



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***INFLUENCE OF MONEY POLITICS ON CREDIBILITY OF NIGERIAN
GENERAL ELECTION 2015 IN TARABA STATE***

ABUBAKAR AUWAL CHUL

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GENERAL ELECTION 2015 IN TARABA STATE**

By

ABUBAKAR AUWAL CHUL

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science**

November 2017

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late dad Alhaji Abubakar Garba Albasu, who strives day and night to give me a decent living and good education. I plead for the almighty Allah to grant him peaceful eternal rest in Jannatul Firdausi.



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science

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ABUBAKAR AUWAL CHUL

November 2017

Chairman : Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail, PhD
Faculty : Human Ecology

This study is an attempt to identify the extent of the use of money in an election, the strategies of using money in election and how the influence of money politics affected the credibility of election in Taraba state 2015 general election in Nigeria. The methodology of this study is founded on the information obtained from primary and secondary sources. Information critically analyzed using narrative method of documentary analysis and logical conclusions drawn from the analysis. The system and game theories was adopted in this study. It was found out that politicians in Taraba state used money during voters' registration, party primaries, campaign and during the election proper. Also Politicians adopted various means of giving money and other gifts in kind to appeal the conscience of the electorate. Money politics will only place persons with the funds to get admittance to political office and discourage the masses from political leadership due to their financial handicap. Nigeria and Taraba State seems to be at crossroads as 2019 approaches due to the growing anxiety and challenges ahead of the general elections. If the measures and strategies suggested in the work are taken seriously and implemented, Nigeria can make history by conducting free, fair and credible elections devoid of money politics. The study recommends the following: - attitudinal change, transparency, litigation and public enlightenment on the danger of money politics.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

**PENGARUH POLITIK WANG KE ATAS KREDIBILITI PILIHAN RAYA
UMUM NIGERIA TAHUN 2015 DI NEGERI TARABA**

Oleh

ABUBAKAR AUWAL CHUL

November 2017

Pengerusi : .Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail, PhD
Fakulti : Ekologi Manusia

Kajian ini adalah bertujuan untuk mengenalpasti sejauh mana penggunaan wang dalam pilihanraya strategi penggunaan wang dalam pilihanraya dan bagaimana wang mempengaruhi kredibiliti pilihanraya umum tahun 2015 di Negeri Taraba, Nigeria. Kaedah kajian ini berasaskan kepada maklumat-maklumat yang diperolehi daripada sumber primer and sekunder. Maklumat yang diperolehi dianalisis dengan menggunakan kaedah analisis naratif dokumentari dan kesimpulan logi dibuat berdasarkan daripada analisis tersebut. Teori sistem dan teori permainan telah digunakan dalam kajian ini. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa ahli politik di Negeri Taraba menggunakan wang untuk pendaftaran pengundi, parti-parti utama, kempen dan semasa pilihanraya. Ahli-ahli politik juga didapati menggunakan pelbagai bentuk kaedah dan cara untuk member wang serta hadiah bagi mengambil hati pengundi. Pendekatan politik wang hanya akan member ruang dan peluang bagi orang yang mempunyai sumber kewangan sahaja untuk mendapat kedudukan di pejabat politik dan tidak menggalakkan orang yang betul-betul mempunyai ciri-ciri kepimpinan untuk mendapat tempat dalam politik disebabkan kerana tidak mempunyai sumber kewangan. Nigeria dan Negeri Taraba berada di persimpangan menjelang tahun 2019 berikutan dari kebimbangan dan cabaran-cabaran yang semakin meningkat menjelang pilihanraya umum akan datang. Sekiranya langkah-langkah penambahbaikan dan strategi yang dicadangkan diambil dan dilaksanakan dengan serius, Negeri Taraba mampu melakarkan sejarah dengan mengadakan pilihanraya yang bebas, adil dan berkredibiliti tanpa politik wang. Kajian ini mencadangkan beberapa aspek berikut merangkumi perubahan sikap, ketelusan, litigasi dan kesedaran awam terhadap bahaya politik wang.

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I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 30 November 2017 to conduct the final examination of Abubakar Auwal Chul on his thesis entitled "Influence of Money Politics on Credibility of Nigerian General Election 2015 in Taraba State" in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Master of Science.

