

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF DIRECT PRIMARIES ON
INTERNAL DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA**

BY

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April, 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation titled: “**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF DIRECT PRIMARIES ON INTERNAL DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA**” was written by me and it is a report of my research work. It has not in part or whole been previously submitted for any other degree or qualifications in this university or any other institution. All quotations are indicated and sources of information specifically acknowledged by means of references.

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CERTIFICATION

The dissertation titled: **“AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF DIRECT PRIMARIES ON INTERNAL DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA”** meets the regulations governing the award of Master of Elections and Party Politics (MEPP) in the National Institute of Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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This is to certify that this dissertation “**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF DIRECT PRIMARIES ON INTERNAL DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA**” has been carefully supervised, read, assessed and approved as having met the necessary conditions for the award of Master of Elections and Party Politics (MEPP) in the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic studies/University of Benin and is therefore approved for its contribution for knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty who has always been there for me throughout the period of the programme in the Institute. This project is dedicated to my entire families, colleagues, aspiring students and future researchers.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-i
Declaration-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-ii
Certification-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	iii
Dedication-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-iv
Acknowledgements-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-v
Table of Contents--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-vii
Abstract-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-x

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
1.2	Statement of the Problem--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-5
1.3	Research Questions-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-6
1.4	Objectives of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-7
1.5	Significance of Study -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-7
1.6	Scope of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-8
1.7	Organization of the Study-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-8-9

CHAPTER TWO

LIETRATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1	Conceptual Framework-	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-10
2.1.1	Concept of Democracy-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-12
2.1.2	Concept of Election-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-14
2.1.3	Concept of Internal Democracy-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-16
2.2	Review of Related Literature--	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-18
2.2.1	The Role of Direct and Indirect Primaries on Internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria-	18								

2.2.2	Direct Primaries and Promotion of the Culture of Free, Fair and Credible elections in Nigeria-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-27
2.2.3	Role of Indirect Primaries in promoting inclusion and acceptability of political parties in Nigeria-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-30
2.2.4	Direct and Indirect Primaries and Internal Democracy within Political Parties In Nigeria-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-35
2.2.5	Summary of Gaps in the Literature-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-48
2.3	Theoretical Framework-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-49
2.3.1	System Theory-----									49
2.3.3	Structural Functional Theory-----									53

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	Research Design-----									59
3.2	Population, Sample and Sampling Technique-----									59
3.3	Methods of Data Collection-----									61

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1	Data Presentation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64
4.2	Gender Distribution of the Respondents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
4.3	Age Distribution of the Respondent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
4.4	Qualification of the Respondent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
4.5	The Role of Direct Primaries in Promoting a Participatory Culture of Credible Election in Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
4.6	Impact of Indirect Primaries on Inclusion of Members and Acceptance of Political Parities in Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68

4.7	Direct Primaries and Deterrence against Electoral fraud and Assurance of free, fair and Transparent Internal Democracy	-	-	-	-	-	-	69
4.8	Direct Primaries and Deterrence against Electoral Fraud and Assurance of Free, Fair and Transparent Internal Democracy	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
4.9	Direct Primaries in Political Parties and Attraction of Professionals	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
4.10	Direct Primaries and the Reduction of Post-election Litigation among Political Parties	-	-	-	-	-	-	71
4.11	Political Parties that Adopted Indirect Primaries are faced with Series of Challenges	-	-	-	-	-	-	72
4.12	Direct and Indirect Primaries and the Improvement of Primary Elections	-	-	-	-	-	-	73
4.13	There are challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	74
	Discussion of Findings	-	-	-	-	-	-	75

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Summary	-	-	-	-	-	-	79
5.2	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	80
5.3	Recommendation	-	-	-	-	-	-	81
	References	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
	Appendix-	-	-	-	-	-	-	89

ABSTRACT

The study assessed the impact of direct primaries on the internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria. The broader objectives of the study were to assess the impact of direct primaries on the internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria. The further objectives of the study were to; examine how direct primaries promoted the culture of free, fair and credible election in Nigeria; analyze how direct primaries promoted inclusion and acceptability of political parties in Nigeria and assessed the challenges of political party primaries in Nigeria and how it's mitigated. The justification of this study situates that the outcome and findings will stimulate other researchers, political parties, institutions and stakeholders to explore other aspects of the subject to improve the internal democracy within political parties in Nigeria.

The study adopted the mixed research design relying on quantitative and qualitative data. Data sources were primary and secondary. Primary data was obtained from the administration of questionnaire while secondary data were taken from audit reports of elections in INEC and the APC and PDP. Purposive sampling technique was used for the selection of data and respondents while content analysis was used for the analysis of qualitative data. The quantitative data were analyzed and presented using percentages and tables.

Findings revealed that direct primaries can truly affect the outcome or the credibility of an internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria. Although, whatever style political parties choose as their primaries can influence little the choice of the electorates during the general elections. In as much as the electoral law recognizes consensus as a means of selecting flag bearers of political parties, direct primaries is also an institutional measure put in place to ensure that candidates that represent them at general elections are people that have already been sieved by the parties and her members. The research also revealed that political parties invariably reflect the environment in which they operate. Nigerian political parties therefore cannot automatically become democratizing in their internal affairs by adopting direct or indirect primaries overnight when the state that constitutes

them remains largely undemocratic and pervasive and consequently mandates a politics of extremism rather than moderation.

Conclusively, the study recommended that INEC should be strengthened with necessary provisions by the electoral act by the National Assembly to sanction parties that violate the processes of party primaries as stipulated in the electoral act. Ultimately, Political actors should eschew the winner takes all attitude of politicking and grabbing power. The Judiciary had been recommended to step up and review the grant of reckless injunctions and court rulings that derail the electoral process. The court room should not be the new arena of electoral contest. The possibility of courts of equal jurisdiction granting judgments and injunctions on matters that is already instituted in another court of competent jurisdiction is to say the least reckless and capable of derailing democracy.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

A cardinal principle on which democracy rests is popular mandate. It is the basis of representative democracy practiced all over the world. Popular mandate presupposes the unrestrained participation of the relevant community in the affairs of the community especially in the choice of those to carry out those affairs on behalf of the rest of the community members. The tool of election is one way, if not the only means of actualizing popular mandate. Similarly, political parties have become one of the pillars of democracy and a major and important vehicle for actualizing the democratic principle of popular mandate and responsible representation. If political parties are important ingredients of democracy, it goes without saying that the organization of political parties and the modus operandi of their operations should demonstrate the democratic ideals they fight to enthrone in the polity. However, it has been observed that while political parties rely in one hand, on the democratic principle of popular mandate to contest and win elections. However, many of them rarely reflect this principle in their organizational structures, administration, financing, and leadership recruitment especially with regards to selection of party leaders into party offices and in the selection of candidates for elective positions, thus prompting scholars into looking in depth at the issue of internal democracy practiced by political parties.

Internal democracy of political parties has always attracted the attention of scholars of political science (Michels, 1915, Duvuger, 1965; Dahl, 1965; Schapiro, 1972; Sartori, 1976;), but the saliency and urgency of Internal democracy in political parties has

increased in the modern times given the nascent democratization wave that took over the world since the collapse of the Communist bloc, what Huntington (1991) referred to as the third wave. Today the re-echoing theme is not only democracy and democratization but transparency and accountability in the administration of the state and institutions of governance such as political parties. This has orchestrated changes in the manner in which many political parties choose or select their leaders/candidates for elective positions, thus moving the pendulum from oligarchic tendencies/centralization to democratic tendencies/decentralization (though decentralization does not denote democracy). All over the world, the challenges of internal democratic process of political parties have led to a critical introspection as to measures of assessing the development of internal democracies in political parties. In the US, the Conservative and Democratic political parties possess a high degree of institutional integrity that isolates the parties from individual actor's interference and processes are respected and adhered to. In 2016, even against the expectations and projections of Conservative party leaders, President Donald Trump triumphed and defeated an established political machineries. Something that is alien to Nigerian political party system.

In Nigeria however, political parties through their various stakeholders and organs of the party decide on the operational model for the party office elections; how it conducts its internal democracy, who and who funds it, and competent ways of administrating their affairs. Party leaders in Nigeria are prominent for stopping candidates perceived as troubling in character or too independent minded but have rather promoted docile and incompetent candidates in a cash and carry transaction pattern that has defined our current Republic and electoral process. Promoting Internal democracy in political parties

has not only gained grounds and currency in modern day politics and governance but its promoters believe that " Political parties that practice what they preach, in the sense of using internally democratic procedures for their deliberation and decisions, strengthen democratic culture generally" (Scarrow, 2005) .

Thus, political parties all over the world have devised mechanisms of choosing leaders and candidates for elective offices, the most democratic of them being the use of party primaries. Party primaries for the purposes of this discourse shall mean the initial electoral contest amongst aspirants for the purpose of winning the nominations of their parties to become candidates of the party for the general elections. This is in tandem with the procedural or minimalist definition of democracy that defines democracy pragmatically as "the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern". (Huntington, 1991). In Schumpeter's view democracy is " that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote"(in Huntington,1991). As election has become acceptable means of choosing leaders or occupants of elective offices in a democracy, therefore political parties as vehicles for democratization should showcase democracy in their internal decision making and selection process of leaders/candidates for election.

In Nigeria's representative democracy the problem has reached an egregious situation where political parties presents more than one candidate for an elective position because each is armed with a court judgment declaring him or her as the legitimate candidate of their political party, with the attendant consequence that voters are not only confused but cheated out of an electoral contest in which they vote for a particular party candidate

while another is declared the winner either by the courts or by the national executive committee of the party. The drift towards anarchy that characterize party primaries in Nigeria leaves one skeptical about the possibility of enshrining internal democracy within political parties, promoting democratization process and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The situation has also led to excessive multiplication of 'mushroom' parties purposely created to offer platforms to those who failed to realize their ambition in their political party of first instance, resulting to an atomized party system (Sartori, 2005), The capability of an atomized party system to sustain and consolidate democracy in the face of patrimonial and clientele politics largely evident in Nigeria remains suspect.

