

Impact of Money Politics on Good Governance in South West Nigeria (2011-2019)

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Abstract: This study explored the impact of money politics on good governance in Southwest Nigeria (2011-2019). Five research questions were framed while one hypothesis was formulated and tested for the study. From a population of 38,257,260 a sample of 400 respondents was drawn using the stratified sampling technique. The descriptive survey research design was used for the study. One instrument was utilized for the study. The questionnaire was a 27-item Money Politics and Good Governance Questionnaire (MPGGQ). The reliability of the MPGGQ was obtained using Crombach's Alpha which yielded coefficient alpha value of 0.74. Descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation was used for data analysis while Chi-square statistics was used to test the research hypothesis. The study found that: money politics impacts highly on good governance in Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2019, money politics impacts highly on the emergence of people's choice of political leadership in Southwest Nigeria. Also, money politics impacts highly on the electoral system in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019 and have negative consequences on good governance. The extent money politics affected performance in office in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019 is high. Money/godfatherism, poverty, corruption and impunity, weak electoral body, deceit by politicians, desperation to win at all cost and weak electoral framework are the major causes of money politics in Southwest Nigeria. The paper concludes that Money politics has obliterated the political process in the Southwest states of Nigeria and has impacted negatively on good governance. Money politics also impacted negatively on good governance and abuse of political office because the political office holders. The study among others recommends that until the regulatory agencies responsible for monitoring of elections and sanctioning of offenders improve their efforts in minimizing excessive use of money in politics of Southwest Nigeria, it will continue to produce incompetent leaders and this will lead to bad governance and abuse of power as well as misuse of state resources for private gain.

Keywords: Money Politics, Good governance, Power, Politics

I. INTRODUCTION

Money politics in a layman understanding is that kind of politics whereby members of a political party offer money and inducements in order to win support from certain individual or communities during an election campaign. During elections in Nigeria, it is common to hear of instances where people were given money, rice, stock fish, salt and cloths. In return, the recipient would cast their votes for a specified political party. This probably suggests why Essien (2009) maintained that the electorates sold their right and vote to a wrong party. The Phenomenon of money politics in Nigeria is not a new concept, the history of electioneering

processes in the country, especially after independence, was largely influenced with buying and selling of votes. Money Politics

In the preparations to the 2015 elections for instance, the issue of use of money in the Nigerian politics was evidently reported. It got shoddier each political season. In 2014, the All Progressive Grand Alliance, APGA, generated large sum of money from selling nomination forms to governorship aspirants for the 2014 election in Anambra State. The People's Democratic Party, PDP, raked money from the same exercise. Adekunle (2014) reported that APGA's nomination form cost N10m for men and N5m for women. PDP also charged same rate of N10m for both men and women. Outrageous as these expenses were at the entry point of the gubernatorial race, candidates willingly paid. Candidates violated the Electoral Act as they were willing to pay above the pegged election expenses. PDP wants N11m from gubernatorial aspirants in 2015. PDP presidential aspirants paid N22m; All Progressives Congress APC, charged presidential aspirants N27.5m, and governorship aspirants. Money seems to be used in Nigeria politics and this could have critical influence on good governance. Governance has a lot to do with the allocation of values in the society, which to a large extent is political in nature. Although governance is related to politics, it is conceptually different. However, as a human phenomenon, governance is exercised within a given socio-cultural context. It refers to the process and mechanisms of allocating the values without jeopardizing the principles of equity, justice and fairness.

