

# **GODFATHERISM AND CREDIBLE PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA:A STUDY OF 2015 GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARIES OF PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP) IN KADUNA STATE**

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## **Abstract**

*The Conduct of 2015 Gubernatorial Primaries by the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Kaduna State has been marred by irregularities and flaws. The improper conduct of this important segment of internal democracy became a great challenge facing the party which has its root from the zero sum nature of politics in the state, godfatherism, money politics, powerful influence of elite, incumbency factor, exclusiveness of rank-and-file members in Party Primaries and infact; this has left in its wake wanton destruction of party ideology, democratic practices and values, lives and properties. The study examines the nature, character and dynamics of 2015 PDP Gubernatorial Primaries in Kaduna state. The research adopted the Elite Theory in the analysis of godfather politics in Nigeria. The researcher made use of the multi-stage sampling technique to get the population of the study. The State was clustered into three (3) senatorial zones from where two (2) Local Government Areas were selected from each. From these, the Adhoc delegates were systematically selected for the interview. Data was presented using simple percentage statistical method. The interpretation of the analyzed data as it related to the objectives of the study was presented in a tabular form. Finally, the research has been able to find out that, there was no internal democracy in Kaduna state chapter of Peoples Democratic Party between 1999-2015 as a result of some major challenges that are identified as follows; godfatherism, money politics, influence of powerful elite, incumbency factor, neglecting rank-and-file members in most decisions affecting party primaries, the application of federal character principles, rural-cosmopolitan politics and ethno-religious factor. The research also recommends that; Party members must be allowed to freely elect those who will carry their party's flag during the general election.*

**Keywords:** Godfatherism, Credible Election, Democracy, Political Party, Politics

## **Introduction**

Every democratic government needs political parties to recruit members in order to aggregate diverse opinions from society to produce a common policy and to also perform the roles of educating electorates to make informed choice during elections so as to vote individual candidates of their choice. Political parties are essential components of representative democracy. This, according to Reilly (2008), is because parties organize voters, aggregate and articulate interests, craft policy alternatives, recruit and socialize new candidates for offices, set policy-making agenda, integrate disparate groups and individuals into the democratic process and provide

the basis for coordinated electoral and legislative activity. Well-functioning political parties are therefore central to the process of democratic development.

Election is a necessary condition for democracy. Indeed, it is central to democracy. This is for simple reasons that it gives opportunity for citizens of any country to freely choose their leaders at periodic intervals. Freedom of choice, it has been argued, is at the very heart of democracy (Siddique, 2007). In achieving these objectives, there should be proper internal democracy or intra party politics devoid of ethnicity, religious bigotry, clan cleavages and godfatherism. The lack of internal democracy is likely not only to cripple the parties internally, but also to adversely affect their electoral successes.

However, Godfatherism has become a scary phenomenon in Nigerian politics. As rightly observed by Omotola (2007:139), Godfatherism in Nigeria, particularly in its current form and character, is distributive. Though it is a longstanding and deeply rooted feature of the cultural values of Nigerian society, where it is purely socio-economic in nature and mutually productive for both parties, its politicization would appear to have contributed to the criminalization of politics. For example, the Hausa have a well-institutionalized system where the godfather is known as "Maigida" (landlord or head of household). Godfathers reign across all spheres of the society: academics, legal, and religion environment.

Consequently, the impact of the godfathers on Nigeria's general elections was unprecedented. Godfathers are those who have the security connections, extended local links, enormous financial weight to plot and determine the success of a power seeker at any level of a supposedly competitive electoral politics. Although godfatherism has an institutionalized feature in Nigerian politics over the years, its contemporary manifestations suggest that it has assumed epidemic proportions, becoming one of the greatest threats to democratic consolidation in Nigeria (Omotola, 2007,135). The recent activities of some Nigerian godfathers could be likened to attributes of mafianism; however, some still see the existence of godfathers as the balancer of power in a democracy. Akinola (2009) believes in the need to have a good-hearted individual (people's hero) at the sole realm of absolute power, a godfather distributes power as he deems, and anoints who rules. But, godfatherism has taken a strange dimension in Nigeria's political environment. It has become a menace pulling down the foundations of masses-driven governance, thereby denying Nigerians the much-deserved dividends of democracy.

As a result of irregularities in the conduct of PDP governorship primaries, which has to do with the imposition of candidates, substitution of candidates' names in INEC some weeks to the general elections, submission of names to INEC of candidates who were defeated at the primary election, neglecting rank-and-file members in most decisions affecting party primaries, the party has been bedeviled by crises in varying proportions, ranging from distrust among members, instability of the democracy, political thuggery, inter-party defections, anti-party politics, verbal warfare and physical violence to mention just few.