To address some of the challenges associated with primary elections in Nigeria, the National Assembly initially decided to amend the electoral laws to restrict the choice of direct, indirect and consensus primaries in political parties to just direct primaries. The Electoral Act of 2010 was repealed by the National Assembly and re-enacted as the 2022 electoral bill where the first draft gave approval that political parties in Nigeria should adopt only the direct primaries as the only mode to choose candidates for all elective positions and that they should be monitored by the Independent National Electoral Commission. Although the President vetoed this provision, the national assembly had returned a revised bill with the status quo provision of direct, indirect and consensus as the optional mode of selection of candidates by political parties. Fortunately, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the 25th of February, 2022 assented to the electoral re-enacted bill, 2021 and it became the electoral Act, 2022, which now is the principal law of conducting elections.

For the purpose of this paper, I seek to assess the impact of direct primaries on internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria. By simple definitions, Ujo (2012) submits that a direct primary is one whereby the entirety of members of a political party choose their party's candidates while an indirect primary is one whereby party members elect delegates from among themselves who in turn decide the party's flagbearers for the general elections. With the atmosphere already warming up for the 2023 general elections, some commentators had applauded the move to restrict political parties to just direct primaries while others argued that the restriction of political party is an infringement on the independence and internal democratic workings of political parties. The two major political parties, the All Progressives Congress, APC, and the People's Democratic Party, PDP, went poles apart in argument as it regards the mode of primaries used in the election of their candidates for 2019 and 2022.

Direct primaries involve the participation of all registered members of a party in the selection of the party's candidates. Indirect primaries on the other hand rely on the use of delegates who are often party leaders or political appointees at different levels to decide who flies its flag.

While the ruling APC went for the US-style direct primaries, the PDP fine-tuned the familiar indirect primaries for their nomination exercise in 2019. For the purpose of this paper, it is important to note that no mode of primary is better than the other and any mode of primaries can be skewed to subvert the will of the people. For instance, Egboh and Aniche (2012) argue that direct primaries give every party member a say and reveals the true will of the people on the choice of candidate's and the representative republic we imbibed from the developed

democracies. The Indirect primaries that presupposes that just a handful of delegates are elected to select candidates for elective offices remain insufficient to express the true will of majority of the members of the party.

Egboh and Aniche (2012) assert further that: “Whenever we exercise our franchise, what we are actually doing is voting for persons within our constituencies to speak for us. We all can’t go to Abuja to agree on every national issue or every national issue brought to our doorsteps before a deal is made. That would be anarchical”

From the arguments above, either side have very strong reason on why the argument should sway to their position? This research however, looks to assess the impact of the practice of direct primaries on internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study is an assessment of the impact of direct primaries on internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria. Politics in Nigeria has been seriously monetized with political offices made so comfortable for politicians in a manner that has made the contest into political offices a do-or-die –affair. It is against this background that the Nigerian National Assembly passed into law the provisions of section 84 of the new electoral act of 2022 to streamline the party primaries mode to direct, indirect or even the consensus process to pave way for changes or reforms to the internal democracy practices of political parties. Unfortunately, In Nigeria, however, primary elections have been one of the main problems of the democratic process of political parties. The conduct of free and fair primary elections has always been a problem which continues to threaten the very survival of the political party system and questions the relevance of our practicing

democracy. Indeed, the problems associated with primary elections of political parties have direct impact on the performance of democratic institutions. The Nigerian Government acknowledges that, controversies over highly rigged primary elections have been the forerunner to political violence and instability in Nigeria (FGN, 2014).

In Nigeria, political party primaries as one of the tools of assessing internal democracy in political parties. There are other tools such as funding of the party and the free expression of opinions and views by party members. For the sake of this paper, I am assessing the party primaries of political parties and its impact on internal democracy. Most Party Primaries in Nigeria have become as turbulent and as problematic as the general elections that succeeds them. Though, the Nigerian constitution (1999), the repealed electoral Act (2006, & 2010), and the various constitutions of these political parties stipulate clearly the required democratic mechanisms of elections for choosing party officers and candidates for elective offices, these statutory provisions have become mere legal frameworks respected more in their breach than actualization. Many of the political parties especially the dominant ones have jettisoned the written democratic procedures for candidate and leadership selection in preference for imposition and manipulated primaries that unleash a plethora of problems ranging from internal party polarization, defections, legal tussles, and violent measures that threaten democratic stability and consolidation in Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

This research was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What is the impact of direct primaries on internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria?

- ii. How can direct primaries promote a culture of free, fair and credible election in Nigeria?
- iii. How can direct primaries promote inclusion and acceptability of political parties in Nigeria?
- iv. How can the challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria be mitigated?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this research is to analyze the impact of direct primaries on internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria. The specific objectives are:

- i. To evaluate the impact of direct primaries on internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria;
- ii. To examine how direct primaries promotes the culture of free, fair and credible election in Nigeria;
- iii. To analyse how direct primaries can promote inclusion and acceptability of political parties in Nigeria;
- iv. To evaluate how the challenges of political party primaries can be mitigated.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Basically, the research is characterized by academic, policy and societal significance. The findings from this research work serves as a reliable source of information for government and the general public on the impact of direct primaries on the internal democracy of political party in Nigeria.

This research work will play a vital role in policy formulation for reforms in political party administration in Nigeria by having the data required at the tips of their fingers.

Both government and non-governmental organizations will find this research work highly significant in approaching a stronger democracy in Nigeria.

This study will serve as a reference material to scholars of democratic studies, policy makers, leaders and researchers in the academia, in order to add to their existing knowledge about the democratic practice in Nigeria.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study examines direct primary elections and the impact on internal democracy within political parties in Nigeria from 2014-2021. The study focused on this timeframe after the 2015 elections because it appeared that political parties in Nigeria began to show some appreciable degree of inclusivity which was partly due to the direct primaries adopted widely by the All Progressive Congress in most states of the federation.

Therefore, the study would be focus on the practices of direct primary elections of political parties to understand how direct primaries either promotes or discourages internal democracy within political parties in Nigeria. The study will examine the objective of direct primary elections, paying attention to its impact in achieving internal democracy within political parties in Nigeria. This study is limited by time, financial resources and logistics.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The work is made up of five chapters. Chapter one is considered as the introductory part of the whole work. Background to the study is the genesis of the project, followed by the statement of the problem, research questions is not left out followed by the objectives of

the study, research propositions is taken before significance of the study, followed by the scope and limitations of the study and finally, the organization of the study.

Chapter two deal with review of related literature and theoretical framework in which institutional theory will be adopted. Chapter three discusses research methodology and looks into; the method of data collection and analysis is captured in this chapter. Chapter four is on data presentation and analysis. Chapter five attempts to provide summary, draw conclusion and finally make recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter focused on issues relating to subject of investigation starting with conceptual review, theoretical review, empirical review and gap in knowledge. In details, it presents a review of literature related work on direct primaries and its impact on internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Concept of Democracy

Democracy is a concept that does not seem to have a universally accepted definition. The term democracy was coined from the Greek words demos, ‘‘the people’’ and kratos, ‘‘to rule’’ (Diamond, 1999). It was in the classical Greece and Rome around 500 B.C. that, systems of government providing for popular participation by a substantial number of citizens were first established on foundations so solid that, with occasional changes, they endured for centuries. The word democracy, it appears, was sometimes used by its aristocratic critics as a kind of epithet, to show their disdain for the common people who had wrested away the aristocrats’ previous control over the government. At that time, democrata was applied specifically by Athenians and other Greek city states to the government of Athens and of many other cities in Greece as well. Conceptual work of some academic scholars explicitly reviews the conceptual diversity of theoretical framing attempts of democracy (Egboh and Aniche, 2012).

Huntington (1991), for example argued that:

The essential idea of democracy is that the people have the right to determine who governs them. In most cases they elect the principal governing officials and hold them accountable for their actions. Democracies also impose legal limits on the government’s

authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to their citizens.

In addition, Huntington (1991) introduces further conceptual aspects of the four faces of democracy: popular sovereignty, rights and liberties, democratic values, and economic democracy. He also discusses the following aspects: state institutions, elites committed to democracy, a homogeneous society, national wealth, private enterprise, a middle class, support of the disadvantaged for democracy, citizen participation, civil society, and a democratic political culture, education and freedom of information, and a favorable international environment.

As the three fundamental principles and the basic determinants of democracy, Omotola (2007), identify the following key concepts: equality, freedom, and control. He summarized his idea by saying that:

We define freedom, equality and control as the three core principles of democracy. To qualify as a democracy, a given political system has to guarantee freedom and equality. Moreover, it has to optimize the interdependence between these two principles by means of control. Control is understood as control by the government as well as of the government.

As Omotola (2007) pointed out, it is rightly pertinent to point out that in spite of the differences in conceptualization and practice, all versions of democracy share one fundamental objective: how to govern the society in such a way that power actually belongs to all the people. To him, democracy refers to the process of empowering the general population to control decision-making. As such, it is an inclusive and integrative process designed to bring various classes and ethnic nationalities into the nation-state. To the extent that this process is voluntary, there is the risk that democratization can accelerate state disintegration and collapse.

Democracy is always applied in a variety of ways. For instance, Satori (1965) conceives of democracy as, “the power of the people and his rule of the people.” Furthermore, Appadorai (1975) describes it as “a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves.” In his own contribution, Schumpeter (1967) reduces the concept to procedural, when he defines the democratic method as the “institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals require the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote”. And from the Marxist point of Marx and Engel’s (1981) the communist manifesto, democracy connotes the “the dictatorship of the proletariat,” that is to say majority rule.

McPherson (1978) States that democracy originally meant rule by the common people, the problems. It was very much a class affairs; it meant the sway of the lowest and largest class. That is why it was feared, reflected, and modified by men of the age of enlightenment spearhead by the British who valued their property more than issue of political sentiments. Democracy as a levelling doctrine, was also rejected by Plato in the fifth century BC, Cromwell in the seventeenth century AD, and by John Stuart Mill, the major nineteenth century apostle of liberalism. J.B. Miller, for example, realized that the common people had to be treated as people, proposed a system of voting that would prevent the labour class from having majority voice from having majority voice in decision-making so as to safe-guard the interest of the propertied-class who were in the minority. This is the tap-rot of the variety of models of democracy we have currently.

