

DISTURBANCE THEORY AND OPPOSITION POLITICS IN NIGERIA: AN APPRAISAL OF ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC) PERFORMANCE IN THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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Abstract

Elections have followed a particular trend in the political history of Nigeria with the ruling party (party-in-power) rarely ever losing elections. Character of Nigerian politics had inadvertently snowballed into one party system where there is either no opposition or it is fractionalized into insignificance. This paper studies in extenso the dynamics and issues giving rise to the prevalence of opposition in the 2015 general elections wherein for the first time in the annals of elections in Nigeria, an opposition party waxed very strong and garnered great force to unseating a 'ruling party'. After a detailed literature review, it is observed that imposition of candidates, internal wrangling, factionalization and lack of internal democracy laced with docile character cum personality of the defeated president form the fulcrum for the supremacy of the All Progressives Congress (APC). The paper further opines that overt inability of the outgoing president to assert himself firmly and demonstrate greatest personal drive to handling headlong national issues like insecurity, economic depression coupled with his lackluster disposition to galvanizing and welding federal cabinet into a usual 'cult' made his house to exist in disarray. The study adopted extensive use of secondary data which were analyzed content wise along postulations of disturbance theory as put forward by David Truman. It finally submits that lack of coordinated drive to handle issues knitted in the fact that Jonathan never planned to be a political leader created great opportunities for emergent crass of opposition politicians to thrive.

Keywords: Elections, Opposition Politics, Ruling Party, Internal Democracy, Disturbance Theory and All Progressives Congress (APC)

Introduction

One of the most complex and critical institutions of democracy is the political party (ies) (Omotola, 2009) and the conduct of periodic free, fair and credible elections. Since the return to civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria has had five general elections: 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 with the latter indicating significant evidence of deepening democratization and demonstrable level of maturity on the part of politicians and character of politicking. None of the elections is devoid of evidence of stifling opposition by the ruling party that metes and doles resources of the nation with intentions of sustained balkanization and domination of possible groups and

allies that could rise against it (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2014). The processes and end products of these successive elections have always encountered credibility and legitimacy questions but for the 2015 general elections.

It is easily deciphered from literature and the reports of the international election monitoring groups that there is a real challenge on how to position Nigerian elections for effective democratization (Nwanegbo and Alumona, 2011). At the heart of the challenge lies the ability to structure the electoral process to allow power to alternate between the ruling and the opposition parties peacefully. To that end, Rakner and Svasand (2002, p.1-39) succinctly averred that:

The litmus test of the electoral process is the possibility of the minority at one point to become the majority and that in the case of such an event there is actually a peaceful change of government.

Elections in Nigeria have witnessed abusive use of the incumbency factor by our political leaders and 'party-in-power' to block the alternation of power to opposition. This phenomenon had continued to threaten processes of democratization till the conduct of the 2015 general elections. The character and personality of the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) led People's Democratic Party (PDP) administration subconsciously and unwittingly introduced a new trend in the politics and government of Nigeria by allowing the will of the people through its disposition to national issues. Some analysts are of the view that GEJ as fondly called by most journalists failed to effectively govern the country because he never thought of leading Nigeria hence he does not have any idea of wither to go and how. To this group, he started planning when he saw himself on seat of governance but Jonathan in one of his interactions with journalists expressed that he opened the way for the opposition to grow. The latter position is seemingly corroborated by the implications of the Freedom of Information (FoI) Act as passed by the National Assembly and assented to by the President which opened unparalleled grounds for citizens to greater unrestrained expressions.

Whichever is the case, GEJ's competence was put to test with several socio-economic and political issues threatening the corporate existence of the country like insurgency in the North-East (Boko haram), relatively high incidences of official corruption in high and low places ranging from the Federal, state civil services to all crannies of the nation with flagrant neglect of extant national laws. He failed to effectively exercise his powers as the President thereby allowing geometric slipping of power and authority from him and his members of cabinet. The docility of the President (GEJ) coupled with his stalemated relationships with some power brokers like former President Obasanjo and some members of classical Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) are attributable to the weakening of the various institutions of government especially the law enforcement and the anti-graft agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Department of State

Services (DSS), among others. Most of these institutions became complacent and closed their eyes to flagrant display and riddance in widespread of corruption across ministries and parastatals. The country almost precipitated unto anarchical and kleptocratic state that weakened virtually all institutions of governance and administration. At this stage, many known members of the ruling party have either been denied of favours, interests and or chances of re-contesting for positions.