Members of the Thesis Examination Committee were as follows:

Elistina binti Abu Bakar, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Abdul Razak bin Abdul Rahman, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Sity Daud, PhD

Associate Professor
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
Malaysia
(External Examiner)



NOR AINI AB. SHUKOR, PhD
Professor and Deputy Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 27 February 2018

This thesis submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science. the members Supervisory Committee were as follows:

Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Ku Hasnita binti Ku Samsu, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

ROBIAH BINTI YUNUS, PhD

Professor and Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

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Signature: _____

Name of Chairman
of Supervisory
Committee:

Dr. Mohd Mahadee bin Ismail

Signature: _____

Name of Member
of Supervisory
Committee:

Dr. Ku Hasnita binti Ku Samsu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Every contemporary perception of representative known as democracy requires the idea of election as way of selecting political leaders. Election is described as the pillar of democracy. Election is the back born of democracy and there is no democracy without election (Nnoli, 2006). Nigeria is a country with a long history of military rule while democracy is seen as the most suitable and ideal system of government. Election in Nigeria is characterized by competitive party politics and systematic institutional arrangement. An understanding of the nature of Nigeria elections demands a synergy provided by the link against the background of the previous election in Nigeria. Nigeria is a country that has long history of bad governance such as corruption, poor political system and injustice (El-yakub, 2004). Therefore the long past military rule affected the political system of Nigeria have weakened the country democratic institution. Contamination has dominated all nooks and cranny of government and private sectors (Ovwsa, 2003).

Series of elections in Nigeria right from administration of colonial masters failed the basic ingredient of true democratic system of government, which is free, fair and credible election, election in Nigeria country became a problem because of the pervasive domination of irregularities such as manipulation of the election and many activities at different level of election activities by the government, politicians and corrupt officials of the electoral body and electorate leading to all sorts of riot, demonstrations, parties clashes, political assassination, looting, arson, thuggery and kidnapping in various states within the country, (Election violence in Nigeria). From the advent of the fourth republic in 1999 to date election, the system has gradually moved from (a falling to a failed system) in Taraba state which cannot be unconnected to the persisting form of contending issues of election which emanated as a result of using money to manipulate election and polarize the citizen of Taraba state along religion and tribal bases by those seeking for positions of authority (Taraba sunrise paper, 2015). Those conscious of their positions in Taraba state of Nigeria especially the elite, assumed ethnic and regional identities having their strong base among, mumuye in the northern zone of the state, hausa in the central zone and jukun in the southern part or zone of Taraba state respectively. These forces of identities (ethnicity and regionalism) however ignited political crisis in the state. Election means freedom to choose where people choose their leaders through periodic free and fair elections. In Taraba state this freedom is affected by the political culture and institutional failure. Election is an aspect of political process, which ensures a peaceful change of leadership in societies that guarantees competition for power through balloting. Successful election in Taraba state since the return of democracy lacked the essential ingredient of true democratic electoral process, which is transparency and fairness (Mohammed, 2016). This conception

captures or reflects the democratic experiment in Taraba state in the fourth republic. Key words in these conceptions are institutions and attitudes of the political class. Be this as it may, election is a democratic method for a democratic society exercised by the democratic citizens. Hence, election is about result that directly or indirectly ascertain or decides who hold government power. Election is seen as nothing less than visible manifestation of the public interest, in short public has spoken the point in Heywood conception that matter to us is 'public interest (Heywood, 2007). Does election in Taraba reflect public interest in result announced after election? This however is not the case when result is manipulated through the connivance of the independent national electoral commission (INEC), security agents and parties' agent. Universally under liberal democratic states, election is conceived as a means of peaceful change of leadership in society that guarantees competition for power through balloting. Election is a democratic process of putting people to position of authority and control of the nation resource for good of the People. Election is the formal process of selecting a person for public office (Godwin, 2007). Election is the selection of a person or persons for office by ballot and making choice between alternative and other instances (Nnoli, 2006). Election is represented as a process by which the electorates of a country vote directly to elect their representative in either the legislatives or executive arm of government (Oyeweye et al, 2011).

1.2 Background of the study

Ohman (2013) opinion as presented in the forgoing shade light to the negatives effects of use of money in the electoral campaigns and politics by the politicians. Money is central to campaign administration yet it is obvious and offensive use poses challenges, which have the capacity to violate the essence of election in a democracy. It can, therefore be gleaned from Ohman that too much money in politics makes governance undemocratic.

The zero sum game and investment mentality in the political process in Nigeria financiers in the political process often fund campaign for ulterior motives. Knowing that losing an election in Nigeria has dire financial consequences, the certainty of candidates getting something in the end, through vote buying and other corrupt activities encourages funding of political campaigns (Adetula, 2005).