This study therefore, examines the nature and dynamics of Politics of Godfatherism and Credible Primary Elections in Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Kaduna State, with particular focus on the Gubernatorial Primaries of 2015. The following research questions were raised to guide the study;

- i. Have godfathers within PDP in Kaduna State decided and dominated decisions regarding the 2015 gubernatorial primaries?
- ii. To what extent has Politics of Godfatherism impacted on the 2015 governorship primaries of PDP in Kaduna state?
- iii. Is incumbency a factor that affects the 2015 governorship primaries of PDP in Kaduna state?

## CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

**i. Political Godfatherism:** This is one of the concepts that open narrow doors when it comes to deciding who gets what in the political scene. However, for the purpose of this study, the literary meaning and attributes of godfather needs to be emphasized. Literarily Godfathers are seen in Nigeria to be men who have the power personally to determine both who gets nominated to contest elections and who wins an election. According to Audu (2006:8), Godfathers are people of questionable wealth and influences who robbed political parties of their conventional and legitimate functions of presenting clear and coherent programmes on the basis of which the candidates presented by them are chosen by the voters. He observes that ideally, government that is freely and fairly instituted by the people must be accountable to them as the source of its moral authority to rule. However, this is not possible with people of questionable wealth whose major concern is to recover the money spent for installing their candidates in power and thereafter share certain percentage of what comes to the government purse as their share of the economy.

**ii. Credible Primary Election:** Credible primary elections in a constitutional democracy presuppose open, regular and competitive electoral politics in which the processes are transparent and honestly conducted to reflect the choice, views and opinions of the electorate. In a credible election, people were given equal rights and liberties to decide who should lead them and the will of the majority of voters prevails. Candidates who did not win election are never imposed on voters in any credible election.

### **An Overview of the Politics of Godfatherism in Nigeria**

The advent of godfatherism in the Nigerian partisan politics dates back to the First Republic when leaders of the three main political parties [Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and National Congress of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC)] carefully and meticulously cultivated godsons that they were convinced would advance the well being of the citizens. According to Gambo, Sir Ahmadu Bello of the NPC, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe of the NCNC and Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the AG were motivated to do so and not to use godsons as surrogates to promote parochial interests, but to promote the developmental aspirations of the people. Unlike the present crop of political godfathers, the first generation godfathers were essentially benevolent and progressive because they did not abuse their status as godfathers by imposing frivolous demands on their godsons as it is the case today. They served as a huge reservoir of wisdom and experience to be consulted on the business of governance. Indeed, in a relative sense, the first republic political godfathers were drawn by community sense of interest in seeking to influence the electorates to vote for some candidates of their choice. It was enough satisfaction for them that they wielded tremendous influence in the society and this inevitably

generated a groundswell of goodwill and reverence for them, as their views on political issues were scarcely contested in their respective regions of the country.

### **Manifestation of the Politics of Godfatherism in Nigeria**

Godfathers play important role in democratic sustenance in Nigerian politicking since 1953 during the era of self government up to the fourth republic where uninterrupted democracy is experienced from 1999 to 2011. As indicated earlier, the power and influence of the godfather is enhanced by political connections at the highest tier of government. Where this is absent the individual can only operate as a mentor, benefactor or financier. He must avoid a brush with the law because it will be visited with heavy penalty. Considering Kwara State from 1979, Dr. Olusola Saraki operated as a financier or benefactor to Alhaji Adamu Attah the Governor of Kwara State.

The relationship turned sour and he withdrew the support. Dr Olusola Saraki then shifted his support to Chief Cornelius Adebayo who was in the Unity Party of Nigeria although he(Saraki) remained in the National Party of Nigeria. Chief Cornelius Adebayo went ahead to win the gubernatorial election in Kwara in 1983. Dr Olusola Saraki was clearly the deciding factor in the election as he had proved that whichever candidate he backed could win the election irrespective of party affiliation (Ayoade, 2008:124). In furtherance to this, Dr. Olusola Saraki, the strongman of Kwara politics also succeeded in taking overpower from late Mohammed Lawal in 2003 to install his son Dr. Abubakar Bukola Saraki as Executive Governor of Kwara State from 2003 to 2011 .However, at the tail of his son's administration, Baba Saraki wanted Gbemisola Saraki to take over the power from her brother under the platform of PDP but to no avail, the situation could not help Baba Saraki to achieve this objective in the Kwara State ruling party and this led to the rift between father and son to depart ways in the control of PDP.

Therefore, Governor Saraki who has been in firm control of the PDP structure in Kwara while his father was forced to move to Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN), a less popular political party, where Gbemisola Saraki gained the party gubernatorial flag bearer through politics of consensus among party members to enable her replace the brother as governor in year 2011. Consequently, the legislative elections conducted on the 9th April, 2011 indicated that the PDP party leader in Kwara State has succeeded in taking over the political power from his father because his party, PDP claimed all Senatorial seats and all house of Reps without sharing the position with other parties and this serve as emergence of new political godfather in kwara state. In addition to this assertion, Dr. Bukola Saraki backed Alhaji Fatai Ahmed as PDP gubernatorial candidate and urged other contestants from central and northern senatorial districts to step down for the contesters from southern senatorial district to pave way for his Godson at the primary level which eventually actualized his objective in installation of Alhaji Fatai Ahmed.