Understandably, the above situation tells the story of a failing state and incompetent administration under the watch of GEJ which created fertile grounds for some progressives and initially disgruntled politicians to come together to breed what eventually metamorphosed into a sustainable opposition that has national spread and destructive effect on the ruling party.

Nonetheless, it was at this debilitating situation that the APC struck in a manner that brought down the umbrella the party. Although the PDP inadvertently paved framework for its downfall by allowing the will of the people to count through card readers, the emergent ruling party (APC) counteracted powers and won elections without properly structured programmes. The APC was variously said to have contested the 2015 general elections to stop the PDP but appear not to had anticipated winning the elections thereby constituting a force set by disgruntled persons to wrestle powers with the PDP and not to win and control the affairs of the Nigerian political system.

This study, which is structured into four parts: the introduction, literature review and theoretical framework, analyses of the issues generating the study and the concluding remarks, examines the dynamics that gave rise to the formation of All Progressives Congress (APC), the character of the 2015 General Elections and the factors that gave rise to the prevalence of opposition in the elections.

Operationalization of Concept

To pave way for apt comprehension of issues and trend of the study, the concepts of election, opposition and election in Nigeria, All Progressives Congress and, ruling party which form the bases for the study are operationalized according to the perspective of the study thus:

Elections

Universally, election is regarded as the heart of representative democracy (Animashaun, 2010). A credible election not only confers legitimacy on political leadership, it is also crucial to the sustenance of democratic order. Election provides citizens with the freedom to choose their rulers and to decide on public policies. Under any democratic system, citizens who are legally qualified to exercise franchise are provided with opportunity to choose political alternatives and to make decisions that express their preferences. In a multi-party dispensation, this choice is made out of the several parties and candidates competing in the electoral market.

In all democracies, election performs several functions: it is an instrument through which the voting public compels accountability from elected officials; it facilitates political recruitment; it enables citizens to make enlightened choices; and

confers moral authority on political leaders. Within the context of the last function, election is viewed as a “legitimizing institution, functioning to give elected leaders the wherewithal to govern” (Schlozman and Verba, 1987, p.3).

In a wider perspective, Diamond, Lin and Lipset (1989, p. xxi) describe democracy as a governance model that meets three basic conditions: competition among individuals and political groups (political parties); inclusive system of leadership recruitment; and existence of a regime of civil-political rights. These conditions underscore the importance of elections both as a regime legitimizer and as a guarantor of citizen participation in public governance. Election represents the lifeblood of modern democracy and the frequency, fairness and openness of such elections are crucial to the political stability of the polity. The extent to which election advances democratic order depends in large part on the existing electoral system, its nature and its acceptance by the stakeholders in the electoral process.

Electoral system according to Nnoli (2003, p.230) refers to a complex of rules and regulations that govern the selection of officeholders in a democratic context. The choice of a particular electoral system does not only have a profound effect on the political life of a country, it also distributes costs and benefits to political actors i.e. political parties and candidates. Designing a credible and inclusive electoral regime is a necessary enterprise in all democracies whether transitional or consolidated. This submission by Nnoli (2003) paints a very distinct picture that explains the background and character of the 2015 general elections. It obviously brings to mind, the role of the Electoral Management body, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the relevance of Smart Card Readers and credibility as well as acceptance of the outcome of the 2015 general elections. Smart Card Readers no doubt occasioned new trends and dimensions in the conduct of elections in Nigeria which combined with other factors that eventually facilitated peaceful and regulated conduct of polls to bring about power alternation in a hitherto militarized political landscape where votes were hardly cast and counted right.

Opposition and Elections in Nigeria

By all measures, Nigeria is yet to pass Huntington’s two-turnover test (LeVan, Titi Pitso and Adebo, n.d). According to Huntington in his work titled *The third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, a nascent democracy is considered consolidated only after it has experienced two peaceful electoral alternations (Huntington, 1991). While passing the two-turnover test does not imply that a democracy has become fully developed, the test itself remains widely used in indicating whether a new democracy has matured (Scheler, 2001, p.66-92). In 1964, the Northern People’s Congress (NPC) in alliance with Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) formed an umbrella known as Nigeria National Alliance to defeat the incumbent parliamentary coalition of the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA), but the First Republic soon degenerated into violence and a military coup. In 1983 Shagari’s National Party of Nigeria (NPN) narrowly won re-election in a contest among six presidential candidates, meaning no turnover occurred.

Subsequently, successive elections through the third into the fourth republics have seen orchestrated power domination by ruling parties which had overtime stagnated opposition through abuse of incumbency power. From 2003 through 2007 and 2011, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) through instigation of crises in opposition parties, poaching of their stalwarts leading to defections stifled life out of fractionalized amorphous and poorly coordinated associations (political parties) to the extent of instituting a seemingly one party state.

