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## **Parties Politics and Gender Preference in Nigerian Legislature**

**ABSTRACT.** Law makers on the legislative houses in Nigeria are elected by a party members and the electorate. The members of legislative chambers are constituted through competitive periodic elections to represent different interests recognised by the electorate. Interest desiring representation has included gender, environment, economic, religion, political party, ethnic, and many more. While there are diverse interests requiring representation, the issue of gender representation forms the basic interest of the study. The reason is due to the observed predominance of males over females in gender representation in elective governmental positions while the constitution allows for equal opportunity in democracy. The study appraised the role of political parties in gender representation on the Nigerian legislative chambers and gender preference by the electorate for political parties' performance in legislative elections was analysed. The study adopted a qualitative research design in which data were sourced from secondary sources. The study revealed that political parties do not have any reservation for gender in the presentation of candidates for election. The study noted that that the choice of voter is beyond gender. The study concludes that gender issues in elections may be one of the many factors influencing voter's decisions.

**KEYWORDS:** democracy, election, gender preference, legislature, party politics, Senate, State Assembly

### **Introduction**

Evidence in the extant literature on democratic governance has confirmed the continued relevance of political parties to the operation of democracy and access to political positions in the legislative and executive arm of government (Lapalombara & Weiner, 1966; Mair, Müller, & Plasser, 2004; Webb & White, 2007; Heller & Mershon, 2009; Innocent, Yusoff, & Rajanthiran, 2017). Political parties are the platform for the training of potential candidates. Parties' present candidates for elections under their

label, canvass for vote for the candidate from the electorates, and after elections, the people delegate the decision making power of the state to the political party and its candidate in power (Heller & Mershon, 2009; O'Neil, 2010). Hence, representation in government is a function of the choice of the electorate and government behaviour (Gerber & Lewis, 2004).

The conduct of government in a democratic state is by political parties and the free choice of the electorate. Interests are articulated and aggregated by political parties; mobilisation of the people to participate in elections and governance is done by political parties, and democratic government is party politics. Newton and Van Deth (2005, p. 221) supported the above position that democracy is political party driven, candidate competition in elections; decision making in the legislature is party activity. The best description of government is a party activity. Political party activities are felt in all ramifications of the state because political parties reconcile members of the state regardless of factors segregating the state such as gender, ethnic group, religions, region, interest, and so on. Patterson (2002) argued that political parties direct and strengthen the peoples' vote on various issues of governance.

The enacted Nigerian (1999) constitution, in section 1 (2), forbids the existence of government in the country and/or any of the unit in a way contrary to the spirit and letter of the law (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1999). The legitimate means of assumption and exercise of legislative and executive functions are either by election or appointment. To be elected to a political position, a political party is required to nominate a candidate to contest in the scheduled election. The candidate with the highest number of votes (that is simple majority electoral system) is declared a winner and presented with a certificate of return by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Thus, the candidate is returned as a member of government representing different interest such as the elected position in government, gender, political party, religion, ethnic group, and so on.

Nigerian constitution (1999) while allowing for a federal legislative house equally allows for the state legislature. The federal legislative house (also known as the National Assembly) is a bicameral house with the Senate (as the upper house) and the House of Representatives (as the lower chamber). Through Section 90, the States' House of Assembly was created by the constitution such that each state of the federation has a House of Assembly (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1999). Section 91 described the

composition of the Assembly in States such that member ranges between twenty-four (24) and forty (40) (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1999). Thus, the numbers of seats are expected to be allocated with the aim of reflecting equality in the population attribute of the areas within the state. How do political parties ensure gender representation in legislative houses? Does electorate gender preference influence the performance of political parties in a legislative election? The study described the role of political parties in gender representation in legislative houses in Nigeria and analysed gender preference by the electorate for political parties' performance in legislative elections in Nigeria.

The study in accomplishing its purpose was organised into five sections. The study was introduced through section one. Relevant literatures reviewed in section two. Section three described the methodology of the study. Section four presented and analysed data and discussed findings. The study was concluded in section five.

## **1. Concept of Political Party**

The relevance of political parties to democracy has encouraged a description of what the organisation should entail. With the absence of a generally accepted definition, scholars have explained the term in the context of their studies. Lapalombara and Weiner (1966, p. 6) defined political parties based on the expected attribute they must exhibit and differentiating them from pressure groups. Thus, a political party as an organisation must maintain a permanent structure and its existence must not be determined by the tenure of its current leaders, its presence must be at the local level and there is the need for established means of communication, the determination of the leader to hold decision collectively, and the strategy by the association to recruit members to support the manifestoes. It can be presumed from the definition that a political party must be a stable organisation (not changing with leaders), have a broad based member, be an involved member in the decision and running of the organisation, and seek members to support its manifesto so as to control the machinery of government.

Sartori (1976, p. 64) defined a political party as a political group that presents candidates for public office through elections. This implies that a political party must have ambition as to the sponsoring of a candidate

for political position. This differentiated political party from the political association. However, the definition of a political party as any party that sponsor a candidate for election may be expanded to include pressure groups. Pressure groups may assume political party function overnight as they may sponsor a candidate for the position of choice and win. Patterson (2002, p. 214) defined political parties as an on-going coalition of interests joined together in an effort to get its candidates for public office elected under a common label. The definition pointed to the fact that a political party will continue to aggregate diverse interests in the accomplishment of its end, which is the contest of election and controlling of the government machinery. Thus, Patterson (2002, p. 214) noted that a political party must have a member who identified with it, hence party operates as a candidate (contesting an election) and an organisation (maintain staff, member, and so on). A political party as a voluntary group of people with shared perspectives on the ways of organising government and controlling the states. Thus, political parties are objective or goal directed. The goal of a political party is on contesting and winning an election with the aim of directing the institutions of government.