There are certain things that must be in every democracy to make it a truly democratic society. These include:

- (i) There must be an electorate political authority derives only from the mandate or prior agreement of the electorate.
- (ii) There must be a parliament or an assembly to legislate for the country.
- (iii) There is the need for executive that would be responsible for the day-to-day administration of the state. It is the Executive that would carry out the decisions of parliament.
- (iv) To be sure that the principle of separation of power is adhered to, there must be a free judiciary the courts must not be under the control of either the parliament or the Executive and justice must be fairly and justly dispensed.
- (v) Another feature of democracy is that there must be periodic elections at which all eligible citizens must have equal rights to vote without discrimination of any type.
- (vi) In a democratic set up, human rights are guaranteed and protected. Such rights, include freedom of association, religion, movements, speech, etc.
- (vii) It is normal in a democracy that the provisions of the constitution are supreme. If any law is inconsistent with the constitution the provisions of the constitution always remain and that other law shall to the extent of the inconsistency be null and void (Satori, 1965).

These features are integral to every democracy because they make possible free discussion on the continuous participation of the people in government, not only at the time of elections. The features are important, because democracy is based on a belief which places great value on individual personality and individual freedom.

Where power is conferred permanently or where on account of an atmosphere of fear and coercion, people do not feel free to discuss, vote and displace the existing government if they want to do so, democracy cannot be said to exist.

2.1.2 Concept of Election

Right from time immemorial human beings have in one way or the other ordered their society. Election is one of the major mechanisms through which society has organized itself. Since the 17th century, elections have been the usual process through which modern representative government has operated. It is one aspect of political practice that is necessary for a people to make decision and speak loudly about an individual, a policy and a political party. Election is used as reckoning for those who either perform, ready to work or those who underperform (Derbyshire and Derbyshire, 1993).

Election according to the Chukwuemeka (2012) “is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office”. The population in this definition could be an entire country, a group of people in a meeting, an organization or an institution who decided to have a leadership. The process of electing the leadership within a population varies from one organization to another. For instance, the process of election in a country is more broad-based and cumbersome than a mere group of people in town’s meeting. By extension, the rules and regulations guiding election vary from country to country. How free and fair an election is, is determined by the extant laws and the level of a people’s political culture.

Ibeanu (2008) further defines election as, “the process of selecting the officers or representatives of an organization or group by vote of its qualified members”. The encyclopedia has added another dimension to the concept by going further to mention

that the individuals voting in an election have to be members that are qualified. A qualified member is someone who is loyal and up-to-date with all commitments of a group or an organization. There has to be an election by eligible members before a winner will emerge. According to Bain (1964), election is:

The formal process by which the electorate selects officials and determines the issues submitted to him. It is therefore a procedure for choosing officers or making binding decisions concerning policy by vote of those formally qualified to participate.

Jinadu (1997) defined election as, "...the selection of people (representatives) by qualified adult voters into public office". By this definition, the adult suffrage is being touted because the people who must vote must be adult who are qualified. For election to be acceptable by all and sundry as free, fair and credible, it must be devoid of acts of incivilities like assassination, thuggery, arson, kidnapping, rigging arising from ballot box snatching, including vote selling and imprisonment of opponents. It is imperative to note unfortunately though, that all these ills are replica of elections in Third World countries like Nigeria where politicians cease that opportunity to make sacrifices which may be inform of human blood in other for them to have victory in the election. Before we proceed further, there is need to dissect the concept of voting because that is what constitutes the warp and woof of every election.

This study, consequently, views elections as the process by which leaders or decision-makers are elected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and are accepted by majority of the voters thereafter.

2.1.3 Concept of Internal Democracy

Internal democracy refers to the democratization of a political party's internal decision making structures and processes to provide opportunities for citizens and members of the party to influence the choices that parties offer to voters (Maiyo, 2008). Scarrow (2005) has however pointed out that internal democracy is very wide term describing a wide range of methods. In fact the concept of internal democracy is as nebulous as the concept of democracy meaning different things to different users and practitioners, thus provoking the raging debate regarding its desirability and practicability. But as Scarrow (2005) observes:

...the ideal of internal democracy has gained increasing attention in recent years because of its apparent potential to promote a "virtuous circle" linking ordinary citizens to government, benefiting parties that adopt it, and more generally contributing to the stability and legitimacy of the democracies in which these parties compete for power.

The observation of Scarrow above regarding internal democracy may be true of political parties in advanced democracies, but regrettably, cannot be said to be true of political parties in the nascent democratic experiences in most of Africa, and Nigeria to be specific. The experience of Nigeria lends credence to the argument that internal practices of political parties may be more of a destabilizing rather than a stabilizing element of democracy. My effort in this section is to x-ray the varying arguments against and in favor of the internal democracy in political parties, more especially with regards to an aspect of the selection process which is party primaries and how it affects democratic consolidation. On the subject of internal democracy there are two major contestations,

which in this research shall be classified as critics and supporters and or as Scarrow (2005) describes those, outcome and process protagonists.

Early on the list of critics of internal democracy are the elite theorist led by Robert Michels who theorized on the oligarchic character of political parties. According to Michels (1915) a political party "is an organization which gives birth to the dominion of the elected over the electors... the delegated over the delegators" and concludes that "who says organization says oligarchy". In his view "every party organization represents an oligarchical power grounded upon a democratic basis" He further argues that "the notion of the representation of popular interests is an illusion engendered by a false illumination, an effect of mirage". For this school of thought, the idea of internal democracy in parties will sound pretentious, because even where laws are put in place to ensure control of the majority over the minority, it is the laws that ends up being circumscribed (Parry, 1977). Michel justifies this position by asserting that the modern party is a fighting party, which needs speedy and promptness of action to prevail, otherwise it will lose its political elasticity and opportunity for action. He put it this way:

Democracy is utterly incompatible with strategic promptness, and the forces of democracy do not lend themselves to the rapid opening of a campaign. This is why political parties even when democratic, exhibit so much hostility to the referendum and to all other measures for the safe guard of real democracy; and this is why in their constitutions these parties exhibit, if not unconditional caesarism, at least extremely strong centralizing and oligarchical tendencies (Michels, 1915).

Duvuger (1965) also observes the tendency of parties to camouflage their autocratic tendency behind a democratic mask given the universal reverence paid to democracy and the legitimacy it confers on those who claim to practice it. He further notes that despite

the attraction which democracy holds, practical efficiency drives parties to the opposite direction, because a party organized on the democratic premise "is not well armed for the struggle of politics" (Michels, 1915). That is to say that internal democracy makes parties that practice it weaker and incapable of keeping pace with their opponents to the critics, effective internal democracy precludes parties from choosing candidates most likely to appeal to voters and transfer key political decisions to a small group of party activists at the expense of the broader membership (Maiyo, 2008).

2.2 Empirical Review

The Impact of Direct Primaries on Internal Democracy of Political Parties in Nigeria

Section 84 (1-2) of the new Electoral Act (2022) states that, "A political party seeking to nominate candidates for elections under this Act shall hold primaries for aspirants to all elective positions. The procedure for the nomination of candidates by political party for the various elective positions shall be by direct, indirect primaries or by consensus arrangements. "By the consensus arrangement, the entire members of a political party decides that a particular candidate is the best qualified to be presented for a particular position with no dissenting voice or opposition and after he is nominated nobody challenges him in contesting that position.

Direct primaries involve the participation of all registered members of a party in the selection of the party's candidates. Indirect primaries on the other hand rely on the use of delegates who are often party leaders, stakeholders or political appointees at different levels to decide who flies the party flag. Since its foundation about seven years ago, the APC has used both direct and indirect primaries to nominate its candidates, just last

month, the APC deployed the consensus clause to choose its leadership of its National Working Committee. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) and some other opposition political parties nominate their candidates largely through indirect primaries.

Mbachu (2021) asserts that in the run up to the 2019 general elections, 18 of the 27 APC state chapters in their governorship primaries in September 2018 opted for indirect primaries, while the remaining nine used the direct method. The nine states that settled for direct primaries include Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Bauchi, Cross-River, Kano, Niger, Ogun, Taraba and Zamfara.

Goitom (2020) contends that when the Adams Oshiomhole-led National Working Committee (NWC) of the All Progressives Congress (APC) decided to use the direct primary for electing candidates during the 2019 general elections, not many clapped for him. While the option was openly adopted in some states, it created serious problems for the party in some other states; leading to the party losing elections in such states through courts pronouncements. But, the beauty inherent in the process was the decision to use the direct option in conducting its presidential primary which however required a national convention to ratify the outcome under the watchful eyes of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Hitherto, political parties used the indirect option to nominate their candidates. But, the indirect primary has been widely criticized as one that does not reflect the wishes of the people or members of the parties but tends to promote an elite capture of power.

Although party primary is entirely an internal affair of a political party, Nigerians have long sought for a free, fair and credible primaries to select candidates. There is the belief

that the leadership problem in the country is largely due to the faulty selection process which has thrown up leaders that have practically lost touch with their people.

Goitom (2020) argues further that the indirect mode of primary which has been in use since the return to civil rule in 1999 has enabled godfathers and corruption. He added: “It has created a system where unpopular political candidates rely on buying of delegates to vote for them or their cronies at the party primary. This is antithetical to the aim of a diligent primary election which is to choose credible candidates that would most likely be acceptable to the electorates.”

The direct primary will increase the participation of women and youth in the political process. It will help check godfatherism, enhance intra-party democracy and reduce the commercialization of elections in Nigeria. Due to the fact legislature has remained committed to the improvement of our electoral process, they have expeditiously passed Electoral Acts (Amendment) bill. If the executive wants to follow suit then the bill should be assented to as soon as possible by the President (Egboh and Aniche, 2021).