A broader benchmark for measuring democratic consolidation is simply the alternation of power, without specifying two turnovers or two elections. Alternation of power is only possible where vigorous political competition exists. Dahl (1971) famously listed 'public contestation' along with participation as a key ingredient of 'polyarchy', his ideal type of democracy. Contestation and wide participation have been elusive in our contest where the electoral space has overtime been made very narrow for the umbrella that refused to cover several persons from the sun and rain. Keen contests within the umbrella (party) was not allowed and concocted results and leadership selected candidates thereby depriving members of level playing grounds and participation.

Discussing power alternation further, the perspective towed by Rustow (1970, p.337-363) which referred to democracy as 'a system of rule by temporary majorities' illustrates the possibilities of vigorous political competition between and or amongst political parties. This vigorous competition makes it possible for political parties to pave ways for themselves in a freely, fairly and credible manner to winning elections in democracies and creates veritable ambience for the opposition to thrive.

What is more, Mainwaring (1992) identifies a procedural requisite of democracy as the 'opportunity to get rid of rulers who lose their popular support'. This succinctly explains the scenario in the 2015 general elections where Nigerians demonstrated at the ballot that the former ruling party (PDP) has failed to provide the expected dividends of democracy and accepted the call for change. Before the 2015 elections in Nigeria, the presidency did not change hands, but there was significant turnover at other levels of government and this could be taken as an encouraging sign: 8 of the 36 incumbent governors lost in 2003 and, as discussed below, the turnover among the National Assembly rank and file as well as the leadership was substantial. Yet much of the change occurred within parties rather than between them – high turnover should not be equated with alternation of power.

Moreover the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) in the 2003 elections was unwilling to risk losses in some states at any cost, while many opposition parties have been unwilling to concede losses. Finally, and most significantly, the national scope of the PDP support in the 2003 general elections could be interpreted as a positive step towards consolidation. The democratization literature has emphasized the importance of cross-regional and multi-ethnic support in a plural society (Lijphart 1977; Lijphart 2002; Mainwaring 1992). Linz and Stepan (1996), for example, write 'the more the population of the territory of the state is composed of pluri-national, lingual, religious, or cultural societies, the more complex politics becomes because an agreement on the fundamentals of democracy will be more difficult'.

In Nigeria the political geography consists of six 'zones', each one roughly with its own common economic, agro-climatic and ethnic qualities. The PDP secured more than a quarter of the vote in 32 of the 36 states in the presidential election, making surprising inroads into the Yoruba South West zone, securing a solid base in the South East among the Igbos, and garnering the support of many minorities in the South-South. Results in the National Assembly and State House elections reflect these patterns as well. Only in the North West, where Muhammadu Buhari and his All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) leaned towards conservative Muslim society, did the PDP falter. Obasanjo and the PDP may have overcome ethno-regionalism but inter-party competition has never been weaker in Nigeria's three democratic regimes. This raised the question of whether inter-party contestation was being replaced by the emergence of one 'super party' and intraparty competition.

The concept of opposition party is best described as that umbrella that carries to the electorates, alternative views and programmes that would protect and project the best interests of the people. It criticizes the programmes and policies of the party in power and gauges the mood of the society on all issues and provides appropriate responsible succour to the needs of the society at intellectual and applied levels. Thence, the meaning of shadow government which shows the citizens better alternatives to the programmes of the government and presents options that must be seen to be better than what the government is implementing in order to win the support of the people in next elections.

All Progressives Congress (APC)

The APC was formed in February 2013 as a result of an alliance and merger of Nigeria's three biggest opposition parties – the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) – and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) – merged to take on the People's Democratic Party (PDP) (Agumuo, 2013; Akor, 2013). The resolution was signed by Tom Ikimi, the person who represented the ACN; Senator Annie Okonkwo on behalf of APGA; former governor of Kano State, Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau, the Chairman of ANPP's Merger Committee; and Garba Shehu, the Chairman of CPC's Merger Committee (Agbakwuru, 2013). The APC is thus an interest group (political party) that was formed to wrestle political power and influence with the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). Its primary objective is to change the PDP and take control of government in Nigeria and for the first time ever in the political history of Nigeria, it constituted a viable cum credible opposition and somewhat shadow government to the PDP.

The basic rationale for the formation of the APC truly supports the postulations of the disturbance theory which according to David Truman states that interest groups form primarily in opposition to other groups so as to counteract influence in their respective political domains grow in response to threats. The APC leveraged on the weaknesses of the President GEJ led government and picked faults effectively in the hands of a docile leader who was visibly reluctant if not complacent to tackling national threats and challenges.

