



**INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY AT THE GRASS ROOT
LEVEL IN NIGERIA: CANDIDATE SELECTION IN THE
PEOPLES' DEMOCRATIC PARTY, KADUNA NORTH,
2007-2011**

BY

YAHAYA MUSA YUSUF

**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Master of Human Science (Political Science)**

**Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and
Human Sciences
International Islamic University Malaysia**

APRIL 2014

ABSTRACT

Political parties provide the platforms on which candidates contest elections in a multiparty democracy. Many methods exist for the selection process by political parties. In some places, it is regulated by legal frame work and in others; there is a greater level of flexibility. Many factors affect this process particularly in emerging democracies that grapple with primordial political culture. This study attempts to study how the Peoples Democratic Party selects its chairmanship candidates at the grass root level in Kaduna North Nigeria and assess the factors that affect the selection process. The study is a quantitative one and uses a questionnaire to collect data from the delegates who participated in the selection. A sample size of 180 is used out of the 300 research population. A 5-point Likert scale is used in the questionnaire. A statistical tool is used to analyze the data collected. The findings of this research show that the party uses an indirect method guided by a legal framework. There is also a positive correlation between internal and external factors relating to delegates in the candidate selection process. But internal factors have a greater influence than the external factors. Therefore, it shows that despite observance of rules, internal party politics is full of problems which may lead to party members' defection, factionalism, etc.

خلاصة البحث

توفر الأحزاب السياسية المنصات يخوضها المرشحون للانتخابات تحت ظل نظام ديمقراطي متعدد الأحزاب. وتوجد العديد من الطرق لعملية الاختيار من قبل الأحزاب السياسية. في بعض الأماكن؛ ينظم من قبل إطار العمل القانوني، وغيرها؛ هناك مستوى أكبر من المرونة. وعوامل كثيرة تؤثر على هذه العملية وخاصة في الديمقراطيات الناشئة التي تصارع الثقافة السياسية البدائية. يحاول هذا البحث لدراسة كيفية اختيار حزب الشعب الديمقراطي المرشحين لرئاسة اللجنة على المستوى الشعبي في كادونا (KADUNA) شمال نيجيريا ونرى العوامل التي تؤثر على عملية الاختيار. وهذه دراسة كمي النوع مع استخدام الاستبيان في جمع البيانات من المندوبين الذين شاركوا في الاختيار. وتم استخدام 180 حجم العينة من مجتمع البحث 300. وتم استخدام 5 نقاط مقياس Likert في الاستبيان. وتم استخدام أداة إحصائية لتحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها. وتظهر نتائج البحث أن الحزب يستخدم الطريقة غير المباشرة تسترشد الإطار القانوني. ويوجد هناك أيضا علاقة إيجابية بين العوامل الداخلية والخارجية على المندوبين في اختيار المرشحين. ولكن العوامل الداخلية لها تأثير أكبر من العوامل الخارجية. وبالتالي، فإنه يدل على أنه على الرغم من مراعاة لقواعد، فإن السياسة الحزبية الداخلية مليئة بالمشاكل التي قد تؤدي إلى انشقاق أعضاء الحزب والتحزب.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion; it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Science (Political Science)

.....
Elfatih A. Abdelsalam
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Science (Political Science).

.....
Khairil Izamin Ahmad
Examiner

This dissertation was submitted to the Department of Political Science and is accepted as a fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Human Science (Political Science).

.....
Tunku Mohar Tunku Mohd
Mokhtar
Head of Department, Political
Science

This dissertation was submitted to the Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences and is accepted as a fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Human Science (Political Science).

.....
Ibrahim Mohamed Zein
Dean of Kulliyyah of Islamic
Revealed Knowledge and Human
Science

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole or in part for any other degree at IIUM or any other institutions.

Yahaya Musa Yusuf

Signature.....

Date

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

**DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT AND AFFIRMATION
OF FAIR USE OF UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH**

Copyright © 2014 by Yahaya Musa Yusuf. All right reserved

**INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY AT THE GRASS ROOT LEVEL IN
NIGERIA: CANDIDATE SELECTION IN THE PEOPLES'
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, KADUNA NORTH, 2007-2011**

No part of this unpublished research may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission of the copyright holder except as provided below.