In Ogun, son of former governor Olusegun Osoba, Olumide is also in fray. The younger Osoba is the standard bearer of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) for the House of Representatives slot in Odeda/Abeokuta North/Obafemi Owode federal constituency. Considering his father's pedigree in politics and the growing influence of the party in Ogun, the young Osoba was able to achieve his political ambition to Abuja as a result of his father's influence, the father therefore stood as political godfather to his son to serve as member of the Green Chamber with the 7th legislative council. Senator Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello, a veterinary doctor and a daughter of former President Olusegun Obasanjo. She started her political career as commissioner for health under

Governor Gbenga Daniel from 2003-2007. She was promoted to become a Senator in 2007 where she served as chairman, Senate Committee on Health. Her father being the Chairman of PDP's Board of Trustees wanted her daughter to enjoy second term in the Senate. During this process, there were factions in the party at the state level to the extent that separate primaries were conducted by the two factions.

But later on, Obasanjo's faction enjoyed judicial pronouncement which compelled INEC to recognize Iyabo as the candidate for Ogun Central Senatorial District and other members of his group to received party tickets to various positions both at state cum federal constituencies. The factional crisis which was between Obasanjo and his Godson, Daniel on who would be the next state godfather. Obasanjo supported Olurin as party governorship flag bearer while Governor Daniel picked Isiaka as his own godson for the position. This led to calamity between the two godfathers and both later lost to the opposition party, ACN, during the 2011 National Assembly and Gubernatorial elections (The Nation, April 11,2011; 12).

In Abia State, there were serious doubts over who was really in charge. While vowed it was former Governor Orji Kalu, others said the incumbent Theodore Orji had taken over. But the results of the National Assembly and Gubernatorial elections of the 2011 confirmed the incumbent Governor as the new kingpin in the state politics. All PDP candidates won convincingly in the race for the National Assembly. The former governor who contested for a senatorial seat also lost to the serving senator, Uche Chukwumerije. The PPA chieftain, who ruled the state for eight years and installed the incumbent against all odds, could not deliver a seat for the party. With the recent experience, there is no doubt that Ochondo, as the Governor is fondly called, is now the new strongman of Abia politics. This is despite the fact that he defected from PPA to APGA and now PDP. He has proven that wherever he goes, Abia voters will follow him (The Nation Thursday, April 14,2011; 2).

Another example of the significance of political connections is the Anambra case where Chris Uba installed Dr. Chris Ngige as Governor for only one term as he had signed an agreement saying "I SHALL NOT seek re-election or stand for nomination to recontest the gubernatorial seat of Anambra State for a second term" (Ayoade, 2008: 126 cited in Adeyemo, 2004:18). Prior to the election, Dr. Ngige also signed a covenant of relationship on March 28,2003 in which he pledged to continue to do the biddings of Chris Uba. In addition, on May 5,2003 he was also alleged to have signed three undated letters of resignation as PDP Candidate, Governor elect, and Governor respectively (Adeyemo, 2004:18). Thus if he reneged on his pledge the appropriate letter would be dated and submitted as a letter of resignation. Chris Uba was alleged to have put in place a collegial administration in the name of a caucus. And on May 19,2003 the Caucus decided (Adeyemo, 2004:16 and 17)

Chris Ngige was alleged to have reneged on his promises within six weeks of his inauguration as Governor. Consequently, he was abducted by the Police on July 10, 2003 and was saved by a telephone call that he made from where he was kept. Ngige was alleged to have resigned as Governor on July 10,2003 using the presigned letter of resignation of May 5, 2003 (Ayoade, 2008: 126 cited in Agbo, 2004a: 18) That attempt to remove him from office failed and it was followed in November 2003 by a four-day riot resulting in the wanton destruction of public property. The mercenaries were allegedly paid N10,000 each per day for four days of the

operation. The massive arson of public property in the State was organized to discredit Dr. Ngige (Agbo, 2004b: 32-33). In fact, in a release, the Uba camp claimed that the action was taken to “let the world know that we have taken charge to implant a new government” and thus enjoined everyone to join the crusade because “Ngige is going today” (Agbo, 2004a:23). It is believed that the Godfather can make and unmake. In this vein, Dan Ulasi, a believer in Chris Uba, is quoted as saying If you read what the Minister of Works said about Obasanjo and his first term (sic). The President realized that he came through a source and you will see that it would appear the source managed his government for the first four years and the President pretended to be a fool because he knew that people spent a lot of money to make him President from prison (Adeyemo 2004:21quoted in Ayoade, 2008).