However, Chukwuemeka (2020) agrees that:

The endorsement of direct primary would improve internal democracy in political parties by allowing all party members to participate in the choice of party candidates for elections. That way, party members would own the primary and the ensuing results. This is because it is hard for moneybags to bribe all party members in the way they bribe delegates during indirect primary. That is to say that direct primary will reduce incidence of parallel primaries and reduce kleptocracy and plutocracy.

But, I doubt if the adoption of the direct primary option would eliminate all the problems associated with electing candidates for political parties. This is because the direct primary has its positive and negative sides.

Ademola (2019) argues that:

The positive side of it is that it is popular, it is cheaper and the most credible way of producing credible candidates. The negative side is that Nigeria political parties do not have a database of their members. Secondly, there are security challenges in direct primary because almost everybody will come and line up. This is going to be done at the ward offices of the parties and we don't have the security apparatus that will be able to protect such a process. It could be chaotic since almost everybody is going to come and line up, even non-members of the parties can be mobilised to join the line.

Aborisade (2021:3) argues further that:

Another aspect of it is that any figure can be written as results from direct primary. You will remember that when President Buhari opted for direct primary, the claim by the ruling party was that about 30 million members voted for him. The question then was, where are those people? Only 18 million people voted for him during the general election. But, anybody who does not have enough money to give to delegates opts for direct primary, but it is subject to a lot of abuse. It is equivalent to the general election; the only difference is that it is conducted by political parties.

Analytically it can be deduced that the decision to adopt direct primary by the National Assembly may not be unconnected with the struggle for relevance by the lawmakers, especially in their states. Aborisade (2021) adds further that:

The reason behind the adoption of direct primary by the Senate is that many of them have lost favour with their governors and the governors have conducted congresses without their supporters. As such, the only way for their political survival is through direct primary. In 2019, many of them were beneficiaries of indirect primary. But, now that the governors have decided to change many of them, the idea of direct primary as the only legal and credible

process comes into play. So, that law made by the National Assembly is informed by the crisis they are having in their states.

Jega (2021) asserts that what the country needs at this point in time is a leadership recruitment system that will throw up true leaders for the country. He believes that the leadership drive in the country has been on the downward trend since 1999, leading to a series of agitations by Nigerians. He warned that the direct primary must be made to work if agitations in the country must stop. He further enthused that: “The provisions hitherto were based on the delegate system. If you look at it, the delegate system is more convenient because it reduces the cumbersomeness of throwing up those to be elected at all levels.

But, that type of law can only be made for a sane society. We are not a sane society. Everything that needs to be judged is judged through rationalistic decency and our society is not for that. Public officers are elected and when they are elected, they are sworn in on oath. If you are a Muslim, you hold the holy Quran and if you are a Christian, you hold the Holy Bible and that is a very serious business. You swear to do justice to all without discrimination. But, as soon as they are through with the oath, they go and do something completely different. If you are a governor, for example, you are elected to take charge of a constituency described by the constitution as a state. But, as soon as he settles down, he completely appropriates all the resources of the state for himself, does whatever he wants and even controls the State House of Assembly. So, we are really not a sane society. The agitations you are seeing now have come about as a result of the distrust and disgust of Nigerians with the way public officers emerge (Jega, 2021).

The issue of direct and indirect primaries is an emotive issue. However, as analysts, we must not be tempted to be drown in the murky water of sentiment but we must have to be objective. As such, Jega (2021) further argues that:

With the delegate system, a presidential or governorship candidate can decide who qualifies to be a delegate. The delegate could emerge from his local government and he will change the delegate list until he is satisfied that he now has the people that will vote him into power. There is no way people will not react to this type of situation. This type of situation is going to cause serious chaos in this country. Our political culture has been degenerating and you can see this from the quality of leaders we are having. From 1999 till date, the quality has been degenerating. In everything, the aspiration of the people has been completely compromised by the system. So, whether we are going to do an open delegate system or not, what the country must face is the integrity and the accountability processes that will make sure that credible candidates emerge. Unless we do that, this direct primary option may fail, and Nigerians are going to react. So, we must look for a credible leadership recruitment system.

Mbachu (2021) argues that, when a candidate emerges through direct primary to contest election against a candidate that was produced through indirect or delegate election, chances are that such a candidate will always win the general election. He will win because it is the majority of party faithful that chose their flag bearer. Voting for such a candidate during the general election will be a smooth exercise because he is already liked or loved by the majority of the party people who also in most cases are the majority in the state/Federal Constituency, local government or senatorial district. Direct primary election is a giant step at handing over the political party to people.

By the time direct primary elections are combined with electronic voting and e-transmission of election results, Nigeria will be obviously heading towards an egalitarian political society. I know that fraudulent politicians such as ballot box snatchers and other forms of election riggers will never be comfortable with direct primary elections and electronic transmission of results. But, if democracy is truly a government of the people by the people and for the people, then every honest and God-fearing practicing politician who believes in transparent politicking and election

should have no qualms with these innovations introduced by the National Assembly (Mbachu, 2021).

The concept of direct primary is not only in the constitution, but a convention driven by practical democracy, which is people-friendly. It is premised on the principle of transparency, fairness and justice. It makes the template of selection more acceptable, credible, applicable and enduring. It makes both the poor and the rich test their acceptability amongst the electorate in a way that the outcome becomes obvious, more objective and justice driven. The system is rancor-free and less acrimonious, therefore easily facilitates the majority position on who is more popular and indeed acceptable in the context of choice amongst aspirants.

2.2.2 Direct Primaries and Promotion of the Culture of Free, Fair and Credible Election in Nigeria

Direct primaries is not a new introduction into the political lexicon of Nigeria's election climate. In the second and botched third republic, parties adopted the use of direct primaries to elect party leaders and candidates for the general elections. Direct primary, ideally provides a climate that encourages citizen engagement in political party activities; the ideal appeal of everyone (members of a political party) casting their votes to select the party candidate would ordinarily encourage more people to participate in the activities of the political parties and general elections. This participatory engagement by the entirety of members of a political party helps to dispel the perception that political parties are mere tools for godfathers and elite capture of power. Furthermore, the rising interference by the judiciary in declaring winners of elections will be lessened in the internal electoral processes since the common dispute over who was elected as delegates

by the legally recognized faction and delegates will be reduced. Petitions are mostly filed every primary election cycle by those who are manipulated out regarding who should represent the party after the different factional primary elections. However, with the direct primary, all party members will vote, avoiding factional primaries by forcing all factions to compete for who has the majority of party members on their side

Direct primary offers many advantages but possess weaknesses too just like the indirect primaries and consensus provisions. Today, it is argued that no political party possesses an up to date membership register of its members. This leaves a lot of room for manipulation of key actors of the process. Direct primaries are also very expensive to conduct. The act in itself is analogous to conducting a general elections with logistics and security concerns. There is a need to make it transparent; like digitalization of political party data so that only legitimate members can vote in preventing aspirants from manipulating the primary by bringing in non-party members.

The Direct Primary also needs to resolve the issue of undue advantage that the population might give a candidate supported in a populous place over the other. The primary elections must reflect the idea of winners having a broad base of support akin to the general election guideline which stipulates that a candidate will emerge victorious after having the highest number of votes coupled with 25 per cent of the votes in two-thirds of the states or local governments must be introduced to political party primaries to achieve same spread.

Essentially, political parties are free to choose their candidates through the stipulated options made available to them by the electoral act of 2022; Direct, indirect or by

consensus. Sidelining their members might lead to discord and disenchantment which might prove disastrous to their hope of winning any election at stake. Political parties are aware that rival parties would only be too happy to exploit any disaffection caused by disenfranchising their members. It is enough reason for the leaders of the parties are to be very cautious in choosing the option for selecting their candidates. It is true that a coincidence of the lure of office, as a sure means to power and affluence on the part of politicians, and grinding poverty and deep alienation from government, on the part of the masses of the people, has led to the enthronement of money as the arbiter of all of our elections, and that consequently this in-built check to the subversion of party members' participation in choosing candidates has little or no effect. Nevertheless, laws should never be enacted to void the vital civic obligation of responsibility (Schattschneider (2004)

One of the ways to empower the people to shun the vicious effect of money in our elections, and engender the value and true spirit of democracy is not just in the vain hope that legislating every aspect of our lives will abate the evil. The higher the stakes — and they cannot get higher than our numerous parties conducting direct primaries across the length and breadth of the country — the ever greater the amounts of money that would be needed by the parties to organize them and to fund INEC's supervision in thousands of locations. And this gives even greater advantage to the money-bags, who invariably are the incumbents: the president, governors, senators and representatives, ministers and other high political appointees running for elective office, state legislators and local government chairpersons. Or the challenger with a godfather or for whom money is no

object. Just how would direct primaries prevent a poverty-stricken electorate from selling their votes to the highest bidder?

It is why, for instance, INEC has to conduct governorship elections and why we want it to also handle local government elections and not state electoral bodies. Yet, the problem of state independent electoral commissions being mere agents of the state governors and their parties can be dealt with by guaranteeing their independence. One way of doing so is to free it from the control of sitting governors by making their budgets appropriated first line charges. Their autonomy would be further ensured with their members drawn from each registered party (which must pass the test of viability and continued registration after an election), civil society organizations and the bar and bench, the chairperson of the commission to be elected from among the members.

2.2.4 Role of direct Primaries in promoting inclusion and acceptability of Political Parties in Nigeria

In Nigeria, indirect party primaries have been conducted in manners that query the democratic credentials of the political parties even when they attach the nomenclature democratic to their names to prove their democratic character. The fallouts of indirect party primaries negates the democratic ethics and values it set out to pursue and sometimes impacts negatively on democratic consolidation. One of the objectives of this research is to examine how direct primaries promote inclusion or acceptability of political parties in Nigeria. I will examine this argument by reviewing the failings of indirect primaries and how direct primaries promote inclusion amongst members.

According to section 22(1) of the repealed electoral act (2006) states that "The constitution and rules of a political party shall

(a) Provide for the periodical election on a democratic basis of the principal officers and members of the executive committee or other governing body of the political party; and

(b) Ensure that the members of the executive committee or other governing body of the party reflect the federal character of Nigeria.

