

Politics and Democracy in Nigeria: A Critical Examination and Analysis of the Use and Mis-use of Money in Elections

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Abstract

How important is money to politics? In other words, what important role does money play in politics? What explains the role of money in politics, and further its importance? How can the importance attached to the role of money in politics be scholarly demonstrated, and by what empirical yardsticks of presentations and analyses? The paper, with special focus on what it calls: "...the use and mis-use of money in politics", seeks to, within the context of the Nigerian political system, investigate and analyze the role of money in politics. The research methodology combines historical cum analytical mode of data sourcing with evidence-based investigations organized around important thematic and sub-thematic issues and problems in the sub-field of psephology. The methodology, further advanced within the perspective of provocative and inquisitive scholarship, raises fundamental questions that were considered useful for the interrogation of the subject matter and the consequent organization of the accompanying research. For instance, how are money, politics and power related, and within what scholarly template of critical social science inquiry? Which influences the other and to what extent and degree of consequences and relationships? How can the relationships between and among these be measured and by what indices and criteria of strict scientific measurement and evaluation? The answers to the questions provide important findings/information with respect to the future of democracy in Nigeria when approached from the perspective of the cost of elections which tend to favour the highest bidders, the "money-bags" as called. The fact that the future of democracy becomes endangered under the circumstance, recommendations are consequently made on how to mitigate the cost of elections and further enhance democratic political practice.

Keywords: Politics, Democracy, Electoral Politics, Free, Fair and Credible Election, Money Politics, Use and Mis-use of Money in Elections

Introduction

How should the subject matter of the relationship between politics and democracy be examined broadly, and within the context of Nigeria and the Third World by extension? Can either of them be engaged independently, and without consequences for scholarship? In other words, can politics and democracy exist independently without consequences for scholarship? Should their interrogation take place without the recognition of the relationship between them? And on the assumption of a relationship between them, how should this be viewed and within what parameters

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of conceptualization? What are the bases in both theory and practice that are significant to the amplification of the relationship? How can the specific focus on election enable the knowledge and understanding of the relationship between politics and democracy from the perspectives of both theory and practice? What further are the implications of our options on scholarship? The discipline of Political Science unarguably derives relevance as a field of study when it regularly engages itself with important matters and issues in relation to the advancement of societies particularly from the angle of ensuring the predictability of human behaviour as politically expressed. The regular study of elections and the interrogation of allied and related matters in addition unarguably provide the basis for the knowledge and understanding of human political behaviour and thus the amplification of the embedded research issues and problems leading further to the enhancement of the discipline's sophistication among the class of social and management sciences and the humanities at large. Within the context of Africa, psephology, as a sub-field of the discipline, and as further an important area of research, suffers neglect of focused research attention, especially of those patterned along established rigour of engagement and analysis perhaps due to the phenomena of military interventions in politics and the attendant research on the subject matter, among other developmental challenges. Even with the focus on military rule, the study of elections that should ordinarily follow the assessment and evaluation of the embedded transition programmes leading to the withdrawals of the military in politics refused to engage the attention of scholars. And where little instances can be mentioned, the pioneering efforts lack the abilities to meaningfully predict impending elections and electoral outcomes. The lacuna in literature is what the existing effort hopes to bridge.

The approach of the paper consequently entails demonstrating the theoretical and practical bases which in turn help in the establishment of the relationship between politics and democracy, and further amplification of the role of money in elections and in the acquisition and sustenance of political power, all within the formulation and development of ideas with which to interrogate and study the relationship as both viewed and conceptualized. Money, politics and power are therefore related. Money is important in meeting electoral responsibilities and resolving to one's favour the challenges emanating from political competitions. This is what operates in all democracies. However, in the developing world especially in Nigeria, the military and business elites have continued to use their ill-gotten wealth and resources to hijack and monopolize the procedures and processes of government and politics and permanently use their influence to dominate the social space of electoral decision-making. They are so powerful to the extent that they can be regarded to as the founders and owners of political parties and they appear further to have cornered as well all critical social and civil society groups by the

extension of largesse and sponsorship of their programmes and activities on regular and permanent basis. Because they own the television and print media, they are able to influence and shape public opinions to serve their selfish interests and agenda. This is the practice of democracy in the Third World and especially in our case study, Nigeria. The paper therefore concerns itself with the explanation, examination, discussion and analysis of “money politics” as a phenomenon of study in the arrangement leading to the conduct and outcome of elections in Nigeria. And notwithstanding the fact that money plays critical role in democracies, the practice, as a preliminary note, differs between and among the political systems of the world. This is because of the differences in constitutional provisions, aims, declarations and intentions. The differences, it should be further noted, are usually anchored in the histories of nation-states and in the various struggles involved in the institutionalization of political practices. The differences further provide the basis and justification for political traditions that are inherent in the practices of governmental affairs. Again, notwithstanding the differences between and among democratic political systems, there are still important commonalities binding together all democratic systems of the world. These binding commonalities in turn provide incontrovertible standards constituting the basis for the evaluation and assessment of any democracy. A component of the standards is election irrespective of how democracy is viewed. Election, it should be further observed, has its costs expressed and defined by the amount of money that is committed to it. Money, anywhere, constitutes the bedrock of the costs of elections either in local or international denominations. Its availability and abundance help in the determination of electoral victories. Money, it should be further observed, has its legitimate and illegitimate applications in the practice of democracy especially in the organization and planning of political campaigns preparatory to electoral victories. The issue of legitimacy/illegitimacy in the examination and analysis of the indispensability of money in an election brings into democratic discourse the place of morality in politics and in social life generally. With particular regard to the examination of the moral basis of politics and its relationship with democratic practice within the context of severe material deprivation, corruption and prebendalism, ample opportunities for research exist with particular regard to the investigation and analysis of the consequences of the undue emphasis on money for the achievement of electoral victories most commonly in developing political systems such as Nigeria.

Money, within the social fabric of the Nigerian body politics, is a central force/factor in the determination and assessment of social and life-time achievements. This makes it critical and pivotal as a potent instrument of social mobilization for the acquisition and retention of political power. The politician who has it appears to be in control of political activities for personal and selfish pursuits. He controls the machineries of political parties and makes them subordinate to his

whims and caprices. The Nigerian example of the democratic political space confirms the fact that money is the wheel with which progress is both attained and sustained. Without money, it appears, nothing can be achieved. Situating the intellectual context of the investigation further, and specifically in relation to democratic politics, whether in developed or developing political systems, and without running the risk of repetition, money is vital and very significant in the determination of electoral successes and failures. Its availability translates to strategic planning and effective management of plans, important ingredients of electoral successes. Its paucity on the other hand, readily explains the lack of effective mobilization and voters' education and apathy towards an impending election and by extension, poor showing. Money, it is here further noted and emphasized, is critical to the determination and shaping of all events prior to, during and after an electoral exercise. Money plays leading and important roles in the initiation, formulation and implementation of ideas regarding electoral exercises and competitions. Election is about money and its availability consequently drives electoral successes.

