shuaibu became Deputy National Chairman (North) and former Governor of Ekiti state Niyi Adebayo became Deputy National Chairman (South).

After 2018 direct primaries where Buhari was the sole candidate, he advanced to the general election where he defeated Atiku Abubakar of the People's Democratic Party by a margin of 14 percentage points-nearly 4 million votes. For the legislative elections, the APC regained its majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate after losing the majorities due to defections in 2018. On the state level, the party lost four governorship elections and gained two governorship elections leading to a net loss of two governors' offices while winning a majority of State Houses of Assembly

At the start of the legislative session in June 2019, the previous picks of the party leadership and Buhari for legislature leadership from 2015 - Ahmad Lawan (Yobe North) for President of the Senate and Femi Gabajabiamila (Surulere 1) for Speaker of the House of Representatives - successfully won election to those offices as the party avoided large scale internal dissent unlike 2015. The Lawan-led Senate and Gabajabiamila-helmed House of Representatives were much closer to the executive compared to the previous National Assembly, with critics even derisively referring to the assembly as a "rubber-stamp".

In off-year elections, results were mixed as the APC incumbent in Ondo State won re-election but the APC-turned PDP incumbent in Edo state also held his office in 2020. Coupled with the loss of Edo, the party came a distant third in Anambra State gubernatorial election in 2021 and APC incumbent was unseated in Osun State the following year, though, the party held in Ekiti State governorship in 2022. As a part of a concerted effort to woo defectors, three governors joined APC - Ebonyi State's Dave Umahi, Cross River State's Benedict Ayade, and Zamfara State's Bello Muhammad Matawalle - in 2020 and 2021 along with dozens of state and federal lawmakers, however, political moves around party promises in 2022 erased most of these legislature gains due to members leaving the APC.

However, the APC faced more internal leadership rivalries as disputes over the leadership of National Chairman Adams Oshiomole dominated party internal affairs in 2019 and 2020 with Oshiomole feuding with several APC governors during the 2019 campaign and its aftermath tensions rose in November 2019 when the state APC in Edo State, Oshiomole's home state suspended his party membership and argued that a suspended member could not serve in leadership position. Eventually litigation decided the dispute, with a High Court suspending Oshiomole as Chairman in March 2020 based on his membership suspension. After the suspension was affirmed during the appeal process, there was a brief power struggle in June 2020 between two members of the National Working Committee Victor Gaidom and Abiola Ajimobi - before the party National Executive Council opted to dissolve the National Working Committee and set-up the Caretaker/Extraordinary Convention Planning Committee (CECPC). The CECPC was led by former Party Secretary and incumbent governor of Yobe State Mai Mala Buni and former Senator John James Akpan Udo-Edehe becoming National Secretary.

The Caretaker Committee was meant to serve for a few months before a national convention was held with elections for permanent leadership but the committee's term was extended until early 2022 despite regular lawsuits and internal attempts to remove the CECPC. Despite continued party infighting that plagued October 2021 state congresses and an attempted "palace coup" to replace Buni with Governor of Niger State Abubakar Sani Bello meanwhile Buni was abroad for medical attention, the national convection was finally held on 26 March 2022. The convection mainly used the contentious "Consensus" method of electing officials with allegations that Buhari and governors had imposed candidates on the party; in the Convention, Senator Abdullahi Adamu became National Chairman and former Deputy Governor of Osun State Senator Iyiola Omisore became National Secretary while Senator Abubakar became Deputy National Chairman (North) and Emma Eneukwu became Deputy National Chairman (South).

2.1.8 Effects of APC Intra-Party Rivalry/Conflict on Nigeria Democratic Consolidation

Internal dissents pose great challenges for democratic consolidation and sustainable development to Nigeria's emerging democracy. It portends negative impacts to the development of political parties and civil rule process in the country. The fourth republic is not any better in comparison to the preceding republics because it has become a recurring decimal in Nigeria political clime. This trend re-enforces great danger for the Nigeria nascent democracy as it has the capacity of undermining the democratization process (Saka and Abubakar 2013 cited in Adakai & Olorunsuwa, n.d.) They, in their work, identify the following adverse effects of APC internal conflicts on the Nigeria democratic consolidation:

(1) The grave effect of the APC crises in Zamfara State has a damaging impact of the constitutional right of the people to universal suffrage as contained in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Rights of the people to making their electoral choice was sacrificed on the altar of personal ego of the people that are supposed to protect the very right.

(2) Similar to the Zamfara State issue is the case of Rivers APC that was forbidden by the court from presenting candidates for all the elections in the state. The competitiveness aspect of democracy was by the court ruling removed in the Rivers elections. This was an undeserved reward that PDP got from the ego of the unyielding gladiators in the party.

(3) The Zamfara and Rivers States APC debacle has introduced a new but dangerous political phenomenon in the Nigeria's democratic experience. It means a weak candidate who could be rejected by the electorate at the polls can have himself imposed on the people by a judicial process. Such trend portends great danger to the due consolidation of the country's fledgling democracy.

(4) The next negative impart according to them is that in the argument of Scarrow (2005) about the essence of party is that party brings about efficiency in government and promotes parliamentary cohesion and inter-government harmony. But to them the Nigeria's experience under the APC- led federal government between 2015 and 2019 is a betrayal of that notion as the country witnessed the highest level of legislative-executive disharmony in the history of the fourth republic. The mutual suspicious between the leadership of National Assembly under the watch of Saraki and Dogara (who both emerged against the wish of the party) on one hand and the presidency on the other hand was so destructive to effective running of government to

the extent that President Buhari had to label the duo as unpatriotic Nigerians for causing unnecessary delay for the passage of budgets (Prime News online May 28, 2019 cited in Adakai & Olorunsuwa, n.d.).

(5) Next, the protracted intra-party in APC has resulted in mass exodus of the dissatisfied members of the party. Just as it is the norm in the country for disgruntled politicians to change party at wish especially if their political aspiration cannot be sustained in the party. The APC experience that saw the leadership of the National Assembly defecting to PDP, the main opposition party put the fore the disharmony that existed within the party and the two arms of government. This trend advertised the very bad political culture, of lack of political ideology of Nigerian politicians and it has a dangerous implication on consolidating Nigeria's democracy.

(6) In addition, they add that apart from the above inherent implications intra-APC conflict has on Nigeria democracy, conflict within that party (being a ruling party at the national level) has the tendencies of destabilizing governance process thereby halting growth and development, as well as promoting violence and chaos. The combination of these has a negative effect on parties' growth and democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic.

(7) Finally, they identify that protracted conflicts within a party weakens the party's ability for mass mobilization, coherent aggregation of opinions and performing the needed role as an opposition; as well as offering itself as a credible alternative to the government in power thereby offering the electorate the privilege of choice during elections.

2.2 Empirical Review

According to Soetan and Osadola (2018), they question the nexus between democracy, party primaries, intra-party rivalry/conflict and law based union in Nigeria.

Anjorin and Adayilo (2021), underscore how party politics and conflict resolution played out in the conduct of the 2018 primary elections of APC and PDP, where they describe the conduct of 2018 party primaries as one of the most acrimonious in recent times. The study shows how internal democracy played out during the primary elections and their findings show that there was lack of internal party democracy as well as non-compliance with Electoral Laws by the political parties during the conduct of the 2018 primary elections. Their findings also show that series of rivalries/disputes arising during the primary election were not properly managed through the internal party mechanism of the political parties. Adakai and Olorunsuwa (n.d.), note that APC from inception has had a fair share of intra-party rivalry that has threatened the survival of the party. They interrogate the causes of intra-party rivalry within the fold of the APC and its attendant impacts on Nigeria's young democracy.

To Tsaro, Egobueze & Nwaoboru (2021) intra-party rivalries thrive on lack of internal democracy in political parties and a decline or the inefficiency of governance and democracy due to the absence of strong institutions. The study observes that the lack of respect for party constitution, party discipline, the rule of law, and absence of party ideology were the causes of intra-party conflicts in Rivers State between 2009 and 2019 and this impacted on democratic consolidation.

Nnaji (2021), examines the critical interplay between party primaries, intra-party rivalry and quest for credible elections in Nigeria's fourth republic. The paper argues that the endemic controversial party primaries, parallel congresses, wave of party cross-carpeting, superimposition of candidates and post-election litigation are traceable to non-adherence to institutional rules that guide the conduct of party primaries in Nigeria. The paper reveals that the prevalence of intra-party rivalry and dubious primaries are inimical to Nigeria's quest for sustainable democracy.

In a similar vein, Ikechukwu (2015), admits that structurally, political parties in the country are weak, and this has always led to lack of internal cohesion. He deciphers that lack of internal democracy in the political parties is not only worrisome but has become highly problematic with rising incidence of political parties' parallel primaries. Nnamani, (2018) discusses the consequences of absence of observance of democratically principles in the practice of intra-party politics and primary elections. His study shows that party rules, regulations and institutional frame work are only in theory as those intra-party politics are marred by issues like godfatherism, incumbency factor, financial inducement, effects of powerful political elites, etc.