The Anambra case demonstrated the importance of political connections to the survival of the Godfather himself. Andy Uba, the senior brother of Chris Uba, the Godfather was a Special Adviser to the President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, while Ugochukwu Uba is a Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Before the advent of the Ubas in the political firmament of Anambra, Chief Emeka Offor who is said to be close to the Presidency on account of his large donation to the Presidential campaign in 1999 bestrided the State as godfather of the governor, Chinwoke Mbadinuju (Adebanjo 2001:34). Mbadinuju the Governor himself confessed to the fact that Offor contributed N4m to his campaign and on that account nominated the Commissioner for Finance and the Commissioner for Works (Adebanjo 2001:36). Just like Uba, Offor also insisted that Mbadinuju would not return as Governor of the state in 2003 (Adebanjo 2001:32). And through a combination of factors beyond the scope of this paper he lost the nomination for the office giving room for the Uba- Ngige show.

The legal battle for the removal of Ngige as Governor however continued until the Supreme Court invalidated his election and Mr. Peter Obi, who actually won the election, became Governor. The Anambra case demonstrated the significance of political connections. Chris Uba had confessed to an electoral crime but got away with it. The troika of the Uba brothers still dominate the politics of Anambra because they have political and security connections as well as the finance for the project. In 1999, Alimodu Sheriff was said to have financed the Bomo State gubernatorial election. His candidate won the election and was Governor of Bomo State from 1999-2003. But the relationship between him and his benefactor was not cordial. Consequently, in 2003 the benefactor himself decided to contest the election against his godson, Alhaji Mala Kchala, and he claimed the victory.

The benefactor, Ali Modu Sheriff in the last ANPP primaries was able to backed the candidature of Alhaji Gubio as the next ANPP's governorship flag bearer while his brother was chosen as running mate for the 2011/2015 general elections but man proposes God disposes, two of them were shot death by unknown “boko haram” members. Alimodu Sheriff himself contested for the position of senator again in the last general elections but he was crushed by PDP candidate. Though he is still maintaining the position of godfather in the state because he was the one that installed Alhaji Shettima Kasim, the current governor into the system despite the fact that he lost his desired position to an opposition party.

## **The Effects of Godfatherism in Nigerian Politics**

Since 1999 when Nigeria regained her legitimate political power from military administrator under the auspices of General Abdulsalam many cases of political violent from north and south poles of the country have become order of the day which characterized the efforts of political godfathers and some godsons in various states. Among the effect of political godfathers are:

**Massive destruction of lives and properties:** In the beginning and post elections of April, 2011 polls in Nigeria, there were many cases of massive destruction of lives and properties as a result of the instructions given by the godfathers to their supporters in various state of the federation. In Kano State, some unspecified number of people died, non-indigenes fled Kano as the violence spread. Despite the indefinite curfew imposed on the city to douse tension, non-natives still live in fear of attacks several places of worship were burnt down by youths. Thousands of non-natives were seeking refuge in military and police barracks, sleeping in the open, without essential facilities (The Nation Wednesday, April 20,2011; 7). Bauchi state is also a place of crises where many lives and properties were lost, five Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) offices were burnt and property worth of millions of naira destroyed in five local governments, more than 500 lap-top computers and 13 generators were burnt and windows and doors were stolen by hoodlums after post presidential poll in the State. Also many lives of leaders of tomorrow “corps members” were claimed by some groups of people before and aftermath of the presidential election in Bauch, Niger, Kogi and some other state.

**Turning young citizen to Hooligans cum thugs:** In the 2011 April polls, cases of suspected thugs were reported in some states. In Kwara state, the state police command arrested 23 persons suspected to be political thugs during the 16th April, 2011 election. In his remarks, the police commissioner, Mr. Mamman Tsafe stated that a political party imported thugs from Lagos to disrupt the election in the state. Also, an Ilorin magistrate court in kwara state remanded 14 supporters of ACN in prison custody for alleged public disturbance. The accused were arraigned on a four-count charge of criminal conspiracy inciting disturbance, mischief and causing injury contrary to sections 97,114,327, and 246 of penal code. The charge sheet said Otunba Bode Oyedepo of No. 16 Adebayo Avenue Oro told the police how he was attacked at Iludun-Oro with his fellow PDP members by thugs allegedly sent by ACN senatorial candidate for Kwara south Anu Ibiwoye. Oyedepo further explained that the thugs allegedly came in vehicle and attacked them with bottles and guns(The Nation Monday, April, 2011:3).

**Proliferation of arms and ammunitions:** The clash between factions in the Oyo State branch of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) claimed many lives and left several others injured and some properties reportedly damaged in Ibadan, the state capital. The slain victim, identified as Dele Ayegbo, was said to be a member of the faction loyal to the reinstated chairman, Lateef Akinsola Oloruntoki. The conflict was sparked off by a struggle by the Tokyo faction to take over some motor-parks hitherto controlled by the other faction who had taken over reign since the relationship between him and the former governor, Adebayo Alao-Akala, got strained.