Electoral politics, in both theory and practice, is unarguably linked with the issue and problem of morality and immorality of the broader context of politics and with the discourse on the subject matter – see Banfield (1958), Paul, et al (2010), Primoratz (2007), among others. Considered alone, politics, it is doubtful, lacks respect for morality. This gives cause for concern. However, because election is critical to the establishment of social order and useful further in the implementation of sustainable political framework of governance, it is important that the consequences and effects that are usually associated with the mis-use of money in elections are deliberately controlled. This justifies the need for the relative sanitization of the processes and procedures of elections generally for the purpose of achieving the earlier stated goal/objective. The need for sanitization raises important questions/concerns with respect to the extent to which mis-use of money can be tolerated during an electoral exercise. The use and mis-use of money, within the context of the on-going discussion, brings to the fore of academic analysis and engagement how the regular contest between morality and immorality within the framework of politics should be approached. Again, because election is the hub of electoral politics, the emphasis on its fairness and credibility has contained in it elements of morality. This needs not any further debate and argument. Perfectly emanating from the submission and position is that the moral principle is embedded in the processes and procedures of an election without which it can never be regarded as “free, fair and credible”. The attendant question then is: How is the moral principle in relation to the conduct of free, fair and credible election shaped and influenced by money? The question no doubt provides the basis for the investigation and analysis of the use and mis-use (abuse) of money in an election under the umbrella framework of costs of elections especially from the perspective of the

candidates. This is usually neglected in the recent outpourings on the subject matter – see Alvarez and Grofman (eds.) (2014), Chicago Borough of Public Efficiency (2018), Aiyede and Aregbeyen (2012), among others. The lacuna further provides the justification for the existing effort.

In conformity with social science methodological rule, it has become important to ask, how is the paper organized and arranged? How can the arrangement in turn facilitate the understanding, discussion and analysis of the contained thesis? In addition, how can the thesis/argument that is being developed help in the understanding and study of the sub-field of psephology in general and the Nigerian case study in particular? What are the emerging generalizations, and to what extent can they help in enhancing the sophistication of the sub-discipline? What lessons in comparative study and analysis can the Nigerian experience provide to the academic world, and by what articulate means and methods? Furthermore, what are the underlying concepts of the investigation and to what extent do they provide useful basis for scientific advancement? What are the limitations of the Nigerian experience and study of the use and mis-use of money in electoral politics? To what extent can the limitations impair the relevance of the moral basis of electoral politics? What are the consequences and implications for the theory of “free, fair and credible elections”? The investigation is structurally organized into the following parts. Part one discusses and analyzes the contained concepts and assesses and evaluates the extent to which they are relevant to the advancement of the knowledge of elections especially when approached from the lacuna earlier mentioned. Part two situates the knowledge of the concepts and the impeding thesis/argument of the study within the existing sources in literature. In addition, it relates how the existing sources constitute and provide the intellectual basis for the investigation and analysis of the contained subject matter leading to an exhaustive and comprehensive critique and evaluation of the theoretical framework of analysis. Part three presents the Nigerian environment of electoral politics especially when approached from the uniqueness and peculiarities of its context of politics. Part four places the Nigerian experience within the larger framework of the investigation and analysis and consequently serves as the research methodology and the discussion of the emanating results. Part five provides the conclusion to the paper and suggests ideas/recommendations with respect to how the mis-use of money can be curbed.

I. Overcoming Conceptual Ambiguities: Defining the Terms and Terminologies

What are the contained terms and terminologies, and how are their clear and specific applications relevant to the understanding of the paper and as well as to the appreciation of the contained thesis/argument? The terms and terminologies are: politics, democracy, electoral politics, free, fair and credible election, money

politics, and use and mis-use of money in elections. It is important that they are here defined and operationalized turn-by-turn.

How does the paper view and conceptualize politics? Unarguably a very difficult concept to define. And this is because of its ubiquitous nature. Within the framework of the paper, it involves the use of permutations and combined strategies of tactics and intellects, deep and careful coordination of talents and resources including their systematic/targetted deployment to both have control and edge in the ensuing competitions in relation to the capture of the authority of the state and the attendant domination of the affairs of men. Democracy is here viewed as a political framework that has contained in it opportunities for citizens participation in the affairs in which they are affected. Political framework is further defined as a form of consciousness that citizens generally possess and are ever ready to utilize when opportunities present themselves with respect to freely participating in affairs in which they are directly and indirectly affected. It is a demonstration of willingness and expression of choice in affairs in which citizens' survival and existence are dependent upon. The knowledge of the framework connotes the existence of choices and alternatives which have contained in them consequences and implications of choosing between and among the choices. The framework exhibits some institutional characterizations which further help in the understanding of democracy as a governmental arrangement where citizens possess the authority to rule as indication of preferences. Finally, the referred to political framework existing as governmental arrangement involves a relationship between the "governor" and the "governed" in which elements of responsiveness and responsibility further exist. – see Wiseman (1990), Laski (1982), Saliu, et al (eds.) (2006), among others.

For clarity of explanation and understanding, what are the elements of the democracy that are here being defined and operationalized? And what is the inherent advantage over and above other notions of democracy in literature? The question of elements has become important to address not only for the purpose of clarity of understanding, conceptually speaking, but it as well important in creating the necessary basis for the empirical exploration, investigation and analysis now and in the future to come. The starting point is perhaps to emphasize the fact that the concept of democracy here conceived, is not totally and completely different from the liberal and Western variant of it. The liberal and Western variant is popular, one should note, not because of the contained amplifications of its elements, but largely because its understanding and meaning of democracy revolve around the citizens, the people so to say. The people will ever remain the defining and operationalizing yardstick for the explanation of democracy. The paper's notion of democracy has a uniqueness of understanding and meaning when the emphasis on citizens is further clarified and explained. Meaningful democracy, it is particularly emphasized, exists

when citizens are conscious politically and are economically empowered to not only vote but choose in an election. Election is hence not only about voting but choosing between and among candidates and the administrative body/election umpire must be relatively free and independent of the arms of government. The advantage of the paper's notion of democracy can be seen in the inherent opportunities for empirical determination. Among others, the extent to which citizens are politically conscious and economically empowered might be known by the levels of civic/political education and living standard prevailing in a political system. The extent to which electoral umpires are relatively free and independent can be known when important factors such as appointment modes, funding and existing legislations are considered.