1. Any material contained in or derived from this unpublished research may only be used by others in their writing with due acknowledgement.
2. IIUM or its library will have the right to make and transmit copies (print or electronic) for institutional and academic purposes.
3. The IIUM library have the right to make, store in a retrieval system and supply copies of this unpublished research if requested by other universities and research libraries.

Affirmed by Yahaya Musa Yusuf

.....
Signature

.....
Date

This work is dedicated to my late father Musa Bauchi, my mother Adama Zakaria, my daughter Aisha Humaira and her mother Aisha.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praise be upon Allah, the lord of the universe, and peace and salutations be upon our beloved prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). I thank Allah first of all, for giving me the strength and perseverance to accomplish this study successfully.

Similarly, I am very grateful to all those who have positively contributed towards the completion of this study. I am particularly indebted to Prof. (Dr.) Elfatih A. Abdelsalam my father, amiable lecturer and supervisor who has always supported me in terms of general academic pursuits and fatherly advice. I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. (Dr.) Abdul Rashid Moten for his fatherly and academic support. Also, my special appreciation goes to my lecturers like (Dr.) Khairil Izamin Ahmad, (Dr.) M. S. Abdul Quddus, Assoc. Prof. (Dr.) Ishtiaq Hossain, Assoc. Prof (Dr.) M.D. Muniruzzaman, Assoc. Prof. (Dr.) Tunku Mohar Tunku Muhamed Mukhtar, Assoc. Prof. (Dr.) Alam Noore Siddiquee, Assoc Prof. (Dr.) Garoot E. Suleiman, Dr. Aldila all other academic staff of the department of Political Science for their contributions in shaping me to be useful to the ummah.

My heartfelt appreciation goes to all my family members for their support and daily prayers to Allah for me. I would also like to express my gratefulness to my friends and colleagues such as Dr. Musa Adamu Wunti, Tukur Muhammed, Abubakar Sani, Abubakar I. Hassan, Hamza Suleiman Danladi, Aliyu Mukhtar Katsina, Ibrahim Abdullahi, Yau Idris Gadau, Hamza Shehu Muhammad, Ibrahim Suleiman and others very important to me but too many, to be mentioned.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Abstract in Arabic	iii
Approval page	iv
Declaration	v
Declaration of Copyright	vi
Dedication	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
List of Tables	xi
List of Figures	xii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	2
1.3 Significance of the Study	3
1.4 Research Objectives	3
1.5 Research Questions	4
1.6 Literature Review	4
1.6.1 Intra-Party Democracy: Candidate Selection in Perspective	6
1.6.2 Candidate Selection in Emerging Democracies	9
1.6.3 Intra-Party Democracy in Nigeria	11
1.7 Framework for Analysis	13
1.7.1 Operational Definition of Variables	15
1.8 Methods and Procedures	19
1.9 Proposed Chapter Outline	20
CHAPTER TWO: AN OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN NIGERIA.....	21
2.1 Introduction	21
2.2 Historical Development of Political Parties in Nigeria.....	21
2.3 The Peoples Democratic Party: Formation and History	24
2.3.1 The Peoples Democratic Party Structure And Organisation.....	27
2.3.2 Peoples Democratic Party’s Aim and Objectives	30
2.3.3 PDP Electoral Size and Strength.....	31
2.3.4 Membership in People’s Democratic Party.....	34
2.4 Conclusion.....	35
CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	36
3.1 Introduction	36
3.2 Method of Data Collection.....	36
3.2.1 Case Selection	37
3.3 Measurement	38
3.4 Population Composition.....	42
3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Technique	43
3.6 Pilot Study	44