(2) For the purposes of this section (a) the election of the officers or members of the executive committee of a political party shall be deemed to be periodical if it is made at regular intervals not exceeding four years; and (b) the members of the executive committee or other governing body of the political party shall be deemed to reflect the federal character of Nigeria only if the members thereof belong to different states not being less in number than two-thirds of all the States of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

The Act was silent on the manner of selecting candidates for elective positions. This lacunae was corrected in the amended version of the electoral Act 2010. Section 87(1) states that, "a political party seeking to nominate candidates for elections under this Act shall hold primaries for aspirants to all elective positions".(2) "The procedures for the nomination of candidates by political parties for the various elective posts shall be by direct or indirect primaries". (3)"A political party that adopts the direct primaries procedure shall ensure that all aspirants are given equal opportunity of being voted for by members of the party".

(Electoral Act 2010) Sections 87(4) to (11) stipulates the methods of organizing the primaries in the case of parties that choose the indirect form of primaries for all the elective positions, namely, President, Governor, Senate, House of Representative, States Houses of Assembly, Chairmanship and councilors of local government area councils.

For instance indirect primaries for the nomination of a presidential candidate will involve the party holding special conventions in each of the 36 states of the federation and Federal Capital territory, where delegates shall vote for each of the aspirant at designated centers in each state Capital on specified dates. The candidate with the highest number of votes shall be declared in a special convention to be held by the party in each of the 36 states and federal Capital Territory and the name of the nominee forwarded to INEC as the candidate of the party after ratification by the convention. Similar provisions were also made for other elective positions as afore stated.

This elaborated provisions comes at the wake of many problems associated with candidate selection in all the parties and the many legal battles that tend to thwart or derail the democratic process. The various parties also made provisions for party primaries for the selection of candidates. This is provided chapter VIII, section 50 of the PDP constitution (2012 as amended); Article 20 of the All Progressive Congress (APC). The APC, however introduced a new dimension, a yes or no vote for candidates that emerged by consensus so as to forestall discontent that may arise from perceived feeling of imposition. The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) also made similar provisions in article 24 of the party.

However, APGA constitution gave the National Executive Committee (NEC) the powers to identify and choose a credible and nationally acceptable person who shall be presented to the national conventions for ratification with respect to presidential candidates. Selection of vice presidential candidates is the preserve of the national officers of in consultation with the presidential candidate, grand patrons and Board of trustees' chairman. Similar powers to select 'credible' candidates was also given to state executive

committees, local government and ward executive committees with approval from NEC. A study of the various parties' constitution show that party organization in Nigeria follow the centralized format not minding the decentralized structure. The national executive committee and the Board of trustees enjoy unequalled powers that cannot be challenged by other levels of party authorities.

We need to reiterate that these legal provisions are breached very often leading to internal strife, defections and litigations associated with primaries in Nigeria. When political parties as lubricants of democracy engage in acts that derail democracy or violate the principles upon which democracy is based, that is democratic decay and when democratic processes are employed in undemocratic ways by a hegemonic group to foist decisions on others, or mask the undemocratic practices in order to present them as legitimate, that becomes for lack of a better term democratic autocracy.

That political parties are the major building blocks of democracy is no longer contestable, that parties nurture and sustain democracy is a fact of modern democratic systems, what remains contestable is whether parties lacking in democratic ideals and principles in their internal mechanisms can enthrone and sustain democracy in the wider polity. According to Norris (2004) a key issue in intra-party democracy is the nomination process, as it serves as a prism in understanding the power distribution among different organs and factions in a party. According to Schattschneider (2004)"the nominating process has become a crucial process of the party. He who can make the nominations is the owner of the party" Schattschneider may have made the stated assertion based on experiences of parties in advanced democracies, but his observation very aptly fits what appears to be the fundamental reason or basis for party formation in Nigeria-serving as vehicles for

capturing state power. This is true of political parties in the current democratic dispensation in Nigeria, a flaw emanating from the socio-economic and political environment that threw them up.

The primacy of state capture through DC as the epistemological foundation of party formation and organization in Nigeria has contributed in no small measure to the deterioration or near absence of internal democracy in these parties despite several rules and regulations both by the state and the party constitution stipulating such. In fact, Omoruyi (2000) observes that parties in Nigeria cannot be easily classified as parties except in name since their origin, structure, organization and functions defy standards by which parties are identified in classical or scholarly writings. The Justice Uwais committee on electoral reform in Nigeria had this to say about political parties in 2008:

One of the most crucial and yet least developed democratic institutions in the country is the political party system. There are currently 50 registered political parties in the country, most of which are an assemblage of people who share the same level of determination to use the party platform to get to power. As such, it is usually difficult to identify any party programmes or ideologies. The structure of the political parties is such that internal democracy is virtually absent. The political parties are weak and unable to effectively carry out political mobilization, political education and discipline (Jega, 2014:2).

One of the fallouts of military transition to democracy, is the character of political parties it throws up. This is because the parties start out as structural edifices immersed in meeting the cumbersome registration guidelines stipulated for their existence, such as "pan -Nigerian membership, functional offices in two-thirds of the states of the federation, electing officers that meet the federal character criterion, etc"; that they fail the basic condition of party formation which is an organic linkage of the wishes and interests of those that came together as members (Fawole, 2005, p.159). Consequently the

post military transition parties are usually lacking in membership coherence, ideologically vacuous, and void of democratic attitudes and values that can bring about democratic consolidation.

Fawole (2005, p.165) notes that "adherence to laid down rules and procedures, makes acceptance of electoral outcomes less problematic even when it fails to favor one", a factor "that is more crucial to democratic consolidation than the actual outcomes of elections". It is just this very factor, non-adherence to rules and regulations of the game that has become the bane of party politics in Nigeria. Nigeria is obviously not lacking in rules stipulating democratic elections as the only way of choosing leaders and candidates in both intra and inter party competition, the problem is that the political class prefer the rule of the jungle to the rule of law.

2.2.5 Gaps in the Literature

This review above shows the positions of pertinent extant literature that address the subject matter of political party primaries and internal democracy. It looked at the various views of scholars such as Ujo (2012),Kukah (2017),Okoigun (2020),Tobi(2015),Goitom (2020), Aborisade (2021) and Mbachu (2021), among others, concerning party primaries and internal democracy in Nigeria, and observed that party primaries and internal democracy have contributed to the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria state. However, their respective assertions and discourses constitute a starting point for this study, although, the study will also contribute to the body of knowledge on the roles of party primaries and internal democracy citing data driven and empirical evidence. Moreover, this study examines literatures on the challenges faced in ensuring that there is internal

democracy which may account for the varied result in their bid to strengthen democracy in the country.

Scholars such as Ibeanu (2008), (Maiyo, 2008), Goitom (2020), Chukwuemeka (2020), Ademola (2019), Aborisade (2021), Jega (2021) and Mbachu (2021), among others, have studied and identified ethnicity, cultural and regional sentiments, accountability, poor organization and management, corruption, lack of internal democracy, state patronage, unhealthy competition of political parties are some of the factors that influence the consolidation of internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria.

Although, scholars such as Ekeh (1992), Chabel and Daloz (1999), Mamdani (1996), among others, have examined the influence of the nature and character of political parties, specifically, how the nature and character of the parties have affected the quality of internal democracy in this fourth republic from 1999 to date. However, the difference in the nature and character of both direct and indirect primaries serves as a factor that influences the growth or decline of internal democracy in Nigeria which accounts for the why politicians are not inclined to free, fair and credible party primaries.

This study is different in that the above mentioned scholars are of the view that political parties have contributed a great deal to the sustenance and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. However, empirical analysis of the literatures confirms that these scholars were more concerned about the critical role political party's play towards the stability and consolidating of democracy and not necessarily sharpening the edges of internal democracy through mirroring the selection process of political parties by political parties. This research therefore bridges that gap because it does not only review the role of political parties in democratic consolidation in Nigeria but how the functionality of direct

and indirect primary elections has led to an improved internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria.

Direct Primaries in All Progressive Congress (APC)

A new party recently formed in July 2013 to challenge the dominance of PDP in Nigerian electoral contest. APC is an amalgam of about 3 and a half parties namely All Nigerian Peoples' Party (ANPP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) Congress of Democratic Change (CPC) and faction of APGA led by the governor of Imo State Chief Rochas Okorocha. Prior to this merger the various parties that formed APC all had problems of internal democracy trailing their choice of party nominees for election. ANPP was as old as PDP being one three parties registered to contest the 1999 election. It was then known as All Peoples' Party (APP). It was later renamed ANPP and had as its 'unchallenged' consensus presidential candidate as Gen Muhammad Buhari. The Party relies on the Party hierarchy to decide nominees of the party for elective positions. Even where primaries are conducted, it is only to legitimate the choices of the party oligarchy.

However disagreements arising from the manner of prosecution of the electoral dispute of the highly controversial 2007 election led to further split of the party with Gen Buhari leaving the party to float another party called CPC. The fact that before the formation of CPC Gen Buhari had always been the presidential flag bearer of the party without any challenge or contest but under the principle of consensus candidate speaks little of internal democracy in the party ANPP. The crisis generated by absence of credible primary and in Bauchi state CPC is even more instructive. The CPC party in Bauchi state divided into four factions each headed a gubernatorial aspirant. The four aspirants, namely Sadiq Mahmud, Nuhu Gidado, Mohammed Dewu and Yusuf Maitama Tuggar,

all of them claimed to be the legitimate candidate of the party. Dewu and Gidado had earlier obtained court ruling giving them the mandate which was over ruled by another court ruling got by Tuggar. The party chairman in the state attributed the confusion to PDP efforts to destabilize the party in the state (The New Nigerian Voice News April 26 2011).