The Federal Government of Nigeria (1999) defined a Political party as an association which as registered its constitution (and any alteration), name and address of its national office, headquarter of operation (situated in Abuja) with the electoral commission, operate open membership for all member of the country (without restrictions on religion, sex, and so on), and whose name and logo does not bear semblance with any religion, ethnic group, etc. Thus, a political party must be an association with the aim of unifying the state, promoting democratic principles and mobilising the people to participate in governance.

Ikelegbe (2013, p. 7) explained political party as a goal oriented group which aggregates perspective and opinion, and serves as a bridge between the ruled and the ruler. This implies that the goal of a political party is beyond the presentation of a candidate for election. The group is supposed to act as a linkage between the people and the government. Hence, the issue of representation is influenced by factors.

In this study, a political party is defined as an association of people with a shared political interest in contesting and an winning election, under a registered umbrella (recognised by the electoral commission) with the aim of forming the government.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. Gender Representation in Nigerian Politics

The participation of gender in Nigerian politics has attracted the attention of scholars' overtime. Agbalajobi (2010), Nelson (2012), Awofeso and Odeyemi (2014), Anyalebechi (2016), Pogoson (nd), Sibani (2017), and Adefemi and Agunbiade (2019) are some of the scholars selected within the space of a decade on issues of gender representation or participation in politics. Agbalajobi (2010) for instance noted that women enjoy demographic strength in that they constitute more than half of the population, perform roles including economic, social, maternal, and so on. It was argued in the study that the reasons for poor representation or marginalisation of women in politics with cultural, religious, traditional, and related practices. The study concluded that while issue of involvement of women in Nigerian politics is an important the issue, poor representation of women in politics has promoted poor representation of women in Nigerian politics.

Nelson (2012) examined factors responsible for the poor participation of women in Nigerian politics. The study identified factors such as the socio-economic condition of women, cultural beliefs, and state centred quota system to limit the involvement of women, violence, and so on. The study suggested a radical approach to the mobilisation of women from the grassroots level. Awofeso and Odeyemi (2014) identified cultural practice, which has become a systemic issue, has been responsible for poor representation of women in politics despite the chance for all to take part in politics. Anyalebechi (2016) supported the existing view in the literature concerning the low representation of women in politics with an attempt to proffer a solution to the gender problem in the country.

Pogoson (nd) focusing on the 2011 general election in Nigeria against the patriarchal sway and the acceptance of the equal status of women with men. It was revealed that women involvement in politics through election runs contrary to the constitution. Thus, it was suggested that the illegality must be reviewed gradually through dialogue between men and women leaders, increased support for women involved in politics, the inclusion of the gender quota system, and so on. Sibani (2017) equally agreed that the discriminatory cultural practice with regard to gender issues is responsible for the preference of males over females in politics.

Adefemi and Agunbiade (2019) evaluated women law maker in state house of assembly of Ekiti, Lagos, and Oyo with the intention of identifying their problems, experiences, and contributions. The problem confronting women legislators has ranged from marital issues, inadequate education and many more. The study revealed that women law makers take an active part in legislative activities such as debate, sponsoring bills, and many more. Thus, female law makers have contributed to national development and the service of their respected constituencies.

## **2.2. Voters Choice (of Party and Candidate) in Elections**

In democracies, there is a raising concern on factors responsible for candidate choice or preference by the electorate (Kurtbaş, 2015). The effort at understanding the reasons for a candidate or party preference in elections encouraged diverse studies; Guber (2001), Singh (2009), Kurtbaş (2015), Dassonneville (2016), Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018), Ogbe (2018), and Chukwujekwu and Ezeabasili (2019) are some of the extant work which has systematically addressed the issues of voters preference in an election. Guber (2001) studied the significance of environmental issues to elections in the United State of America given the raising concern on the issues. Using information from the National Election Study (NES), the implications of environmental concern on the attitude of American electorate choice of political parties and their candidates was examined. The study concluded that environmental concern is not a major influence in the electorate choice of candidate and political party in an election. Singh (2009) interrogated politics and voter's preference in Australia through the empirical spatial analysis. The study revealed that the electorate and political parties are organized along with a unidimensional socio-economic range. Thus, personal factors inclusive of party identification, ideology, geographical location of voter's, and many more informed voter's choices in elections.

Omodia (2010) studied the place of political parties in party politics in the Nigerian fourth republic and discussed the problem of a political party. The study adopted historical method of analysis to explain how the problem of malfunctioning of political parties has ensued. The study revealed that the gap between the operation of political parties resulted from the party elite and it was a deliberate mechanism to manipulate the masses in accomplishing their interest.

Kurtbaş (2015) using surveying method of data collection evaluated voter preferences in a local election (conducted on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March,

2009) and observed that out of any ten electorates selected, about one was not concerned with the essence of vote casting. Prior to the elections, about 48.4% of the electorate did little or no findings on the candidate, manifesto, or political parties. On the possibility of winning elections, it was observed that out of every four voters selected, about one stated that their preference to cast their ballot in favour of the winning candidate. 28.7% of the electorate identified the factor influencing their decision with the ideology of the candidate. Increase in the level of income, education, etc. equally impacts level of participation in political party activities and involvement in elections. Dassonneville (2016) investigated the relevance of short-term factors as a major determinant of voters' choice in elections. The study made use of British election panels of 1992–1997, 1997–2001, and 2005–2010 and revealed that short term factors especially economic issues pose sway on vote choice of voters'. Thus, short term factors are gaining more relevance to the understanding of voter's choices in elections.