From the empirical review above, none discussed presidential primary of the ruling APC. Rather, Soetana and Osodola (2018) make a historical assessment of intra-party primaries in Nigeria's democratic process. Anjorin and Adayilo (2021) make a critical assessment of 2018 primary elections of APC & PDP. Adakai and Olorunsuwa (nd) review intra party conflicts and democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic with a focus on APC. Tsaro, Egobueze and Nwaoburu (2021) examine intra party conflicts of APC in Rivers State from

2009 - 2019, even though APC was formed in 2013. Nnaji (2021) dwells on a critical analysis on flawed party primaries and the challenges of electoral credibility in Nigeria while Ikechukwu (2015) dwells on the implication of parties parallel primaries on political development in Nigeria. Finally, Nnamani (2018), reviews intra-party conflicts and primary elections as the cause of multiplicity of political parties in Nigeria.

On this note, this study fills the knowledge gap that is yet to be explored by researchers on intra-party rivalry and the APC presidential primary election in June 2022 in the build-up to 2023 general elections.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The Elite Theory

Elite theory envisions society as divided between the mass of people and a ruling minority, where the political power – the power to take and impose decisions valid to the whole society – always belongs to the latter. The purpose of elite theorists is to find a scientific explanation of the fact that – no matter when or where – in every society, the majority of the existent resources – economical, intellectual, and cultural – are concentrated in the hands of a small group of individuals which use them to exercise power over the rest of the population. Initially developed by Italian scholars between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the elite theory became crucial in political science after World War II, tackling the substantial question concerning “who governs” even beyond formal or

constitutional appearances, and with a great impact on the debates concerning democracy and its concrete functioning (Dahl, [1956](#), [1971](#), [1989](#); Schumpeter, [1942](#)).

In the political science, elite theory is a theory of the state that seeks to describe and explain power relationships in contemporary society. The theory posits that a small minority, holds the most power and this power is independent of democratic election (Theories of American Democracy). Members of the “elite” exert significant power over the party decisions. The basic characteristics of this theory are that power is concentrated, the elites are unified, the non-elite are diverse and powerless, elite interests are unified due to, common backgrounds and positions and the defining characteristics of power is institutional position (Deric, 2011). Polybius (-150 B.C) referred to what is called today Elite Theory as simply “autocracy”. According to Elite theory, the wealthy use their power to control the nations political space in such a way that those below them cannot advance politically. Gasset and James Burham have been the major protagonists of the Elite Theory of power. They argued that the hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power. Mills, theory of the “power elite” centers around the idea that elites are products of the distinct institution within which they arise, whether it be the military, politics or business. The above postulations best exemplify the scenario of intra-party rivalry in APC. The excessive inordinate pursuit of personal interest of party warlords goes anti-clockwise to party ethics and membership expectations. According to elite theory, it is evident that all the forms of government are essentially oligarchies, who use different values and principles to justify the power struggle and to manipulate the consent of the ruled.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the procedure underpinning the study. Therefore, it focuses on the method of collecting and analyzing the data relevant to this work which is intra-party rivalry in Nigeria with a view to evaluating All Progressives Congress (APC) 2022 Presidential Primary election in a build-up to 2023 general election. Areas of concern that are addressed include research design, sample size, structuring of research instrument, data validity and its method of administration as well as the procedure for processing the data.

3.1 Research Design

According to Leedy 1993, research design is the common sense and clear thinking necessary for the management of the entire research endeavour and a complete strategy upon the central research problem. This study adopted survey descriptive research design. Primary data was

employed. The research instrument used is questionnaire. The purpose of using descriptive survey research is to determine the situation, as it existed at the period of study and to interpret the findings in the questionnaires. This assisted in simplifying the work by drawing inferences on the target population from investigating of the few.

3.2 Population of the Study

According to Nwosu (2006), population is the total number of elements within a given environment which a research is set to study. Therefore, the population of this study includes members of the governing All Progressives Congress (APC) Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, and members of the general public.

There was a target sample size of 195 across the following diverse groups; Party members, journalists and others. A total of 195 questionnaires were administered and 154 were responded to, out of which 124 were valid thus formed the research analysis.

3.3 Sampling Technique

This is the way of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group that is being referred to as the population. The purpose of sampling is to access information about a population. If a sample is properly chosen, study result based on it would be generalized to the population. The sampling technique that is used for the purpose of this work is stratified sampling technique. This helps in the easy administration of questionnaire according to their groups, irrespective of the samples educational qualifications and also gives equal opportunity for the opinion of various members

of the sampling frame to share their opinions. The questions were administered personally by the researcher and were collected on an individual basis

3.4 Sample Size

A sample is a part taken out of the population being observed and believed to have the same characteristics of the population it represents. The samples size for this study consists of politicians, journalists, bureaucrats, members of the governing party i.e. card-carrying members and official staff of the APC Secretariat Headquarters, Abuja and the general public.

3.5 Research Instrument

According to Sobowale (1983), questionnaire is often used to elicit information from the subject about what they have explained. Therefore, the instrument used in collecting data for the study is the questionnaire method. However, the first question usually is on the respondent's personal data while the subsequent ones are based on the objectives of the study. The questionnaires are composed of close ended questions which mean that options are given for the respondents to fill, on a five-likert scale. The questionnaires are divided in three sections: Section A, Section B and Section C. "Section A", contains information on the demographic characteristics of respondents, their sex, age, marital status, educational background, position occupied in the Organization, etc. "Section B", contains information on political and party participation in the presidential primary election while "Section C", comprises the most important part of the questionnaires and focus on the objectives of the study. A total of 195 questionnaires were administered; out of which 154 were filled and returned, but 30 were not valid. Thus 124 respondents were analyzed in this study.

3.6 Method of Data Collection

In order to record success in the study of this nature, data plays a significant role in achieving a desired result. Therefore, there are a number of means by which data were collected for a work such as this. The data gathered were through primary and secondary sources which were the two main sources of data collection. The primary data can be described as the original or main source from where data can be generated for the purposes of the study. The administration of questionnaires was employed. This was adopted in order to understand the opinion of the public. The secondary data is another method of data collection that involves the compilation of already existing data for other purposes. This may be administrative or otherwise such as textbooks, journals, newspaper articles, statistical bulletin, magazines, and unpublished projects and online web pages. In this study, both methods above were employed. Secondary data complement the primary source formed by arriving at a reasonable conclusion.

3.7 Validity of Instrument

Validity refers to the degree to which a test measures what it purposes to measure. A researcher has several variables that he intends to measure. The questionnaires prototype was presented to the superiors as well as to other professionals in the field for scrutiny in other to ensure validity. The face validity ensures the technicality of the items in the questionnaires in order to find out if it is relevant to the study. In addition, the content validity of the instrument was checked to ensure their specification and approve that the questionnaire is relevant to the study.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

All data gathered was analyzed by using simple tables and percentages. The technique adopted is the statistical descriptive method; the overall response was ascertained and recorded with statistical tools like response, frequency, percentage and total. The presentation was done in simple table and percentages, under which analyses of each question was done. Both primary and secondary data gathered were used in answering the research questions of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents various data collected through the use of questionnaire on the work. The data were collected to obtain direct information from the respondents on their point of views on intra-party rivalry/conflict arising from the All Progressives Congress (APC) presidential primary election in the build-up to the 2023 general election. Responses were classified according to sex, age, party affiliation or otherwise of the respondents which were analyzed using a simple percentage technique. Section C includes questions to get the information to address the various objectives of the study. Descriptive statistics of simple percentage is used to analyse the research questions. A total of 195 questionnaires were administered and 124 were responded to successfully.

Table 4.1.1: Distribution of Respondents by Sex

SEX	Frequency	Percentage%
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Male	71	57.3
Female	53	42.7
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

Table 4.1.1 indicates that 57.3% of the respondents were male, while 42.7% were female. This implies that majority of the respondents are male.

Figure 4.1.1

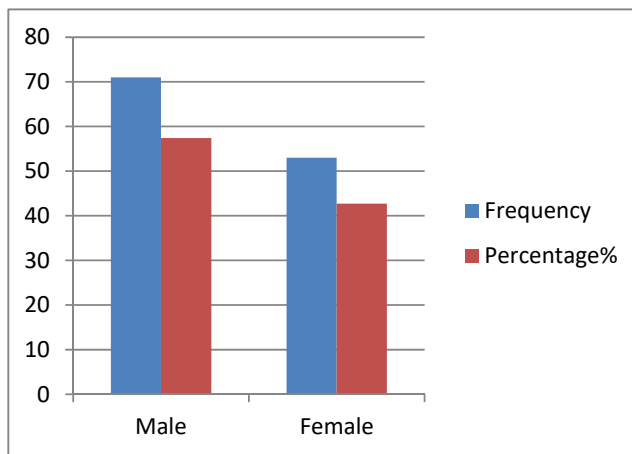


Table 4.1.2: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage%
21-30 years	32	25.8
31-40 years	28	22.6
41-50 years	45	36.3

51-60 years	12	9.7
61 years and above	7	5.6
Total	124	100

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

25.8% of the total respondents were between the ages of 21-30, 22.6% of the total respondents were between the age bracket of 31-40 years, 36.3% of the total respondents were between the age bracket of 41-50 years, 9.7% of the total respondents were between the ages of 51 to 60 years, while 5.6% of the total respondents are in the age bracket of 61 years and above. This implies that the politically active people that are concerned with political party affairs were mostly between the ages 41-50 years while the less political active people are respondents between the ages of 51 to 60 years while the less political active people are respondents between the ages of 61 years and above.