3.6.1 Validity.....	44
3.6.2 Factor Analysis and reliability statistics	45
3.7 Chapter Summary.....	48
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS.....	49
4.1 Introduction	49
4.2 Demographic Profile of the Respondents	49
4.3 Demographic Responses of the Respondents	51
4.4 Research Questions	65
4.5 Hypothesis and Findings	71
4.6 Chapter Summary.....	73
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND	
RECOMMENDATION	74
5.1 Introduction	74
5.2 Discussion	75
5.3 Conclusion.....	79
5.4 Recommendation for Practical Implication	80
5.5 Sugestion for Future Studies	81
5.6 Alternative Explanation to the Findings	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY	85
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	90

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
2.1	Local Council Chairmanship Election Results, 1998	32
2.2	Presidential Election Results from 1999-2011 in percentage	33
3.1	Variable and Coding	39
3.2	Factor Analysis and reliability statistics	45
4.1	Demographic Profile of the Respondents	50
4.2	Internal Factors	53
4.3	External Factors	57
4.4	Delegates	61
4.5	Candidate Selection	64
4.6	Candidate Selection process	68
4.7	The Effect of Internal and External Factors on the Delegates	69
4.8	The Effect of Delegates on Candidate Selection	70
4.9	Correlations	71
4.10	Summary of Hypotheses	72

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
1.1	Candidate Selection Framework	14
2.1	PDP Organisational Chart	29

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
APP	All Peoples Party
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
AD	Alliance for Democracy
DAM	Democratic Alliance Movement
IIUM	International Islamic University Malaysia
ICS	Institute of Civil Society
LGA	Local Government Area
MDJ	Movement for Democracy and Justice
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NNDP	Nigeria National Democratic Party
NCNC	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NRC	National Republican Convention
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
SDP	Social Republican Convention
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
UDP	United Democratic Party
UPP	United Peoples Party

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Political parties provide platforms on which candidates contest elections in a multi-party democracy. Hazan and Rahat (2001; 2006) state that candidate selection is one of the first things political parties do before they take part in a general election. It is believed that candidate selection affects a party in the long run since the absence of transparency and fairness in how candidates are selected is likely to generate conflict within the party and ultimately affect its electoral prospects during the general election (Tenuche, 2011). For Omoruyi (2001) political parties are strategic tools that bring about changes or facilitate transition from a single regime to a competitive political order through intra-party competition based on the democratic principle which often manifests in how candidates are selected.

There are different methods through which parties select their candidates. In some states, the process of candidate selection proceeds within a defined legal framework, while in others, there is greater flexibility with the parties deciding how their candidate should emerge (Maiyo, 2008).

As a prelude to the return of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, political parties were registered to canvas for elective offices in the 1999 general election. As a nascent democracy, there were only three political parties registered by the Statutory Agency, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The dynamics and the character of these parties as opined by Kura (2011) reflect regional coloration with the exception of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) that had greater national spread in structure and outlook. It could be argued that this is one of the many factors that

helped the party to establish its dominance and remain the ruling party at the national level until 2011. This dominance was not limited to the national level only. Results from council and state elections between 1999 and 2011 showed the PDP consistently ahead of the other parties with a margin as wide as 60% in 1999, and 70% in 2011, respectively (Gberie, 2011). One flaw of this dominance of PDP and its position as the largest party of the Fourth Republic involves the question of candidate selection by its members, especially at the grass root level.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Candidate selection is one of the most important functions of political parties in multi-party democracies (Scarrow, 2005). Parties nominate and sponsor candidates in order to represent their agenda in electoral competitions against their rivals (Jinadu, 2011). However, this process is not always transparent especially in new democracies that grapple with the challenges of weak political institutions and primordial political cultures like Nigeria (Ojukwu and Olaifa, 2011). As a result, party leaders often tend to manipulate the process to favour their preferred candidates. The effect of this for the parties concerned and the political system in general is quite staggering; it affects the stability of the parties and their internal cohesion which in turn affects their chances for winning elections. It also in the long run affects the prospects for democratic consolidation in the country concerned (Matlosa, 2005).