Olaiya (2016) argued the peculiarity of the party system to political practice and development in Nigeria, described the origin and peculiar nature of political parties in Nigeria. The study gathered data from secondary sources and noted that despite the practice of multiparty system in Nigeria, regional influence has largely been promoted through the formation and operation of political party. Gbolahan and Duruji (2017) examined the challenges of multi-party system in Nigeria's fourth republic and appraised the importance of multi-party system to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Data were harvested from secondary sources. Revelation made by the study identified problem of multi-party system to include the existence of ethnic politics, lack of party ideology, the place of godfather in candidate selection, mass poverty resulting from high rate of unemployment, party defection, and politics as investment by the elite, etc.

Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018) using a conjoint survey experiment studied the Japan's mixed-member bicameral system. While agreeing to the fact that idiosyncratic attribute of politician remains a key factor in election outcomes, the study inquired the most relevant attributes shaping voters behaviour towards choice candidate and also, aim at establishing if the attribute varies across the electoral system. The study revealed that qualities of choice by the electorate are not consistent with the features of actual politicians. The study equally established that the choices of voters do not vary across the electoral system whereas the observed feature of politicians differs across systems. The finding established the importance

of factors beyond voters' choice. Ogbe (2018) examined the practice of candidate imposition in Nigeria democracy using observation and secondary data collection methods to source for information with and analyse the study with liberal theory of representation. The study made revelation that the imposition of candidates constitutes a threat to democracy in the country as the choices of the people are denied them. The implication of the practice is that people are easily lured into violence.

Chukwujekwu and Ezeabasili (2019) examined party politics and the practice of internal democracy (using the People's Democratic Party (PDP) Anambra chapter as a case study) adopting descriptive survey design and to source for data, and the analyses of data was done through simple percentage and chi-square. In the study, they find out that there is a link between internal democracy and godfatherism. Hence, internal democracy which is supposed to serve as a means of participation in politics is hijacked by the elite. Candidate in politics may not necessary be choice of the people. Ogunkorode (2019) advocated independent candidacy as a measure to curb the problem of partisan politics. The goal of the study was to identify issues of multi-party and examined the need for independent candidature in Nigeria. Information was sourced from primary and secondary materials. The argument put forth by the study was that in curbing the challenges of multi-party, there is a need for independent candidature.

### 3. Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative research design in which information was systematically sourced from secondary sources on party politics and gender preference in the State House of Assembly (SHoA) and the Nigerian Senate. Using the (2019) SHoA election results and the Nigerian Senate, six States were randomly selected using stratified random sampling; Nigeria was divided into six geo-political zones, namely; North East, North Central, North West, South East, South-South, and South West. From each zone, a state was selected through simple random sampling. Hence, Taraba (North East), Kwara (North Central), Katsina (North West), Abia (South East), Edo (South South), and Ekiti (South West) were states selected from each geo-political zone in the country. The composition of the Nigeria senate (through the 2019) senatorial election was then compared with the State House of Legislature selected. Content analysis was adopted in the explanation of data presentation and discussion of findings.



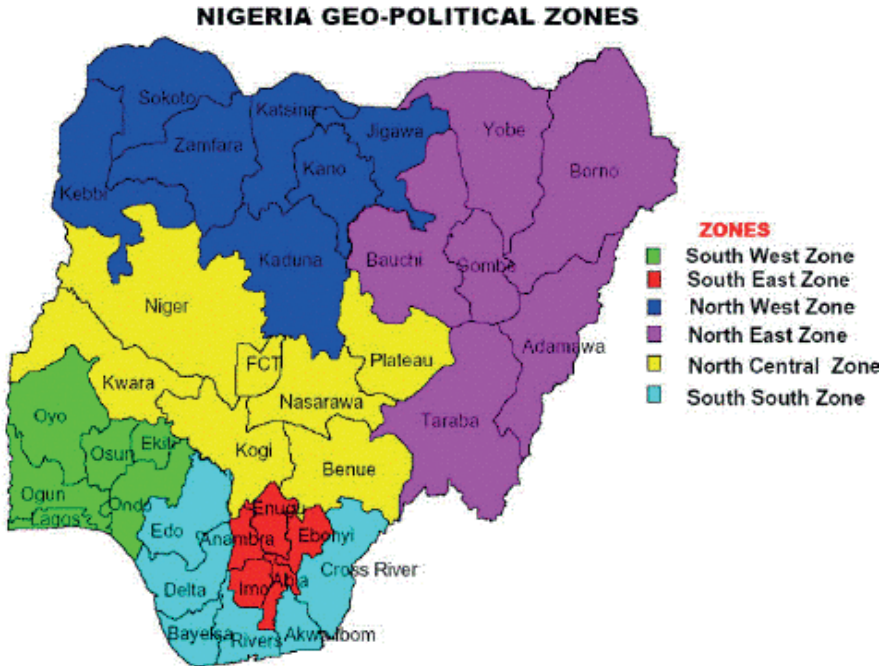


Figure. Map of Nigeria showing the grouping of Nigerian state along six geo-political zones

#### 4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of analysis adopted for the study was group theory developed by Arthur F. Bentley in the book titled 'The Process of Government' published in 1908. The formation of any group is based on interests. Political party is a group formed based on the interest of contesting for political power in a democratic state. Contest for candidacy within a political party for election entails diverse interests including gender, candidacy, nation building, and personal urge for political power, among others. To this extent, subgroups are formed within a political party based on societal reality such as gender issues, urge for political power, ethnic, environment, job creation, economic programme, educational policies, etc. and interests compete in the emergence of a political party candidate in any election. Also, there exists youth wing, women wing, contestants' faction/support, and so on within a political party. These subgroups influence the decision of political parties on the choice of candidate. The reality within any political party must conform to societal realities. The consequent con-

test for political power in the state is done by political power, which are the lawful groups allotted with such functions in any democratic state. The study relies on this theory to explain the subject matter of the study.