Electoral politics does not suggest the existence of democracy technically speaking. This is because there can be elections without democracy. But there cannot be democracy without elections. Electoral politics and elections should further not be confused. All these technicalities need be appreciated because of the African/Third World experience. The conduct of elections and existence of party systems do not necessarily amount to democracy. The Third World experience reminds one of the distinction and difference between democratic theory on the one hand, and democratic practice on the other. Electoral politics is here viewed and conceptualized from the perspective of the permutations leading to victories during elections. It is a game of politics per excellence involving astute designs and clever plans, calculated and adept machinations, ingenious tactics, robust and systematic ideas, concealed strategies, careful and planned implementation of attacks and evaluation of options and steps, balanced evaluation of choices, killing and maiming of opponents, deployment of media and other networks of social interactions, ballot-boxes snatching, subtle manipulation of rules, stylish corruption of communication gadgets used during an election, provocations to cause distractions between and among aspirants and candidates, excessive policing and securitization, technical manipulations of judicial proceedings, planned and careful incorporation of enactments to favour incumbent political leaders, gerrymandering and distortion of vital political statistics and data, among others. Electoral politics should as well not be mistaken with competitive, plural politics. It is a phenomenon that is common to the varieties of party systems: one, two and multi. It is further an element of political plurality and political pluralism especially in variegated political systems and societies. It shows itself clearly during party primaries and in the declarations of the eventual winners of elections. It is not the same thing as politics where issues and technical matters of governance dominate the process of an election. Campaigns in electoral politics are further characterized by the determination to win at all cost using every mean that is always available. It manifests further as violence, rigging of elections, killing of opponents, using the instrument of the

state to witch-hunt, intimidate and embarrass perceived enemies, among others. Finally, it is a contest without credible contestants.

What does the paper regard to as constituting “free, fair and credible election”? First, there is the urgent need to define what an election is. This is an arrangement of politics, administration and law that allows for the choosing between and among candidates as an expression of preferences in a contest for power. Election, as it is being emphasized, has meaning of understanding only in relation to the acquisition, consolidation and sustenance of political power. A free, fair and credible election is that form of election where every contestant has faith and trust in its conduct and willingly accepts its outcome. It is further a procedure of practice encapsulating the confidence of contestants and their followers in the events before, during and after the elections. A relatively free, fair and credible election is hence a feature of political systems and societies where rules exist and fairly applied to all the contestants and where also politics is seen as a service and not as an opportunity for enrichment. Important to the existence of a free, fair and credible election are independent electoral umpires and courts playing critical roles in the implementation of laws and in the determination of cases impartially, speedily, competently and fairly.

What is the paper’s understanding of money politics? The commencement point is to first and foremost define what money is. Money represents in the paper the available financial resources ready for use in meeting the costs of elections by candidates. It is the legal tender accepted as serving exchange purposes in the expenditures and revenues that are associated with elections. Elections generally involve the making of purchases and the settlement of debt obligations and sundry matters relating to the accomplishment of goals and objectives by political parties and candidates alike. As political parties’ financial resources depend on funds made and deposited by aspirants usually through the sales of nomination papers/forms and the levy of other charges to build their revenue bases in order to meet campaign expenses preparatory to an election, aspirants and candidates equally source for funds using their connections and influence in line with the provisions of the law to cover expenses such as mobilization, publicity, among others. The use and mis-use of money, as a concept, and during elections, is described and explained in the paper to refer to the expenses that are usually associated with the events before, during and after the conduct of an election. It is a terminology formulated to understand the role of money in an election. Constitutions and electoral laws all over the world have contained in them regulations governing how to raise and utilize money for the purpose of elections. What is common is that most political systems frown at and therefore declare as illegal external funding of elections and consequently disallow political parties and candidates from soliciting for external funds in meeting

campaign expenses. According to most national electoral laws, some campaign expenses are considered as legitimate and the upper limits to what candidates can spend are further specified. The application and utilization of money in meeting legitimate campaign expenses constitute what the paper describes as the use of money. Mis-use of money on the other hand is the illegitimate commitment and utilization of money for illegal ends during elections. Examples include: using money to bribe electoral officials, influencing security officials, buying of votes, funding mayhem, influencing to one's favour the outcome of the election, etc.

II. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework of Analysis

The starting point of the section is to ask the following questions: What is the pattern of the existing studies on the subject matter? What is the embedded trend like, and how does it provide reliable information about the study of elections? What are the arguments advanced and conclusions reached? What is the contained knowledge, and what purpose does it serve? What are the lacunae that are contained in existing studies? How does the paper hope to overcome these lacunae? In addition, what is the choice of the theoretical framework of analysis and how suitable and adequate is it in the understanding of the paper, and in helping to advance the contained thesis? Finally, to what extent do the existing efforts meet the needs of the Third World in general and Nigeria, the case study, in particular?

The review of literature requires a methodical and systematic presentation in a manner that should convey the history of contemporary Nigeria's democratic experience and the chronological understanding of its peculiar features of politics and elections. Nigeria's political history depicts the fact that her first democratic experience started in 1922 with the introduction of the elective principle by the colonial constitution named after Sir Hugh Clifford even though this was restricted to Lagos and Calabar. Academic studies of elections however commenced following the General Elections of 1959 in preparation for independence which was achieved in 1960. The first academic study of elections in Nigeria was done in 1983. In a publication titled: "The Nigerian General Elections: 1959 and 1979 and the Aftermath", Kurfi (1983) undertook a painstaking examination and analysis of the foundation of the Nigerian State and the various events that led to the first ever military intervention in politics in January, 1966. He provided further insightful analysis of the legal and administrative framework of the elections and particularly focused on political parties' involvement in the two elections and how the electoral commissions coordinated and administered them. He in addition gave detailed description and comprehensive reviews of the events on the days of the elections and the various petitions that emanated from the conduct of the two elections. He concluded that by placing the two elections within the general notion and broad

understanding of the universal idea of being 'free and fair' and suggested the need for electoral reforms.

Accepted that Kurfi (1983) unarguably gave a standard accomplishment of the 1959 and 1979 General Elections within the expected format of a pioneering study, there are, one should both note and emphasize, large scale inadequacies bordering on methodological errors of unclear and muddled-up hypotheses and hypothetical expressions, poorly articulated research problem, hasty conclusions and inconsistent and contradictory formulations, subjectively driven focus and objectives, and generally superficial and superfluous expressions and unsystematic substantiation of arguments and claims. The subfield of contemporary psephology, one notes, should be such that has basis in the principles and practices of empirical science within clearly designed and crafted philosophy of knowledge discovery anchored in existing theoretical frameworks of analyses. The fact that his effort lacks the necessary relationships with the nuances of contemporary social science research methodological rules and principles derides the book the expected scientific niche. How the two elections studied constituted an investigation of the political behaviour of Nigerians and the necessary comparative lessons were not considered and highlighted given the fact further that there existed a difference of two decades between them. In addition, the issues and problems of the use and mis-use of money in the two elections were equally not examined and analyzed. All of the above help in creating the necessary gaps which both propel and justify the ongoing study.