Figure 4.1.2

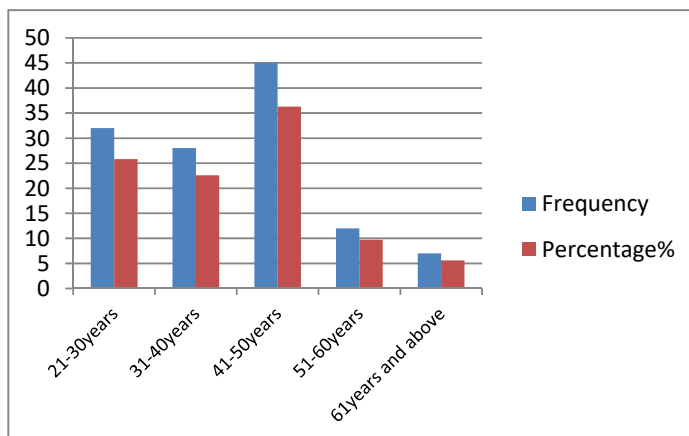
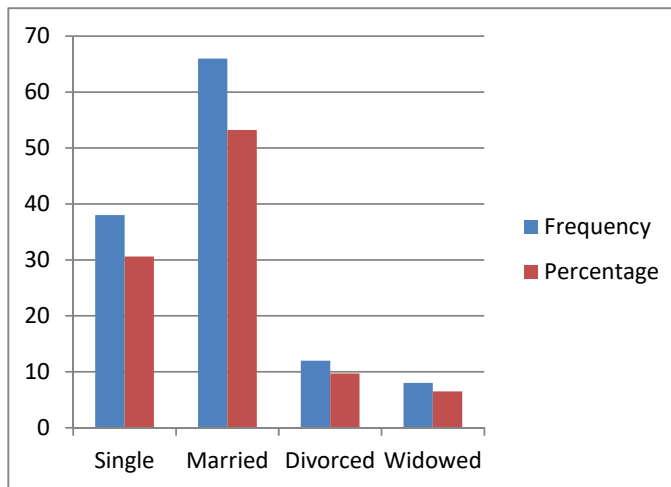


Table 4.1.3: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	38	30.6
Married	66	53.2
Divorced	12	9.7
Widowed	8	6.5
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

Figure 4.1.3



The marital status of the respondents shows that 30.6% are single, 53.2% are married, 9.7% are divorced while 6.5% are widowed. This implies that most respondents are single.

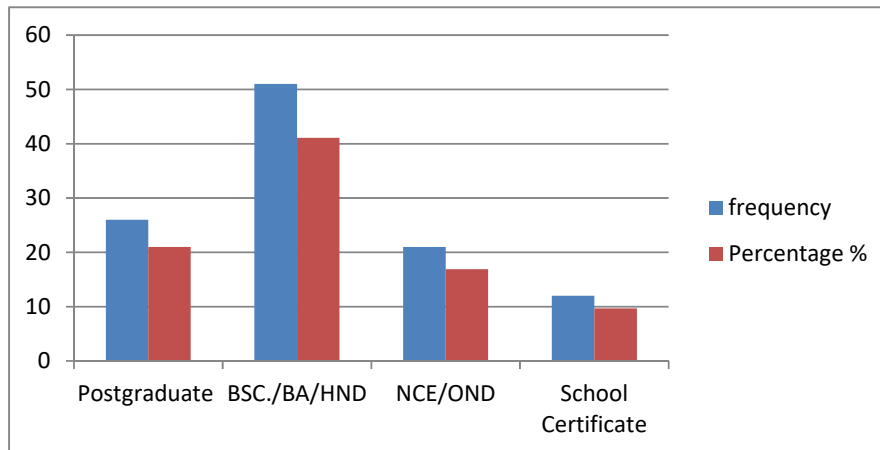
Table 4.1.4: Distribution of Respondent by Educational Qualification

Qualification	frequency	Percentage %
Postgraduate	26	21.0

BSC./BA/HND	51	41.1
NCE/OND	21	16.9
School Certificate	12	9.7
Lower than School Certificate	6	4.8
Professional	8	6.5
Total	124	100

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

Figure 4.1.4



The highest numbers of respondents are those with B.Sc/BA/HND qualification with 41.1 % while the lowest numbers of respondents are those with lower than School Certificate with 4.8%.

SECTION B: (Party Participation)

4.2 Data Analysis of Respondents

Table 4.2.1: Question 5. Are you a Current Card Carrier of APC?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	68	54.8
No	56	45.2
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

Table 2.2.1 indicates that 68(54.8%) of total respondents are current card carriers of APC while 56(45.2%) are not.

Figure 4.2.1

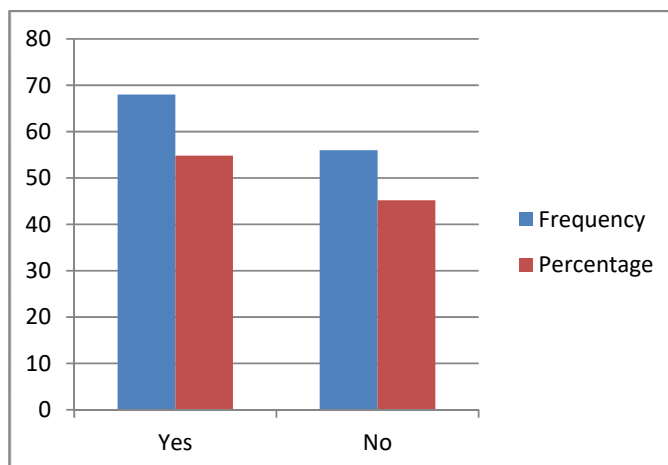


Table 4.2.2: Question 6. How long have you been a member of APC?

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
1-3 years	5	7.4
4-6 years	8	11.8
7-10 years	55	80.8
Total	68	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

The table reveals that 80.8% of the total respondents have been a member of APC for the period of 7-10 years while 7.4% have been a member of the period of 1-3 years.

Figure 4.2.2

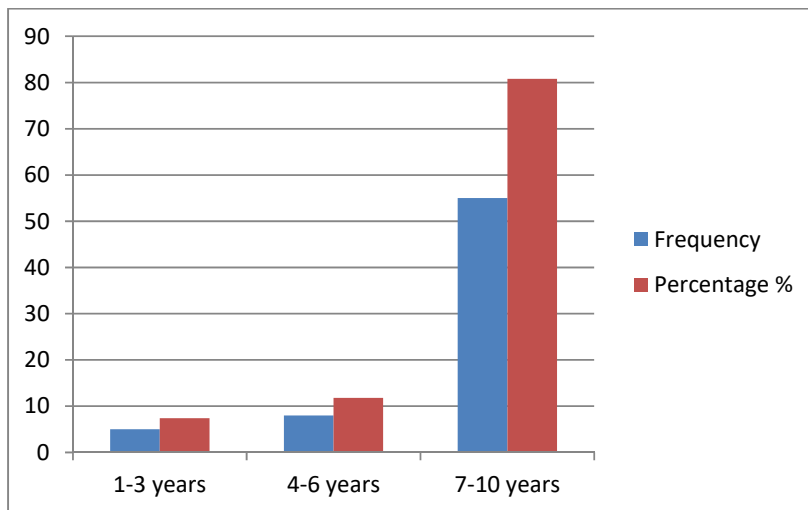


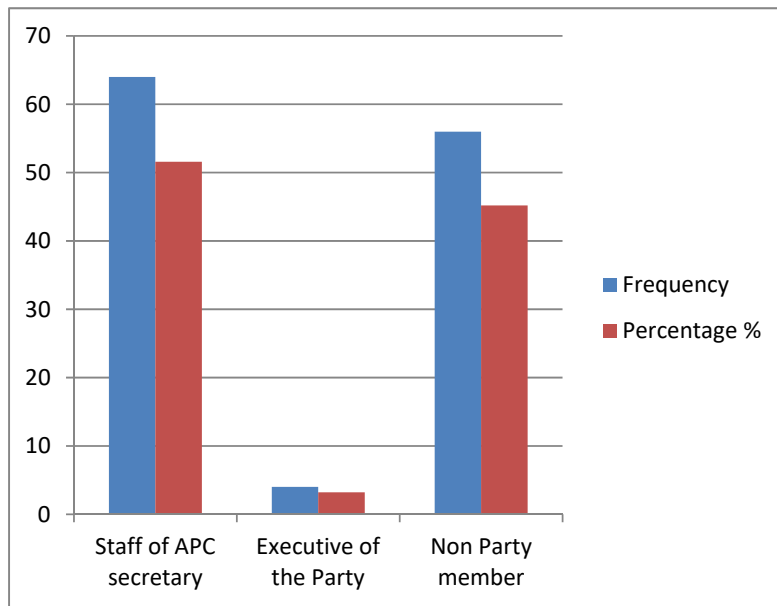
Table 4.2.3: Question 7. Are you a Staff of the APC Secretariat [] or Executive of the Party [] or Non Party Member []

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Staff of APC Secretariat	64	51.6
Executive of the Party	4	3.2
Non Party members	56	45.2
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

The table shows that 51.6% of total respondents are staff of the APC secretariat, 3.2% are party executive, while 45.2% are non-party members.

