



**IMPACT OF INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY ON DEMOCRATIZATION
IN THE 2019 AND 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN ADAMAWA STATE,
NIGERIA: A STUDY OF ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS (APC) IN
ADAMAWA NORTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT**

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ABSTRACT

Internal democracy in a political party is an important principle in the operation and survival of any democratic regime globally. Lack of internal democracy creates serious intra-party conflict which can likely threaten regime stability and good governance. This paper is an examination of the Impact of Internal Party Democracy on Democratization in the 2019 and 2023 General Elections in Adamawa State-Nigeria: A Study of All Progressive Congress (APC) in Adamawa North Senatorial District. Lack of internal democracy and intra party conflict in Adamawa-North of the All-Progress Congress (APC) is a threat to the zone nascent democracy prior to 2019 and 2023 general election. The objective of the research work is to examine the challenges of internal democracy in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District and to proffer solutions to intra party conflict in Adamawa North Senatorial District. The research work used both primary and secondary sources of data. The methodology used is survey research method, the population of the study are 250 APC members were selected randomly, 50 each from the five-local government in the Senatorial District. Data obtained were discussed using simple percentages and chi-square interpretations. The research found that the selection process of party candidates was not free and fair, there was no equal participation for the party aspirants for offices and there was imposition of party candidates in All Progress Congress (APC) Adamawa North District. The study recommends that transparent and credible party primaries should be encouraged, collective decision and transparent party activities should be promoted effectively, there should be no imposition of party candidates and political parties should be guided by a given ideological basis upon which any member that wants to join such political parties should be aware and be guided.

Keywords: Internal Party Democracy, Democratization, General election, Adamawa State, All Progressive Congress (APC).

1.1 Introduction

An electoral system is a structured framework of rules and procedures that explicitly define how a society is politically organized. It delineates the boundaries of interaction, eligibility, and freedom of participants, and outlines the roles of state institutions in the electoral process.

The electoral system ensures that the popular will is expressed through voting, emphasizing that each vote must be counted.

As a set of rules, it both commands and protects rights, requiring substantial compliance to establish a strong democratic culture and governance (Jacob & Idris, 2010).

Jacob and Idris (2010) further argue that the electoral system is central to liberal democracy, with the rule of law as its core principle. The nature of the system is influenced by the character of the dominant faction of ruling elites, the struggle of democratic forces, and the capacity to achieve consensus. In Nigeria, the electoral system encompasses all institutional procedures, arrangements, and actions involved in elections (Nwabueze, 1993). This includes suffrage, voter registration, constituency delimitations, the right to contest elections, electoral competition, election management bodies, candidate selection methods, nomination processes, voting methods, the actual conduct of elections, result determination, election dispute resolution, and the consequences of electoral malpractices.

Additionally, the electoral process in Nigeria involves observation and verification activities by local and international bodies, and the establishment of institutions and structures to mobilize public involvement in the electoral process, governed by specific rules and regulations (Nwabueze, 1993).

Since independence, Nigeria's electoral system has faced numerous inadequacies, attributed to various factors. Some argue that the political system is flawed due to its ethnic foundations, while others blame the selfishness of ruling elites for hindering the country's democratic progress. Other factors include the lack of solid democratic institutions, the lingering influence of colonial interests, the structure of the Nigerian economy, and the legacy of authoritarian rule (Ebegbulem, 2011; Jacob & Idris, 2010; Chukwu, 2007).

Currently, democratic governance in Nigeria, nurtured since 1999, is endangered by the deteriorating electoral system. The will of the people is often manipulated for power and selfish interests, as evidenced by vote buying, election rigging, ballot box snatching, and other electoral malpractices. The electoral process has become overly monetized, often resulting in election outcomes that do not reflect the people's choice (Ebegbulem, 2011). Central to these political issues are the matters of internal party democracy and robust electoral laws. Political parties serve as the vehicles for the struggle for power in a democracy, enabling citizen participation in the political process and facilitating discourse, debates, and policy consensus. Therefore, internal democratic processes within political parties are crucial for democratic governance, as their absence can adversely affect other electoral processes. In Adamawa-North Senatorial District, there is the quest for the enthronement of internal democracy among the registered political parties especially All Progressive Congress (APC), particularly as it relates to the conduct of party primaries where candidates are chosen to stand for elections on the platform of All Progressive Congress. Preparatory to the 2019 and 2023 general elections in Adamawa-North Senatorial District, there already exists mass apathy and cynicism in the zone. The attitude however suggests that the primary elections will not be credible, free and fair. The people became atrophied by cynicism and mistrust of government and people in government.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Lack of internal democracy in Adamawa-North of the All-Progress Congress (APC) is a threat to the zone nascent democracy. A recent party primary throughout the senatorial district clearly shows that All Progressive Congress (APC) did not operate within norms of democratic principles and of its