ACN on the other hand was formed at the wake of the 2007 election, and went ahead to replace the AD and PDP hegemony in the south west politics. It also suffers the set back of internal democracy as policies and candidate selection are privileges that belong to a select few if not one man in the party. The towering influence of Bola Tinubu, (the former governor of Lagos state) in the party leaves very little room for any form of internal democracy. But then ACN never pretended to organize party primaries, their method is for the party hierarchy to choose from among the members (mostly drawn from the friends, relations, and political godsons) nominees for various elective positions. This is done under the mask of consensus candidate. The consensus is all about agreements amongst the chieftains of the party. They argue that primaries may open up the party to enemies from the opposition PDP who may join the contest to eventually sell them out at the general election (Interview with APC members June, 25, 2014).

Momoh (2013) also high degree of personalization of party structures and decision making processes in ACN which has resulted to the towering influence of Bola Tinubu in the affairs of the party. In fact the emergence of the current Lagos State governor Babatunde Raji Fasola as both AC nominee and governor of Lagos state is attributable to the political process of Bola Tinubu as the erstwhile governor of Lagos State under the AD. Raji Fashola was the chief of staff to Governor Tinubu from 1999-2007 when he

took over from him. Many of the other contestants who harbored the gubernatorial ambition in AC defected to other parties. These parties came together to form APC. It is still very fresh to determine the extent of IPD in APC although the party fielded candidate for the gubernatorial election in Anambra state held in 2013. The nomination process that brought out the gubernatorial candidate in the person of Dr Chris Nwabueze Ngige is not without incidence.

The party hierarchy had already decided that Dr Ngige will fly the party flag for the post, but then there were contestants who opposed the imposition, which led to a primary election between Dr Ngige and Mr Ezimo, and in which that Dr Ngige won sealing him as the flag bearer of the party. The process appears credible to an unbiased observer, but in actual fact the election is manipulated in a manner that enables the chosen nominee of the party oligarchy to win. This is done by making sure that delegates to the congress are drawn mainly from supporters of the favored candidate. The same consensus approach was employed in the party convention recently held in Abuja in June for the election of party executives. The nominees of the different positions have already been selected and their opponents just come to the election and decline the contest, wherein a yes or no votes are cast by the delegates to legitimate the exercise in the eyes of INEC officials observing the process (Interview with APC delegate, June 30, 2014).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Structural Functional Theory

The theory that will suitably fit for the analysis of this work is the structural functionalist theory is adopted in this work. This theory argues that the society is like a biological organism that is made up of various parts must work harmoniously for the overall interest of the organism. Just like the organism, the society is made up of various social institutions like the family, economy, education, religion, politics etc. Each of these social institutions has a definite role that it must perform to ensure the smooth running of society. If one of the social systems has a problem, it will affect the whole society.

According to Robert Merton in his work "Social Theory and Social Structure" published in (1957), the structural functionalist theory is a theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole, and believes that society has evolved like organisms. This approach looks at both social structure and social functions.

Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements; namely norms, customs, traditions, and institutions. A common analogy, popularized by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as "organs" that work toward the proper functioning of the "body" as a whole. In the most basic terms, it simply emphasizes "the effort to impute, as rigorously as possible, to each feature, custom, or practice, its effect on the functioning of a supposedly stable, cohesive system". For Talcott Parsons, "structural-functionalism" came to describe a particular stage in the methodological development of social science, rather than a specific school of thought.

The structural functionalism approach is a macro sociological analysis, with a broad focus on social structures that shape society as a whole.

Almond's model is popularly known to the students of political science as a proponent of structural functionalism. It is so called because Almond has explained his views keeping these structures of political system in mind. He has, in fact, stressed that every political system has some structures and these structures perform certain functions meant for it. In his work "The Politics of the Developing Areas" published by Gabriel Almond (1960) has drawn our attention to an interesting issue. He says that though there are differences between developed and developing countries so far as structures are concerned, the structures perform almost similar functions. What is structure? Here the word structure is used in a sense different from sociological sense. Structure means institutions. Every political system has several institutions such as political party, legislature, executive, judiciary, etc. Almond claims that all these were previously called institutions.

Gabriel Almond went further to contend that in functionalist theory, every political system must have either a centralized or a decentralized structure for the smooth functioning of the system. He argued that these structures perform two broad functions of input and output. For the input functions we have: (1) political socialization (2) interest articulation (3) interest aggregation (4) political communication. The output functions include the following: (1) rule making (2) rule application (3) rule adjudication

This study adopted the neo-Marxist theory of the post-colonial State which is an offshoot of the classical Marxist political economy approach. The major tenets of the theory of post-colonial State are generated from the works of Ekeh (1972); Alavi (1973);

Ake(1981) and Ekekwe (1986); who among others have contributed to the explanation and understanding of the character of the state in the periphery, with a Marxist persuasion. The central focus of the theory is on understanding the nature, structure, history, composition and character of the State in the periphery like the Nigerian State in order to ascertain the dynamics of political developments and processes within the State. Suffice it to add that these dynamics include the nature and character of ICSOs and democratic consolidation with their various manifestations. They argue that it is the State that occupies the center stage of politics and therefore is the major determinant of most societal processes including civil society and democratic consolidation. The theory suggests that the post-colonial state is a creation of imperialism. As such, it has followed the development strategies of the colonialists, dictated by the interest of imperialist and its local allies, not by those of the majority of the indigenous population. The post-colonial state has created for itself a deep crisis from which it can hardly extricate itself without fundamentally changing its present nature.

As Engels (1919), cited in Omoyibo (2014) argues, “The state is nothing, but, a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”. Similarly, Ake notes that:

The State is a specific modality of class domination, one in which domination is mediated by commodity exchange so that the system of institutional mechanisms of domination is differentiated and disassociated from the ruling class and even the society appears as an objective force standing alongside society (Ake, 1981).

More so, Alavi (1973) opines that the “post-colonial States and their apparatuses are instruments of primitive accumulation by the dominant class and their collaborators”. According to Ekekwe (1986), the post-colonial states rest on the foundation of the

colonial state. This, in turn, had incorporated some important elements of the pre-colonial rudimentary state structures. The main goal of the colonial state was to create conditions under which accumulation of capital by the foreign bourgeoisie in alliance with the ruling elite would take place through exploitation of local human and other natural resources. It was on this basis that the post-colonial state emerged.

Given this context, the stakes and struggles for state power are very high and often assume “a zero-sum game” character. The limited autonomy of the postcolonial State in Africa leads to an exclusive politics articulated in the struggle for power based on efficiency norms rather than legitimacy norms; the triumph of the vicious over the virtuous; centralization of power; imposition of domination and political control; alienation of leaders from their masses; and the deployment of extremism in the exercise of power which are all hallmarks of the postcolonial State. The intensities or the frequencies of the above forces in African States affect the operationalization of ICSSOs and consolidation of democracy in such States (Ogbonna, 2014).

Critique of the Theory

Scholars such as Ashcroft, (1989), Slemon, (1995), Young, (1996, 2001), Moore, (2001), among others have attacked this theory from different flanks. In fact, according to Slemon (1995), the neo-Marxian theory of post-colonial state not only lacks clarity and consensus, but, also keeps changing through “new forms of social collectivity as they emerge in time and space in the postcolonial world. Unfortunately, the nature and character of the Nigerian state typifies this ugly picture, yet, finds, it difficult to cross the hurdle. Alluding to this, Onyeoziri (2005) reiterates how the character of the Nigerian

state, especially its authoritarian and Unitarian tendencies discourage the practice of good governance. For instance, according to Oladipupo (2011) statement credited to former President Olusegun Obasanjo, that the 2007 General Elections were going to be a door-die affair for the ruling party, is unimaginable and detrimental to transparent leadership successions a clear indication that democracy is yet to be strong in Nigeria and that those who manage affairs of the state themselves rock the foundation of democracy.

Relevance of the Theory to the Study

The structural functional theory is relevant and suitable for the explanation of the topic in that when the institutions of the state are too weak to enforce fairness, justice and the rule of law, thus allowing crude power politics to reign, then, there is no end in sight, yet, as far as electoral or internal democracy misfortune is concerned. This weakness disallows the state from thriving, democratically. The major headache is located in crude electoral processes which is a reflection of the character of the Nigerian state. As a result, who comprises civil society and the types of alliances formed among social groups change over time.

The term 'dialectical' emphasizes that one shapes the other in a simultaneous and continuous process of constant action and reaction, even within the unequal power relations between the post-colonial state and society in Africa. The most important implication of this dialectical relationship is that the process of state and civil society formation and transformation which cannot be grasped by isolating, observing and analyzing one component or the other, but requires the study of both. Such an analysis is needed for as Ake (1992) noted that the democratization struggles (of CSO's) is an expression of the will to survive rather than a conscious effort to open up the political

space for liberal democracy. This is because neoliberal reforms hit at the very livelihood of citizens even as the state becomes more rampageous in its oppressive character.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The chapter presented the methodology employed in curating data and the research design deployed to gain insights into the objectives of the study. The research design, the population study, sample size and sampling technique are adequately assessed and analyzed in this chapter in order to give a broader perspective of the research design. The method of data collection from the primary and secondary sources utilized for this study are analyzed in this chapter.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted descriptive research design to gain insight into assessing the impact of direct primaries on internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria. The researcher used descriptive analysis to examine the issues and challenges confronting direct and indirect primaries in Nigeria.

As a descriptive research, it employs a historical style in looking at the evolution and contribution of internal democracy to the democratization process exhibited by political parties in Nigeria, especially from 2013 – 2021.

The study like any academic research is guided by a methodology which according to Manion (1980) is the specific technique and objective procedure employed in carrying out scientific investigation. According to Kaplan (1964) cited in Ogban-Iyam (1998), methodology is regarded as techniques and the scientific procedures used in a given science or in particular context of inquiry in that science. It deals with the problem, prospects, assets and liabilities of the techniques. However, the methodology for this study contains: the theoretical framework, method of data collection, method of data analysis.

3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Technique.

Population of the Study: The population of the study included staff of INEC (Akwa Ibom State), APC Members (Akwa Ibom State), National Democratic Institute, National Assembly Committees on INEC, and Civil Society Organizations to collect relevant data from their respective records (statistics).