Understandably, opposition politics was muffled and grossly subjugated in the hands of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who used excessively incumbency powers without recourse to rule of law, due process and democratic ethos to circumvent all processes in governance. The pattern of administration and power management approach introduced and practiced by former President Obasanjo weakened political institutions and organs of government thereby making him almost a supreme leader. His actions precipitated in the emergence of a democratic dictator whose views turned those of the people owing to the fact that the people were handicapped and rendered insignificant. The trend and tempo changed drastically with the emergence of President Shehu Musa Yar' Adua whose disposition and cling to power allowed some levels of free participation and rule of laws.

The GEJ government and character of the New PDP when former President Obasanjo had issues with the presidency under Jonathan was that the party was without direction and everybody fixing and determining values at will. President Jonathan failed to fix the internal problems of the party and re-integrate all disgruntled elements in order to bring back some big wigs that were disillusioned and deprived of some values (political interests and positions). Hence the party became a pack of card that was very feeble and could collapse at any slightest shake and attack. A good number of the founding fathers like Audu Ogbah, Solomon Lar, even the Sarakis among others and their supporters were card carrying members but far away from being loyal and committed to the party's programmes. A case that can explain this issue is the election of Hon Waziri Tambuwal as Speaker and the way and manner with which he dumped the party for the opposition party.

Ruling Party

This concept is not well rehearsed in literature but used in varied forms and shapes especially in describing the party-in-power in Nigeria. Since the return to civil rule about 16 years ago, the PDP has controlled the national government with majority of seats in the National Assembly, the Presidency and the State Assemblies as well as governorship positions in most of the 36 states of the federation. Supposedly, the programmes of the party have been implemented across most states of the federation for these years. By implication, the party has defined socio-political and economic growth and development of Nigeria through the hands of former President Olusegun Obasanjo through President Shehu Musa Yar' Adua to President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan at the national government.

The ruling party usually produces the leadership of the National as well as those of the State Assemblies since they have majority of the members in those legislative houses. It is believed that the President, Governor and even the Local Government Chairman can work better with his party men in leadership positions in their assemblies: from Evan Enwerem to Chuba Okadigbo down to Ken Nnamani through Pius Anyim to David Mark; the PDP has produced successively all the Presidents of the Senate and Speakers of the House of Representatives throughout the party's reign over the past sixteen years of democratic practice in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

In trying to understand why people join interest groups and how such groups are formed in plural societies, David Truman in his classic work titled "Governmental Process" published 1952 argues that interest groups are formed in response to big changes to how society should normally operate and they attempt to restore a balance (Nowacyk, n.d).

One of the most important aspects of interest groups is the membership problem. In trying to understand why people join and remain members of groups, Truman (1952) cited in Nownes and Neeley, (1996, p.122) argued that group formation has two important causes. First, he submits that societies change as they progress and become more complex with multiplied and diversified interests. Second, Truman recognizes events that he referred to as disturbance which disrupt the regular flow of societal change. Disturbance theory is thus a political postulation by David Truman that states that interest groups form primarily in opposition to other interest groups so as to counteract influence in their respective political domains (Wikipedia,n.d). The theory also states that interest groups form and grow in response to threats. Robert Salisbury would later augment the theory to state that interest groups form in the absence or increasing scarcity of resources by arguing that the leaders of such groups also hold stewardship over the future viability of the group as an "entrepreneur", in his correlative entrepreneur theory. The theory is thus a political science postulate that states that interest groups are formed when there are changes in a social environment that upsets the well-beings of some groups of people. An example could be a scarcity in resources, a change in power/policy that some people object to, etc (<https://sites.google.com/site/apgovvocabwiki2/unit-4-terms/disturbance-theory>).

In a related theory, dubbed the disturbance theory by David Truman and Robert Salisbury, it was argued "that interest groups arise as a result of two interrelated societal processes. One process involves the increased complexity of society, while the second is the natural tendency to seek a condition of equilibrium". The complexity axiom asserts that specialized groups will form associations by which they can articulate their needs (Janda, Berry and Goldman, 2008). The equilibrium theory argues that disadvantaged groups that have lost political ground because of societal disturbances try to renew that balance by fresh efforts at reorganizing. Thus, overarching internal wrangling in forms of imposition of candidates, lack of trust, hijack and personalization of party structures coupled with its concomitant disequilibrium in the PDP which dislodged many members especially some bigwigs resulted in aggregation and articulation of a new interest that metamorphosed in the formation of the merger opposition (APC) to protect members interests and counteract the domineering powers of the umbrella party. Thence, a new interest group was formed and it banded together all former opposition and disgruntled politicians.