constitution. All Progressive Congress (APC) in Adamawa-North Senatorial District have failed to open up the party to all party members who were eligible and want to run for offices in the party primaries. More so, some candidates were imposed on the party without election and due process. Some of the candidates allegedly won via so called consensus option in Adamawa-North Senatorial District. The then state Governor and some interest in Adamawa-North Senatorial District have unprecedented sway over the district party machinery to the point of mandating the delegates to vote for a particular candidate. Recent party primaries throughout the senatorial district clearly show that All Progressive Congress (APC) did not operate within norms of democratic principles and of its constitution. All Progressive Congress (APC) in Adamawa-North Senatorial District have failed to open up the party to all party members who were eligible and want to run for offices in the party primaries and as a result the party in the Senatorial District faces intra-party crisis between the then Senator Ishaku Abbo and the Reps Jafar Haske which in turn lead to anti party activities between the two strong party candidates in the Adamawa North Senatorial District. The party further entangle into a crisis of legitimate membership were by the then Senator representing Adamawa North was allege to be suspended from the party by the faction of the Member Representing Mubi North, Mubi South and Maiha.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the impact of internal party democracy on the democratization in the 2019 and 2023 general elections in Nigeria: a study of all progressive congress in Adamawa-North Senatorial District. The specific objectives of this study are:

- i. to examine the challenges of internal party democracy in All Progressive Congress Adamawa-North Senatorial District.
- ii. to proffer mitigation measure on the challenges of internal party democracy in All Progressive Congress Adamawa-North Senatorial District.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions guided the study thus:

- i. Why are there challenges of internal democracy in All Progressive Congress (APC) Adamawa North Senatorial District?
- ii. What mitigation measures can effectively address the challenges of internal party democracy within the All-Progressive Congress (APC) in the Adamawa-North Senatorial District?

1.5 Hypothesis

Ho: There are no significant effects of open participation of all-party aspirant, consensus option and party officials influence on determining the emergence of party candidate in 2019 and 2023 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District.

2.1 Theoretical Discourse

Political parties, as social organizations, continuously adapt to changing socio-economic and political conditions. Modernization theorists, including Samuel Huntington, argue that political parties' significance extends beyond merely contesting and retaining political power. According to this theory, political parties are essential for creating a stable and participatory political order and promoting progressive modernization and development. Huntington emphasizes that political parties' aggregate

diverse interests, channelling various social groups into a unified socio-political platform, thereby stabilizing otherwise fragmented societies (Manning 2005).

Normative approaches to party politics are especially favoured by policymakers, democracy-building advocates, and democracy assistance programs in emerging or post-"Third Wave" democracies. These programs, often conducted by institutions linked to established political orders in Western democracies, promote the view that their political organization model is ideal for emerging democracies. Modernization theory's appeal lies in the perceived ability of political parties to unify deeply rooted social divisions, such as ethnic, regional, caste, racial, clan, or religious differences, which often lead to social tensions or civil conflicts. To fulfill these normative functions, Manning (2005) asserts that political parties must have a robust social base, offer distinct platforms appealing to a core voter set, and attract and retain party activists and potential leaders. This necessitates organizational strength, institutionalized mass support, and strong connections to broad social organizations like labour unions and peasant groups (Huntington 1968).

A substantial body of knowledge, theoretical assumptions, and models for interpreting political party systems has largely been derived from Western experiences. Consequently, normative conceptualizations of political parties often draw from studies based on Western social and political developments. Political parties, in the classical sense, are products of the industrial revolution, characterized by rapid socio-economic changes and resulting social and class conflicts between the ruling class and workers. These tensions led to the formation of distinct social movements with clear ideologies and interests, and political parties emerged from mass social organization to address contemporary challenges.