Governance means the degree to which institutions (such as parliament) and processes (such as elections) are transparent i.e. not susceptible to corruption in international business transactions and accountable to the people, allowing them to participate in decisions that affect their lives. In the same vein, The Human Development Report (2002) defines 'effective governance as a set of principles and core values that allow poor people to gain power through participation while protecting them from arbitrary unaccountable actions in their lives by governments, multinationals and other forces. As such, governance means ensuring that institutions and power are structured and distributed in a way that gives real voice and space to poor people and creates mechanisms through which the powerful can be held accountable for their actions. Going by the above, money politics occasioned by vote buying will hamper governance because the political leaders

will be concerned with recouping the money spent rather than on governance. Money politics seems to be evident in Nigeria and Southwest geo-political zone in particular. In the Southwest zone of Nigeria, the citizens seem more interested in the delivery facets of democracy as a system of government. This could be adduced to citizens increasingly look forward to the dividends of democracy to transform their present poor existence to a situation in which all their material wants would be satisfied. This transformation can only be achieved through the operation of good governance. Given that the act of money politics seem to have taken firm root in the activities of politicians in Southwest zone of Nigeria, this could have negative impact on good governance in the region. This situation whereby contenders for elective positions used money or money is used on their behalf as an enticement to sway their support which is not based on persuading the electorates to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the force of money that has changed hands is an ugly one and if not urgently addressed could hamper the governmental and institutional operations in the polity which may no longer be basis of strict compliance with the tenets and practices of democracy. In the wake of the fourth republic in 1999, there has been increasing evidence of money politics in Southwest Nigeria. As elections have been held in the past and have come and gone, the high expectations that the democratic system would improve the lives of individuals has left many citizens in the southwest region of Nigeria. Hence, the authors examined the impact of money politics and good governance in South-west geopolitical zone in Nigeria 2011-2019.

Research Questions

The following questions guided the study:

- a) To what extent has money politics impacted the emergence of the people's choice of political leadership in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?
- b) What is the impact of money politics on the electoral system in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?
- c) What are the consequences of money politics on good governance in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?
- d) To what extent has money politics affected performance in office in the southwest between 2011 and 2019?
- e) What are the factors responsible for money politics in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?

Objective of the Study

The major objective of the study is to determine the impact of money politics on good governance in the Southwest Nigeria, 2011 to 2019. Specifically, the study:

- a) Ascertained the impact of money politics on people's choice of political leadership in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019.

- b) Examined the impact of money politics on the electoral system in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019.
- c) Highlighted the consequences of money politics on good governance in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019.
- d) Identified the impact of money politics on performance of office holders in Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2019.
- e) Identified and examine the factors responsible for money politics in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019.

Research Hypothesis

H₀1: Money politics did not significantly influence good governance in southwest geo-political zone between 2011 and 2019.

The study examined the long impact of money politics on good governance in the Southwest region from 2011 – 2019. Cutting across all political offices where election has been held or conducted in the six States of the Southwest region namely Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Osun, Ondo and Lagos respectively. In specific, the strategy employed by the government, security agencies and electoral umpire, civil society organization, and traditional institutions in addressing this on-going menace will be interrogated, using quantitative method.

The study relied on other data sources like questionnaires and other secondary sources of collecting data. The study explicitly examined the impact of money politics on good governance with the view to offering recommendations that could lead to an enduring solution.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The phenomenon of money politics is not a new concept in the Southwest and Nigeria as a whole, the history of electioneering process has been largely influenced with buying, selling and intimidation of voters but more surprisingly it has now become key variable in determine who participate in the electoral process. As a matter of fact, the party process of nominating candidates for elective post has become so high that only the rich and money bags can participate in party primary. Aiyede (2016) analysing the previous research clarified that cash aids in facilitating political corruption in our democratic system of government.

For Bower (2018), vote buying is a circumstance wherein political party or political contenders instigate voters to sell their votes in return for cash or some other material advantages. This situation results in circumstances that encourage voters and other relevant stakeholders in the electioneering process including the political party as well as other ad-hoc staff or their delegates facilitate the outcome of elections through the manipulation of voting process. Van de Walle (2014) characterizes vote purchasing as a circumstance

in which citizens are given cash by political aspirants in return for their votes.