Even though the book by Adamu and Ogunsanwo came earlier, in 1982 to be specific, it however focused on the 1979 General Elections. It excluded the 1959 General Elections which, and as earlier hinted, prepared the ground for Nigeria's independence in 1960. The inclusion of the 1959 General Elections by Kurfi (1983) helps to explain its relevance and reference as the foundation study of elections in Nigeria. Adamu and Ogunsanwo (1982) gave an empirical account, examination and analysis of the 1979 General Elections as the starting point of the introduction of presidentialism into the Nigerian political system and practice. It constitutes as well a painstaking, rigorous and academic analysis of the totality of events commencing from the inauguration of the Constitution Drafting Committee in September, 1975 to its ratification by the Constituent Assembly in 1978. Apart from the strength of empirical scientific value which it has over the book of Kurfi (1983), the book by Adamu and Ogunsanwo (1982) has in it a detailed catalogue of electoral malpractices of the then Nigerian twelve states structure of federal system of government. In this way, it was able to identify and highlight the forms of malpractices that were specific to each state even though malpractices are common features of elections in Nigeria.

On two instances, Dudley (1973 and 1982) gave the study of elections in Nigeria a thorough theoretical and analytical perspective within the broad and elaborate examination and discussion of the Nigerian body politics. Dudley (1973) in a publication titled: "Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria" was particularly concerned with the development and formulation of a theoretical framework of analysis with which the problems of instability and political order could be approached from the angle of research. Utilizing the game theoretical model and relying on Carry and Wade (1968) classification of political actors into four as: (i) the politician, (ii) the beneficiary, (iii) the fiduciary, and (iv) the spectator, Dudley came to the conclusion that: "A possible consequence arising from the alienation of the electorate that might be expected would be the increasing use of coercive methods by the political elite to maintain support and bargaining weight" (Ibid: 47). He continues: "This is more likely to be the case where political leaders stake a 'zero-sum' view of politics, a conception of politics in which the 'winner' takes all..." (Ibid: 47). In a second publication titled: "An introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics" and specifically on the chapter: "Parties and the 1979 Elections", Dudley (1982) further gave a detailed analysis of the involvement of political parties in the referred to elections and traced in addition the historical roots of the parties to the struggles for independence. The historical account was clearly meant to provide lessons of comparative importance with respect to the study of the political development of Nigeria, in particular how the various parties performed in terms of winning seats and had control over the regions and states.

The General Ibrahim Babangida Administration, in particular the implemented Political Transition Programme, brought into the intellectual and academic landscape of elections study in Nigeria high level technicalities of accomplishment. For the first time in the history of academic study of elections, the established National Electoral Commission first headed by Professor Eme Awa and much later, Professor Humphrey Nwosu, who were both distinguished political scientists, founded and empowered the Department of Research and Statistics to, among other duties and responsibilities, conduct research and investigation into elections. Apart from the Department being led by a competent person by name Dr. Tony Edoh, a National Commissioner, Professor L. Adele Jinadu, another distinguished political scientist, was assigned to oversee and nurture the Department. There was in 1990 the publication of commissioned studies on the 1987-1988 Local Government Elections containing fifteen chapters addressing very significant elements of any good study of elections especially in a political system that still lacks basic and reliable information about the procedures, processes and outcomes of elections.

With the return to democracy in 1999, and in line with suggestions on electoral reforms, an electoral umpire, the National Electoral Commission, was

again re-established, re-constituted, and later known as the Independent National Electoral Commission which was at different times headed by Professor Maurice Iwu, Professor Attahiru Jega and now Professor Yakubu Mohammed. The new electoral commission now has in place a permanent research institute called the National Democratic Institute with the mandate of conducting research into all aspects and areas of democracy in Nigeria. Part of the legacy of the Commission is the addition of information and materials on election studies in Nigeria usually in every four year after the conduct of a General Election. The information and material usually come in the form of Reports highlighting the successes and limitations that are associated with every season of election. Mention must be made of other Reports such as: (i) the Justice Babalakin Report, (ii) the National Political Bureau Report, and (iii) the Justice Uwais Report, among others, and the various White Papers that accompanied them.

For the purpose of making important contribution to the body of literature on elections in Nigeria, it is important that these Reports are here examined, analyzed and evaluated so as to point out the differences and similarities that are contained in them and how in turn the differences and similarities serve significant purposes in helping to appreciate the justification and relevance of the paper. A Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the Federal Electoral Commission of Nigeria was setup on 5th August, 1985 by the General Buhari/Idiagbon Administration and headed by Mr. Justice B.O. Babalakin hereafter referred to as the Justice Babalakin Report. The Justice Babalakin Report thoroughly addressed the many issues that are critical to the conduct of free and fair elections in Nigeria. Contained in the Report were two important points which both need recognition and emphasis. The Justice Babalakin Report (1990:160) observed that: "Our whole attitude to the political game is such that when we cry out against rigging, it is only because we have been out-rigged. In such a setting, we consider that it would be unfair to lay the blame for electoral malpractices on a few score persons. For everyone whose malpractice was exposed, there were probably hundreds of others who did the same thing but got away with it". On the issue of funding it noted that: "...no (public) grant should be paid to any party", but instead the grant should be spent "...to remove illiteracy, improve political awareness of the citizenry and emphasize the importance of proper use of the vote" (Ibid: 80).

Following the "palace coup" that ousted the General Buhari/Idiagbon Administration, another military junta then led by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida who for the first time in the political history of Nigeria appropriated to himself the title of President, setup what he called the National Political Bureau and saddled it with the responsibility to, among others, prepare the basis for demilitarization, re-civilianization and military withdrawal and disengagement from

politics. The National Political Bureau Report hereafter referred to as the Bureau Report noted and recommended that: "It is very essential, in the light of the experience of 1979-1983, to set limits on the amount of financial contributions that can be made to political campaigns of candidates by any individual whether or not he is a member of the political party...". The objective is to control the role that money should play in the political fortunes of political parties and candidates at the polls. Disclosure of donations to political parties should be made compulsory. Failure to disclose should be regarded as a criminal offence". (Ibid: 127).