In the post-World War II and Cold War era, the role of ideology diminished, prosperity spread, socio-economic disparities decreased, and religious convictions gave way to increased secularism in Western Europe. This evolution transformed the original "mass" and "cadre" (elite) parties into what Kirchheimer (1966) calls the "catch-all party," which aims to govern in the "national interest" rather than representing specific social groups or interests. Rapid socio-economic changes transformed the political system, making governance more technical and mass media the primary medium of electoral communication. Consequently, party cadres and membership became increasingly redundant as party leaders bypassed them to communicate directly with the electorate (Hague and Harrop 2007).

However, the historical, social, economic, and political realities shaping the development of African political party systems are markedly different and require new theoretical tools and approaches to fully capture their role in African polities. Normative approaches to studying and analysing political parties in Africa often assume prescriptive perspectives, implying structural imposition rather than appreciating the organic development of parties (Janda 2005). These approaches are not well-suited for studying political parties in emerging African democracies. This issue is compounded by ongoing debates even in established Western democracies regarding political parties' effectiveness in enhancing democracy. Van Biezen (2004) notes that the inability of many political parties to perform essential democratic functions has been a subject of intense debate. African political parties are products of unique historical, socio-economic, and political conditions that shape their character and functioning differently from those in Western democracies. The only somewhat parallel historical point with the European model was the immediate pre- and post-independence period when African political parties were broad-based mass liberation movements embodying a single ideology of liberation from colonial rule. Independence

political parties, formulated under the single ideology of majority African rule, provided a unifying force among societies historically antagonistic along ethnic lines.

Unlike many Western counterparts, almost all African nation-states (except countries like Somalia) lack distinctive cultural or ethno-linguistic homogeneity. They are highly heterogeneous along ethnic, regional, religious, or clan lines. Although Western European polities like the Netherlands experienced rifts among various groups, they remained relatively stable, and political competition was contained within established structures and traditions (NIMD 2008). In contrast, African societies lack socially entrenched and institutionalized political, social, and governance structures for channelling political competition, making them highly fractious and fragile. Political competition and organization tend to follow pre-existing fault lines, shaping the structure of political parties.

Manning (2005) characterizes African parties as not being organically linked to any particular organized social group, often resorting to mobilizing people along readily available issues ethnicity, religion, opposition to structural economic reform—without regard for long-term consequences. Modernization theory thus falls short in capturing the essence of post-Third Wave African political parties. Instead of providing stability and ordering the political system, African political parties and their elites often exploit social cleavages to gain power through undemocratic means. This characterization supports Robert Michels' assertion that political parties inherently tend toward oligarchy, developing undemocratic characteristics in both their manipulation of social cleavages and their internal organization and decision-making processes. The Structuralism approach argues that political parties' formal rules about internal checks and balances lead to the centralization of power, oligarchy, and the decline of internal democracy (Kavanagh 2003).

Most African political parties are poorly organized and lack institutional capacity, with unstructured decision-making processes where power often lies with the party leader and a few wealthy cronies who bankroll the party (Wanjohi 2003). Party membership's role is minimal, typically limited to endorsing decisions already made by elites. Political mobilization often takes the form of personality cults, with loyalty to the party leader rather than the party as an institution. This encourages "party hopping," where leadership disagreements lead to leaders and their supporters moving from one party to another. Other approaches explaining the democratic deficit between African political parties and representative democracy include developmental theory, which argues that certain minimum socio-economic preconditions are necessary for democracy to thrive. This theory suggests that the low socio-economic condition of African polities and the lack of clear ideological foundations foster clientelist and patronage-based political structures through which state resources are accessed and distributed. Kirchheimer's (1966) description of the socio-economic basis for the lack of intra-party democracy in Western societies also applies to modern African political systems. Contemporary political parties are characterized by the decreasing influence of individual party members, lack of specific class appeal, increasing autonomy of leadership from internal checks and balances, and the absence of ideology in party programs.

In Africa, the ongoing debate on the sequencing of democracy and development and the developmental prerequisites for democracy is especially pertinent. Some African leaders, like Kenya's former President Daniel Arap Moi, have argued for single-party rule, citing various reasons, including the claim that political parties breed conflict in fragile nation-states and are manipulated by external actors for neo-colonial interests (Okuku 2002). While these attributes may apply to some political parties in some

African countries, they do not accurately characterize political parties across the continent (MacMahon 2004).