This study proceeds from the assumption that party elite, incumbency, ethno-religious sentiment and party benefactors influence candidate selection in the new democracies. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine how these factors influence the process of candidate selection in the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Kaduna North local government between 2007 and 2011, with emphasis on the Local

Government Council Chairman. Specifically, this study will examine candidate selection as internal party democracy in the People's Democratic Party at the grass root level in 2007 and 2011, with particular reference to Kaduna North, Nigeria to evaluate inclusion, participation and competition in the process.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Although many studies have been conducted on candidate selection in party politics, the focus of these studies is very limited. Little research exists which focuses on Nigeria and even such studies ignore the process of candidate selection at the grassroots level. This study aims to fill this gap by investigating candidate selection and intra-party democracy at the grassroots level in Nigeria. It will also assist in creating awareness at the grassroots level as it relates to how the PDP carries out its internal democratic process; hence, this will be useful in democratic consolidation. This is because grassroots politics is the starting point of every democratic institution. Once there is a democratisation process at work at the grassroots level of party politics, in relation to candidate selection, political awareness will be high and democratic consolidation will ensue. People at the grassroots level will be able to make an informed choice about the credibility of candidates from the different parties.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this research are:

1. To examine chairmanship candidate selection process under PDP's platform in Kaduna North Local Government.
2. To examine the factors that influence chairmanship candidate selection in PDP's Kaduna North local government.

3. To assess the relationship between the factors that determines chairmanship candidate selection and the outcome of the process in PDP Kaduna North Local Government.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What was the process of chairmanship candidate selection under PDP in Kaduna North Local Government between 2007 and 2011?
2. What were the factors that determined chairmanship candidate selection in PDP Kaduna North Local Government?
3. Is there any significant relationship between the factors that determined chairmanship candidate selection and the selection process in PDP Kaduna North local government?

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

In democracy, political parties serve as one of the pillars that make democracy excel in the world (Dalton and Weldon, 2005, p. 1) and scholars have written extensively on the importance of political parties as an integral part of democratic development. It is argued that the emergence of political parties is attached to that of the democracy process (Duverger, 1954: p. xxiii). The parties are the basic means by which people are connected with those who represent them to construct a more responsive and representative government (Reilly, 2008, p. 2). They are strategic tools for bringing about the change from any type of regime to a democratic one (Omoruyi, 2001). That is to say, a political party is one of the institutions of democracy.

As democratic institutions, political parties are formal organisations with members sharing things in common such as values, ideas and perspectives, about how society should be organised and they (Political Parties) try to implement these by controlling state apparatus through competitive and unbiased elections (Kura, 2011). Satori (1976) sees political parties as any group officially recognised to contest in a competitive election and canvass votes for its candidate for the control of public office. Whether in developing or developed countries, a political party performs certain functions which helps enhance the stability of the political system. This is because a party remains an important, if not essential instrument for representing political constituency and interest, aggregating demands and preferences, recruiting and socialising new candidates for political office, organising electoral competition for power, crafting policy alternatives, setting the policy agenda, forming effective government and integrating individuals and groups into the democratic process (Kura, 2011). This is supported by Lapalombara and Myron (1972) who state that in a democratic state, a political party is expected to organise public opinion and to communicate demands to the central governmental power and decision. The purpose of the political party is to gain control of power through an election. Therefore, in a political system, political parties whether the one in government or those in opposition try as much as possible to discharge the aforementioned functions in order to fuel the engine of democracy.

However, for a political party to perform these functions, it must be organised and have an internal structure for effective governance. This structure involves individuals who spear head the affairs of the party in order to win the election and control the government. They also include candidates selected who aspire for elective posts under the party platform through a democratic process. Internal democracy in

candidate selection and leadership appointment is therefore important because it allows a political party to democratically select its party members to fill the offices of the party as well as nominate its candidates (Maiyo, 2008; Rahat, 2009; Scarrow, 2005).