The urge to take over the parks was reinforced by the de-proscription of the union by the last regime, as well as the emergence of new government in the state, which was believed to have a

soft spot for Tokyo's faction. The invading faction stormed the Iwo-Ife axis of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway motor parks shooting sporadically to scare the occupants. Several people were reportedly injured while scores of vehicles were damaged during the shooting that lasted for over one hour. The injured, it was learnt, included commuters at the parks, who were trying to escape from the scene having seen the dangerous weapons wielded by the factions of the drivers' union. Traders around the parks and shop owners at the Iwo-Road interchange, Monatan Junction, Lagos Expressway parks and Ojoo way were forced to abandon their wears as they scampered for safety from the booming gun (Next, Tuesday, May 31,2011). Disfranchisement of citizens to exercise their political right: Two weeks to the general elections, there are doubts over plans for a credible exercise in Oyo state. Reason: voters' registers in 27 local government areas have been tempered with by members of PDP in collusion with INEC officials, four suspects were arrested Saturday evening 19<sup>th</sup>March, 2011 in a hotel in old Bodija, Ibadan, the state capital, while allegedly tampering with registration materials in some local governments. INEC materials, including six laptops and voters' registers, were found on the suspect (The Nation, March 21,2011:1-2).

Politicized employment in the state cum the center: The appointment of political office holders and some civil servants today is purely political. The godfathers of a particular state as well as center usually task his/her godsons on the kind of people to be employed in his/her cabinet even though the person may not be up-to-the task in term of experience or ability to deliver. He ought to be employed since directive is coming from the godfather. However, if godson reacted to the directive of his godfather negatively it will lead to political violence. See the case of lower house (House of Representatives) in Nigeria, the emergence of 2011/2015 speaker of the House that led to the destruction of zoning arrangement drew by PDP as both former president Olusegun Obasanjo imposed Hon. Muraina (PDP) from Oyo and president Goodluck Jonathan in collaboration with his wife Dame Patience under the policy of affirmative action and 35% involvement of women in government presented Mulikat (PDP) from Oyo but the work of godfathers in these policies failed as the honourable members decided to installed Honourable Aminu Tambuwal of PDP from Sokoto by majority votes of 252 as against 90 votes cast for Honourable Mulikat. As a result of this, the PDP executives are still not recognize the current speaker as the winner, no congratulatory message has ever been sent to him rather they continue preaching zoning arrangement.

Promote high level of poverty: from all indications, most of the political godfathers do engaged most of inhabitants of a given state with high level of poverty to enable them buy their votes during the election. In my state as an example, the then political godfathers, like Dr. Olusola Saraki and late Governor Muhammed Lawal and the current strongman of PDP in kwara state, Dr. Bukola Saraki have venue for distributing raw food, cooked food, clothes and money for so many able and disable individuals within the state.

Enhanced disrespect of the rule of laws: The Nigerian styled Patron-Client relationship nearly truncated Nigerian puerile democracy, in June 10th, 2003. A self- confessed godfather, Uba employed thugs and Nigerian police to abduct his godson, Chris Ngige, who was the elected governor of Anambra State. Ngige's sin was his refusal to allow Uba to nominate all political appointees, take the largest share of state's allocation, and instantly pay him a sum of N2.5 billion; the claimed cost of installing Ngige as

governor (Onwumere, 2007). Their loyalists embarked in a battle of 'iron' and 'steel'. The State became a war zone, innocent lives were lost, houses were set ablaze, and Anambra state became ungovernable for weeks. It was not a case of two fighting, but a desperate godfather (Uba and his 'troops') consuming everything at their reach when it became clear that his investment was going down the drain. The only solution the federal government proffered was the threat to declare a state of emergency in the state. The dust had nearly settled, when the self-declared.

### **Discussion and Analysis**

#### **Analysis of How PDP Governorship delegates emerged in pre-2015 general elections in Kaduna State**

<b>Option</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Hand-picked by the governor	113	20%
Elected by the party card carrying members	41	7%
Hand-picked by party executives	60	10%
Consensus	344	60%
No response	16	3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Survey Research (2015)**

The table above indicates that, out of five hundred and seventy four respondents, one hundred and thirteen respondents representing twenty percent (20%) of the total respondents agreed that, the delegates were hand-picked by the governor, forty one respondents representing seven percent (7%) of the total respondents said they were democratically elected by the party card carrying members, sixty respondents representing ten percent (10%) of the total respondents said they were hand-picked by the party executives, three hundred and forty four respondents representing sixty one percent (60%) of the total respondents said, they emerged through consensus among members, while sixteen respondents representing three percent (3%) of the total respondents did not respond to the question.