Political parties may not be the cause but rather a reflection of pre-existing social cleavages, and restricting political party activity may not solve these problems. Effective and well-functioning political parties can serve as a pressure valve, channeling social tensions and frustrations through peaceful means. Therefore, the importance of effective and internally democratic political parties in Nigeria cannot be overstated. Political parties that ensure transparent membership participation in policy deliberation, leadership selection, and overall decision-making can provide avenues for social cohesion, minimize open conflict possibilities, and facilitate peaceful conflict resolution.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Democracy

Democracy is often defined and observed as a system in which popular participation in government is organized and enjoyed among citizens of nation-states. Abraham Lincoln provided a widely accepted definition of democracy as “government of the people, by the people, and for the people” (Wada Nas, 2004). From Lincoln's definition, it is clear that democracy is a means through which the masses participate in selecting their representatives, a central idea in many definitions of democracy. The core argument is that no justification for democracy can refute the view that people should be treated as political equals (Seward, 1998). For democracy to thrive, it must overcome any hegemonic tendencies and be based on honesty, decency, and good governance, where the people's will in choosing their representatives is respected. Democracy positions individuals as the focal point of its operations, with sovereignty belonging to them and power vested in the people collectively, administered either directly or through appointed officials. Generally, democracy is characterized by multipartyism, electoral competition, respect for fundamental human rights, and equality before the law.

Political theorists typically divide democracy into four components: policy contestation and political competition for office, citizen participation through partisan collective actions, accountability of rulers to the electorate via representation, plurality and the rule of law, and civilian control over the military. Democracy signifies rule by the people, a system where decisions are made by a body of equal citizens (Dahl, 1989). Schumpeter (1942) emphasized electoral competition among political elites and parties as the basis of democracy, defining it as an institutional arrangement for making political decisions where individuals gain power through a competitive struggle for the people's vote. Most modern definitions of democracy include respect for basic civil liberties, such as freedom of the press, speech, and the right to habeas corpus, which are crucial because, without them, a regime with competitive elections cannot be considered fully democratic.

Edigheji (2005) references Huntington's classical definition of democracy, which describes a political system as democratic to the extent that its most powerful decision-makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections with free competition and broad adult participation. This definition has become widely accepted, with general agreement that liberal democracy includes principles such as citizen participation, equality, political tolerance, accountability, transparency, regular free and fair elections, economic freedom, control of power abuse, a bill of rights, separation of powers, acceptance of election results, human rights, a multiparty system, and the rule of law. Edigheji (2005) also notes that electoral democracy promotes social and political rights but cautions that focusing too much on the professionalization of public policy and political parties can overlook the fundamental role of citizens in

making democracy. Regardless of the approach or tradition in defining or understanding democracy, it is evident that, as a philosophy and state organization, democracy is the opposite of authoritarianism or dictatorship, where mass mobilization and opportunities for political choices are institutionalized. The degree of institutionalization varies, highlighting the importance of discussing the sustenance of democracy.

2.2.2 Political Parties

Political parties are key institutions in modern democratic governance. Widely agreed upon in comparative political thought and among policymakers is the notion that political parties are vital for deepening and sustaining democracy in both well-established and emerging democratic systems. Schattschneider (1942) aptly stated, "Political parties created democracy, and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the political parties." The importance of political parties in organizing modern politics and governance is not a contemporary development. Since the formation of nation-states, political parties have been integral to political organization. In the 18th century, Edmund Burke described a political party as a group of individuals united to promote the national interest based on a shared principle (Churchill, 1963). However, modern political parties exhibit three characteristics that differ from Burke's definition: they have become more organized and centralized with bureaucratic structures, secretariats, and paid staff; they pursue not just national interests but also regional, ethnic, racial, religious, or economic objectives; and they are primarily organized to compete for and capture political office (Hague and Harrop, 2007).

The nature, forms, and functions of political parties have evolved in response to socio-economic and political changes. Earlier conceptions of political parties have significantly changed over time. A central component of modern political parties is their competitive nature and their drive to govern. Sartori (2005) describes a political party as "any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office." However, this definition does not fully capture the organizational and interest aggregation and articulation dimensions of political parties.

Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo (2003) define a political party as an organized association of people working together to compete for political office and promote agreed-upon policies. This conceptualization stems from a consensus on the utilitarian and functional view of political parties in modern democracies. According to Diamond (1997), the importance of political parties lies in their functions, such as linking citizens to government, articulating and aggregating diverse interests, recruiting and preparing candidates for electoral office, crafting policy alternatives, setting the policy agenda, organizing electoral competition, and forming effective governments. This enables the integration of groups and individuals into the democratic process. Thus, political parties provide citizens with means to participate in governance and structure the political landscape to facilitate competition among varying interests and policy objectives. This aligns with Dahl's (1971) classification of political regimes, which categorizes democratic processes based on political competition and political participation.

2.2.3 Internal Party Democracy in Nigeria

Internal democracy within a political party refers to the establishment of an environment that allows all members to engage in decision-making and the overall administration of the party. This inclusive

climate encourages active participation from all members, not just a few wealthy and powerful individuals. The primary goal of internal party democracy is to ensure a fair playing field for every member's involvement in party affairs and to create a united, dynamic party capable of winning elections and forming a government dedicated to delivering high-quality services that meet the citizens' needs (Omotola, 2010). In contemporary societies, applying the principles of internal democracy in the operations of political parties, particularly during primary elections, is essential and non-negotiable. Internal democracy is founded on principles of due process, fairness, equity, and integrity in fulfilling duties and obligations to organizations, groups, or society as a whole. However, in many Nigerian political parties, internal democracy is often disregarded. Factors such as greed, nepotism, and excessive ambition frequently take precedence over the will of the people.

The perceived lack of internal democracy in Nigerian political parties often results in powerful elites imposing their selfish agendas or candidates on the party. Olisa Metuh, the PDP's publicity secretary in 2010, observed that crises in various states often arise because governors are reluctant to relinquish control over party structures, while other party stalwarts argue for a clear separation between the party and the government. Although governors significantly fund the party, Metuh believes they should not control it. Instead, the party should act as the people's conscience, holding governors accountable for their performance. However, this accountability is lacking, especially when the legislature fails to check and balance executive power abuses. Only the party can perform this role, but it often fails to do so. Political leaders, particularly those in the executive branch, interfere in party affairs because they control state resources and are often the main financiers of political parties in Nigeria. This dynamic, summarized by the saying "the person who pays the piper calls the tune," leads to power struggles that fuel intra- or inter-party conflicts. These conflicts undermine members' participation in decision-making, weakening the credibility of elections and the democratization process in Nigeria (Ojukwu and Olafia, 2011).

3.1 Material and Method

3.1.1 Research Design

The approach adopted in the execution of this study is a survey design. The researcher chose survey design as it is one method where a group of people is studied by collecting information from them. More so, this type of design specified how the researcher's data were collected and analysed. The research is done by surveying the opinions of All Progressive Congress (APC) members on the impact of internal party democracy on the democratization of 2019 and 2023 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District.

3.1.2 Population of the Study

The population of the study comprises of APC part members, ward excos, local government excos in the study area.

3.1.3 Sample Size and Sample Technique

The study used simple random sampling in selecting the sample size of the study. The procedure of random sampling is used in selecting party members and excos from the study area.

3.1.4 Sources of Data

Basically, the researcher used the two sources of data collection primary and secondary sources of data.

3.1.5 Administration of the Instrument

The researcher personally administered the questionnaire directly in the five Local Government Areas which comprises of Maiha, Mubi North, Mubi South, Michika and Madagali. A total of 250 questionnaires were distributed to the five (5) Local Government Areas.

3.1.6 Instrument of Data Collection

The study used questionnaire as an instrument of data collection. Questionnaires were distributed to the respondent, filled and retrieved.

4.1 Results and Discussions

Table 1 Question Statement: There is equal and open participation of all-party aspirant in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District

Rating Scale	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	31	12.9
Agreed	40	16.6
Undecided	21	8.7
Disagreed	61	25.3
Strongly Disagreed	88	36.5
Total	241	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The analysis in table 1 shows that, 12.9% of the respondents strongly agreed that there is equal and open participation of all-party aspirant in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District, 16.6% of the respondents agreed, 8.7% of the respondents are undecided, 25.3% of the respondents disagreed while 36.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed. Therefore, based on the data presented in table 4.1.9, it clearly indicates that majority of the respondents strongly disagreed with 36.5% and 25.3% respectively because APC aspirants in Adamawa North Senatorial District were not given equal and open participation to contest for various political office within the party but rather imposition and so-called consensus candidates were adopted by the party before the 2019 general elections. While the 16.6% and 12.9% that agreed and strongly agreed are those in support or favour of the imposition and the so-called consensus in All Progressive Congress Adamawa North Senatorial District.