## **5. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings**

Information's gathered based on the stated objectives', and through sources stated in methodology is presented and discussed in this section.

### **5.1. State of Political Party Candidacy in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

The conduct of political parties' activities in Nigeria is guided by the provisions of the (1999) constitution with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as the execution agency. The (1999) constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in Section 222 (C-D) for instance, while highlighting the requirement for the formation of political parties did emphasised the registration of the constitution (and alteration) of a political party with the Electoral Commission as part of the criteria for the creation of a party. As such, it sufficed to argue that the constitution of a political party serves as a guideline for understanding its activities. Party constitution makes provision that is consistent with the provision of the constitution (of the Federal Republic of Nigeria). Items including tenure of office for party executive, criteria for candidacy, and many more are contained and defined in the (party) constitution.

The enacted Electoral Act (of 2010) stipulated that the process of selection of a candidate on a political party platform. In Section 87, the Act required all political parties to imbibe internal democracy in the nomination of candidates; the process of nomination of a candidate may either be by direct or indirect primary (FGN, 2010). The adoption of the direct and indirect primary requires that party members are equally treated and allowed the same right in the process of presentation of a candidate for election, thus, the choice of the people must reflect.

The All-Progressive Congress (APC) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) won majorities of the positions on the Nigerian Senate and the State House of Assembly. Thus, the constitution of APC and PDP were analysed. APC and PDP constitution supported internal democracy as a prerequisite for the selection of the party's candidate for any election. The Article 20 of the APC's constitution for instance demanded that all party positions and

nomination for elections shall be by democratic means. Party members are required to take part in the selection of party member. However, it is necessary to take cognisance of the fact that the constitutions neither made special reservation for female nor male party members as contestants.

Table 1. Party Performance in State House of Assembly Elections in Selected States in Nigeria

S/N	State	Geo-Political Zone	Size of State Legislative House of Assembly	People Democratic Party (PDP): Seat won	All Progressive Congress (APC): Seats won	All Progressive Grand Alliance: Seat Won
1	Taraba (see Appendix A)	North-East	14	09	05	-
2	Kwara (See Appendix B)	North-Central	23	-	23	-
3	Katsina (See Appendix C)	North-West	22	-	22	-
4	Abia (See Appendix D)	South-East	24	19	02	03
5	Edo (See Appendix E)	South-South	24	-	24	-
6	Ekiti (See Appendix F)	South-West	26	-	26	-

Compiled by the Authors

Table 2. Political Parties performance the Nigerian Ninth Senate (2019–2023)  
(See Appendix G for details)

S/N	Political Party	Number of Seats won
1	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	39
2	All Progressive Congress (APC)	64
3	YPP	1
4	Vacant Seat	

Compiled by the Authors

The People's Democratic Party (PDP) constitution, in Chapter 8 Section 50, required that all elections for nomination of candidate shall be democratic. The member of the party must be involved in the process of the election. It suffices to note from the chapter that there was no special

provision or consideration for female or male party member for any elective position. It can be argued that based on the above result of gender representation and party constitution that internal democracy is the means for candidacy of political party and this is the manifestation of party members' and the electorate choice as required in democracies.

## 5.2. Gender preference and Political parties' performance in Legislative Elections in Nigeria

The preferences for gender in elections in legislative house elections in Nigeria legislative elections are summed below.

Table 3. Gender Distributions in State House of Assembly in Selected States in Nigeria

S/N	State	Geo-Political Zone	Political Parties					
			Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)		All Progressive Congress (APC)		All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)	
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Taraba	North-East	08	–	05	–	–	–
2	Kwara	North-Central	–	–	23	–	–	–
3	Katsina	North-West	–	–	22	–	–	–
4	Abia	South-East	19	–	02	–	03	–
5	Edo	South-South	–	–	24	–		
6	Ekiti	South-West	–	–	23	03	–	–

Compiled by the Authors

Table 4. Political Parties on the Nigerian Ninth Senate (2019–2023)  
(See Appendix G for details)

S/N	Political Party	Number of Seats won	Gender distribution of Seats won		Percentage of Seats won by political parties (109)
			Male	Female	
1	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	44	38	6	40.37
2	All Progressive Congress (APC)	64	62	2	58.71
3	YPP	1	1	–	0.92

Compiled by the Authors

## 6. Discussion of Findings

The presentation of candidates for the elective position is the obligation of political party in any democratic state. In Nigeria, the (1999) constitution confirmed this and the presentation of candidates for political position remains the responsibilities of political parties. The flag bearer for an elective position is expected to conform to the rule of internal democracy as declared in section 87 of the Electoral Act (2010). However, studies such as Gbolahan and Duruji (2017) had identified the problem of multi-party system to include the existence of ethnic politics, lack of party ideology, the place of godfather in candidate selection, mass poverty resulting from a high rate of unemployment, party defection, and politics as investment by the elite, etc. Ogbe (2018) studies on the practice of candidate imposition in Nigeria democracy and argued that the implication of such practice is that people are easily lured into violence. Chukwujekwu and Ezeabasili (2019) noted that there is a link between internal democracy and godfatherism in the selection of candidate in a political party and stated that candidate in politics may not necessary be choice of the people. Ogunkorode (2019) advocated for independent candidature in elections in Nigeria to curb the practice of candidate imposition. Contrary to the operation of internal democracy as a means of choosing candidates, other factors as the imposition of candidate by party elite, and so on are issues to contend with. There is the need to look beyond the neutrality of primary election as a major determinant of candidate selection in democracy, the presentation of either gender may be influenced by party elite among others.