Table 3.1: Population of the Study

Institutions	Population	Sample Size
INEC	68	38
APC Members	830	303
National Democratic Institute	28	35
Senate and House Committees on INEC	45	11
Civil Society Organizations	35	43
Total	988	400

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

The formula for the distribution of the questionnaire according to the sample is as follows:

$$n = \frac{\text{Population}}{\text{Total Pop. of the Study}} \times \text{Sample}$$

$$n = \frac{210 \times 400}{988} = 68$$

$$n = \frac{430 \times 400}{988} = 203$$

$$n = \frac{150 \times 400}{988} = 41$$

$$n = \frac{68 \times 400}{988} = 35$$

$$n = \frac{45 \times 400}{988} = 11$$

$$n = \frac{85 \times 400}{988} = 43$$

Sample Size: Sample size refers to the number of elements selected from a given population. Taro Yamane formula was used in determining the sample size as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where N = the sample size

N = the population size

e = error of sampling $(0.05)^2$

$$n = \frac{988}{1 + 988(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{988}{988 \times 0.0025}$$

$$n = \frac{988}{6.06}$$

$$n = 400$$

$$n = 400 \text{ (sample size)}$$

Based on the Yamane's formula computed above at 0.05 confident interval, the sample size of the study stood at four hundred (400).

3.3 Method of Data Collection

The study utilized both primary and secondary methods of data collection. These methods involve the methods used to obtain all necessary data, which were considered to be raw facts (including primary and secondary), and information, which is data already processed into a usable or useful mode.

Primary Source: The study deployed questionnaire and interview instruments for the collection of data. The questionnaire drafted to include section A and section B. Section A was basically on the respondents' bio-data. Section B on the other hand had series of questions drafted in line with the objectives of the study. The questionnaire was framed in Likert form of agree, strongly agree, disagree and strongly disagree. Also, open ended questionnaire was used as well. The interview was based on relevant questions based on the research questions. The intention of the interview was to elicit information from respondents. The interview type is key participant interview (KPI) and it was couched in clear, straight forward and simple-to-understand way.

Secondary Source: The study used an annual time series on the activities of political parties in Nigeria. Data will also be gathered from documentary sources such as official documents from different institutions and organizations. Besides institutional official documents, the study will also be based on secondary sources of data such as books, journals, conference papers, among others. And this will be done to unravel the hidden relations between the state, political parties, internal democracy and democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

Due to the nature of the study, the study used tabular illustrations to analyze the trends of political parties' primaries. Again, the study also utilized textual and contextual analysis of already existing information on the phenomenon being investigated which involved the presentation, reading, prognosis, analysis, critique and discussion of relevant information gathered from the different categories of sources, from which conclusion were drawn (Fraser, 2004). Therefore, the use of this method of analysis is informed by the simplicity with which it can summarize expose and interpret relationship implicit in some given data by giving a qualitative description of the variables under study. This method is used in this study to examine, criticize, prognosis analyze and make inferences concerning civil society organization and democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents data generated from both primary and secondary sources and the analysis. This is presented with special consideration of the thematic variables of the study namely, direct and indirect primaries and its impact on internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria. It is worthy to note that 400 copies of questionnaire were distributed to the respondents, but only 392 filled questionnaire were returned for the analysis. This means that the researcher recorded a return rate of 98% and the non-return rate of 2%. Statistically, the return rate recorded is reasonable enough for generalization.

4.1 Data Presentation

Table 4.1 Number of Questionnaire Distributed and Returned

Institutions	Distributed	Returned	Not Returned
INEC	68	67	1
APC Members	303	198	5
National Democratic Institute	35	34	1
Senate and House Committees on INEC	11	11	0
Civil Society Organizations	43	42	1
Total	400	392	8

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

A total number of four hundred (400) questionnaires were administered to obtain information on the assessment of the impact of direct primaries on the internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria from (2013-2021). Data gathered were presented according to the order in which they were arranged in the questionnaire. The various responses were therefore grouped and tabulated towards ensuring an objective analysis and interpretation of the findings. Simple percentage was used to analyze the

responses gathered from the questionnaire on demographic information about the respondents and response to issues raised in the section B of the questionnaire.

Table 4.2 Gender Distribution of the Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	204	52
Female	188	48
Total	392	100

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Table 4.2 indicates that male gender constitutes the highest respondents with a total of two hundred and four representing fifty-two percent (52%), while female respondents account for forty-eight percent (48) or one hundred and eighty-eight.

From the gender of the respondents above, it can be deduced that the male gender are higher in number because more men are deployed to these offices. This is because of the sensitivity and hazards of the tasks involved, the men are therefore considered more capable of withstanding these “political” hazards

Table 4.3 Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percentage (%)
20-30	88	22
31-40	92	23
41-50	160	41
51 & Above	52	14

Total 392 100

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Table 4.3 indicates that respondents between the ages of forty-one and fifty (41 to 50) constitute the highest number of respondents with total number of one hundred and sixty accounting for forty-one percent (41%), respondents between the ages of thirty-one and

forty (31 to 40) is the second highest with a total number of ninety-two (92) accounting for twenty- three percent (23%). Respondents between the ages of twenty and thirty (20& 30) account for eighty eight (88) or twenty-two percent (22%), while respondents between the ages of fifty one and above (51 and above) are fifty-two (52) representing fourteen percent (14%)

The age bracket of 41-50 of the respondents is more because in most of the institutions visited by the researcher, the people deployed to these offices are within this age bracket.

Table 4.4 Qualification of the Respondents

Qualification	Frequency	Percentage (%)
B.Sc.	200	51
M.Sc.	107	27
PhD & above	85	22
Total	392	100

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Table 4.4. Indicates that respondents with B.Sc. constitute the majority of respondents. The above data shows that majority of the politicians, civil and public servants and civil society workers who supplied the researcher with data relating to party primaries have the B.Sc. Qualification and represents fifty-one (51%) percent which is the highest in the qualification of those sampled. The respondents with M.Sc. have the second highest with a twenty seven percent (27%), while those with PhD and above accounts for one point twenty two percent (22%).

From the qualification of the respondents in table 4.4 above, it can be deduced that the respondents with B.Sc. qualification are more in number. This is because B.Sc. is the entry qualification requirement for staff in most of these institutions and grade level.

Table 4.5 The Role of Direct Primaries in Promoting a Participatory Culture of Credible Elections in Nigeria

Options	Response	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	30	7.7%
Disagree	22	5.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	68	17.3%
Strongly Agree	65	16.6%
Agree	207	52.8%
Total	392	100%

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Data obtained revealed that, 30 respondents representing 7.7% that strongly disagreed were of the view that direct primaries do not necessary translate into promoting a culture of credible elections in Nigeria. 22 respondents representing 5.6 percent disagreed, 68 respondents representing 17.3% could not ascertain whether direct primaries promotes a participatory culture of credible elections in Nigeria. 65 respondents representing 16.6 percent agree with the above assertion while 207 respondents representing 52.8% strongly agree while,

It can therefore be deduced from table 4.5 above that truly direct primaries can affect the outcome of building a strong culture of participation of the people in the electoral process and it will lay a foundation for credible elections. Although, whatever style political parties choose as their primaries can affect the choice of the electorates during the general elections. In as much as the new electoral law recognizes consensus as a means of selecting flag bearers of political parties, direct primaries is an institutional measure put in place to ensure that candidates that represent them at general elections are people that have already been sieved by the parties and its entire membership.

Table 4.6 Impact of direct Primaries on Inclusion of Members and Acceptance of Political Parties in Nigeria

Options	Response	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	36	9%
Disagree	30	7.7%
Undecided	68	17.3%
Strongly Agree	93	23.7%
Agree	165	42%
Total	392	100%

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Data obtained revealed that, 165 respondents representing 42 percent strongly agreed with the view that direct primaries helped more party members feel included in the internal decision making activities of the political party and also boosted the popularity and acceptability of the political parties in Nigeria. 93 respondents representing 23 percent agreed while, 68 respondents representing 17.3% could not ascertain whether direct primaries helped more party members feel included in the conduct of the party's internal affairs. 36 respondents representing 9 percent strongly disagreed with the assertion while 30 respondents representing 7.7 percent also disagree with the view canvassed above.

It can be safely concluded that direct primaries is the ideal means for party primaries because according the respondents, direct primaries is inclusive of the ordinary members of the party and the decisions and not the microscopic few during delegate system of indirect primaries sets the political party up for non-acceptability.

Table 4.7: Direct Primaries in Political Parties and Attraction of Professionals

Options	Response	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	30	7.7%
Disagree	32	8%

Undecided	68	17.3%
Strongly Agree	227	58.4%
Agree	33	8.6%
Total	392	100%

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Data obtained revealed that, 30 respondents representing 7.7 percent strongly disagreed with the view that direct primaries have made political parties to attract professionals, become increasingly impartial and avoid imposition. 32 respondents representing 8% disagreed while, 68 respondents representing 17.3 percent could not ascertain whether direct primaries have made political parties to attract professionals. Furthermore, 227 representing 58.4 percent strongly agree with the view that direct primaries have made political parties to attract professionals, and 33 respondents representing 8.6 percent agreed with the views canvassed by those who strongly agreed.

From the analysis in table 4.9 above, one can safely conclude that direct primaries have made political parties to attract professionals, become increasingly impartial and avoid imposition. This is because the direct primaries give opportunity to all and sundry to participate irrespective of whether or not the aspirant rich. That way, professionals who may hitherto not be wealthy but have the pedigree and charisma as well as leadership qualities can aspire and hold any position in the political party.

Table 4.10: Direct Primaries and the Reduction of Post-election Litigation among Political Parties

Options	Response	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	30	7.7%
Disagree	65	16.6%
Undecided	0	0%
Strongly Agree	297	75.7%
Agree	0	0%
Total	392	100%

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Data obtained revealed that, 30 respondents representing 7.7 percent strongly disagreed with the view that direct primaries have reduced post-election litigation among political parties. 65 respondents representing 16.6 percent disagreed. 0 respondents representing 0% could not ascertain whether direct primaries have reduced post-election litigation among political parties. 297 respondents representing 75.7 percent strongly agree that direct primaries have reduced post-election litigation among political parties.