With the return to constitutional democracy in 1999, there was the Electoral Reform Committee which submitted its Report following the 2007 General Elections. In the Report that was submitted in 2008, it noted that: "...the 85years old history of Nigeria's elections shows a progressive degeneration of outcomes". (Ibid: 19). Again, there was the Lemu Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence of 2011 which made recommendations relating to the in-house audit of the organizational and administrative structure of the Independent National Electoral Commission as a way of enhancing the conduct of free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria. All the recommendations following the establishment of these Commissions still pay little attention to the problem of use and mis-use of money in the conduct and administration of elections in Nigeria. The critical issue of adopted theoretical framework of analysis of the study and paper is here approached from the angle of the theoretical analysis of the state. This further requires justifications. First, the knowledge of the state is important in the investigation of the relationships between the legitimacy of a government and the processes and procedures of its constitution and establishment usually through the conduct and administration of elections. The knowledge of elections is therefore critical to the understanding of the concept of political sovereignty. Second, the intellectual foundation of the study of psephology in Africa is historically patterned along the investigation and the consequent theoretical analysis of the state. Third and final, because elections in Africa are about how to "capture" the state, the state hence forms the intellectual hub for the investigation and analysis of elections.

The state, as a framework of intellectual disquisition, it should be further emphasized, especially with respect to the study of elections in Africa, requires an understanding that needs be situated in its rightful historical context. What therefore is this historical context? According to Jinadu (2019:2): "The framework is partly woven out threads from an Afro-centric intellectual tendency, exemplified in the political writings of a number of radical and progressive African scholars in the late 1960s and 1970s". He continues: "Their work bears string affinity to, it is not directly influenced by, Fanon's thesis on the illusion of African independence or false decolonization. It is also woven out of threads from a post-1980 trend in

African international relations towards redefining the African state as a polycentric state, analogous to a “compound republic” (Ibid: 2). What Jinadu tries to point out is that the investigation and analysis of the state is both an analytical disquisition and phenomenon of study, and from the African perspective, was approached from the political understanding of Africa as representing one distinct body in the comity of nations. The inherent advantage of such an approach to study is that it helps in the identification of common features and in turn using the features to develop or formulate generalizations about the continent. It is no wonder therefore that the attendant investigation and analysis of the state were both developed around the thesis and argument that African states are characteristically rent-seeking and lacking in any productive value. Consequently, it was so recommended that African states should be directly involved in enhancing the development of the continent. This marks the origin of the developmental orientation of the state. Perhaps because the struggles for independence were equally approached from the perspective of creating wider platforms for indigenous political representation, the envisaged institutionalization of development commencing from the 1960s has with it the responsibility of how to deepen democracy thereby helping in the establishment in both theory and practice the connection and relationship between democracy and development. In addition, because election is critical to the theory and practice of democracy, the spread and attainment of development would further require building the basis for the discourse on democracy, development and the state particularly in relation to Africa.

III. Politics and the Context of Elections in Nigeria

There is, it is here reasoned, the need to amplify the uniqueness and peculiarities of politics in Nigeria as a way of further situating the context of elections in the country for the understanding and appreciation of the role of money in elections in terms of its use and mis-use – see Osaghae, et al (eds.) (2002), Ojiako (1981), Joseph (1991), among others. The amplification does not attempt to make distinctions and differences between the context of politics and the context of elections in Nigeria. In fact, they are both related contexts. What needs scrutiny and which requires further emphasis is that the uniqueness and peculiarities of politics in Nigeria are important to the understanding and analysis of the conduct and administration of elections. The starting point will then be the examination and analysis of the peculiar features of politics in Nigeria and as well as the character of its state.

Politics in Nigeria is characteristically divisive along ethnic and sectarian considerations partly as a result of the processes and procedures of the establishment of the Nigerian state, and partly emanating as well from the adopted strategies of political power capturing and retention as being executed and implemented by

the elites since 1960s. The understanding of the context of elections in Nigeria specifically requires elegant probe and analysis of the forms of interactions between the state, economy and society. The understanding and attendant analysis would further require the rent-seeking characterization of the Nigerian state and politics from the umbrella knowledge and perspective of political economy.

What amounts to politics in Nigeria is the use of the framework of democracy to continue to create limitless and unending opportunities for primitive accumulation of capital by the elites for themselves, their families, friends, and cronies. Using “prebendalistic and clientelistic frameworks” as formulated by Joseph (1991), politics in Nigeria involves doing everything possible to permanently ensure that political power is restricted to the exclusive preserve of those who control it, and using the elements of the state to preserve and sustain the control. The character of the economy is equally important in the appreciation of politics, in particular the conduct of elections. An economy that is dependent on the vagaries of the international system with poor ravaging consequences of kleptocracy and massive stealing of public funds is such that hinders the achievement of the principle and purpose of elections. The purpose of election in every democracy is to provide voters with the opportunities to aggregate their preferences in such a way and manner that choices are made between and among candidates and contestants. The extent to which elections are adjudged free, fair and credible are dependent not only on the theory of rules as constitutionally stipulated, but as well as on the practice of having the opportunities to freely choose between and among contestants. The practice obviously depends on the standard of living of voters symbolized majorly by the amount of disposable incomes that are available to them and the level of political consciousness that they possess, all made possible by the spread of functional education.

The economy of Nigeria continues to degenerate because of its over-reliance on a single product, oil. Crashes in the prices of crude per barrel internationally creates problem of dwindling foreign exchange earnings to the extent that both capital and recurrent yearly budgetary provisions become terribly affected. Workers remain not only unpaid as at when due, the implementation of capital projects which ordinarily should have multiplier positive effects is greatly hindered. The continued use of crude and primitive instruments for both crop and animal farming and aqua-culture creates problems of agricultural products insufficiency in the face of geometric increase in population and the abandonment of agricultural farms by the youths with preference now for kidnapping and internet-related crimes. With values almost completely bastardized in the face of increasing religiosity and open attachment to religion by state-officials, growing societal ills and menacing political and bureaucratic corruption, misplaced social priorities and preferences, predomi

nant culture of begging in order to survive as exhibited in the swelling size of the Almajiri population, displacement and dislocation caused by acts of armed banditry and local terrorism, insecurity and parlous infrastructural facilities, poor maintenance of public utility services, unstoppable ethnic and political prejudices, prevalence of interests and selfish motives, unending maladministration, misappropriation and misapplication of resources, lack of tolerance and arrogant display of power, poor knowledge of basic and common issues of governance, parochialism and chauvinism with respect to the allocation of scarce political and economic resources, capital and knowledge flight, planlessness and poor comprehension of the relationships between domestic and international forces of production, distribution and consumption, policy summersaults and inconsistencies with respect to the organization of the state and the achievement of its purposes, among others. The context of politics is essentially that of winners winning everything, and losers losing everything.