Interest groups use various forms of advocacy to influence public policy/opinion; they have played and continue to play an important part in the development of political and social systems. Groups vary considerably in size,

influence and motive; some have wide ranging long term social purposes, others are focused and a response to an immediate issue or concern (Madison, n.d).

Prevalence of the APC in the 2015 General Elections

Obviously, due to poor performance witnessed in dwindling economy, gross lack of social infrastructure (epitomized in the power sector), flagrant cum relative high incidences of official corruption and collapse of national security, and in a very peculiar manner to the card carrying members of the PDP (orchestrated inter-personality conflicts, internal wrangling and obvious lack of internal cohesion and democracy) the citizens of the country found PDP and its leaders wanting and incompetent of leadership and administration requirements for a failing Nigerian state. Sixteen years into democratization, good governance was yet to take solid ground because the people are still wallowing in penury without employment, ineffective medicare delivery, dysfunctional education, grossly insufficient electric power provision, et cetera. The activities of the boko haram insurgents who are making life quite short and unbearable for people in the North East with impunity especially the massive abduction of about 200 school girls in Chibok placed serious self searching question marks on most minds and queried the capabilities of the sitting president to administer the vast state of Nigeria.

At the national level, the single most important factor which pre-disposed PDP and its candidates to failure was absence of internal democracy – the refusal by the party leadership at all levels to utilize the regular constitutional structures already enshrined in the party's constitution - Presidential, Governorship, Senatorial and other primaries, Congresses, Conventions, etc and to enthrone such fundamental principles as fair play, equity, justice, participation, inclusiveness, competition (as against consensus candidature, automatic tickets, imposition of candidates, etc).

Thus, absence of internal party democracy manifested itself in the form of flagrant and mindless imposition of candidates from Presidential down to the State House of Assembly level, leading to massive party stakeholders and stalwarts, commencing effectively with the defection of five (initially seven) PDP Governors to opposition APC (except that Babangida Aliyu of Niger State and Sule Lamido of Jigawa State became lethargic at the last moment). Five PDP Governors jumping boat was an earth-moving political event, followed by the carpet-crossing of dozens of PDP National Assemblymen, including the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Rt. Hon Aminu Waziri Tambuwal to the opposition APC, which automatically became the majority party in both chambers of the Legislature, except that, in compliance with subsisting court order, it maintained the status quo and restrained itself from using its new majority to change the leadership of the National Assembly. Quite honestly, you cannot flagrantly violate the party constitution, guidelines and principles of fairness and still expect cohesion, comradeship and common ideals to exist in the party.

Jigawa State presents an interesting illustration of how absence of internal democracy or the mindless imposition by State Governors of candidates at all levels for the 2015 elections had adversely affected the fortunes of the PDP in the States. In

the case of Jigawa, imposition of candidates precipitated the routing and collapse of the Lamido political dynasty, for, whereas prior to the 2015 Elections, the APC had only one seat in the Jigawa State House of Assembly, with the Governorship, all Senate, all House of Representatives and all the other State House of Assembly seats remaining in the stranglehold of the PDP, the 2015 Elections produced a rather melodramatic result, with the Governorship slot, all the three Senate seats, all the eleven (11) seats in the House of Representatives, and twenty-five (25) out of 30 seats in the State House of Assembly going to the APC, with the PDP managing to retain only 5 seats in the State House of Assembly. PDP's failure in Jigawa was fatal and underscores the inadvisability of Lamido undemocratically imposing unpopular candidates, thereby compelling popular candidates to find political space in the APC where they could achieve their ambition in a relatively more competitive setting.

Explaining lack of unity of purpose (absence of internal democracy) and orchestrated squabbles in the umbrella party further, a survey of PDP congresses and nominations/primaries in Anambra State illustrates poverty of leadership and flagrant display of insubordination coupled with high rate of imposition of candidates. From North to South through Central Senatorial Districts and Federal Constituencies, all candidates to the National Assembly in the 2015 general elections were fixed by Court Injunctions/orders as clearly indicated in the INEC published list of candidates for the elections. The party did not show concerns and never undertook steps to resolving same where it was engulfed in intra-party leadership crises. An instant confusing example is found in the case of Orumba North and South Federal Constituency where INEC published Hon Ben Nwankwo's name in its last list of candidates for Federal House of Representatives but Barr Sopoluchukwu Ezeonwuka was returned and inaugurated into the 8th Federal House of Representatives. The above scenario leaves the electorates in confusion as par who flies the PDP flag in elections as the mess has persisted overtime.