Figure 4.2.3



SECTION C

Objective 1: To survey whether there was intra-party rivalry in APC in the conduct of its 2022 presidential primary election.

Table 4.3.1: Question 8. APC practised internal democracy during the conduct of its 2022 presidential primary election.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	0	0

Disagree	38	30.6
Neutral	4	3.2
Agree	26	21.0
Strongly Agree	56	45.2
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This shows 26 (21%) strongly disagree, 38 (30.6%) disagree, 4(3.2%) strongly agree, 56 (45.2%) agree that APC has been practicing internal democracy since inception. Most of the respondents 64 (51.6%) disagreed.

Figure 4.3.1

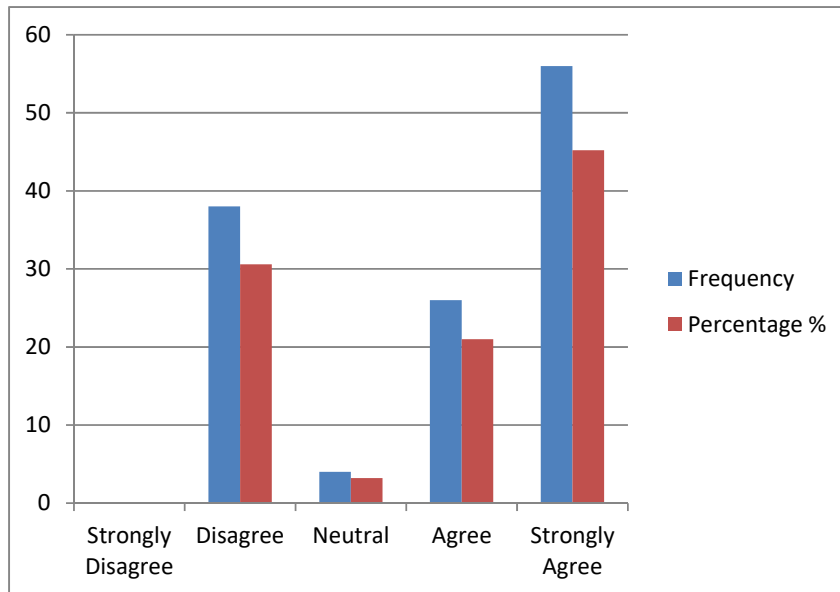


Table 4.3.2: Question 9. There was internal rivalry in APC during its 2022 presidential primary election.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	0	0

Disagree	17	13.7
Neutral	12	9.7
Agree	43	34.7
Strongly Agree	52	41.9
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

A total of 95 (76.6%) agreed that there was internal rivalry in APC during the 2022 presidential primary election while 17 (13.7%) disagreed and 12 (9.7%) are neutral.

Figure 4.3.2

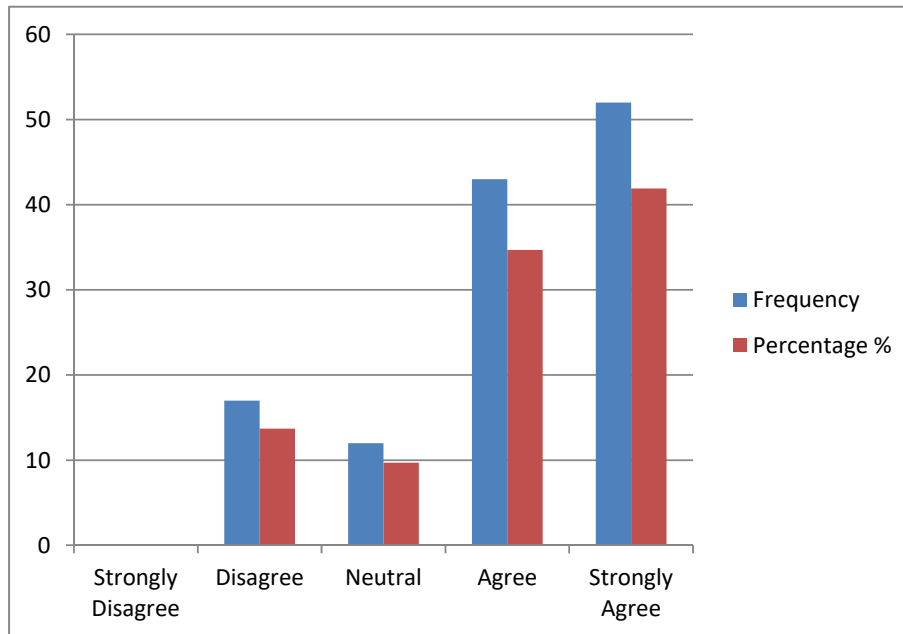


Table 4.3.3: Question 10. APC party ideology supports the practice of internal democracy since inception.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	2	1.6
Disagree	4	3.2

Neutral	1	0.8
Agree	81	65.3
Strongly Agree	36	29.0
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table shows that 117 (94.3%) of the total respondents agreed that APC party manifestos supports the practice of internal democracy.

Figure 4.3.3

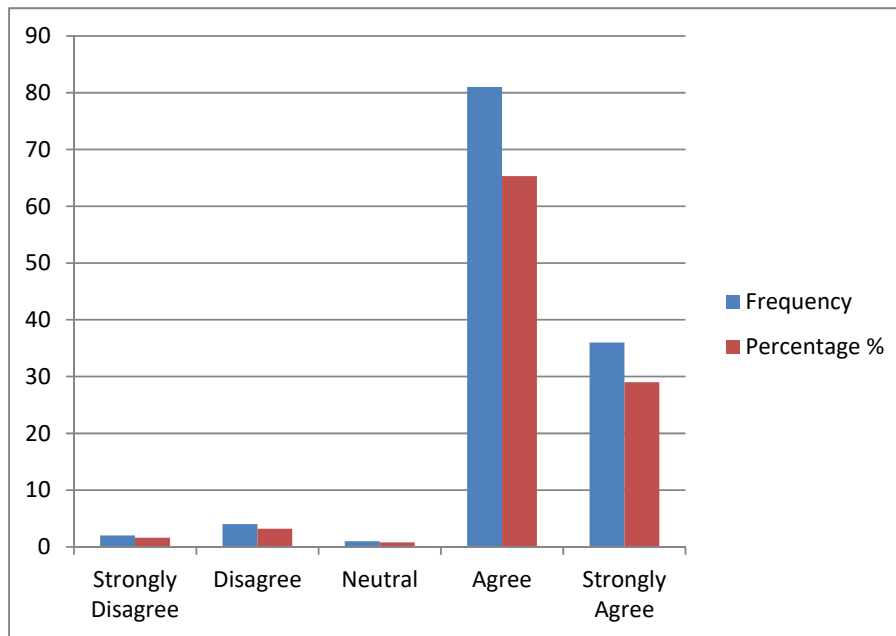


Table 4.3.4: Question 11. There were cases of imposition of candidates that have affected the practice of internal democracy in the APC in the conduct of its 2022 presidential primary election.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	0	0

Disagree	13	10.5
Neutral	2	1.6
Agree	88	71.0
Strongly Agree	21	16.9
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table reveals that 13 (10.5%) strongly disagree, 43 (34.7%) disagree, 21 (16.9%) strongly agree, 45(36.3%) agree while 2 (1.6%) are neutral. This implies a total of 67 (53.2%) respondents agreed that are imposition of candidates that has affected the practice of internal democracy in the APC since inception.