The context of politics in Nigeria and the underdevelopment of her economy on the one hand, and the implications on elections on the other, underscore the need for the paper to explore further and no matter how brief, the relationships in both theory and practice between capitalism and the liberal variant of democracy. At different times in the history of human civilization scholars such as Lipset (1959), Cutright (1982), Shannon (1958), among others, have no doubt reflected on the pre-requisites for democracy and concluded that economic development is important to it and this is largely defined and described in terms of enhanced living standard and prosperity of voters and political actors at large. The question then becomes: How can the conclusion be related to Nigeria?

Capitalism in Nigeria is completely fractured. It lacks investment economically, politically and socially speaking. If it possesses any investment at all, it exists in the various strategies and permutations devised to "capture" the state. The state is generally considered as an arena for business transactions especially for the purpose of award of contracts and illegal trading in foreign currencies. State capture is therefore considered important for the business to grow. Capitalism in Nigeria is further a dubious collaboration and cooperation between the local lackeys and their foreign counterparts, collaboration and cooperation that are permanently meant to deprive the Nigerian masses the enjoyment of their earthly resources. We might at this critical juncture ask: What is election like within this context of politics?

The context even though competitive and plural and happens within the framework of freedoms and fundamental rights which are both recognized and enshrined in the constitution and other electoral laws, it is however dominated predominantly by unwholesome practices and further ridden with absolutely

immoral and practical ideas and principles about contemporary human organizations. It is further characterized by violence and conflicts devoid of recognizable standards of practice across global democratic societies. The technicalities of law rather than commitment to essentially fair principles matter in the resolution of judicial disputes and mundane consideration guide and direct the selection and nomination of candidates in circumstances of unequal playing ground. Party primaries are lacking in due process of law and the politician with a pocket that is deep but lacking in basic ideas of a better Nigerian society eventually becomes a candidate for an election.

IV. Research Methodology and Results: The Use and Mis-use of Money in Elections in Nigeria

The methodology on the subject matter requires careful arrangement and specification within the overall goal of sourcing reliable and dependable data. Personal contacts were made with political aspirants and contestants in an interview form whose questions were organized around the following verbal interactions and the average of answers later determined. Provisions were further made to accommodate the influence of uncertainties with respect to the ups and downs in the prices of commodities in Nigeria justified by the unending attacks on farmers and the general disruptions of the supply chains distribution arising from the same attacks by armed bandits and terrorists, the willingness and readiness on the part of sellers in Nigeria to catch-on the prevailing circumstance to make more profits by the rule of arbitrariness. The interview questions targeted the following: (1) the experience of the aspirants and contestants in terms of the number of attempts already made, (2) the political offices/positions they are interested in, (3) the specific expenditures incurred and these divided into three as before, during and after the elections, (4) the amount given by all the interviewed contestants/aspirants, and (5) the effect of inflation in view of the earlier itemized factors. The answers/information given were later aggregated and the average determined across all the offices. There were difficulties encountered while trying to obtain the data for the research. Among others, the interviewees were afraid to give exact information in relation to the amount expended on elections because of the fear of investigative bodies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), etc., and the lack of reliable data with respect to percentage increases in the price of items. The difficulties no doubt place limitation on the emerging generalizations but still notwithstanding provide basis for further research.

Focusing on the research methodology equally entails engaging in other research details especially in relation to data collection and analysis. While part one

of the paper addresses the problem of ambiguities with particular regard to the use of concepts and methods to operationalize them within the scope and objective of the paper, the present part, part four, is meant to fundamentally engage the paper with its overall objective and provide the basis for the understanding of the contained thesis/argument and the context for the understanding of the problem relating to the conduct and administration of elections in Nigeria. A free, fair and credible election is not only a matter of law and administration but that of social context as well. The discussion and analysis that the paper engaged itself with in part three were meant to provide specific and important information about the context of politics within the social system of Nigeria. An in-depth sociological study of Nigeria reveals many important facts and points about the conduct and administration of election. Among others, is the overwhelming culture of corruption defined here to specifically include: deliberate interpretation and implementation of rules to satisfy personal and parochial interests, falsification of documents to satisfy important provisions of the constitution in relation to the qualifications and disqualifications of candidates, arrogant display of power to harass and intimidate political opponents before, during and after the conduct of elections, and deliberate initiation and implementation of strategies and tactics to create security threats and safety challenges meant to tilt the expected outcome of an election to a preferred candidate/interest.

The investigation and analysis of the use and mis-use of money in an election ordinarily should form a component and embodiment of the study of the costs of elections. This, however, cannot be because the truth about it is very difficult to determine from either the side of the election management bodies or the candidates or both. The rule in most democracies specifying how candidates and political parties are to raise and expend funds is always very difficult to monitor, and where cases of violations exist, evidences are further difficult to prove beyond reasonable doubts especially given the sophistication in which financial dealings are transmitted with the attendant technicalities and related matters of corruption. The "politics" behind the approvals of monies for the purpose of conducting elections testifies further to the difficulty in the determination and knowledge of the truth about the costs of elections. In addition, the criteria and parameters and the determination of preferences and weights that should be assigned to them differ between and among political systems. Political systems, one should note further, differ in terms of physical accessibility and geographical contiguity of the electoral districts especially given the areas covered by mountains and creeks.

The paper, for the purpose of this part, focuses on the use and mis-use of money by candidates in elections in Nigeria since the return to civil rule in 1999. The use and mis-use of money, as a phrase, seeks to investigate the legitimate and illegitimate,

reasonable and unreasonable, application/utilization of funds for the purpose of elections by candidates. The data, as earlier hinted, are largely corrupted by the deliberate intent of wanting to coverup what the actual costs entailed and therefore lacking in dependability and reliability. This serves both as a limitation and challenge, as earlier mentioned above. The challenge arising hence involves creatively devising ways and means in which convincing platform and framework can be formulated and capable of accommodating the expenditure patterns of candidates during elections. The use and mis-use of money, it is being reiterated, relate only to expenditures incurred before, during and after elections in Nigeria. The comprehensiveness of the platform and framework needs be further situated within the federal political framework of Nigeria for insightful and penetrating analysis. The elections here covered include: Councillorship, Chairmanship, State House of Assembly, Governorship, House of Representatives, Senate and President. They further need individual descriptions to be able to understand the relevance and importance of the paper and through it making substantial contribution to psephology as a subfield in the discipline of political science.

The minutest unit of political representation in Nigeria is the ward. A councillor represents this ward. A ward is further a political unit of representation within a local government. A local government consequently has units of political representation as prescribed by law and relying on population census figures. The political head of administration at the local level of governance is the chairman. By constitutional arrangement and as provided for in the 1999 Constitution (as amended), the state is expected to make laws for the smooth running of the local government. Arising from this provision of the constitution, the implication is therefore that elections into councillorship and chairmanship positions should be done outside the purview of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). This explains two things in the political structure and administration of Nigeria. First, it explains the many laws on local government administration, thirty-six (36) altogether. Second, it explains as well the existence of another many electoral bodies, thirty-six (36) in all, with both differences and similarities in the way and manner in which elections were conducted into local government offices and positions. The State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIECs) conduct the elections into councillorship and chairmanship positions.