1.6.1 Intra-Party Democracy: Candidate Selection in Perspective

The term ‘intra-party democracy’ is seen as a process through which political parties conduct their affairs. It could be in the areas of leadership selection, party decision making and/or candidate selection. It is a mechanism by which parties select their candidates before the general elections (Barnea and Rahat, 2007; Katz, 2001). In some countries, a legal framework guides this selection. Many countries put in place laws governing the conduct of political parties internally and in relations to other parties. Violations of these laws attract sanctions by the states apparatus. However, in other countries candidate selection is seen as a party’s private affair guided by its constitution. The party constitution and in some cases party leadership determine the processes and procedures through which parties conduct their affairs with no interference from the state (Barnea and Rahat, 2007; Rahat, 2008; Janda, 2005). In his study on political parties in Canada, Cross (2006) argues that formal state laws do not guide party candidate selection. Not only that, parties do not have standing rules governing the process of their candidate selection. The political parties in Canada are left on their own to determine how they select their candidates at their own discretion. They may wish to elect their candidates through a participation of the grass root membership or not, or the party leadership unilaterally decides candidate or not and if they decides to permit contests, the party leadership determine all the procedures both in the timing and the place of the selection as well as the eligibility requirements for

voting and standing as candidate for nomination. Therefore the party lack standard rules guiding selection of candidates. Sometimes, Provincial and campaign committees are the ones who do it. Therefore, in this system, variations exist from one party to another. In Chile and Spain from outset for instance, all parties follow an exclusive method where elites determine selection. This is because the parties' leadership faces little or no pressure from outside when they adopt elite-centered candidate selection procedures during the transitional period of their democratic regime. This is because complex electoral systems like the ones in Spain and Chile require elite control to have successful strategic coordination (Field & Siavelis, 2009).

Scholars have attempted a classification of the candidate selection method into centralised or decentralised (Scarrow, 2005; Rahat, 2009; Barnea and Rahat, 2007; Hazan and Rahat, 2001; Maiyo, 2008). Some parties like those in the United State use all-inclusive party primaries, where all party members participate in the selection process. Other methods are less or semi-inclusive, where a party caucus or delegates elected by party members come together to select party candidates or otherwise a few leaders make the selection directly (Scarrow, 2005; Rahat, 2009).

Hazan and Rahat (2006) argue that voting a candidate involves two prerequisites. First, each candidate must be determined unanimously by voters; not on an agreed upon list. Secondly, the voting result must be announced officially to justify and legitimise the candidacy. They sum up that a violation of the prerequisites mentioned earlier, becomes an appointment not a selection. In his schema, Rahat (2009) identifies participation, representation, competition and responsiveness as variables that make selection of candidates more democratic. Rahat identifies four salient issues as it concerns the method adopted by a party. These are the inclusiveness of the candidate, those who make the selection, the level of

centralisation or decentralisation, and finally, the method of the voting and he concludes by saying that democracy is served well when parties use a combination of the above elements, not restricting itself to any one in particular. This is because the way parties select their candidate may be used as an acid test (Gallagher and Marsh, 1988). From the above, it can be inferred that parties use one of the above methods for democratic survival.

Some factors, either endogenous or exogenous in one way or the other, influence the candidate selection process. For example, in Canada, Cross (2006) argues that the identity and attributes of the local candidate do not affect choice of vote. In the 2006 election, party leadership controlled local candidate selection without local influence and all incumbent members of parliament were re-selected by the central party organs to re-contest election. In the 2004 election, 121 of the incumbent MPs decided to re-contest and were re-selected by the party leadership. This shows how incumbency enjoys privileges and how party leaders influence the selection process at the expense of the rank and file members of the party. Change in the way power is shared between different parties and leadership within a party affects candidate selection. Competition with other parties and serving non-party interest groups also shapes candidates selection. Individual politicians and other intra-party factions in the name of elite and mass members try to influence selection, each struggling to maintain the status quo, as to who controls the process (Barnea and Rahat, 2009). However, Gallagher (1988) rejects this idea by saying parties enjoy a given level of autonomy, in which the environment imposes constraints over their behaviour and activities.

1.6.2 Candidate Selection in Emerging Democracies

African political parties emerged during the twilight of colonial rule. This is planned for the sole reason of creating an elite class that would serve the interests of colonialists even after independence (Salih, 2005). But the wave of democratisation based on people's preferences swept across the African continent and every state in the continent yearned for democracy, and this enabled political change from an authoritarian regime to multi-party democracy. This is the rule with the exception of a few countries like Angola, Congo DRC, Swaziland etc (Matlosa, 2005).