Money is a medium of exchange generally acceptable worldwide. Money became a dominant in Gombe state, Adamawa state, Borno state, Yobestate and Taraba state politics (Taraba sunrise paper, 2015).The issue became more pronounced in Taraba state where people use money during election there by employing various means to get into the position of authority, it is always taking the center stage in the political process of Taraba state, and it is playing persisting critical role negatively. It affairs to be the dominant business in the electoral process to the extent that the word money serve as the inceptives reason why people win election in Taraba state, (TSCCA, 2015) the issue is becoming intractable and the study conducted there in Taraba state on influence of money politics on Nigerian general election 2015, a case

study of Taraba state. The negative use of money in an election in Taraba state, have some devastating impact of the phenomenon on the body politics.

Money politic can be define as the phenomenon in the electoral process whereby the contenders for elective position use money as an inducement to mobilize and get support of the electorates which is not based on persuading the electorate to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the force of money that has change hand (Ovwasa, 2003).

Independent national electoral commission in it replies for the critical judgment and problems about the 2003 election have lamented during workshop organized for in Kaduna July 2003. One of the important issues discussed during the workshop was the desire to revamp the electoral process by controlling the negative use of money during election. Again in 2003 November 27, independent national electoral commission organized another seminar in Abuja, in its desire for lawful government. The then president of Nigeria Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in an addressed during the workshop lamented on the harm in the negative and free flow of money in election time: [His speech: with the huge amount of money politicians used to get elected to political office, it's very easy the nexus between the politicians and the possibility of too much contamination. In the event of that the masses are always the losers, most especially the voters whose compromised their votes for money in election. We can still change from political money to the politics of development (Adetula, 2002 page 8). The Taraba state often experienced political crisis and election malpractice in the form of bad policy option of using money during election. Democracy which is defines as a government of the people by the people and for the people (Abraham Lincoln, 1950). is adjudged to be the best form of government all over the country and the world at large is being constantly assaulted in Taraba state due to the role or negative use of money during election to buy vote in the state. The role money play toward vote buying in Taraba state politics today have earned them a dominant position in the election of leaders into the position of authority where they can authoritatively decide who get what, when and how or to have the ability of authoritative allocation of value and resources to the citizens of the state. Money seems to have taken the center stage in the political process in Nigeria as well as Taraba state. It is sadly, now playing an increasing critical role to such extent that the word money politics with a pejorative connotation have crept into the country political lexicon. It is pertinent to observe that it is not in any way being suggested that the use of money by political parties, any person or group of persons in politics has inherent corruption influence (Davies, 2006). The truth is that money is needed for sundry services and logistics such as mobilization for political campaigns and rallies, printing of posters and manifestoes, production of party emblems and other symbols etc. The only worry however, is the noticeable corrupting influence of money and vote buying in election and their negative impact on good governance in Taraba state. According to the survey of the Taraba state electoral process by the Taraba state concern citizens association, money politics appears to be dominant in the electoral process of Taraba state to the extent that the word money serves as an incentive to win elections in Taraba state.

However, there are limited literatures that study the extent of the use of money in Taraba state politics. Another weakness of the previous studies is that money politics was studied without taking cognizance of the strategies of giving out the money to the electorates in Taraba state and Nigeria in general., hence the reason for the study area.

1.3 Statement of the problem

In Nigerian politics, money always serve a link and nexus between the electorates and those seeking for political position there by giving them of meager amount of money, sometime huge amount and gift in kind motorbike, house, pilgrimage seat, salt and maggietc (Ovwasa, 2003). Too much money in politics makes governance undemocratic (Ohman, 2013). It means that in Nigerian election money determine the success or failure of the candidates, e.g. during the 2015 state assembly election in Taraba state most of the candidates from the incumbent party are handpicked and they are not credible but because of money they emerged winners there by defeating all the oppositions party candidates who are credible and have no money.

In the national assembly 2015 general election in southern senatorial district of Taraba state, stated that the conduct of the election characterized by wide spread of electoral irregularities and malpractice in the election such as non-accreditation of voters, over voting, filling of results sheet before election are even conducted, falsification of result in many polling unit in the senatorial district which constituted noncompliance with electoral act, 2010 amended and guide lines and regulation for the 2015 general election issued by INEC, has substantially affected the result of the election due to the influence of money. Election petition Taraba state national assembly 2015, (Ept/trs/na/sept/8/2015).