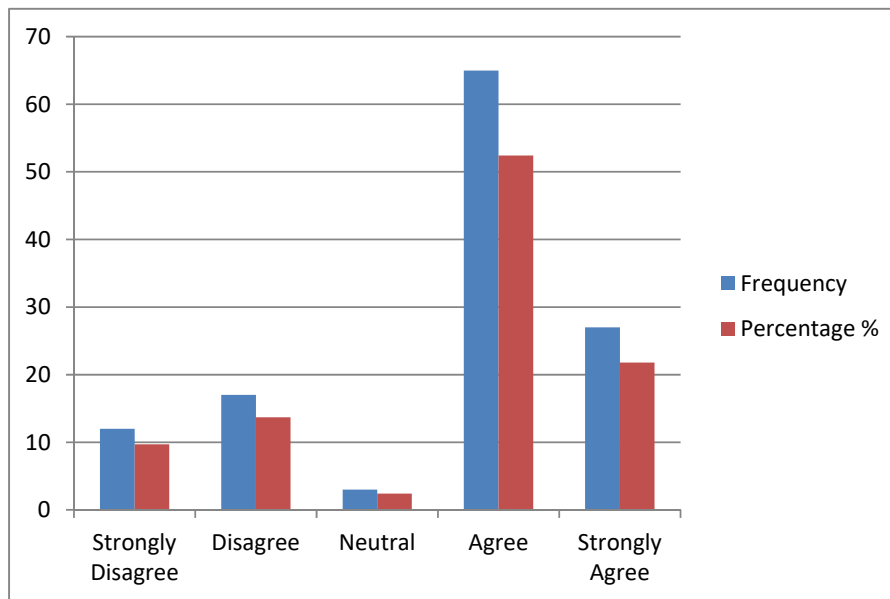
Table 4.3.5: Question 12. There were unnecessary pressure and influence from party leaders on potential aspirants despite meeting the requirements.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	12	9.7
Disagree	17	13.7
Neutral	3	2.4
Agree	65	52.4
Strongly Agree	27	21.8
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table indicates that 12 (9.7%), strongly disagree, 17 (13.7%) disagree, 27 (21.8%) strongly agree, 65 (52.4%) agree while 3 (2.4%) are neutral. This infers that majority of the respondents (74.2%) agreed that there were unnecessary pressure and influence from party leaders on potential aspirants despite meeting the requirements.

Figure 4.3.5



Objective 2: To examine the factors responsible for intra-party rivalry in the APC 2022 Presidential Primary Election

Table 4.3.6: Question 13. There was an agreement that the Presidential flag bearer of APC should come from a particular zone

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	48	38.7

Disagree	73	58.9
Neutral	3	2.4
Agree	0	0
Strongly Agree	0	0
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table shows that presidential flag bearer of APC should come from a particular zone as majority of the respondents (97.6%) disagreed that there was no agreement.

Figure 4.3.6

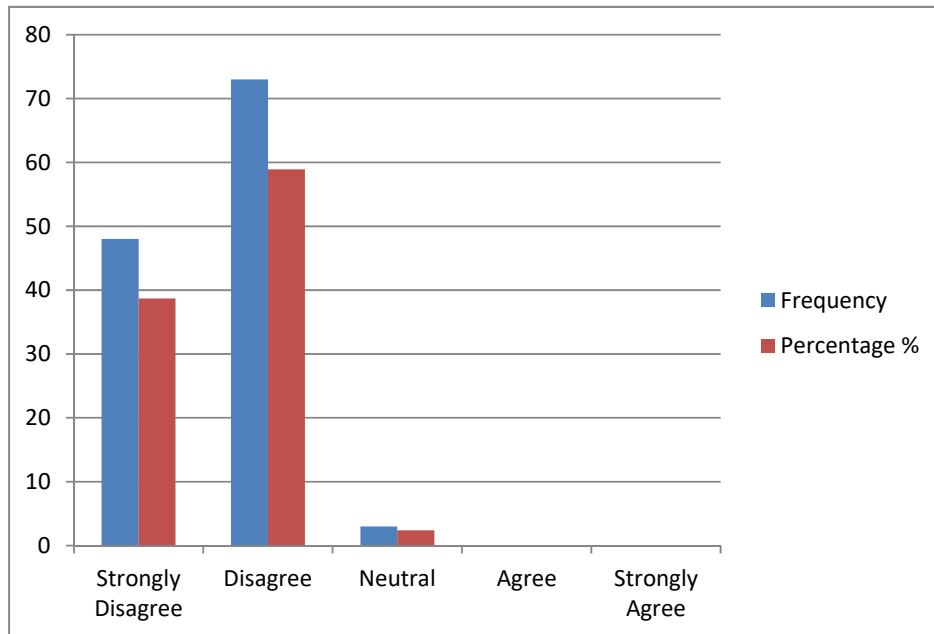


Table 4.3.7: Question 14. The presidential flag bearer came from that agreed zone.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
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Strongly Disagree	0	0
Disagree	29	23.4
Neutral	8	6.4
Agree	87	70.2
Strongly Agree	0	0
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table reveals that 29 (23.4%) disagreed while 87 (70.2%) agreed that the presidential flag bearer emerged through a keenly competitive election.

Figure 4.3.7

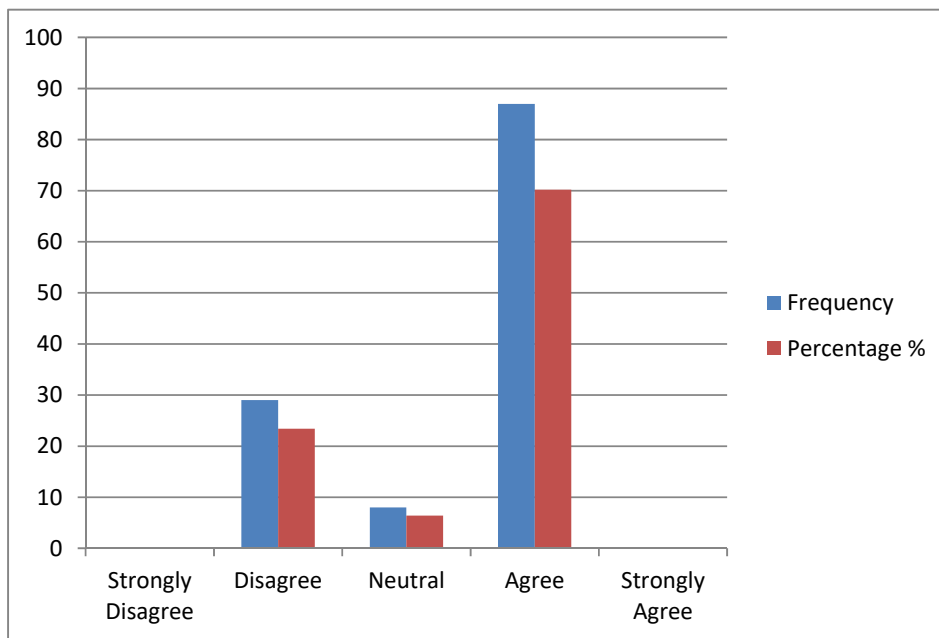


Table 4.3.8: Question 15. There was a jointly agreed consensus/ anointed candidate.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	44	35.5

Disagree	78	62.9
Neutral	2	1.6
Agree	0	0
Strongly Agree	0	0
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table shows that majority 122 (98.4%) of the total respondents disagreed that there was a jointly agreed consensus/anointed.

Figure 4.3.8

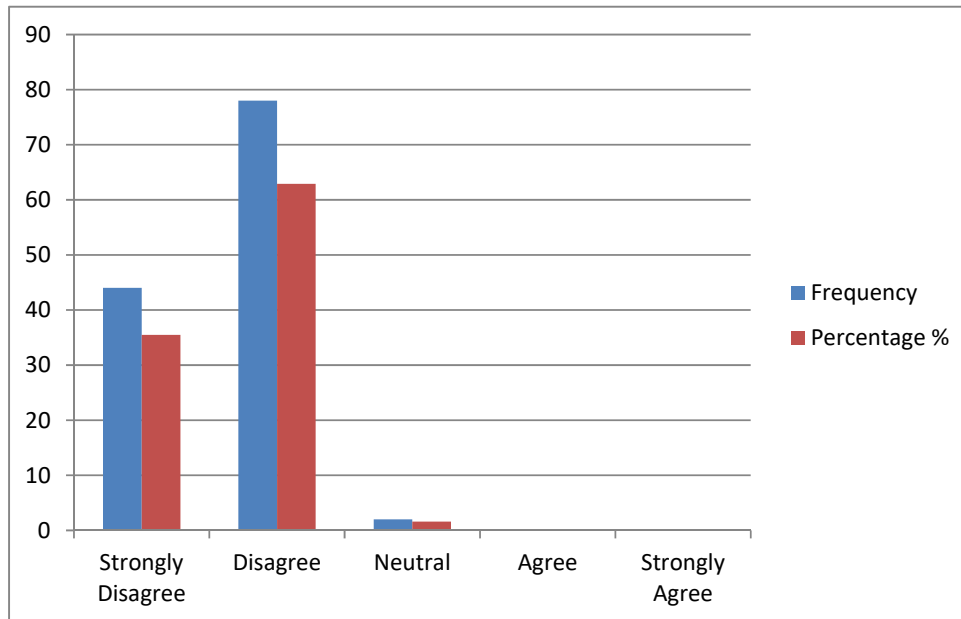


Table 4.3.9: Question 16. The Presidential Primary Election followed the provisions of the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), Electoral Act 2022, INEC Electoral Guidelines, Constitution of the APC and the doctrine of justice, equity and fairness

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
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Strongly Disagree	17	13.7
Disagree	24	19.4
Neutral	7	5.6
Agree	51	41.1
Strongly Agree	25	20.2
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table indicates that 17 (13.7%) strongly disagree, 24 (19.4%) disagree, 25 (20.2%) strongly agree, 51 (41.1%) agree while 7 (5.6%) were neutral. Most of the respondents (61.3%) agreed that Presidential Primary Election followed the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Extant laws and Electoral guidelines.