The study noted that there is a high preference for the male gender in legislative elections in Nigeria. While the studies by Agbalajobi (2010), Nelson (2012), Awofeso and Odeyemi (2014) had blamed the poor representation or marginalisation of women in politics on cultural, religion, traditional, and related practices in Nigeria, thereby confirming the findings, Singh (2009) had argued that personal factors inclusive of party identification, ideology, geographical location of voter's, and many more informed voter's choice in elections. Dassonneville (2016) revealed that short term factors especially economic issues poses sway on choice of voters. Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018) established the importance of factors beyond voter's choice. Studies by Singh (2009), Dassonneville (2016) and Horiuchi, Smith, and Yamamoto (2018) refuted the findings of Agbalajobi, Nelson, Awofeso and Odeyemi. Rather, several factors other than culture

were identified as a factor influencing voter's choice in election. Cultural factor maybe one of the several factors influencing voters' decisions in elections.

## Conclusion

The study concluded that Nigeria has a democratic state has not requirements set aside for the consideration of gender representation in the legislature rather elections are held on the principle of interest and winning determined through a simple majority. The view that culture has impacted female preference in the election was accompanied as one of the numerous factors that determine elections outcome.

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## Appendix A

**Geo-Political Zone:** North East  
**State:** Taraba State House of Assembly  
**Source:** <https://tarabastate.gov.ng/state-hon-members/>

S/N	Name	Constituency	Political Party	Gender
1.	Rt. Hon. Mark B. Useni, PhD	Takum II	(PDP)	Male
2.	Hon. John K. Bonzena	Zing	(PDP)	Male
3.	Hon. Charles Ishaku Audu	Kurmi	(PDP)	Male
4.	Hon. Charles Maijankai	Karim I	(PDP)	Male
5.	Hon. Edward G. Baraya	Karim II	(PDP)	Male
6.	Hon. Hamman'adama B. Abdullahi	Bali	(PDP)	Male
7.	Hon. Tanko Maikarfi	Gassol I	(PDP)	Male
8.	Hon. Pius Sabo	Wukari I	(PDP)	Male
9.	Hon. Saleh Sa'ad	Jalingo II	(APC)	Male
10.	Hon. Barr. Mohammed Bashir	Ngoroje	(APC)	Male
11.	Hon. Umar Yusuf	Gashaka	(APC)	Male
12.	Hon. Nura Dantsoho	Jalingo I	(APC)	Male
13.	Hon. A. A. Gambo Mubarak	Bali	(APC)	Male
14.	(Unknown)	Takum	(PDP)	

## Appendix B

**Geo-Political Zone:** North Central  
**State:** Kwara state house of assembly member  
**Source:** [http://www.kwha.gov.ng/KWHA/Pages/\\_1stlegislatureMember](http://www.kwha.gov.ng/KWHA/Pages/_1stlegislatureMember)

S/N	Name	Gender	Constituency	Political Party
1.	Rt. Hon. Engr. Yakubu D. Salihu	Male	Ilesha/Gwanara	APC
2.	Hon. Adetiba-Olanrewaju R. O.	Male	(Oke-Ero)	APC
3.	Hon. Magaji Abubakar O.	Male	(Ilorin Central)	APC
4.	Hon. Yusuf Atoyebi Musa	Male	(Odo-Ogun)	APC
5.	Hon. Bello John Olarewaju	Male	(Lanwa/Ejidongari)	APC
6.	Hon. Jimoh Ali Yusuf	Male	(Ilorin East)	APC
7.	Hon. Owolabi Olatunde Razaq	Male	(Share/Oke-Ode)	APC
8.	Hon. Babatunde A. Paku	Male	(Ipaye/Malete/Oloru)	APC
9.	Hon. Aliyu Wahab Opakunle	Male	(Afon)	APC

10.	Hon. Abdulgafar Olayemi Ayinla	Male	(Ilorin North West)	APC
11.	Hon. Awodiji Omatayo Felix.	Male	(Irepodun)	APC
12.	Hon. Ojo Olayiwola Oyebode .	Male	(Oke-Ero)	APC
13.	Hon. Yusuf A. Gbenga	Male	(Essa/Shawo/ Igboidun)	APC
14.	Hon. Ahmed Saidu Baba	Male	(Adena/Bani/Gwaria)	APC
15.	Hon. Awolola Olumide Ayokunle	Male	(Isin)	APC
16.	Hon. Abdullahi H. Danbaba	Male	(Kaiama/Wajibe/)	APC
17.	Hon. Mohammed B. Salihu	Male	(Okuta/Yashikira)	APC
18.	Hon. Ganiyu F, Salahu	Male	(Omupo)	APC
19.	Hon. Ndamusa M, Guyegi	Male	Edu	APC
20.	Hon. Ambali Olatunji Ibrahim	Male	(Owode/Onire)	APC
21.	Hon. Popoola S. A.	Male	(Balogun/Ojomu)	APC
22.	Hon. Abolarin Ganiyu Gabriel	Male	(Ekiti)	APC
23.	Hon. Hassan Abdulazeez Elewu	Male	(Ilorin South)	APC