It is worthy to note further that even though the constitution recognizes and defines the tiers of government in Nigeria as: federal, state and local, the level of development of the tiers is such that local governments are indeed rural and urban, and perhaps can further be classified and categorized as extreme rural, rural, semi-urban/fairly urban, urban and advanced/super-urban in terms of the accompanying social relations of production, distribution and consumption. Each local

government of Nigeria has an average of between ten (10) and eighteen (18) wards as political units of representation. Elections into State House of Assemblies, Federal House of Representatives and Senate, Governorship and Presidential are conducted on the bases of electoral districts technically referred to as constituencies. The constitution pegs the number of House of Representatives to Three Hundred and Sixty (360) and Senate to One Hundred and Nine (109). It provides further that the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) should be treated as a state. The constituencies of Nigeria differ significantly and largely a reflection of the differences in population between and among the states and in the prescriptions of the law. For instance, for the purposes of elections into the offices of the governor of a state and president of the country, the geographical territory of a state is formed into a constituency, while the entire country represents another constituency for the purpose of electing the president. A constituency for the purpose of election into a State House of Assembly is usually comprised of between one (1) and two (2) local governments, between two (2) and four (4) for election into the House of Representatives and between six (6) and ten (10) for election into Senate.

A)

A Typical Councillorship Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: One Ward				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to mosques, churches, traditional and age-grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. The mobilization, one should mention, restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦250,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the "right" political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦1,000,000	-	-

3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communications, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre(s) and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments, organization of attacks and protest, general coordination of activities, etc.	-	₦2,000,000	-
4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted.	₦250,000	₦2,250,000	₦1,750,000
			Total-	₦7,500,000

B)

A Typical Chairmanship Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: An average of between ten (10) and fifteen (15) Wards				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to mosques, churches, traditional and age-grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. The mobilization, one should mention, restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦10,500,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the "right" political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦10,500,000	-	-
3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communications, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre(s) and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments, organization of attacks and protest, general coordination of activities, etc.	-	₦24,000,000	-

4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted.	₦12,000,000	₦18,000,000	₦10,500,000
		Total- ₦85,500,000		

C)

A Typical State House of Assembly Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: An average of between one (1) and two (2) local governments translating to between ten (10) and thirty (30) Wards				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to mosques, churches, traditional and age-grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. The mobilization, one should mention, restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦14,000,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the “right” political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦21,000,000	-	-
3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communications, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre(s) and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments, organization of attacks and protest, general coordination of activities, etc.	-	₦35,000,000	-
4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted.	₦14,000,000	₦35,000,000	₦29,750,000
		Total- ₦148,750,000		

D)

A Typical House of Representatives Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: An average of between two (2) and four (4) local governments translating to between twenty (20) and forty (40) Wards				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to mosques, churches, traditional and age-grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. The mobilization, one should mention, restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦20,000,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the "right" political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦40,000,000	-	-
3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communications, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre(s) and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments, organization of attacks and protest, general coordination of activities, etc.	-	₦320,000,000	-
4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted.	₦24,000,000	₦48,000,000	₦40,000,000
		Total- ₦492,000,000		

E)

A Typical Senate Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: An average of between six (6) and ten (10) local governments translating to between sixty (60) and one hundred (100) wards				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to mosques, churches, traditional and age-grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. The mobilization, one should mention, restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦137,500,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the "right" political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦275,000,000	-	-
3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communications, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre(s) and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments, organization of attacks and protest, general coordination of activities, etc.	-	₦825,000,000	-
4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted.	₦55,000,000	₦110,000,000	₦220,000,000
		Total- ₦1,622,500,000		

F)

A Typical Governorship Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: An average of between twenty (20) and forty-five (45) local governments translating to between two hundred (200) and four hundred and fifty (450) wards				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to Mosques, Churches, traditional and age-grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. the mobilization restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦1,050,000,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the “right” political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, purchase of nomination forms, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦2,100,000,000	-	-
3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communicative, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments when declared victorious, organization of attacks, protests when victory in an election is considered robbed, general coordination of activities, etc.	-	₦3,500,000,000	-
4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted.	₦700,000,000	₦1,050,000,000	₦1,750,000,000
		Total- ₦10,150,000,000		

G)

A Typical Presidential Election Expenditure Profile				
Scope: A total of seven hundred and seventy (774) local governments translating to between nine thousand (9000) and nine thousand and one hundred (9100) wards				
S/N	Item	Before	During	After
1	Mobilization and preparation for the election expressed in activities such as donations to Mosques, Churches, traditional and age grade societies, community projects, organization and sponsorship of games of all kinds, naming and other ceremonies, philanthropic gestures, street naming and township descriptions on bill boards, scholarships and purchase of school uniforms, youth empowerment programmes, commitment to local and community responsibilities such as land and chieftaincy matters, etc. the mobilization restricts itself to activities before the public declaration of intention which usually happens between two and three years to the election.	₦9,288,000,000	-	-
2	The second stage of mobilization covers the establishment of contacts, consultations with respect to identifying the “right” political parties, determining who and who should be nominated and appointed as coordinators and their number, hosting meetings before and after the appointment of coordinators and the establishment of contacts, purchase of nomination forms, printing of posters, going through the screening of elders and political parties, purchase and submission of nomination forms as issued by the political parties, organization of campaigns and rallies, advertisements and announcement of information on radios and in newspapers, purchase of information about political opponents and the electoral body, engaging the services of lawyers as occasions would warrant, hosting of meetings to strategize and permutate, receptions for all the activities, etc.	₦27,864,000,000	-	-
3	Third stage mobilization covers activities on the day of the election such as putting finishing touches to plans, proper coordination of campaign coordinators and representatives and agents at the polling booths, purchase of recharge cards and general systems of mobile communicative, monitoring coordinators and agents at the collation centre and effective spying of electoral officers, organization of merriments when declared victorious, organization of attacks, protests when victory in an election is considered robbed, general coordination of activities, etc.	₦864,000,000,000	-	-
4	The fourth and final stage of expenditure covers the preparations for inauguration following electoral victory and organization of resistance using all manners of approaches and formal institutionalization of redress at the tribunals and law courts while the litigation lasted	₦120,000,000,000	₦240,000,000,000	₦300,000,000,000
Total-		₦1,561,152,000,000		

H)