Figure 4.3.9

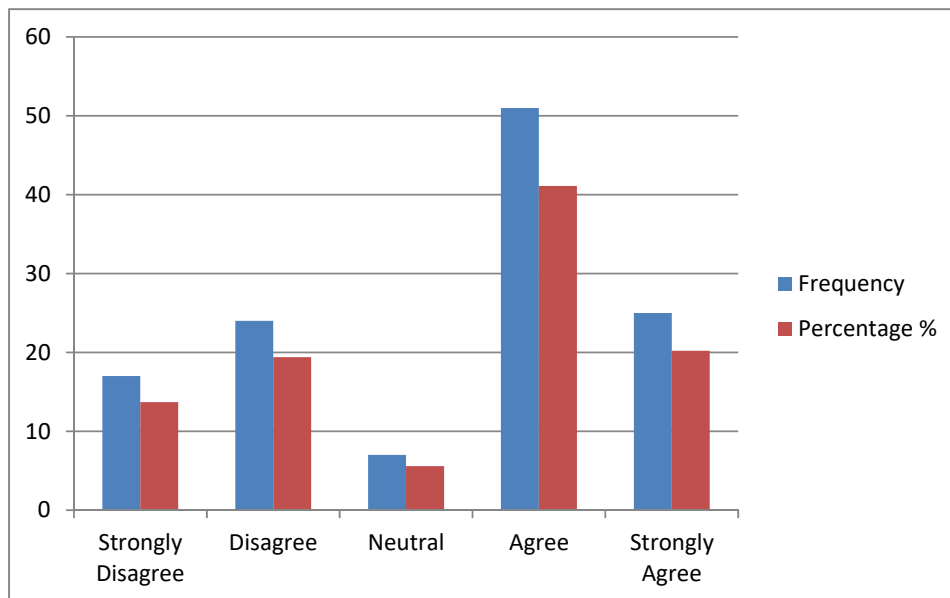


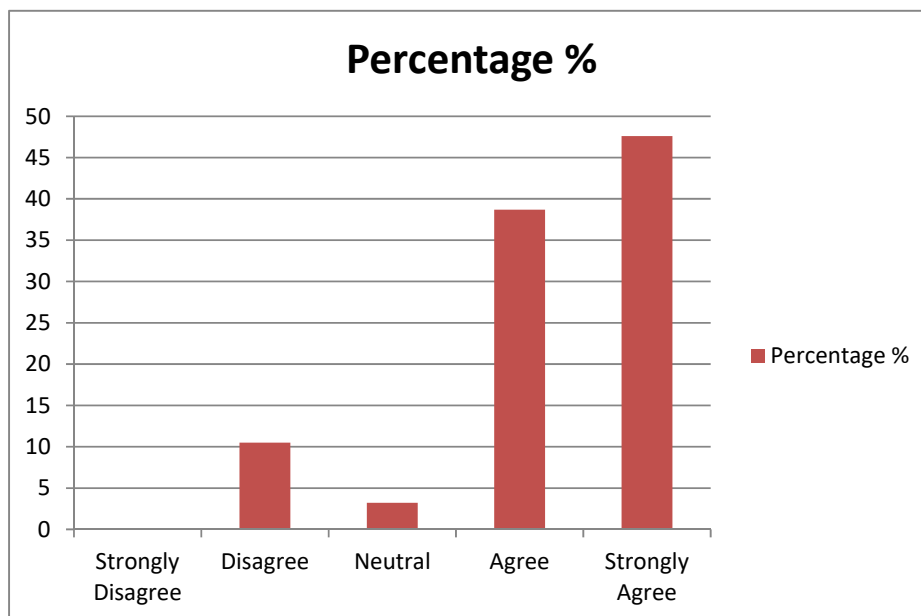
Table 4.3.10: Question 17. There was an impact of the influence of the most powerful political elites of the party on the Presidential Primary Election

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	0	0
Disagree	13	10.5
Neutral	4	3.2
Agree	48	38.7
Strongly Agree	59	47.6
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table shows that 13 (10.5%) disagreed, 4 (3.2%) are neutral while a total of 107 (86.3%) agreed that there was an impact of the influence of the most powerful political elites of the party on the Presidential Primary Election.

Figure 4.3.10



Objective 3: To determine how these factors affect Nigeria as it moves towards democratic consolidation and sustainable development in 2023 general election.

Table 4.3.11: Question 18. If there was internal rivalry within the APC, this is likely to affect the party in 2023 general election

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	18	14.5
Disagree	22	17.7
Neutral	3	2.4
Agree	49	39.5
Strongly Agree	32	25.8
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table depicts that 18 (4.5%) strongly disagree, 22 (17.7%) disagree, 32 (25.8%) strongly agree and 49 (39.5%) agree while 3 (2.4%) are neutral to the likelihood of the party being affected by internal conflicts within it in the 2023 general election. Majority (65.3%) agreed that internal conflicts within the APC party may affect the party in 2023 general election.

Figure 4.3.11

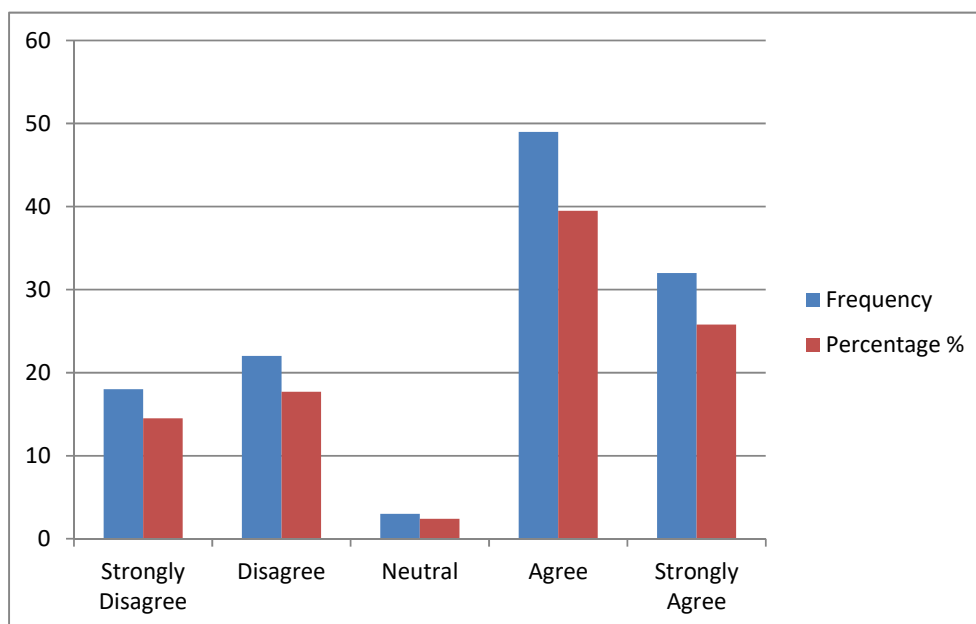


Table 4.3.12: Question 19. Considering that APC is the governing party, if there is internal rivalry within the party it may affect decisions/policies/regulations made by their members in governance at legislative and executive arms of government

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	0	0
Disagree	35	28.2
Neutral	0	0
Agree	38	30.7
Strongly Agree	51	41.1
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table reveals that 35 (28.2%) disagree, 51 (41.1%) strongly agree and 38 (30.7%) agree.

This implies that the majority (71.8%) agreed that since APC is the governing party, if there is internal rivalry within the party, it may affect decisions/policies/regulations made by its members in governance.