This definition portrays a circumstance where citizens sell off their votes to political aspirants who are eager to pay the most. Voters in this condition are relied upon to pick up in material terms for their vote. In a similar vein, Dung (2016) conceptualized vote buying as any type of influence in which monetary benefit is proposed by one individual to another with the goal of affecting an individual's vote. This conceptualization surmises that vote buying incorporates not just the instalment of a basic payoff to voters, yet in addition the incitement of political race authorities to support an aspirant or political party during political race. He recognized that politicians that engage in vote buying are mostly unpopular within their community. However, vote buying has further changed the political ideology of voters since they often believe that whatever is done within their constituency must be backed up with financial rewards at both the Federal, State and at Local government levels.

Impact of Money Politics on the Electoral System

A critical impact of money politics on the electoral system as viewed by Feikert (2009), Kura (2011), Ovwasa (2014), Ibrahim et al (2015) and Ukase (2016) is its decisive role in democracy given its importance in the execution of a democratic election and democratic practice. Alfa and Marangos (2016) have argued that money matters for democracy because many of the democratic activities simply could not take place without money. Best (2006) describes the role of money in politics especially for those seeking political offices as the norm while Ojo (2006) conceives money as an instrument used by political parties or candidates in election campaign to secure votes. However, money politics, in terms of conceptualization raises conflicting and varying explanations from scholars, policy analysts and politicians.

Beetseh and Akpoo (2015) conceptualized money-politics as the event in electoral process whereby contenders for elective positions use money or money is used on their behalf as an inducement to sway their support which is not based on persuading the electorates to vote according to their wish and conviction but on the influence of money that has changed hands. They argued further that money-politics encompasses situations whereby money is used to influence the electorate to vote in favour of a candidate or a political party. In other word, money-politics involves the use of money to induce voters to vote against their wish and conviction. Aiyede (2006) lends support to the foregoing when he explained that money encourages the flourishing of corruption in Nigerian democratic process. In addition, money politics include vote buying which in literal sense, vote buying involves a simple economic transaction. Fredrick Charles and Andrea's Schedler cited in Ojo (2006) described vote buying as a 'contract or perhaps an auction' in which the electorates sell their votes to the highest bidder. In a broad sense, it is an act intended to

persuade or induce individuals to vote in a certain ways during an election.

Impact of Money politics on the peoples' choice of political office holder

Prior to general elections in Nigeria, especially at each of the parties primaries, Nigerians have observed with dismay, high level of desperation on the parts of the contestants; do-or-die politics, nasty abuse and name-calling, money-politics, and slogan of ethnicity and disunity within the parties. Elections in Nigeria in the current dispensation have been characterized by a well-designed money-politics regime. This is evident in the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 general elections and the various houses of assembly, House of Representatives and Senate elections in the country (Adetula, 2006; Kura, 2011; Ovwasa, 2014; Alfa and Marangos, 2016 and Ukase, 2016).

The phenomena of money-politics is alarming and escalating from one civilian transition to another. The political landscape has been hijacked by money-bag politicians, wealthy candidates and political godfathers. The act of 'see-and-buy' of votes by political parties and candidates are trendy in Nigeria electioneering process. The conspiratorial involvement of some officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the orchestrated vote buying regime is worsening the bastardised electoral system. The N23bn bribe fund facilitated by Diezani Alison-Madueke, former Minister of Petroleum Resources, ahead of the 2015 general elections is a reflection of the pre-arranged act of money politics and vote buying in the Nigerian electoral process (Soriwei, 2015; Alli, 2016a and 2016b; Nwisi, 2016; Soriwei, Akinkuotu and Adepegba, 2017; and Nafiu, 2017). The failure of the electoral Act to address the problems associated with money-politics in the country is a reflection of the incapacity of INEC to ensure credible election. The outcomes of various elections in the country in recent times presuppose the fact that the electoral law has in practice, had unintended consequences. Majority of Nigerians believed that money-bags controlled the political system and that various elections in the country were bought by the highest bidders. Political office holders such as the President or Governor have largely assumed the role of godfathers. More worrisome is that they use public funds to finance and sponsor their preferred party loyalists.