The APC however aptly cashed in on the above scenario to criticize and harp on the urgent need for change. The party presented a candidate whose integrity is better accepted by many electorates for the presidency with a political structure that posed significant challenge to the ruling party at a time that the electoral management body (Independent National Electoral Commission - INEC) was committed to conducting credible elections. The message of change was well understood by most Nigerians who had suffered much in the hands of political leaders that rode on their back to positions and alienated themselves from the people that they were meant to govern. Clearly, until the 2015 general elections, sovereignty and mandate belonged to political bigwigs and power brokers and not the people.

What is more, the 2015 general elections defiled conventional approaches and dynamics to Nigerian political processes. It witnessed changes in various dimensions with incumbency, violence, politicized ethnicity and religious bigotry being significantly undermined. INEC initiated a process that was difficult to manipulate with card readers and Permanent Voter's Cards (PVCs) which posed serious threat to master riggers in the PDP. The processes for accreditation thus were automated to check untold manipulations in forms of ballot stuffing: numbers of duly

accredited voters were electronically transmitted to INEC database before and after balloting. This made it difficult for the seemingly complacent leadership to effectively abuse incumbency and use the state apparatuses against the opposition where the international community was fully mobilized.

On March 28, 2015 Presidential Elections, Nigerians cast votes for candidates and political parties of their choice as shown on table I below with the candidate for the All Progressive Congress (APC) eventually emerged the winner:

Table 1: Political Parties and Votes Secured at the 2015 Presidential Elections

Party	Votes	%
AA	22,125	0.08
ACPN	40,311	0.14
AD	30,673	0.11
ADC	29,665	0.10
APA	53,537	0.19
APC	15,424,921	53.96
CPP	36,300	0.13
HOPE	7,435	0.03
KOWA	13,076	0.05
NCP	24,455	0.09
PDP	12,853,162	44.96
PPN	24,475	0.09
UDP	9,208	0.03
UPP	18,220	0.06

Source: Summary of Results from Pulse.ng and www.inecnigeria.org

The above summary of the Presidential Election result shows the APC winning with 2,571,759 votes representing 53.96%. Wherein, out of about 68 million registered voters only 31,756,490 voters were accredited while 844,519 votes were rejected leaving us with only 28,587,564 valid votes.

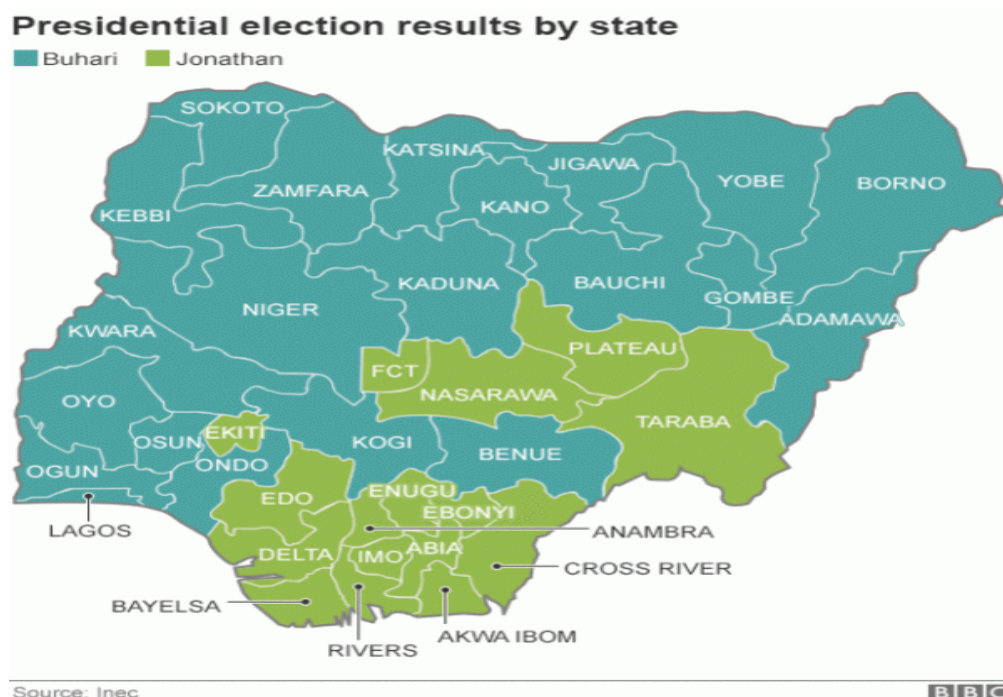
Table 2: Summary of Registered and Cast Votes in the 2015 Presidential Elections

Registered voters	67,422,005
Accredited voters	31,746,490
No Votes Cast	29,432,083
No Valid Votes	28,587,564
Rejected votes	844,519

Source: www.inecnigeria.org

Furthermore, the results of the 2015 Presidential Elections are thus graphically represented in Figure I wherein the Nigerian map is shown and marked according to states as won by the APC and PDP.