Figure 4.3.12

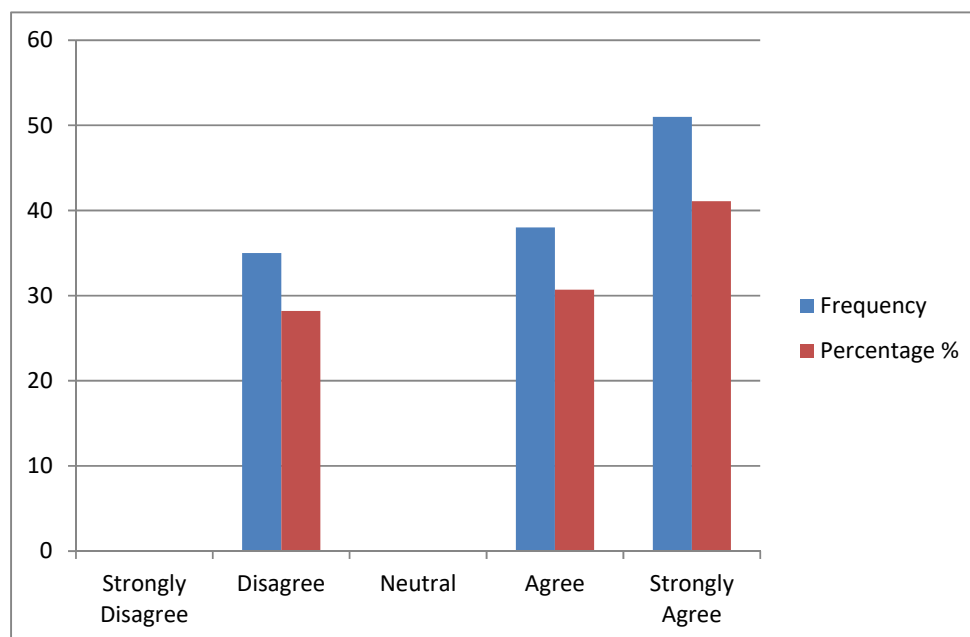


Table 4.3.13: Question 20. Such decisions/policies/regulations may have any positive impact on the democratic consolidation and sustainable development in Nigeria

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	28	22.6
Disagree	40	32.3
Neutral	0	0
Agree	49	39.5
Strongly Agree	7	5.6
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table reveals that 28 (22.6%) strongly disagree, 40 (32.3%) disagree, 7 (5.6%) strongly agree, 49 (39.5%) agree that such decisions/policies/regulations may have positive impact on the democratic consolidations and sustainable development in Nigeria. This implies that majority (54.9%) disagreed on the possibility of decisions made as a result of internal rivalry having positive impact.

Figure 4.3.13

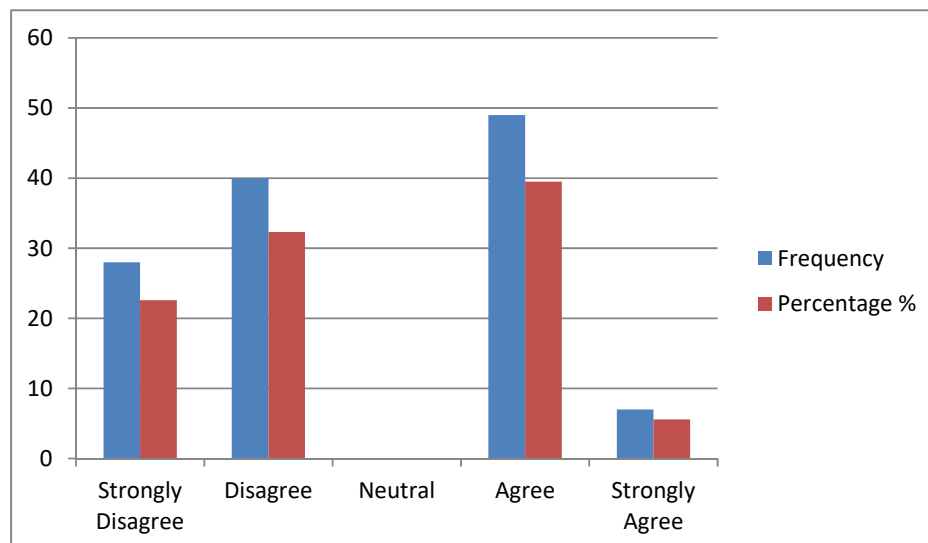


Table 4.3.14: Question 21 Such decisions/policies/regulations may have negative impact on the democratic consolidation and sustainable development in Nigeria

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	8	6.5
Disagree	45	36.3
Neutral	0	0
Agree	50	40.3
Strongly Agree	21	16.9
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table indicates that 8 (6.5%) strongly disagree, 45 (36.3%), 21 (16.9%) strongly agree, 50 (40.3%) agree that such decisions/policies/regulations may have negative impact on the democratic consolidation and sustainable development in Nigeria. This infers that most respondents (56.9%) agreed that decisions made as a result of internal conflict may have negative impact.

Figure 4.3.14

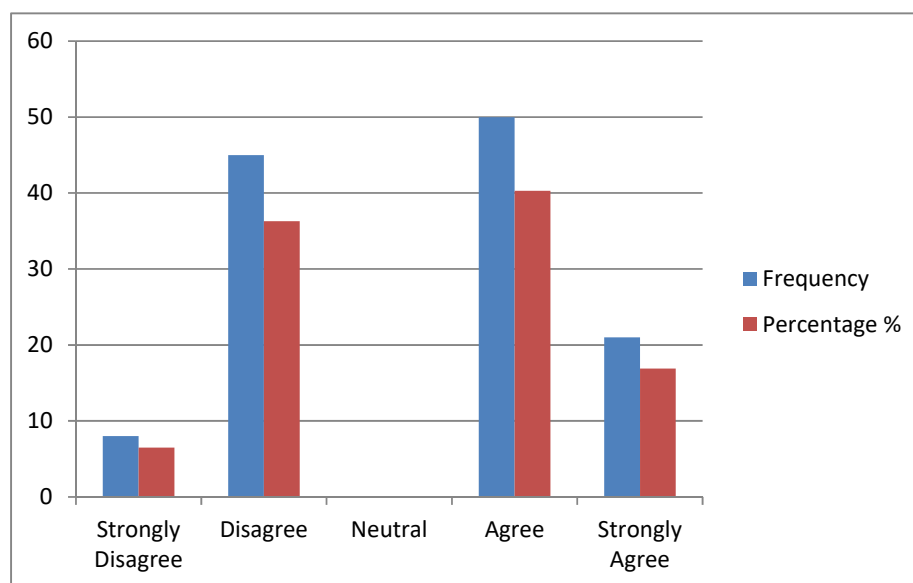


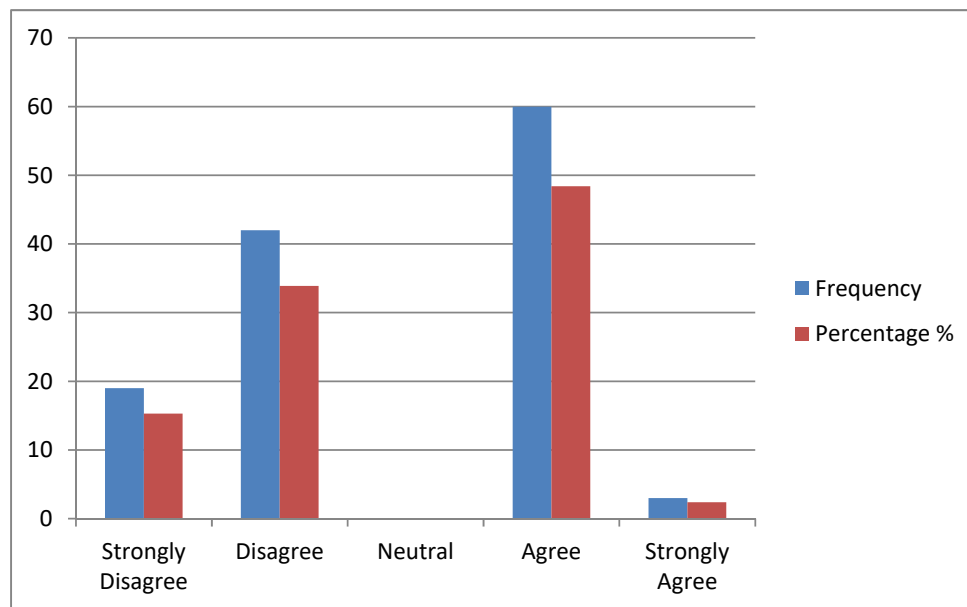
Table 4.3.15: Question 22. Intra-party rivalry may affect APC party ideology as it moves towards 2023 general election.

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Strongly Disagree	19	15.3
Disagree	42	33.9
Neutral	0	0
Agree	60	48.4
Strongly Agree	3	2.4
Total	124	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Survey (2023)

This table indicates that 19 (15.3%) strongly disagree, 42 (33.9%) disagree, 3 (2.4%) strongly agree, 60 (48.4%) agree that intra-party rivalry may affect APC party manifesto as it moves towards 2023 general election. The table shows that majority of respondents agreed.

Figure 4.3.15



4.4 Discussion of Findings

Boulding (1963:5) defines rivalry/conflict as a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other. While according to Omoniyi (nd.), intra-party rivalry/conflict is defined as a dissent which occurs when members of the same political party try to influence the decision making process of the party to their advantage. Often time, intra-party rivalry/conflict is significant in the selection of citizens for elective positions within and inside a political party. To sum up the findings in Chapter 4, the research questions were answered with the primary and secondary data gathered.