Money politics and vote buying is pervasive in Nigeria at all level of elections. Political parties and politicians (political elite group) are the root of circumventing financing regulation (Adetula, 2006 and Ukase, 2016). The collaboration of INEC official in subverting the electioneering process is making mockery of democracy in the country. In the current Nigeria democratic system, the conduct of elections has assumed a new dimension of blatant and open buying and selling of votes. This is a "see-and-buy" situation; a modernized voting pattern in which the electorate (vote sellers) stylishly show their ballot paper to the agent of the political party (vote buyers) that has paid for their votes to confirm that they have voted as agreed.

Factors Responsible for Money Politics

The impression that political office holders are incurably corrupt self-cantered and lack competency has made people to view politics as dishonourable enterprise. And that politics is synonymous to fraud and betrayal of public trust (Ojo, 2008). The general perception of the voters that political office holders are corrupt is an excuse for accepting money as voting criteria and those funds realized before election is what they can benefit from the politicians. The argument is that politicians hardly fulfill promises made by during campaigns. Meanwhile, this notion derails Nigeria's democracy. The nature of Nigerian politics also encourages money politics.

The winner-takes-all syndrome deviates moral principle. Nigeria's politicking gives room for mediocrity and discourages morality which poses threat to democratic sustainability in the country. Politics is viewed as a dirty game and allows a 'do or die' electoral contest, this tells on the level of political culture in the country. In as much as the rulers could not lead by example, the ruled cannot be easily cautioned.

Concept of Good Governance

A proper understanding of the theory of good governance and its principles is sine qua non to a proper understanding and assessment of governance in Nigeria. This is very necessary with a view to making far-reaching suggestions for improvement as well as the likely implications for policy and practice on governance in Nigeria. Unfortunately, when it comes to good governance practice in the contemporary world, it is observed that Nigeria, like most African states, is seriously lagging behind when compared to the advanced democratic countries in Europe and America, using the principles of good governance or democracy as yardsticks or indices.

While the theory of good governance seeks to promote effectiveness and efficiency as well as stable and predictable economic growth through public service institutions, the theory of democracy or democratic governance deals with political freedom, equal right and justice as main focus. Nevertheless, democracy is the philosophical foundation of good governance and they are therefore synonymous (Idada and Uahunwango, 2012). In the final analysis, the question of how to create or ensure good governance is normative and it remains central when the issue of governance is considered. It has been pointed out that governance as a minimal state is based on democratic governance and on the assumption that the quality of governance and democracy can be increased through a reduction in the role of the state in governing.

In summary, democratic governance is synonymous and interchangeably used with good governance, both in theory and practice, as most successful countries in the contemporary world in Europe and America practice good governance and democratic governments. It is therefore not surprising that

those countries set the standards for other countries to follow based on the principles of good governance theory.

Money politics and Good Governance

Fox (2010) argued that money is indispensable in the political process. He noted that campaigns cost money, as political office aspirants need funds to properly remunerate their staff, researchers, and policy analysts and communications experts. He also pointed out that money is needed to print brochures, pamphlets, radio and television adverts, renting spaces for campaign offices, telephone expenses and other office requirements. Fox (2010) maintained that in fact running for office is not different from running a small business where money is central for operations.

Fox (2010) emphasizes a reality in campaign financing that sufficient funds are required for a successful campaign, and that candidates must provide these funds if they are committed to winning the elections. It follows then, that this need can make candidates to resort to illegal means of sourcing for funds, when the legal means prove unfruitful. Therefore, the increasing centrality of money in politics and campaigns implies that the more money an aspirant has the more chances of winning. For candidates with limited means their chances at the polls are slimmer. Similarly, Ohman (2013) posited that while the nature of politics varies largely between various regions and nations, it is hardly contestable that there is nowhere in the globe where money does not matter in a political decision making process or in campaign organisation. Ohman (2013) argued further that money in politics has a significant nexus with key aspects to any modern state. He also notes that the management of political finance is central to credible and genuine elections and electoral campaigns. This in his opinion is so because money has the propensity to mar competition between and among contestants. Ohman (2013) furthermore posited that a democratic society must of necessity be characterized by on-going dialogue with its citizens and this process requires funding.