Certain traits are peculiar to African political parties. From their inception, parties in Africa are elite-based structures and the leadership controls every aspect of these parties. The rank and file members as Salih (2005) argues are politically illiterate; they do not understand the ideological basis of their parties. Hence ethnic affinity provides an ideology for them. In his classical study in Kenya, Ghana and Malawi, Salih (2005) concludes that people vote for their party based on ethnicity. In other words, candidates obtained most of their votes, in previous elections, from the people of their own ethnicity.

In intra-party politics of East African countries, Maiyo (2008) found that political parties, due to shortage of finance and logistics, have accepted the centralised candidate selection method. This is against the advocacy of Rahat (2009) on which encourages openness and inclusiveness in matters of selection. In 2007 in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya, the party primary was a leadership affair where the party leaders at the national level of the parties in this part of Africa, nominated some people whom they want as candidates for the party to contest elections. This was described as undemocratic, fraught with corruption and undermined intra-party democracy, because it denied party members from participating in the process of candidate

selection thereby making it a game between party elites which is described as politics of personality cult where membership loyalty is not to a particular party but allegiance to a particular leaders mostly who commands regional or ethnic bases (Maiyo, 2008). Nevertheless, Matlosa (2005) sees a great shift in South African countries. There has been a change from the centralised method in the 1970s and 1980s to greater decentralisation in recent times among political parties. The parties enjoy patronage from all levels of the party structure, both, from local to national levels. For instance African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa draws much of its power from the lower level of the party strata. This has put a stop to the overall dominance of leaders controlling all. Leaders have instead become democratically-minded in running party affairs and there is an external body that monitors party primaries in South Africa.

Political parties in the African continent evolved in an undemocratic period of colonialism. In the quest to put in place political institution similar to their own, colonial masters resolved to implant in Africa a political system with many competing political parties. However, in the real sense, because it was hurriedly done, the political development has witnessed many ethnically-based political parties emerging. It was nursed by the colonialist because ethnic and religious groups were organized groups readily available for political party formation. After independence, also the political elite used ethnic politics to get support for their leadership ambition. Therefore, political parties in Africa remain ethnic in nature, created, organized and controlled by political elites. The elites used their political parties to establish dominance and have effectively controlled over party affairs (Salih, 2007). That is why Salih (2005) concludes by drawing a generic feature which characterises African political parties. These features are ethnicity, religious, regional differences and support which influence or affect intra-party democracy in Africa.

1.6.3 Intra-Party Democracy in Nigeria

In Nigeria parties are subject to public regulations. The amended 1999 Constitution and the electoral acts of 2006 and 2010 guide the conduct of party primaries, funding, and leadership selection. The electoral acts provide that primaries shall be adopted for parties to select their candidates for all elective positions. The procedure followed is direct or indirect primaries. Parties that opt for direct primaries must give candidates equal opportunity of being voted by members of the parties. If the method is indirect primaries, parties must hold congress or convention for that purpose, where delegates make the selection and the party must state in its constitution and rules, the procedure for the democratic election of delegates to and voting procedure vote at the primaries (Okhaide, 2012).

This shows that party activities are controlled by a legal framework. However parties have contravened these laws to suit the interest of the party. Adejumobi (2007) argues that during the 2006/2007 party primaries in Nigeria for the selection of party candidates, the party leadership controlled the space and conducted the selection based on their own interest. Most of the parties grossly manipulated the party primaries and in some cases the results were not recognised by the generality of the party members. Incumbency is another factor in party candidate selection. In 2003 and 2011, an incumbent president under the PDP re-contested for their positions. The preparation for the party primary suggested from the onset that the right of party members to select candidates of their choice is hampered as the party leadership made it clear that it has the right to decide who would contest election (Tenuche, 2011). Ojukwu and Olaiya (2011) identify financiers as an external factor that influences a party's candidate selection in Nigeria. The donors are not in most cases members of the party but are connected to the leadership or the candidate. They fund party with