## Appendix C

**Geo-Political Zone:** North West

**State:** Katsina State House of Assembly

**Sources:** <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/list-of-new-members-of-katsina-state-house-of-assembly.html>

<https://www.von.gov.ng/apc-clears-all-state-assembly-seats-in-katsina/>

S/N	Name	Party	Constituency	Sex
1.	Ali Abu Albaba	APC	Katsina	Male
2.	Hon. Aliyu Sabi'u Muduru	APC	Mani.	Male
3.	Hon. Tukur Shagumba	APC	Batagarawa	Male
4.	Hon Mustapha Sani Bello	APC	Mashi	Male
5.	Hon Muhammad Kwamanda	APC	Dutsin-ma	Male
6.	Hon Abdul Jalal Runka	APC	Safana	Male
7.	Hon Nasir yahaya	APC	Daura	Male
8.	Hon Musa Nuhu Gafiya	APC	Kaita	Male
9.	Hon Abubakar Suleiman Tunas	APC	Ingawa	Male
10.	Hon Mustapha Rabe Musa	APC	Maiadua	Male
11.	Hon Lawal H Yaro	APC	Musawa	Male
12.	Hon Aminu Ibrahim Saeed	APC	Malumfashi	Male
13.	Hon Sani Lawal	APC	Baure	Male

14.	Hon Abubakar Muhammad	APC	Funtua	Male
15.	Hon Abubakar Suleiman	APC	Rimi	Male
16.	Hon Hamza Rimaye	APC	Kankia	Male
17.	Hon Ya'u Garba	APC	Kankara	Male
18.	Lawal Isa Kuraye	APC	Charanchi	Male
19.	Haruna Aliyu Yamel	APC	Dutsi	Male
20.	Abubakar Muhammad	APC	Funtua	Male
21.	Tasi'u Musa Maigari	APC	Zango	Male
22.	Shehu Dalhatu Tafoki	APC	Faskari	Male

## Appendix D

**Geo-Political Zone:** South East

**State:** Abia State House of Assembly Composition as at 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2019

**Source:** <https://puoreports.ng/2019/05/11/exclusive-meet-24-abia-assembly-lawmakers-elect-2019/>

S/N	Name	Constituency	Sex	Political party
1.	Hon. Emmanuel C. Ndubuisi	Bende South	Male	PDP
2.	Hon. Stanley Nwabuisi	Ikwuano	Male	PDP
3.	Hon. Onwusibe Ginger	Isiala Ngwa North	Male	PDP
4.	Hon. Chikwendu Kalu	Isiala Ngwa South	Male	PDP
5.	Hon. Solomon Akpulonu U	Obingwa East	Male	PDP
6.	Hon. Thomas Nkoro A.C.	Obingwa West	Male	PDP
7.	Hon. Mandela Egwuronu Obasi	Ohafia North	Male	PDP
8.	Hon. Ifeanyi Uchendu	Ohafia South	Male	PDP
9.	Rt Hon. Kennedy Njoku	Osisoma North	Male	PDP
10.	Hon. Nnamdi Allen	Osisoma South	Male	PDP
11.	Hon. Okey Igwe	Umunneochi	Male	PDP
12.	Hon. Munachim I. Alozie	Ugwunaagbo	Male	PDP
13.	Hon. Paul Taribo	Ukwa East	Male	PDP
14.	Hon. Godwin Adiele	Ukwa West	Male	PDP
15.	Hon. Chukwudi Apugo	Umuahia East	Male	PDP
16.	Hon. Kelechi Onuzuruike	Umuahia North	Male	PDP
17.	Hon. Engr. Chinedum Orji	Umuahia Central	Male	PDP
18.	Hon. Jeremiah Ogonnaya Uzosike	Umuahia South	Male	PDP
19.	Hon. Uzodike Aaron	Aba North	Male	PDP

20.	Hon. Chukwu Chijioke	Bende North	Male	APC
21.	Hon. Emeka Okoroafor	Isuikwuato	Male	APC
22.	Hon. Obinna Ichita Martin	Aba South	Male	APGA
23.	Hon. Abraham Oba Ukefi	Aba Central	Male	APGA
24.	Hon. Onyekwere. M. Ukoha	Arochukwu	Male	APGA