A survey of Taraba state electoral system and process identify some problems that muscle against democratic stability in the state more than the remaining states in the north east zone of Nigeria. These are, the elite who see election as open way for wealth accumulation instead as a platform that assures change, also the zero sum nature of the electoral process and election, among political parties and their candidates by deploying various means, including thuggery, rigging, snatching of ballot boxes, vote buying and violence to win election, present a looming atmosphere for the political process (TSCCA, 2015).

In the national representative survey of Nigeria assessment of 2003 election in Nigeria, only 9 percent believe the election were “free and free” while 41 feel the election were “not free and fair” at all (Adetula, 2015). Another 22 percent believe the election showed “major problem” Offered a (modal) negative use of money through, since 1999 to date there arealote of report of buying of votes in all the series of elections in all the 36 states in Nigeria (Adetula, 2015). For example, it was reported that 28 percent of voters were offered gifts during the 2003 campaign.

Based on the public perception of the vote buying transaction voters are usually offered money (68 percent of all attempt) commodities (such as food or clothing, 26 percent) or jobs (6 percent). In the just of recent and previous elections, voters were most commonly inducement of 500 naira. No doubt that negative use of money in an election assisted well in demoralizing Nigerian voters toward political system. Therefore this steer some voters to erupt violence as the only way of removing unwanted leaders (Adetula, 2005). Political entrepreneurs use their money during election by making some bad voters to compromise their votes and such system create violence reaction by the good voters that cannot allow money to change their hands, e.g. during 2015 governorship election in Taraba state, many houses were burned and many people suffered injured in Jalingo capital city of the state.

It is clearly in Nigeria during election process contenders for elective positions use money as an inducement to mobilize and get the support of the electorates which is not based on persuading the electorates to vote according to their wishes and conviction but on the forces of money that change hand (Ovwasa, 2003). It means that those who have money use their money to buy voters there by making voters to compromise.

This is one of the divisions of points that explain election funding in Nigeria. Anybody campaigning for an elected position must be seeing doing this otherwise the electorate would not vote for him or her, in the villages, dwellers will be expecting that anybody campaigning for their votes would have to give them these necessities of life (Smah, 2002). The influence of money changes the mentality of the electorates there by making them expecting gift from any candidate contesting or else they will not give him their mandate.

Money is always needed in political activities, but lack of sound regulation of money, democracy encounter three majors problem. These are: (1)it pass unlawfulness to few individual against many and erase competition because of money by few wealthy in the field. (2)Those who have no money cannot contest, since there is strong gap between the rich and poor candidates, the danger involve is that those who contribute money will always influence the politicians (godfather). (3) The danger is that money politics will contaminate the system and weaken the law; bring about bad leaders sand democratic institutions, through tainted politics (Smah, 2002). It is believe that when there is no control of money during election non credible candidates can use their money in vote buying and it will be difficult for credible candidate who is poor to contest and win election.

The negative use of money in Nigerian politics weakens the system of democratic collectively with many contaminations to the political system, this lead to a committal of political system known as non-credible democracy and election, the growth of political apathy among voters and mistrust of the authorities as well as the consolidation of authoritarian tendencies in the state (Walecki, 2000). Money

politics make voters to develop habit of political apathy and also ensure elites domination in political system always.

Any system of democracy must control the free flow of money and control the negative use of funds to politics. Uncontrolled political money present some problem for contemporary form of democratic system, multiple political parties competition under uncontrolled political funding, could be like calling only two persons to contest, where one contestant use motorcycle and the other one use sports car (Walecki, 2000). In Nigeria the negative use of money in politics is one of the reasons that sabotage or weaken democratic governance in the country (Ukiwo, 2005).