From the analysis in table 4.10, it is safe to conclude that due to direct election, post-election litigation among political parties has drastically reduced because the irregularities that normally characterize primary elections in Nigeria is taken care of by direct primaries. Direct elections offer opportunity to party members to directly participate in the electoral process and if the candidates loose in a free and square process they will not border to go to the court.

Table 4.13: There are challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria

Options	Response	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	30	7.7%
Disagree	65	16.6%
Undecided	22	5.6%
Strongly Agree	207	52.8%
Agree	68	17.3%
Total	392	100%

Source: Field Survey, January, 2022

Data obtained revealed that, 30 respondents representing 7.7% strongly disagreed with the view that there are challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria. 65 respondents representing 16.6% disagreed while 22 respondents representing 5.6% could not ascertain whether there are challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria. 207

respondents representing 52.8 percent and 68 respondents representing 17.3 percent for strongly agree and agree respectively.

It goes to show that there are challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria and these problems range from vote buying, monetary inducement of the delegates, ballot box snatching and stuffing, godfatherism, election rigging and series of pre and post primary elections litigation cases are some of the challenges of primary elections in Nigeria.

4.3 Discussion of findings

Finding from the study shows that direct primaries can truly affect the outcome or the credibility of an internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria. Although, whatever style political parties choose as their primaries can affect the choice of the electorates during the general elections. In as much as the electoral law recognizes consensus as a means of selecting flag bearers of political parties, direct primaries is also an institutional measure put in place to ensure that candidates that represent them at general elections are people that have already been sieved by the parties and her members.

This finding is in line with the view of Chukwuemeka (2020) when he asserts that,

The endorsement of direct primary would improve internal democracy in political parties by allowing all party members to participate in the choice of party candidates for elections. That way, party members would own the primary and the ensuing results. This is because it is hard for moneybags to bribe all party members in the way they bribe delegates during indirect primary. That is to say that direct primary will reduce incidence of parallel primaries and reduce kleptocracy and plutocracy.

Finding from the study reveals that, indirect primaries is not the ideal means for party primaries because according the respondents, indirect primaries is just a tool for electoral imposition because it corrupts the delegates but after the primaries, the aspirant who won the election is emboldened to ‘financialize’ the process by indulging in vote buying. And if vote buying does not deliver the needed results he will engage in other fraudulent means to make the election favor him. .

The above finding is in line with the view of espoused by Goitom (2020) who argues that the indirect primary will limit the participation of women and youth in the political process. It will encourage godfatherism, does not enhance internal democracy and increase the commercialization of elections in Nigeria.

Finding from the study again revealed that direct primaries have deterred against electoral fraud and ensure free, fair and credible elections. The conclusion above was reached due to the pattern of responses. When there is maximum participation, the people guard their votes and that discourages those ballot box snatchers and stuffers and other forms of rigging. This finding is in line with Mbachu (2021) who argues that:

By the time direct primary elections are combined with electronic voting and e-transmission of election results, Nigeria will be obviously heading towards an egalitarian political society. I know that fraudulent politicians such as ballot box snatchers and other forms of election riggers will never be comfortable with direct primary elections and electronic transmission of results. But, if democracy is truly a government of the people by the people and for the people, then every honest and God-fearing practicing politician who believes in transparent politicking and election should have no qualms with these innovations introduced by the National Assembly.

Finding from the study, the responses of the respondents also reveals that indirect primaries is not the ideal means for party primaries because according the respondents, indirect primaries is too expensive for the aspirants because they have to accommodate the delegate, monetarily influence them for vote for them. It is limiting because it is not all members of the political party will be allowed to vote and that makes a lot of party members to be shot out of the equation. The finding is in line with Ademola (2019) idea who argues that:

Indirect primaries are not popular, they are very expensive and one cannot argue that that is the most credible way of producing credible candidates. But Nigerian political parties are forced to adopt it all the same because Nigerian political parties do not have database of their members, coupled within security challenges in direct primary because almost everybody will come and line up. This is going to be done at the ward offices of the parties and we don't have the security apparatus that will be able to protect such a process. It could be chaotic since almost everybody is going to come and line up, even non-members of the parties can be mobilized to join the line.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of findings

The study examines and assesses the impact of direct party primaries on internal democracy within political parties in Nigeria. The direct party primaries were deeply analyzed, and the pros and cons of each of them were identified.

Political parties invariably reflect the environment in which they operate. Nigerian political parties therefore cannot automatically become democratizing in their internal affairs by adopting direct or indirect primaries overnight when the state that constitutes them remains largely undemocratic and pervasive and consequently mandates a politics of extremism rather than moderation. As a result the average "Nigerian politician is uniquely absorbed with the quest for absolute and eternal power. The result is war without end because amidst the defeats and victories of particular battles the underlying social dynamics remains the same. The over projection of state power, unilateralism in decision -making, and the use of public resources for personal advancement"(Nnoli 2008:23).

The inability of the political class to imbibe and exhibit democratic attitude have serious negative impact on primaries, the internal democracy and even the electoral process in itself. First, there is voter apathy arising from lack of confidence in the process that

produced the candidates for election from the political parties. Secondly, the electorates imbibe the culture of votes for money, thereby selling their votes to whomever pays highest at the pooling units since that may be the only reward that may come from the system once the election is over and winners are declared. Democracy which largely amounts to participation is exchanged for cash and other forms of material inducement. Thirdly, Intra –party conflict generated by absence of internal democracy complicates the already busy process of election conduct, as parties quarrel over the composition of party list even on the eve of election and some even go further by having a lengthy arbitration battle till Election Day. Sometimes INEC is stopped from fulfilling its duty with court injunctions. Fourthly, Intra Party Fractionalization breeds political violence in the quest for supremacy.

5.2 Conclusion

Direct and indirect primary elections have received both equal shares of support and criticisms. Supporters of direct primaries argue that it enable parties pick popular candidates likely to win the general election but does not guarantee the safety of the electorates, it can still be subject to manipulation because of the poor records and membership register. The direct primary also is expensive to conduct. From security to logistics concerns. However, this work examined the impact of direct primaries and how it also promotes the democratic process and gives candidates a clear mandate and legitimacy in the general election given the democratic character of the selection. In addition it gives power to the rank and file of the party and thus helps members uproot entrenched unpopular party elites.

5.3 Recommendations

Nigeria obviously is not lacking in legal formulations to guide the activities of political parties, the problem is in the enforcement of the rules.

INEC should be strengthened by the electoral act through the National Assembly with necessary provisions to sanction parties that violate the processes as stipulated in the electoral act concerning violations of the principles of conducting party primaries. Because any of the type of primaries can be free, fair and credible if the politicians agree to play by the rules and be sincere. That means that INEC should be made more proactive and be given powers to cancel a party's congress that do not follow due process rather the current docile observer status the law provides.

The National Judiciary Commission should also step up and review the current grant of reckless injunctions and court rulings that derail the electoral process. The possibility of courts of equal jurisdiction granting judgments and injunctions on matters that is already instituted in another court of competent jurisdiction is to say the least reckless and capable of derailing democracy. This may not be unconnected with the primitive accumulation of capital associated with being in government in Nigeria. But the Judiciary as the custodian of the law must rise above this arbitrariness to restore order.

The National Orientation Agency should be empowered to aggressively pursue political education of the people so as to create awareness amongst the citizens that enable them check abuse of office by the elected leader. This should translate into development of a vibrant civil society.

None of these factors can work until the state is reconstituted to reduce poverty, reward hard work, reduce privileges attached to political offices, promote production rather than consumption and ensure transparency and accountability in all public institutions.

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Appendix I

National Institute of Legislative and
Democratic Studies
Maitama, Abuja.

Sir/Ma,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

I am Ubong Linus Asuquo(Reg No. PG/NLS/1900002), a post-graduate student of the National Institute of Legislative and Democratic Studies, undertaking a research on “The Impact of Direct and Indirect Primaries on internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria, as part of requirements for the award of Master of Elections And Party Politics (MEPP).

I solicit your response to the questions provided overleaf as they relate to the subject matter. I want to unequivocally state that the information is just for research purpose and not for any other purpose and will be treated with high level of confidentiality.

Thanks for your anticipated response.

Yours faithfully,

UBONG LINUS ASUQUO
PG/NLS/1900002

Appendix II

Questionnaire

Please tick appropriately (✓)

		Strongly Agreed	Agreed	Disagreed	Strongly Disagreed	Undecided
		F	F	F	f	f
	Direct and indirect primaries have affected the internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria					
	Direct primaries have enabled more party members to participate in the activities of parties and elections in Nigeria					
	Direct primaries have made more people to be interested in contesting for various political positions					
	Direct primaries have deterred against electoral fraud and ensure free, fair and credible elections.					
	Indirect primaries are major tools of electoral imposition					
	Direct primaries have made political parties to attract professionals, and avoid imposition					
	Direct primaries have reduced post-election litigation among political parties					
	The political parties adopting indirect or direct primaries must adopt strategies that would help them tackle the challenging associated with it					
	Direct and indirect primaries must ensure the improvement of internal democracy within political parties					
	There are a lot of challenges facing political party primaries in Nigeria					

Appendix III

Interview Guide

1. What is the impact of direct and indirect party primaries on the internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria?
2. Do you think direct and indirect party primaries can guarantee internal democracy and promote the culture of credible elections in Nigeria?
3. Is it possible for direct and indirect party primaries to help political parties mobilize citizens for participation in politics in Nigeria?
4. Do you consider direct and indirect party primaries capable of imposing preferred candidates or validating flawed elections?
5. Do you think direct primaries are always accurate in their verdict on popular elections?
6. How significant have direct primaries contributed to credible elections in Nigeria?
7. What are the challenges of direct and indirect party primaries in promoting credible elections in Nigeria?
8. What are the alternate strategies to resolve some of the challenges of direct and indirect party primaries to improve the standard of elections in Nigeria?