## Appendix E

**Geo-Political Zone:** South South

**State:** Edo state house of Assembly

**Sources:** <https://leadership.ng/2019/03/11/edo-apc-wins-24-assem-bly-seats/>

S/N	Name	Party	Constituency	Gender
1.	Chris Okaeben	APC	(Oredo West),	Male
2.	Crosby Eribo	APC	(Egor)	Male
3.	Henry Okhwarobo	APC	(Ikpoba-Okha)	Male
4.	Roland Asoro	APC	(Orhionmwon West)	Male
5.	Nosayaba Okunbor	APC	(Orhionmwon East)	Male
6.	Osaro Obazee	APC	(Oredo East)	Male
7.	Washington Osifo	APC	(Uhunmwode)	Male
8.	Ugiagbe Dumez	APC	(Ovia North East 1)	Male
9.	Vincent Uwadiae	APC	(Ovia North East 11)	Male
10.	Sunday Aghedo	APC	(Ovia South West)	Male
11.	Francis Okiye	APC	(Esan North East 1)	Male
12.	Emmanuel Okoduwa	APC	(Esan North East 11)	Male
13.	Victor Edoror	APC	(Esan Central)	Male
14.	Sunday Ojiezele	APC	(Esan South East)	Male
15.	Marcus Onobun	APC	(Esan West)	Male
16.	Ephraim Aluebhosele	APC	(Igueben)	Male
17.	Ganiyu Audu	APC	(Estako West 1)	Male
18.	Aliyu Oshiomhole	APC	(Estako West 11).	Male
19.	Emmanuel Agbaje	APC	(Akoko-Edo 11)	Male
20.	Yekini Idaiye	APC	(Akoko-Edo 11)	Male
21.	Eric Okaka	APC	(Owan East)	Male
22.	Micheal Ohio-Ezo	APC	(Owan West)	Male
23.	Oshoma Ahmed	APC	(Estako Central)	Male
24.	Kingsley Ugabi	APC	(Estako East).	Male

## Appendix F

**Geo-Political Zone:** South West  
**State:** Ekiti State House of Assembly Composition  
**Sources:** <https://ekitistate.gov.ng/executive-council/legislature/#sixth-ekiti-state-house-of-assembly>

S/N	Names	Party	Constituency	Gender
1.	Rt. Hon. Funminiyi Afuye	APC	Ikere I	Male
2.	Rt. Hon. Hakeem Jamiu	APC	Irepodun Ifelodun2	Male
3.	Hon. Gboyega Aribisogan	APC	Ikole I	Male
4.	Hon. Tajudeen Akingbolu	APC	Ekiti West I	Male
5.	Hon. Bunmi Adelugba	APC	Emure	Female
6.	Hon. Tope Ogunleye	APC	Ilejemeje	Male
7.	Hon. Toyin Lucas	APC	Ado I	Male
8.	Hon. Kemi Balogun	APC	Ado II	Male
9.	Hon. Lawrence Babatunde Idowu	APC	Ikere II	Male
10.	Hon. Adegoke Olajide	APC	Efon	Male
11.	Hon. Adejuwa Adegbuyi	APC	Ekiti East I	Male
12.	Hon. Lateef Akanle	APC	Ekiti East II	Male
13.	Hon. Yemisi Ayokunle	APC	Ekiti South West	Female
14.	Hon. Olatunji Joseph	APC	Ekiti South West II	Male
15.	Hon. Johnson Oyebola Bode-Adeoye	APC	Ekiti West II	Male
16.	Hon. Teju Okuyiga	APC	Gbonyin	Female
17.	Hon. Abiodun Fawekun	APC	Ido/Osi I	Male
18.	Hon. Akin Oso	APC	Ido/Osi II	Male
19.	Hon. Aribasoye Steven Adeoye	APC	Ikole II	Male
20.	Hon. Ademola Ojo	APC	Ijero	Male
21.	Hon. Ayodeji Ajayi	APC	Ise/Orun	Male
22.	Hon. Femi Akindele	APC	Irepodun/Ifelodun I	Male
23.	Hon. Adeyemi Rapheal Ajibade	APC	Moba I	Male
24.	Hon. Arubu Michael	APC	Moba II	Male
25.	Hon. Awoyemi Reuben	APC	Oye-I	Male
26.	Hon. Osatuyi Yemi	APC	Oye-II	Male

## Appendix G

### Nigerian Ninth Senate (2019–2023)

S/N	State	Senatorial district	Political parties	Senator	Gender
1.	Abia	North	APC	Kalu Orji Uzor	Male
2.		Central	PDP	Orji Theodore Ahamefule	Male
3.		South	PDP	Enyinnaya Abaribe	Male
4.	Adamawa	North	PDP	Ishaku Elisha Diff Abbo	Male
5.		Central	APC	Aishatu Dahiru Ahmed	Female
6.		South	PDP	Binos Dauda Yoroe	Male
7.	Akwa Ibom	North-East	PDP	Bassey Albert Akpan	Male
8.		North West	PDP	Christopher Stephen Ekpenyong	Male
9.		South	PDP	Eyakenyi Akon Etim	Female
10.	Anambra	North	PDP	Adaeze Stella Oduah	Female
11.		Central	PDP	Ekwunife Lilian Uche	Female
12.		South	YPP	Ifeanyi P. Ubah	Male
13.	Bauchi	South	APC	Lawal Y. Gumau	Male
14.		Central	APC	Dauda Halliru Jika	Male
15.		North	APC	Bulkachuwa Adamu Muhammad	Male
16.	Bayelsa	East	APC	Degi Eremienyo Biobaraku Wangagra	Male
17.		Central	PDP	Douye Diri	Male
18.		West	PDP	O. Lawrence Ewhrudjakpo	Male
19.	Benue	North East	PDP	Gabriel Suswam	Male
20.		North West	PDP	Emmanuel Yisa Orker-Jev	Male
21.		South	PDP	Patrick Abba Moro	Male
22.	Borno	North	APC	Abubakar Kyari Shaib	Male
23.		Central	APC	Kashim Shettima	Male
24.		South	APC	M. Ali Ndume	Male
25.	Cross River	North	PDP	Rose Okoji Oko	Female
26.		Central	PDP	Onor Sandy Ojang	Male
27.		South	PDP	Gershom Bassey	Male
28.	Delta	North	PDP	Peter Nwaoboshi	Male
29.		Central	APC	Ovie Omo-Agege	Male
30.		South	PDP	James Ebiowou Manager	Male