From 2003 to 2015 there is no doubt that PDP in Kaduna state lack internal democracy as a result of quest for power among powerful of elite, godfathers and money bags. This is for a simple reason that, card carrying members were not given chance to select the candidates of their choice. A political party can legitimize its activities by practicing democratic principles. If to say that, a political ward was asked to submit names of three delegates for gubernatorial primaries and consensus will be used for their emergence, there must be a contestation among at least nine consensus candidates representing their various polling units. This should be more democratic than imposing a candidates or persuading others to decline for somebody because democracy is a game of number.

**An Analysis of How PDP Governorship Candidates were selected in pre-2015 general elections in Kaduna State**

<b>Option</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Elected by the party card carrying members	62	11%
Hand-picked by the party executives	81	14%
Consensus among party members	288	50%
Nominated by the delegates	134	23%
No response	9	2%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Survey Research (2015)**

The above table shows that, out of five hundred and seventy four respondents, sixty two respondents representing eleven percent (11%) of the total respondents agreed that, Governorship Candidates in pre-2015 general elections were selected by the PDP card carrying members, eighty one respondents representing fourteen percent (14%) of the total respondents said they were hand-picked by the party executive members, two hundred and eighty eight respondents representing fifty percent (50%) of the total respondents said they emerged through consensus, one hundred and thirty four respondents representing twenty three percent (23%) of the total respondents said, they were selected by the delegates, while nine respondents representing two percent (2%) of the total respondents did not respond to the question.

In 2015 PDP Gubernatorial Primaries, only 3 adhoc delegates from each ward were nominated and 5 statutory delegates from local government (Party Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Youth Leader and Women Leader). All elected officers (From LG Chairman-President) who are indigenes of the state. Mukhtar Ramalan Yero, Sen. Haruna Ziego Aziz, Lawal Samaila Yakawada and Hon. Felix Hassan Hyat contested though the last two contestants withdrew some hours before the election. Yero was at the end declared the winner with almost 98% of the total votes cast as against Ziego Aziz who scored only one vote (Interview, 2015).

The above indicates that, Ramalan Yero, the then incumbent governor of the state contested with three other aspirants though two of them declined some hours to the election. But the question need to be asked why has these events keep on repeating itself? Why must party caucus force an aspirant to decline for incumbent governor? This may be due to the fact there is every hope that incumbent governor be able to defeat an opposition party during election more than any other aspirants because of the resources at his disposal. One the aspirants refused to decline as the researcher observed and scored only one vote as indicated above. As such, one of the two aspirants who was forced to decline cross-carpeted to the opposition party immediately after the exercise

**An Analysis of whether Godfatherism has a negative effect on governorship primaries of PDP in Kaduna state from 1999-2015**

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	323	56%
No	245	43%
No Response	6	1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey Research (2015).

This table reveals that, out of five hundred and seventy four (574) respondents, three hundred and twenty three respondents representing fifty six percent (56%) of the total respondents agreed that, godfatherism has a negative effect on governorship primaries of PDP in Kaduna state from 1999-2015, two hundred and forty five respondents representing forty three percent (43%) of the total respondents did not agree, while six respondents representing one percent (1%) of the total respondents did not respond to the question.

Some respondents argued that, Dr. Mukhtar Ramalan Yero (the Former Governor of the State) was a client or godson to the Former Vice President (Namadi Sambo) that was why he fixed him as the Deputy Governor and later a governor after becoming the Vice President as well as the death of Late Governor Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa. This to them, was against the tenets of liberal democracy because the internal democratic procedures were neglected by Mohammed Namadi Sambo at the expense of their choice. In tandem to the above argument, other respondents also observed that, Mukhtar Ramalan Yero settled some billions of Naira to Mohammed Namadi Sambo the first six months he spent in office as Governor (Umar; 2014). In fact, according to other respondents, what to be done throughout the State in terms of political development, award of contracts as well as political appointments were considered and decided by Arc. Mohammed Namadi Sambo. Party members complained bitterly over the issues but there was nothing they could do that was why in their view, many active members of the party even among the founding members cross-carpeted in 2013 to other political parties as an alternative (Interview, 2015).

This shows that influence and power of godfathers have continued to shape and reshape the nature of internal democracy in PDP of Kaduna State and this continues to play a significant role in understanding the crises in political parties in Nigeria. Not only do godfathers influence politics within the party but also sought to influence other civil societies that could become instruments in their bid to perpetuate their political powers.

**An Analysis of whether political elite within PDP in Kaduna State decide and dominate decisions regarding its gubernatorial primaries from 1999-2015**

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	362	63%
No	200	35%
No response	12	2%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey Research (2015)

The table above shows that, out of five hundred and seventy four (574) respondents, three hundred and sixty two respondents representing sixty three percent (63%) of the total respondents agreed that, political elite within PDP in Kaduna State decide and dominate decisions regarding its gubernatorial primaries from 1999-2015, two hundred respondents representing thirty five percent (35%) of the total respondents did not agree, while twelve respondents representing two percent (2%) did not respond to the question.