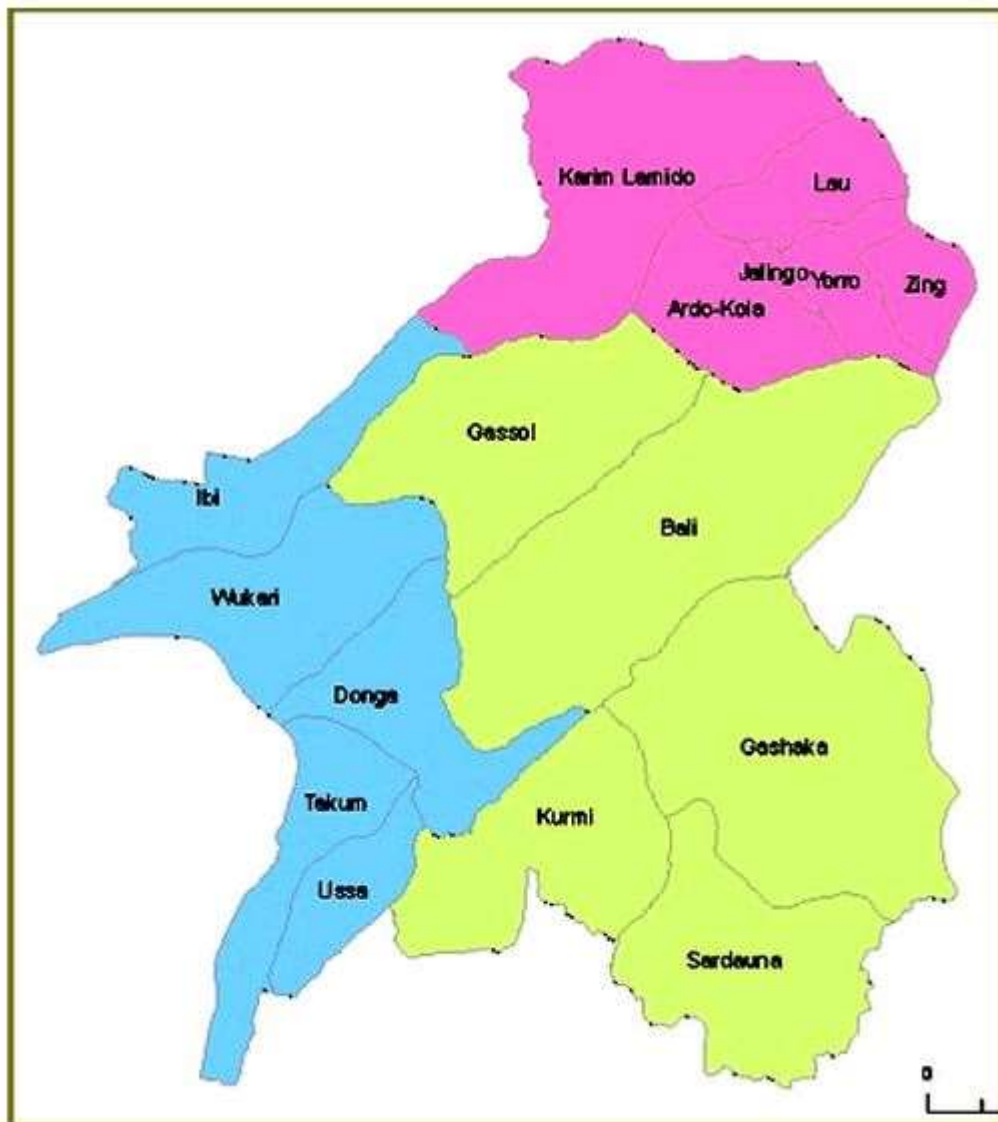
In several instances, security men, including police, soldiers, state security service officers and civil defense officers who were deployed to ensure free and fair election were accused of conniving with politicians to forcefully take away the ballot boxes and other electoral materials in the state at gun point (The Nation, May 10, 2007). It is within this context of the dominant role of the state in the political economy that one can explain the eagerness of governing elite for state power as evident in the brazen manipulation of the electoral process many times with legal exemption from punishment (Ake, 2001).

1.4 Location of the Study

Map of Nigeria showing the location of Taraba state



Map of Taraba state Nigeria showing the 16 local governments of the state.



Taraba state was created out of the former Gongola state on 27th August 1991. Taraba state has total land mass covering 60, 291.822 kilometers. Based on the 2006 census figures the state has total population of two million three hundred thousand, seven hundred and thirty six people (2, 300,736). The state lies roughly between latitude 6030'' and 9036'' north and longitude 9010''50'' East (Publication of Taraba state ministry of information 2012).