31.	Ebonyi	North	PDP	Egwu Samuel Ominyi	Male
32.		Central	PDP	Obinna Joseph Ogba	Male
33.		South	PDP	Michael A. Nnachi	Male
34.	Edo	North	APC	Francis Asekhame Alimilhena	Male
35.		Central	PDP	Akhimienmona C. Ordia	Male
36.		South	APC	Mathew A. Urhogide	
37.	Ekiti	North	APC	Olubunmi Ayodeji Adetunmbi	Male
38.		Central	APC	Bamidele Michael Opeyemi	Male
39.		South	PDP	Biodun Christine Olujimi	Female
40.	Enugu	East	PDP	Chimaroake O. Nnanami	Male
41.		West	PDP	Ike Ekweremadu	Male
42.		North	PDP	Godfrey Chukwuka Utazi	Male
43.	Gombe	North	APC	Alkali Saidu Ahmed	Male
44.		South	APC	Amos Bulus Kilawangs	Male
45.		Central	APC	Danjuma Goje Mohammed	Male
46.	Imo	East	PDP	Ezenwa Francis Onyewuchi	Male
47.		West	APC	Rochas okorocho	Male
48.		North	APC	Benjamin Uwajumogu	Male
49.	Jigawa	South West	APC	Sabo Mohammed	Male
50.		North East	APC	Hassan Ibrahim Hadeija	Male
51.		North West	APC	Danladi Abdullahi Sankara	Male
52.	Kaduna	North	APC	Kwari Suleiman Abdu	Male
53.		Central	PDP	Sani Uba	Male
54.		South	APC	Dajuma Tella La'ah	Male
55.	Kano	North	APC	Ibrahim Barau Jibrin	Male
56.		Central	APC	Ibrahim Shekarau	Male
57.		South	APC	Ibrahim Kabiru Gaya	Male
58.	Katsina	North	APC	Ahmad Babba-Kaita	Male
59.		South	APC	Bello Mandiya	Male
60.		Central	APC	Kabir Abdullahi Barkiya	Male
61.	Kebbi	North	APC	Abdullahi Abubakar Y.	Male
62.		Central	APC	Adamu Mainasara M. Aliero	Male
63.		South	APC	Bala Ibn Na'allah	Male
64.	Kogi	Central	APC	Oseni Yakubu	Male
65.		East	APC	Jibrin Isah	Male
66.		West	PDP	Smart Adeyemi	Male
67.	Kwara	North	APC	Umar Suleiman Sadiq	Male
68.		Central	APC	Yahaya Yisa Oloriegbe	Male
69.		South	APC	Ashiru Oyelola Yisa	Male

70.	Lagos	East	APC	Osinowo Sikiru Adebayo	Male
71.		Central	APC	Remi S. Tinubu	Female
72.		West	APC	Adeola Solomon Olamilekan	Male
73.	Nasarawa	West	APC	Abdullahi Adamu	Male
74.		North	APC	Godiya Akwashiki	Male
75.		South	APC	Tanko Al-Makura	Male
76.	Niger	North	APC	Aliyu Sabi Abdullahi	Male
77.		East	APC	Mohammed Sani Musa	Male
78.		South	APC	Muhammed Enagi Bima	Male
79.	Ogun	Central	APC	Ibikunle Amosun	Male
80.		East	APC	Ramoni Olalekan Mustapha	Male
81.		West	APC	Odebiyi Tolulope Akinremi	Male
82.	Ondo	North	APC	Robert Ajayi Boroface	Male
83.		Central	PDP	Ayo Patrick Akinyelure	Male
84.		South	PDP	Nicholas O. Tofowomo	Male
85.	Osun	East	PDP	Fadahunsi Francis Adenigba	Male
86.		Central	APC	Surajudeen Ajibola Basiru	Male
87.		West	APC	Oriolowo Adelere Adeyemi	Male
88.	Oyo	North	APC	Buhari Abdulfatai Omotayo	Male
89.		Central	APC	Folarin Teslim Kolawole	Male
90.		South	PDP	Kola Balogun Ademola	Male
91.	Plateau	North	PDP	Gyang Dung Istifanus	Male
92.		Central	APC	Hezehiah Ayuba Dimka	Male
93.		South	APC	Ignatus Datong Longjan	Male
94.	Rivers	East	PDP	Thompson George Sekibo	Male
95.		South East	PDP	Barinada B. Mpigi	Male
96.		West	PDP	Jocelyn Betty Apiafi	Female
97.	Sokoto	East	APC	Gobir Ibrahim Abdullahi	Male
98.		North	APC	Aliyu M. Wamakko	Male
99.		South	APC	Shehu Abubakar Tambuwal	Male
100.	Taraba	South	PDP	Emmanuel Bwacha	Male
101.		Central	APC	Yusuf Abubakar Yusuf	Male
102.		North	PDP	Isa Shuaibu Lau	Male
103.	Yobe	East	APC	Gaidam Ibrahim	Male
104.		North	APC	Ahmad Ibrahim Lawan	Male
105.		South	APC	Ibrahim Mohammed Bomai	Male
106.	Zamfara	North	PDP	Ya'u Sahabi	Male
107.		Central	PDP	Mohammed Hassan Gusau	Male
108.		West	PDP	Lawali Anka	Male
109.	FCT		PDP	Tanimu Philip Aduda	Male



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