PDP gubernatorial primaries in Kaduna State was characterized by flawed, irregularities, manipulation as well as imposition of candidates, due to powerful influence of political elite and exclusion of rank and file members in the selection processes to the extent that some-aggrieved card members asked the court to restrict the party from submitting candidate's names to INEC barely a week to the General Elections. Such was the case with PDP gubernatorial Primaries of the state in 2003 and 2007. Again, it was also a case in Kaura, Kajuru, Lere, Makarfi, Sanga and Zangon-Kataf Constituencies in 2003, 2007 and 2011. A number of parallel elections by parallel executive members were conducted for the PDP House of Assembly Elections in the state with different aspirants declaring victory for themselves. In both 2011 and 2015 also, contestation over the gubernatorial candidacy for the party ended up in a stalemate, leading to the imposition of Late Sir, Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa (in 2011) and Dr. Mukhtar Ramalan Yero (in 2015) on party members as well as denying other aspirants to purchase forms for that primary election (Interview, 2015)

In tandem to the above therefore, other respondents noted that, manipulation of primary election results is not a new thing in PDP of Kaduna State, infact, it originated right from 1999. Party caucus and other elite may sometimes strategize to intentionally postpone the date of primary election in the present of party members and plan to conduct it secretly the next day in different venue. This was the case with PDP governorship primaries of 2007 in Kaduna State that was why when the new date was fixed many party members contested against it. In their view, it is in record that, the results of PDP 1999 primary election in Zone I senatorial district was changed. This was simply because the candidate pre-determined to win that contested election failed. Hon. Aliyu Yahaya Sa'ad was the winner but the influence of the Emir of Zazzau and other key party officials favoured the second aspirant in person, Dr. Dalhatu Sarki Tafida and submitted his name to INEC. Not only that, the 2012 primary election of local government chairmen in Zaria was conducted two times, first in Zaria and second in Kaduna.

After the conduct of the first primaries Hon. Nuhu Suleiman was declared the winner but the party elite vehemently rejected the results, another primary election was re-scheduled and conducted in Kaduna where Hon. Magaji Alhassan (Magaji Boss) was declared the winner. The party elite again rejected the results. At the end, Arc. Mohammed Namadi Sambo invited the aspirants to his house in Abuja to resolve the matter thereby imposing on them another candidate as an aspirant for local government council election of 2012 who neither purchases the form nor do shows interest for the primaries in person, Hon. Lawal Balarabe (Usama) (Interview; 2015)

In an interview with respondents, they observed that, the PDP 2015 Gubernatorial Primary election was faulty because, almost all delegates were forced by elite within the party to vote for

the then incumbent governor in person, Dr. Mukhtar Ramalan Yero who scored more than one thousand votes against one vote of Senator Haruna Ziege Aziz. They stressed further that, during the 1999 general elections, local government elections were conducted first before election into the national assembly. PDP in Zaria delayed the conduct of its primary election till after seeing the outcome of the local government election. Late Honourable Alhaji Musa Iya emerged as a consensus or unopposed candidate of PDP in Zaria Local Government.

They added that, Late Hon. Musa Iya had been an obedient politician. He contested five times, but the influence of elites denies him right to win the primary elections. So in 1999, he was nominated as the consensus candidate of PDP. He contested and won the election, immediately after assuming office, PDP fixed a date for the primary elections of the members of the House of Representatives. During the conduct of that primary election, Hon. Nuhu Sani Ibrahim, and Hon. Abdulkadir Usman Global Contested. Late Hon. Musa Iya, used his power as a chairman elect, at BATC Nagoyi Zaria, (where the primary election was conducted) to influence the votes of the then councilors (who were part of the delegates or Electoral College). He was observed saying that, “any councilor who needs to be given office should vote for Nuhu Sani Ibrahim. At the end of the primary election, Hon. Nuhu Sani Ibrahim won with three votes ahead of Hon. Abdulkadir Usman Global.

Eventually, Hon. Abdulkadir Usman Global was cleared by the PDP caucus at the state level as a PDP candidate for the House of Representatives elections of 1999. Electorates were put in confusion as two candidates were claiming for one seat. Official memos, reports and posters were going round throughout Zaria local government declaring Hon. Abdulkadir Usman Global today, and Hon. Nuhu Sani Ibrahim tomorrow. Hon. Abdulkadir Usman Global was cleared at the end, while Hon. Nuhu Sani Ibrahim was compensated with an appointment as a Director General (DG), Kaduna State Media Corporation (K.S.M.C) (Interview, 2015).