Review of Empirical Studies

Idowu and Etinosa (2013) examined money politics and good governance in Nigeria. This research argued that since the quest for material accumulation and consolidation has remained the bane for seeking political power, various shades of persons with questionable moral bankruptcy will continue to flood our political landscape unhindered in order to manipulate the instrumentality of state power to further their ill-conceived motives of looting the nation's wealth rather than address the urgent societal problems of poverty, hunger, infrastructural decay, rising unemployment, insecurity, to mention but a few. The research concludes by stating emphatically that there is urgent necessity to put in place a workable constitutional framework that is people oriented and empowers them with the ultimate sovereignty of choosing those to govern them, otherwise the 'demon' called money

and its manipulative tendencies will continue to undermine the process of democratic governance in Nigeria.

Ovwasa (2014) examined Money Politics and Vote Buying in Nigeria: The Bane of Good Governance. He sees Money politics and vote buying to have taken the centre stage in our political activities. This is because parties and candidates have shown by their conduct during political campaigns, that good party manifestoes and integrity of candidates jostling for public offices are no longer sufficient to guarantee electoral success. Thus, they resort to Vote-buying.

Babatunde, Shaibu and Ariyo (2019) examined implications of money politics in Nigeria's reliance on the political system; influences of political godfathers, institutional decadence; poor democratic consciousness; desperation of contestants, and corrupt leadership that subvert the process. The authors posit that the continued use of money by political parties and candidates to manipulate the electoral process and buy electoral outcomes will continue to breed political thuggery and violence in the country. As political office seekers spend a lot of money to secure political offices, they employ the services of political thugs to ensure the realization of their political ambitions. Thuggery militarizes the Nigerian political environment and encourages violent political culture in the country.

Tunde, Lawal and Mohammed (2015) in a paper established that buying and selling of votes has become an accepted norm in Nigeria's political arrangement which threatens her readiness to embrace democratic virtues. Also, vying for political posts is left for rich individuals due to the huge amount of money involved in preparation for elective offices. Though the electoral act regulates political finance, its application is not obtainable. The electoral body that is responsible for monitoring and regulating expenses of candidates has not been vibrant in such obligation. The study explored the ugly phenomenon of money politics in Nigeria's democracy via its implication for sustainable development. The research infers that until Nigerians move from politics of money and adopt politics of ideology and creativity, advancement of the country's democracy might be a mirage. Adojutelegan(2018). Vote-Selling: Infrastructure and Public Services. Vote-selling in Nigeria pervades and permeates the electoral space, where it has become the primary instrument of electoral fraud. Previous research has indicated a strong correlation between vote-buying and underinvestment and poor delivery of public services.

Theoretical Framework

The Rational Choice Theory of Election and Power elite theory were looked into and utilized for this study. The rational choice focuses on the functionality of institutions (political parties and INEC inclusive) and the patterns, procedures and regularities produce by them for everyone to engage with one another as per a laid down rule. Institutions are equilibrium ways of doing things (Shepsle, 2016).

Institutions and their arrangements are in all human society and in use nearly all the time to coordinate human and organizational behaviour.

The rational choice practitioners explain the activities of power-seeking political parties within a set of institutional constraints. The power elite theorists and rational choice practitioners even though they differ in object and focus of their studies, agree on one essential premise: that institution (political parties and INEC) constitutes the humanly devised mechanisms that shape the interactions and activities of every aspiring political office holder in their struggle for power. In the 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019 General Elections and the various governorship, Houses of Assembly, House of Representatives and Senate elections, the 2002, 2006 and 2010 Campaign. The theoretical framework for analyzing the influence of money politics on good governance involves essentially the adoption of the power elite theory. elite theory as developed by Mosca (1939), Michels (1962) and Pareto (1968) is ideal for the explanation on the extent to which money-politics impact on good governance in Southwest Nigeria.