Figure 1:



The results as presented in figure 1 above illustrate the spread of APC supporters and decline in the popularity of the PDP as demonstrated in the 2015 general elections. The diagram in the form of the map of Nigeria shows in light green all the states/parts of Nigeria won by the PDP to include all the states of the Southeast (Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Abia and Imo), most states of the South-South where President Jonathan hails from (Bayelsa, Delta, Edo, Cross River, Rivers and Akwaibom), a dint of relative stronghold in some North Central parts such as Nasarawa, FCT and Plateau as well as Ekiti State where the master of stomach infrastructure garnered in his usual manner the state for the PDP. Thus the PDP won only 14 out of the 36 states against its usual landslide victory in the 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections. This is as shown on Table 3 in the appendix.

On the other hand, the APC in an unusual and unprecedented manner and force in the history of elections in Nigeria, won the polls in all the Northeastern states (Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe) amidst the activities of insurgents, all North Western States (Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara) a zone where the APC candidate come from, the remaining 4 states of the North Central Zone (Benue, Kaduna, Kogi, Nasarawa and Niger) which includes the home state of David Mark, the 7th President of the Senate and some very known founding fathers and a former chairman of the PDP, Chief Barnabas Gemade, 5 states of the South West (Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo) reaffirming the dominance of

the opposition and APC in the key states of this zone like Lagos including the home state of former President Olusegun Obasanjo. The results show the APC breaking unusual barriers and winning several states where the PDP has always won thus demonstrating that the elections defied known trends and eroded both ethnic and religious cleavages.

The detailed results show that APC won the election in 21 out of the 36 states with overwhelming majority of its votes coming from the three geo-political zones of the North and crucial landslide in South West indicative of the fact that many states that supported PDP in the 2011 elections moved their loyalty and support to the opposition party as seen in the results from Kaduna, Kano and Katsina (the home state of the opposition leader). The election equally proved religious affiliation and attachment in politics wrong for the PDP when many southern Christians failed to align with Jonathan as witnessed in most states of South West though most northern Muslims demonstrated their support for Buhari.

Moreover, the All Progressives Congress (APC) further demonstrated their widespread popularity with its dominance of the membership of the National Assembly. At the Federal House of Representatives it secured 225 seats while the PDP won only 125 and other parties got only 10 out of the 360 seats thereby returning as the ruling political party. The same feat was maintained at the Senate with the APC winning 60 out of the 109 seats leaving the former ruling party (the PDP) with just 49 seats to become the minority party in the Senate. This is as shown in table 4 below:

Table 4: 2015 National Assembly Elections Results

House of Representatives			House of Senate	
S/N	Party	Seats	Party	Seats
1	APC	225	APC	60
2	PDP	125	PDP	49
3	Others	10	Others	Nil
4	Total	360	Total	109

Source: Culled from www.inecNigeria.org and structured by the authors

Thence, the APC won 285 seats of the 469 seats in the National Assembly to usurp the position of ruling party from the PDP which has enjoyed the position for 16 years since the return to civilian administration and rule in 1999. The success of the APC at the National Assembly again cuts across all political considerations since it defeated the PDP in most of the districts and constituencies that were hitherto considered their stronghold except the realities on ground in the Southeast where the former ruling party and its faithful proved that the party is still alive. Perhaps the schemed failure/abuse of the card readers bolstered the rigging and manipulative prowess of some stakeholders and party stalwarts who resorted to manual method of accreditation and probably perfected their game plan.

In a similar vein, the gubernatorial elections failed the PDP manipulative approach and returned most of the seats contested to the APC across the zones and

states outside Southeast and South-South geo-political zones. In specific terms, out of the 29 seats contested, the APC won in 19 states while 10 states were returned to the PDP as shown below on Table 5:

Table 5: 2015 Gubernatorial Election Results

	State	Governor	Party/ Winner	APC	PDP
1	Abia	Okezie Ikpeazu	PDP		264,713
2	Adamawa	Jibrilla Bindo	APC	205,576	46,519
3	Akwa Ibom	Udom Emmanuel	PDP	89,865	996,071
4	Bauchi	Barr. Mohammed Abubakar	PDP	654,934	282,650
5	Benue	Samuel Ortom	APC	413,803	173,165
6	Borno	Kashim Shetima	APC	473,543	25,640
7	Cross River	Senator Benedict Ayade	PDP	53,983	342,016
8	Delta	Senator (Dr.) Ifeanyi Okowa	PDP	67,825	724,680
9	Ebonyi	Eng. Dave Umuahi	PDP	27,853	289,867
10	Enugu	Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi	PDP	43,839	482,277
11	Gombe	Gov Ibrahim Dankwambo	PDP	205,132	285,369
12	Imo	Gov Rochas Okorochas	APC	416,996	320,705
13	Jigawa	Alhaji Badaru Abubakar	APC	648 045	479 447
14	Kaduna	Nasir El Rufai	APC	1,117,635	485,833
15	Kano	Abduallhi Ganduje	APC	1,546,434	509,726
16	Katsina	Aminu Masari	APC	943,085	476,768
17	Kebbi	Atiku Bagudu	APC	477,376	293,443
18	Kwara	Gov Abdulfatah Ahmed	APC	295 832	115 220
19	Lagos	Akinwunmi Ambode	APC	811,994	659,788
20	Nasarawa	Umaru Tanko Almakura	APC	191 463	114 674
21	Niger	Abubakar Sani-Bello	APC	593, 702	239, 772
22	Ogun	Gov. Ibikunle Amosun	APC	306,998	201,440
23	Oyo	Gov. Abiola Ajimobi	APC	327,310	79,019
24	Plateau	Barr. Simon Lalong	APC	564, 913	520, 627
25	Rivers	Nyesom Wike	PDP	124, 846	1,029,102
26	Sokoto	Speaker Aminu Tambuwal	APC	647,609	269,074
27	Taraba	Darius Ishaku	PDP	275,984	369,318
28	Yobe	Gov Ibrahim Gaidam	APC	334,847	179,700
29	Zamfara	Gov Abdulaziz Yari	APC	716,964	201,938

Source: <http://apc.com.ng/images/governors-2015.pdf> retrieved on June 10, 2015

APC and Management of Electoral Victory/Change Mantra

From the postulations of Truman (1952) in disturbance theory as advanced earlier in this paper, the APC was a political movement formed against the dominance of the PDP. Like the PDP and most other political parties in our contest it has no clear cut ideology from the promises of other parties but captured clearly the inabilities and incompetence of the PDP as epitomized in the administration of President Jonathan. In fact, some critics have contended that the APC did not expect winning the presidency in 2015 but hoped to give the PDP a fight of its lifetime as a vigorous opposition. This may not be unconnected with the level of squabbles and difficulties that the party is facing with settling down to face the challenges of governance some months after being declared winners and sworn-in as the party in government. Some levels of leadership crises erupted with the inability of the APC to take abiding decisions in matters concerning the leadership of the 8th National Assembly. Cracks have developed and might take Months to be filled in the rank and files of the party which has started witnessing some significant levels of internal wrangling.

Yes, the change mantra was preached without evolving in concrete terms modalities for steering the ship of governance in the country when power is eventually wrestled from the PDP. In spite of what is christened APC Road Map as published on their website, the party has proved that it was not prepared to provide a sustainable solution to the myriads of problems facing the country but for the country's belief in the abilities of President Buhari whom everybody is just looking up to his leadership potentials. Unfolding situations in the party and its government indicate some kinds of cracks in the merger that metamorphosed into the mega party known as APC. The traditional members of Alliance for Democracy (AD) that metamorphosed into the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) (made up of the Yorubas led by Senator Ahmed Bola Tinubu) are beginning to face the stark realities of the power play enmeshed in Fulani supremacy as being demonstrated in the actions of the original members of the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) who are now core Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) members as cascaded in the dynamics of hard to predict run-away members of the new PDP. This is seriously breeding harsh internal conflicts that is fast affecting cohesion and party loyalty that is beginning to tear the party in sections along ethnic and or geo-political lines.

Conclusion

The broom revolution as shown in the foregoing submissions was made possible by several factors ranging from widespread disloyalty to the PDP by its card carrying members and stakeholders arising from imposition of candidates to poor performance on the parts of PDP leadership at all levels of government in the country. This created high sense and levels of disappointments, disillusionment and frustration for party members and the electorates thereby paving the way for the APC, a house that was built against the PDP dominance to thrive. Massively rooted against the ills perpetrated by the PDP, the APC leveraged upon the dissatisfaction of the politicians and citizens on the performance of the PDP and its change campaign as well as

proress of several disgruntled PDP big wigs and stalwarts to secure victory at the polls.

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