It is obvious that one cannot divulge rivalry from intra-party democracy. This is because if rivalry or crisis is amicably resolved it allows for internal cohesion. On the note, the study noted the significance of internal democracy as an essential ingredient of the success of any political party in general election.

Given the significance of primary election most especially the presidential primary of any ruling party, the theoretical as well as empirical data suggested that APC would need to put its house in order to win the 2023 general election.

Data gathered from the study showed that some members were aggrieved in one way or the other during the presidential primary election. On whether there was intra-party rivalry in APC during the conduct of its 2022 Presidential primary election, the study showed that some few aspirants were aggrieved as well as some party members who believed that there were imposition of candidates. The study also revealed that there were unnecessary pressure and influence from party leaders on potential aspirants despite their (potential aspirants) meeting the requirements laid down by the party for contesting.

On the factors responsible for intra-party rivalry during the APC 2022 presidential primary election, the study revealed that there was no agreement or consensus/ anointed candidate that the presidential flag bearer should come from a particular zone since feelers from some members of the party that it was the turn of the south/ south east to produce the flag bearer of the ruling party. The study also showed that there was an impact of the influence of the most powerful political elites of the party on the primaries which saw the emergence of the candidate with largest financial chest winning the election with majority votes cast compared to other contestants combined.

On how these factors would affect Nigeria as it moved towards democratic consolidation and sustainable development in 2023 general election, the study revealed that internal rivalry within APC would likely affect the party's outing in 2023 general election. It also unveiled that internal rivalry may also affect decisions/ policies/ regulations made by APC members in governance and such may have negative impact on the parties general election in 2023. Also findings showed that the intra-party rivalry may affect the party's manifestos as it moved towards 2023 general election.

Currency redesigned is presumed to be one of the policies made as a result of the internal crisis of APC arising from the presidential primary election as claimed by the APC presidential flag bearer, Bola Ahmed Tinubu during one of his campaigns where he alleged plot by some 'powers-that-be' to sabotage his chances at the polls through the fuel crisis and the scarcity of the newly redesigned naira notes were artificially created to discourage people from voting for the ruling party (The Guardian, Thursday, January 26, 2023). According to Ahmed Bola Tinubu;

“Saboteurs want to scuttle the election; they are hoarding the new naira notes and creating artificial fuel scarcity. Don't be bothered, we shall be victorious. No matter how they try to scuttle the election, the saboteurs will fail. Even if they keep away the new notes and hoard the fuel, we shall vote and be victorious. We are going to use our PVC to claim our mandate, even

if they say that there is no fuel, we will walk to vote, let your mind be at rest, we will vote and I will win,”. (The Guardian, Thursday, January 26, 2023).

The Federal Lawmakers also kicked against the policy of naira redesign, they described the policy as ‘unpopular’ argued that the policy has impacted negatively on businesses and well-being of Nigerians across the country, as well as payment for services with rejection of old naira notes (The Guardian, January 26, 2023). Even though, President Buhari said the redesigning of currency was targeted at hoarders of illicit funds; the policy affected so many Nigerians and their small scale business negatively that it led to protest against government’s policy in some states in Nigeria (The Guardian, Saturday, February 4, 2023), to the extent that some APC governors filed suit against the government’s regulation.

In a similar development, the government of Kaduna State, Mallam El-Rufai accused people in Aso Rock of working against Tinubu. El-Rufai revealed that the said individuals who he didn’t mention, had their candidate during the APC presidential primary, but the candidate did not win. He added that those individuals are hiding behind President Muhammadu Buhari’s desire to do what he thinks is right (The Guardian, Thursday, February 2, 2023). He added that “I believe there are elements in the villa that want us to lose the election because they didn’t get their way: they had their candidate. Their candidate did not win the primary. They are trying to get us to lose the election and they are hiding behind the President’s desire to do what he thinks is right. I will give two examples: the first is petroleum subsidy, which is costing the country trillions of naira, was something that we all agreed would be removed..... The second example I will give is this currency redesign”. According to him, the policy of currency redesign at this moment is the idea of people in the Presidential Villa, and was never the policy of the APC. El-Rufai added “I must say that the naira redesign and fuel scarcity is the handiwork of fifth columnists because they want to bring the country down, otherwise, why must

redesigning of naira be the priority of the Federal Government of this time “(The Guardian, Thursday, February 2, 2023).

On Monday, February 3, 2023, it was reported on the national daily that “three APC governors sued the Federal Government over the naira redesign policy” Governors Nasir El-Rufai (Kaduna), Yahaya Bello (Kogi) and Bello Mutawalle (Zamfara) dragged the Federal Government before the Supreme Court, seeking a declaration in the Demonetization Policy of the Federation of President Buhari is not in compliance with the effective provision of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), CBN Act, 2007 and actual laws on this subject”- (The Guardian, Tuesday, February 7, 2023).

They also asked the court to make a declaration that the three-month notice given by government and CBN, the expiration of which will render the old notes inadmissible as legal tender, is in gross violation of the provisions of section 20 (3) of the CBN Act 2007, which specifies that reasonable notice must be given before such a policy and that the limit cannot be outside that provided under Section 22 (1) of the CBN Act 2007.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

The proceeding chapter focused on analysis and interpretation of data garnered through distribution of questionnaires. However, this chapter provides a summary on the study including findings from data analysis. Also, conclusions drawn from the work are discussed. It also contains the recommendations as regards the problems identified.

5.1 Summary

Arising from the analysis and discussions, the findings generated in this research are summarized below:

- a. On whether APC has been maintaining internal party democracy since inception.

The study showed that APC has internal wrangling since inception partly as a result of unnecessary pressure and influence from party leaders on potential aspirants despite meeting the requirements.

- b. Factors responsible for intra-party conflicts during the APC 2022 Presidential Election.

The study showed that there was no agreement that the presidential flag bearer of APC should come from a political zone nor was there any jointly agreed consensus or anointed candidate and it was discovered that the presidential primary election followed the Electoral Act 2022 and other extent laws.

c. How these factors affect Nigeria in the build up to 2023 general elections.

It was discovered that the internal crisis within the party affected decisions/policies/regulations made by party members in governance as seen in the Federal Government action on naira re-design such decisions, it was discovered had adverse effect on the Nigerians and small-scale businesses.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings generated on this study, the following recommendations are proposed with a view to ascertaining that political parties are perceived as active institutions that would enhance democratic consolidation and sustainable development in Nigeria:

- i. Members of political parties must ensure that they confine themselves to the Constitution of their party, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, other relevant extant laws and electoral guidelines.
- ii. Aspirants and members of political parties should be tested equally and fairly through the operation of a level playing field during primary election.
- iii. Political parties should avoid imposition of candidates so as to avoid internal conflicts.
- iv. Power rotation between the North and South should be entrenched in APC party Constitution with consideration for each geopolitical zone for the sake of justice, fairness and equity.
- v. There should be an internal mechanism for prompt identification of rivalry or crisis that might lead to conflict for the purpose of resolving them on time.
- vi. Members of ruling party in governance should not design policies/regulation that will have negative impact on democratic consolidation and sustainable development.

5.3 Conclusion

Political parties play a major role in the electoral processes. They perform the functions of educating, mobilizing and organizing their members to be involved in political process. The conclusion of this study is that intra-party rivalry has had adverse effects in the Nigeria's fledgling democracy. For civil rule to thrive in the country, politics must be seen as an opportunity for service delivery to the general public and not an avenue or means of acquiring power with the ultimate goal of amassing wealth.

Politics should be played in line with international best practices as it is being practised in the advanced democracies.

Politics of godfatherism should be discouraged in a country where sustainable democracy should be sought. Therefore internal democracy is the bedrock of political sustainability and sustainable development as the country moves towards 2023 general elections. There should also be a level-playing ground where members of the political parties in Nigeria can aspire to highest level without fair or favour. When a party gets it right at a primary election, it will also get it right at the general election.

This study concludes that APC has not been maintaining internal democracy since inception. The impact of the influence of the most powerful political elites of APC played a major role in the 2022 presidential primary election. The identified internal conflicts will have negative effects.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge.

The work focused on intra-party rivalry in a build-up to 2023 general election: a study of APC 2023 presidential election. Contemporary contribution to knowledge was discovered in order to add to the already existing literature and the views of scholars on the above study.

Political parties should embrace the tenets of internal democracy which should be based on strong ideology. With this, internal wrangling may not be totally eradicated but can be reduced to the barest

minimum if the interest of all party members is carried along from the beginning. All party members should be seen as equal before the constitution of the party.

5.5 Suggestion for Further Study

The scope and limitation of this study are on intra-party conflicts in a build up to 2023 general elections: a study of All Progressive Congress (APC) 2023 presidential primary election. The choice of APC as a party was because it was the ruling party. How democratic it conducted its internal election will have effect on its outing in 2023 general elections. Suggestion for further study will be a comparative analysis of APC and PDP 2022 presidential primary elections to gain a better understanding of the impact of intra-party rivalry on the Nigeria political parties.

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