This theory was offered by Vilfredo Pareto in 1935 the supposition of the theory is that power is rotated among the elites, this means the elites are substituted by another group of elites, meaning that the masses are unavoidably ruled by the few elites at the expense of the masses (the electorates). It is understood that this idea was begun by Pareto and Mosca in 1935 the law of elite rotation, in line with the above assumption and to support the argument elite theory sees elites as players governing the state and national resources, and occupying key positions related to power networks (Yamokoski & Dubrow, 2008).

Thus, the perception of elites is more carefully connected to the Weberian knowledge of power, understood as the competence of executing one's will, even against the will of the general populous (Weber, 1922:696). However, it is understood that power can be accomplished through material, money and/or figurative resources. Subsequently, elites can simply be defined as those in control of capitals (Reis, 2005). This theory resided on how money could be used to acquire power so as to influence governance. More so, the theory believes that power can only be shared among the elites at the expense governance. The political elite theorists identify the political elites in any society as a group of minority that possesses the requisite qualities to occupy social and political space. This is the ruling class that performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages of political offices.

This political elites or ruling class are often motivated by their irresistible urge for power to govern and control the majority which constitutes the masses. Thus, behind the political elite theory, power is the primary urge or focus. They employ all kinds of methods or strategies including their economic strength or power, particularly money as an instrument of

influence to play upon the sentiments of the majority and find their way to political power.

III. METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study employed the quantitative approach. This study employed the survey research design to collect and analyze data. Survey research is a technique in research where the desired characteristic of a given population is systematically examined. Survey research involves gathering of data about a target population from a sample and generalizing the findings obtained from the analysis of the sample to the entire population. The study is cross-sectional survey because it required that data is collected at a particular time, from a large sample, for the purpose of describing the population represented by the sample at that particular time. Survey research designs are procedures in quantitative research in which investigators administer a survey to a sample or to the entire population of people to describe the attitudes, opinions, behaviors, or characteristics of the population (Ajai and Amuche, 2015). The study will span across the six states of the Southwest geo-political zone namely; Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Ondo and Osun States respectively. The States are known to be sophisticated and highly enlightened on political and socio-economic issues.

The population of the study comprises indigene/ residents, Stakeholders, political, traditional and electoral umpires in the various States as our key respondents. Hence, the targeted population comprise of the people living in Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Lagos, Ekiti and Osun respectively from the different Local government areas of the State according to National Bureau of Statistic (NBS) 2017 include; Ekiti – 3,270,798 Lagos – 12,550,598 Ogun – 5,217,716 Ondo – 4,671,695 Osun – 4,705,589, Oyo – 7,840,864. The total figure of the entire Southwest region is 38,257,260 (NBS, Demographic Statistic Bulletin, P.8, 2017). The sample size for the study is 400 calculated using the Taro Yamane formula. The calculation was based on a population of 38,257,260 with an error margin of 0.05 which translate to 99.95 per cent accuracy. Cluster technique is a random sampling in which each sampling unit is a collection or cluster of elements.

The instrument used for the study was a structured questionnaire. A questionnaire titled, Money Politics and Good Governance Questionnaire (MPGGQ). The questionnaire is designed into two sections. Section A contains the respondent's demographic information (age, gender and educational qualification) while section B consist of a 27-item four-type Likert scale statements constructed to elicit responses on the impact of money politics on good governance in Southwest Nigeria from 2011 to 2019. Twelve (12) trained research assistants (2 per state) were used to administer the questionnaire.

The questionnaire titled "Money Politics and Good Governance Questionnaire" (MPGGQ) is a 27-item

instrument designed to facilitate the collection of primary data and is divided into two sections, A and B. Section A sought demographic information and bio data of respondents while section B sought data from the respondents on the impact of money politics on choice of leaders, electoral system and performance of political office holders in the Southwest. Also, data on the factors as well as consequence of money politics on good governance is sought from the public, stakeholders (INEC officials, Civil Society Organizations, Politicians, Security Agencies and the Media). Respondents are to tick against the options: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD) on statements bothering on the impact of money politics and good governance. Four Hundred (400) questionnaires were administered to the respondents in the entire region to determine the views of the respondents. Data collected was converted from ordinal to interval scale of measurement and subjected to statistical analysis. Out of the 400 MPGGQ administered, a total of 397 were returned giving a return ratio of 99.25 percent. The data generated were first collated, coded and analyzed, using statistical method. The quantitative data from the questionnaire were converted from ordinal to interval scale and analyzed using the descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation.