Summary of Expenditures in Local Currency (Naira)					
S/N		Before	During	After	Total
1	Councillorship	₦1,500,000	₦4,250,000	₦1,750,000	₦7,500,000
2	Chairmanship	₦33,000,000	₦42,000,000	₦10,500,000	₦85,500,000
3	State House of Assembly	₦49,000,000	₦70,000,000	₦29,750,000	₦148,750,000
4	House of Representatives	₦84,000,000	₦368,000,000	₦40,000,000	₦492,000,000
5	Senate	₦467,500,000	₦935,000,000	₦220,000,000	₦1,622,500,000
6	Governorship	₦3,850,000,000	₦4,550,000,000	₦1,750,000,000	₦10,150,000,000
7	Presidential	₦1,021,152,000,000	₦240,000,000,000	₦300,000,000,000	₦1,561,152,000,000

I)

Summary of Expenditures: Conversion in International Currencies						
S/N		Naira ₦	US Dollar \$ (₦415.15 to \$1)	Pounds £ (₦543.3483 to £1)	Euro € (₦453.5514 to €1)	Yuan ¥ (₦65.2435 to ¥1)
1	Councillorship	7,500,000	18,065.76	13,803.30	16,536.16	114,953.98
2	Chairmanship	85,500,000	205,949.66	157,357.63	188,512.26	1,310,475.37
3	State House of Assembly	148,750,000	358,304.23	273,765.46	327,967.24	2,279,920.61
4	House of Representatives	492,000,000	1,185,113.81	905,496.53	1,084,772.31	7,540,981.09
5	Senate	1,622,500,000	3,908,225.94	2,986,114.06	3,577,323.32	24,868,337.69
6	Governorship	10,150,000,000	24,448,994.34	18,680,467.02	22,378,940.95	155,571,053.06
7	Presidential	1,561,152,000,000	3,760,452,848.37	2,873,206,744.18	3,442,061,914.04	23,928,084,790.06

Note: Official exchange rates as @ March 6, 2022.

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN): <https://www.cbn.gov.ng/rates/exchrates-bycurrency.asp>

The summary of expenditures indicates that councillorship costs: Seven Million, Five Hundred Thousand Naira (₦7,500,000) amounting to Eighteen Thousand, Sixty Five Dollars and Seventy-Six Cents (US \$18,065.76), Thirteen Thousand, Eight Hundred and Three Pounds (£13,803.30) for instance; Chairmanship costs: Eighty-Five Million, Five Hundred Thousand Naira (₦85,500,000) amounting to One Hundred and Eighty-Eight Thousand, Five Hundred and Twelve Euro (€188,512.26) at another instance; State House of Assembly costs: One Hundred and Forty-Eight Million, Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand Naira (₦148,750,000) amounting to Two Million, Two Hundred and Seventy-Nine Thousand, Nine Hundred and Twenty Yuan (¥2,279,920.61); again, House of Representatives costs: Four Hundred and Ninety-Two Million Naira (₦492,000,000) amounting to One Million, One Hundred and Eighty-Five Thousand, One Hundred and Three Dollars (US \$1,185,113.81). Senate costs: One Billion, Six Hundred and Twenty-Two Million, Five Hundred Thousand Naira (₦1,622,500,000) amounting to Two Million, Nine Hundred and Eighty-Six Thousand, One Hundred and Four Pounds (£2,986,114.06)

and Governorship costs: Ten Billion, One Hundred and Fifty Million Naira (10,150,000,000) amounting to Twenty-Two Million, Three Hundred and Seventy-Eight Thousand, Nine Hundred and Forty Euro (€22,378,940.95). Presidential costs: One Trillion, Five Hundred and Sixty-One Billion, One Hundred and Fifty-Two Million (₦1,561,152,000,000) amounting to Three Billion, Seven Hundred and Sixty Million, Four Hundred and Fifty-Two Thousand, Eight Hundred and Forty-Eight Dollars (US \$3,760,452,848.37), and Two Billion, Eight Hundred and Seventy Three Million, Two Hundred and Six Thousand, Seven Hundred and Forty Four Pounds (£2,873,206,744.18).

It needs be further mentioned and emphasized that the above individually and collectively represent the legitimate utilization and application of funds and resources (money) in the conduct/participation in an election in line with the provisions of law and extant rules and regulations relating to electoral matters in Nigeria. They are considered as legitimate because they are capable of verification. They particularly cut across the experiences of candidates in elections with and without the benefit of the “power of incumbency”. Another component of the expenditure profile relates to the subject matter of security. Its average cost is usually very difficult to determine because of circumstances and the perceptions of candidates. It involves the recruitment of private security outfits/arrangements and that of the public, in particular the Police Force who are both paid for officially and unofficially. Added further are Intelligence Services, both official and unofficial which are further procured. A committee put up by contestants and candidates usually coordinates security-related activities and matters because of the tensions, threats and counter-threats that are usually associated with elections in Nigeria given the over-whelming zero-sum or winner-wins-all understanding and outlook of politicians.

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

Money, here viewed and interpreted, is important to the conduct of elections and further important in the determination of its credibility in all political systems including Nigeria’s. There is further a connection between the extent of sophistication of democratic practice and the social and material development of any nation. The assumptions of democratic theory are indeed valid and judged extremely and overwhelming by the equal extent to which the assumptions help in shaping the practice of democracy as the only achievement of the fundamental and secondary purposes of government for the good of every society. The context of politics and by extension the practice of democracy in Nigeria is such that hinders the realization/implementation of any free, fair and credible elections. Poverty and general condition of underdevelopment work against the principle and goal of democracy which is to, among others, help voters to choose between and among

candidates. Voters vote in Nigeria without necessarily choosing between and among candidates. The Nigerian state is central to the ills of elections because everything revolves around it. This leads to what is being described as the “power of incumbency” which translates to using the machineries of the state to frustrate opposition candidates, render relevant ideas useless, intimidate, molest and harass them, and direct the expected outcomes of elections to favour and serve the interests of authority-holders. All the elections conducted in Nigeria since the return to civil democratic rule in 1999 are far from being credible and contain the seeds of possible disintegration of the country as they jointly and individually threaten its corporate existence and the realization of the dream of “unity in diversity”. The independence of the electoral body is very important and this can be better achieved when the recruitment into it is handled by law and not as it is under the present circumstance which describes it as one of the “executive bodies”. The perquisites which are usually associated with political offices need be pruned down drastically and elected officials be compensated only with allowances determined by the number of sittings. The emerging political and constitutional reforms should particularly address the empowerment of women and youths and the imposition of effective sanctions to deter violence and its consequences. The curricular of education from elementary to tertiary should be geared toward the inculcation of honesty and patriotism, commitment and service to Nigeria as our father land. Finally, policies need be formulated and implemented to address the overwhelming poverty of the Nigerian people using job-creation and controlled price mechanisms.

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