Being an agrarian state, the predominant occupation that people of Taraba state engage in is farming (about 75%). Despite that, the state has a growing population (25%) of people engaged in white collar jobs. The vegetation of Taraba state comprises three types of vegetation zones namely, guinea savanna marked by forest

and tall grass, found in the southern part of the state in places like Wukari, Ibi, Donga, Bali, Takum, Ussa and Kurmi local government areas, the sub-sudan type and the semi temperate zone. Presently Taraba state has sixteen (16) local government areas. (Publication of Taraba state ministry of information 2012)

The research took place in Nigeria, Taraba state as a case study; it is not possible to take the whole Nigeria to carry out the research. Northern Nigeria was considered and then Taraba state was selected from the north eastern part of the country because little research has been conducted to find out or assess the money politics in Taraba state. Money became a dominant in Gombe state, Adamawa state, Borno state, Yobe state and Taraba state politics, but the issue became more pronounced in Taraba state where people use money during election there by employing various means to get into the position of authority. It is always taking the center stage in the political process of Taraba state, and it is playing persisting critical role negatively (Taraba sunrise paper, 2015). It affirms to be the dominant business in the electoral process to the extent that the word money serve as the incentives reason why people win election in Taraba state, the issue is becoming intractable in which the study conducted there in Taraba state on the influence of money politics on the credibility of Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state, because of its devastating impact of the phenomenon on the body politics. In doing so, this research seeks to ask the following questions;

1.5 Research Questions

1. To what extent is the use of money in Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state?
2. What are the strategies used in giving money during Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state?
3. How influence of money affected the credibility of Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state?

1.6 Research Objective

1. To explore the extent of the use of money in Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state right from voters registration exercise, primary election, campaign and final voting process.
2. To identify the strategies of using money in Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state.
3. To determine how influence of money affected the credibility of Nigerian general election 2015 in Taraba state.

1.7 Research Scope

This research will cover only (2015) general election of Taraba state and the study revolve only within the context of democracy, election and money politics in election of Taraba state (2015) in Nigeria because of the need of accuracy, time and financial constraints and shall not be extended to the influence of money politics on Nigerian general election 2015, case study of Taraba state Nigeria and how it affects the process of democratization in (2015) election.

1.8 Research Significant

This research has its own focus of benefiting the potential leaders and electorates of Taraba state so as to try as much as possible to have guide against politics of money during election, and any other confused and complicated situation that use of money in election in Taraba state could bring. At the same time, tarabans especially the upcoming generation will gain one or two things in this work. Similarly this study has theoretical and practical consequence. Theoretically, the study provides a theoretical framework for the solution and understanding of the negative use of money in election in Taraba state and Nigeria. The study is significant resources materials for researchers who wish to investigate the aspect of money politics in Taraba state and Nigeria at large. It is also foreseen that the result of the study would make valuable impact for analysis and students who are prepared to sources and applied the information for their academic pursuit and advancement of learning.

The current study is needed for various reasons. The findings of the present study add values to theoretical expansion and policy development. Practically since this study is determining how the influence money affects the credibility of an election, it will serve as an awareness and create a ways of regulating free flow of money in political system, by establishing a structure in which individual and party can work.

Finally it will provide knowledge to the government, political party, society and means of future study as well as solution to the election malpractice as well as ensuring present of free and fair election and consolidated democracy, at the end of this study.

1.9 Conceptual Definition and Operational Definition

1. Election in conceptual definition: is represented as a process by which the electorates of a country vote directly to elect their representative in either legislative or executive arm of government, or choice of selecting a leader by popular vote (Nnaemeka, 2015).

2. Election in operational definition: is the system of giving mandate through votes to elect leaders. It is the process where people cast out their votes during election to choose their leaders.
3. Money in conceptual definition; is the medium of exchange, generally acceptable as a means of exchange and measure of value (Max, 1974).
4. Money in operational definition; is the means of exchange of goods and services. It is the money you give in exchange of goods and services, for example money for school fees, money for food items and others.
5. Money politics in conceptual definition: can be define as the phenomenon in the electoral process whereby the contenders for elective position use money as an inducement to mobilize and get support of the electorates which is not based on persuading the electorate to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the force of money that has change hand (Ovwasa, 2003).
6. Money politics in operational definition; is the system where politician use money to buy vote during election process. It is through money politics that politicians ask voters to compromise their votes at the poll.
7. Politics in conceptual definition: is the struggle for power and an influence to satisfy cherished desires and interest (Ezeani, 2010).
8. Politics in operational definition: is the process of determining who, get what when and how. It is the politics that determine election in democracy.
9. Democracy in conceptual definition: means the people's leadership or a situation where people of a society are in control of the decision making and implementation systems that govern their society (Nnaemeka, 2015).
10. Democracy in operational definition: is the government of the people by the people and for the people. It is the people that always choose their leaders in democratic system through election not selection.

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