Table 2 Question Statement: Candidates were imposed on the party without election and due process in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District

Rating Scale	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	78	32.4
Agreed	95	39.4
Undecided	4	1.7
Disagreed	34	14.1
Strongly Disagreed	30	12.4
Total	241	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

From table 2 above, 32.4% of the respondents strongly agreed that candidates were imposed on the party without election and due process in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District, 39.4% of the respondents agreed, 1.7% of the respondents are undecided, 14.1% of the respondents disagreed while 12.4% of the respondents strongly disagreed. The data presentation in table 4.1.11 show that majority of the respondents agreed with 39.4% and 32.4% strongly agreed to the statement because party members and aspirant witness imposition of political candidates without observing due process as spell in the party constitution. Political candidates were imposed against the wish of party delegates in the senatorial District.

Table 3 Question Statement: Candidates allegedly won via consensus option in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District

Rating Scale	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	63	26.1
Agreed	78	32.4
Undecided	11	4.6
Disagreed	51	21.2
Strongly Disagreed	38	15.8
Total	241	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

From the data presentation in table 3 above indicates that, 26.1% of the respondents strongly agreed that political candidates allegedly won via consensus option in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District, 32.4% of the respondents agreed, 4.6% of the respondents are undecided, 21.2% of the respondents disagreed while 15.8% of the respondents strongly disagreed. The analysis above shows that, majority of the respondents agreed with 32.4% and 26.1% strongly agreed with the statement because there are no consensus candidates that emerge prior to 2019 general election in Adamawa North Senatorial District but rather a power play by APC elite and those in political power.

4.2 Hypothesis Testing

Ho: There are no significant effects of open participation of all-party aspirant, consensus option and party officials influence on determining the emergence of party candidate in 2019 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District.

Variables	Chi-Square Value	DF	P-Value
There is equal and open participation of all-party aspirant in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District	59.145 _a	4	.000*
Candidates allegedly won via consensus option in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District	54.000 _a	4	.000*
Party Officials influence the emergence of party flag bearer in 2019 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District	106.946 _a	4	.000*

Source: Computed result, 2024

* = Significant at 5%

The analysis in table 4 above clearly reveals that there is equal and open participation of all-party aspirant in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District, candidates allegedly won via consensus option in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District and party officials influence the emergence of party flag bearer in 2019 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District is significant at 5% same level ($p < 0.05$) with chi square value of 59.145, 54.00 and 106.946. This implies that there is equal and open participation of all-party aspirant in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District, candidates allegedly won via consensus option in APC Adamawa North Senatorial District and party officials influence the emergence of party flag bearer in 2019 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District have negative significant effects on the outcome of elections in All Progressive Congress Adamawa North Senatorial District. Therefore, based on the analysis above, the null hypothesis is rejected and accept the alternative hypothesis which states that there are negative significant effects of open participation of all-party aspirant, consensus option and party officials influence on determining the emergence of party candidate in 2019 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District.

4.3 Findings

The paper discovered that there is no open participation of all party aspirant in

- i. Adamawa North Senatorial District of All Progressive Congress (APC).
- ii. The work finds out that the party officials in All Progressive Congress (APC) influence the emergence of party candidate in 2019 general elections in Adamawa North Senatorial District.

5.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

The central thesis of this paper is that intra-party conflicts have been having its toll in Adamawa North faltering democratization. This is occasioned by the fact that politics in Adamawa North Senatorial District is conceived in pseudo terms to the extent that it is reduced to a mere investment making machine by the political class. The paper recommends the following thus:

- i. Collective decision and transparent party activities should be promoted effectively.

- ii. Political parties should be guided by a given ideological basis upon which any member that wants to join such political parties should be aware and guided.
- iii. There should not be any imposition of “favoured” candidates on the party members.
- iv. iv. Political parties should be guided by the constitution of the country, electoral act and the electoral body.

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