Supporting the above argument, other respondents asserted that, in 2008 local government election in Zaria, the major reason why Alh. Dan-Asabe, Raba-Gardama (Reconciliator) was later on supported by some elites to contest for chairmanship election was that, the well known contestants of PDP in Zaria, in persons, Hon. Yahaya Aminu (who wanted to rule for the second term) and Hon. Lawal Balarabe (Usama) were in conflict. This internal conflict within the party led to the crises among supporters of the two candidates (Interview, 2015).

Not only that, initially, the party promised Hon. Lawal Balarabe (Usama) to be their unopposed candidate in 2008, if Hon. Yahaya Aminu finishes his tenure. This was to compensate him for losing his seat as a member of Kaduna State House of Assembly in 2003 general elections. But the situation changed, as Hon. Yahaya Aminu wanted to go for the second term in 2008, this to them, was the genesis of the crisis within the party. Eventually, with the intervention of the then Governor, Alh. Muhammad Namadi Sambo, Hon. Yahaya Aminu was backed and a foul primary election was conducted where Hon. Lawal Balarabe was defeated. Though, the problem was resolved by the Governor and he was compensated with an appointment as a senior Special Assistant to the Governor, but according to them, it was one of the reasons for the disorganization and destabilization of the 2008 local government election in Zaria, as his supporters engaged in Anti-party politics during election. That was why it had to be cancelled (Interview, 2015).

Contrary to the above therefore some respondents noted that; “we do not impose candidates on the party members but rather we only advise the delegates on whom to vote so as to avoid what he calls “Zaben Tumun Dare” (i.e Voting for incompetent candidates) that was why we always consider five conditions before any member should qualify for the electoral contests. Those criteria according to them include; Popularity of Candidates, Financial Viability, Active Participation in Politics of PDP, Ability to challenge an opposition party at the general election as well as capability to fully represent the interest of the party anywhere. As far as we are concerned, the only problem of PDP today is goal incompatibility as well as powerful influence of elite. It is only in PDP that you have former president, former vice president, former governors, former ambassadors, former senators and members of National Assembly” (Interview, 2015)

The above explains that, one of the effects of political party competition in Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Kaduna State Chapter is lack of political tolerance among the political elite. Some of the political elites emerged from authoritarian traditions that have no tolerance for any form of opposition. For them, opposition is treason. Thus, political party competition is a “battle” where the “adversaries” must be eliminated or denied space to compete. It is not seen as a contest where winners and losers would emerge but must cooperate to build and develop the state. Political intolerance often leads to abuses of human rights. The political elite have not drawn lessons from the past experience of Nigeria. This also has implications for intra-party politics as well as the deepening of democracy in the country.

**An Analysis of whether incumbency factor has a negative effect on governorship primaries of PDP in Kaduna state from 1999-2015**

Option	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	362	63%
No	212	37%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Survey Research (2015)**

The above table shows that, out of five hundred and seventy-four (574) respondents, three hundred and sixty-two respondents representing sixty-three percent (63%) of the total respondents agreed that, incumbency factor has a negative effect on governorship primaries of PDP in Kaduna state from 1999-2015, two hundred and twelve respondents representing thirty-seven percent (37%) of the total respondents did not agree.

Respondents observed that when Governor Ahmed Makarfi’s tenure expired, he successfully planned and manipulated all political structure within PDP and strategized to install Alhaji Umaru Balarabe Kubau (the then Commissioner of Works) to succeed him as godson, but died before the conduct of 2007 general elections and Mohammed Namadi Sambo was imposed on Makarfi from Federal Government as well as other pressures from Tijjani Hashim (the then Galadima of Kano) (Interview, 2015)

In 2015, Party caucus denied many competent candidates to buy form and contest against the then incumbent governor of the state in person, Dr Mukhtar Ramalan Yero. Some candidates were bribed while others decamped to the opposition party as an alternative. Infact, only Senator Haruna Ziego Aziz Challenged him and scored one vote at the end of the election. PDP primary

elections were not held in many local government areas of Kaduna State especially that of members of the House of Assembly. For instance, Yakubu Salisu and Umaru B. Dikko (Zaria Constituencies), Danladi Angulu Kwasau and Kantiok Irimiya Isiyaku (Zangon-Kataf and Zonkwa Constituencies), Nkom Bityong (Kaura), samuel Tanko (Kajuru) and other members representing Kaduna North, Lere constituencies e.t.c. were all nominated unopposed. Infact other members were denied to purchase forms simply because they were governor's candidates. This according to them was one of the reasons why PDP failed in Kaduna State (Interview, DU1,

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion therefore, one can deduce that, there is hardly any state devoid of the existence and influence of godfathers, though the level of such influence varies, In America, the political candidate wiggles around, seeking group and individual endorsements for their candidacy. Also, in other advanced societies, group influence and endorsement could be more valuable than a powerful individual. Not only that, politics of godfatherism is a threat to the Nigeria's nascent democracy. This makes it imperative in this paper to explore the ugly phenomenon of godfatherism and its effect on democratization in the country.

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