The data for this study were presented in descriptive form, with the aid of tables and figures for elaboration to improve clarity. The data collected in this study were analyzed by the use of simple percentage mean, standard deviation and tabulation. Data were arranged in tables for clarity and easy understanding. Inferential statistics of chi-square was used for testing the stated hypothesis at 0.05 level of significance.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Research Question 1

To what extent has money politics impacted on the emergence of people's choice of political leadership in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?

Results show the mean and standard deviation scores the rating items on the impact of money politics on the emergence of people's choice of political leadership in Southwest Nigeria. All the items have mean rating scale above 3.00, including grand mean. The grand mean for the seven items (Grand mean = 3.34) is above the criterion mean which indicates that the respondents perceive that the emergence of people's choice of political leadership in Southwest Nigeria is impacted by money politics.

Research Question 2

What is the impact of money politics on the electoral system in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?

Results show the mean and standard deviation scores the rating items on the impact of money politics on the electoral system in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019. All the items (item 8 – 11) have mean rating scale

above 3.00, including grand mean. The grand mean for the four items (Grand mean = 3.16) is above the criterion mean which indicates that the respondents perceive that money politics impacts negatively on the electoral system in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019 through vote buying occasioned by the poverty level of people, electoral rigging and the inability of the electoral body to monitor and regulate expenses of candidates during electioneering. This impact has led to lack of confidence on the electoral process in Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2019.

Research Question 3

What are the consequences of money politics on good governance in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?

Results show the mean and standard deviation scores the rating items on the consequences of money politics on good governance in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019. All the items except item 17 have mean rating scale above 3.00, including grand mean. Item 17 showed mean responses of 2.85. This indicates that although money politics contributes to voter apathy, responses shows its impact is not high compared to other items. Responses on item 20 has the highest impact with a mean of 3.36 indicating that money politics in the Southwest zone of Nigeria increases the chances of misappropriation of developmental funds which impacts negatively on good governance. However, the grand mean for the seven items in this cluster (Grand mean = 3.22) is above the criterion mean which indicates that the respondents agree that money politics have negative consequences on good governance in the Southwest.

Research Question 4

To what extent has money politics affected performance in office in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?

Results obtained show the mean and standard deviation scores Mean and Standard Deviations of responses on impact of money politics on performance of office holders in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019. All the items except item 27 have mean rating scale above 3.00, including grand mean (Grand mean = 3.22). Respondents agree that money politics weaken transparency and good governance. This suggests why respondents agree that developmental projects as well as speedy economic transformation in the Southwest are retarded. This shows that money politics impacts negatively on the performance of political office holders in Southwest Nigeria. Also, responses on item 26 indicate that money politics impacts negatively on issues of broad consensus and inclusion in political participation.

Research Question 5

What are the factors responsible for money politics in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019?

Table 8 shows the analysis of factors responsible for money politics in the Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2019. The result shows that out of the 20 factors investigated, seven of the factors: Money/Godfatherism (73.0%), Poverty (87.5%), Corruption and impunity (65.0%) have above 50.0% response. Others include Weak Electoral Body (71.0%), Deceit by Politicians (55.0%), Desperation to win at all cost (70.0%) and Weak Electoral Framework (52.0%). These are the major factors considered to be responsible for money politics in Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2019. The leading factor is Poverty accounting for 87.5%. This factor could be the major causes and manifestations of money politics in Southwest Nigeria. However other factors have impact on money politics in Southwest Nigeria.

Hypothesis Testing

H₀1: Money politics did not significantly influence good governance in southwest geo-political zone of Nigeria between 2011 and 2019

Chi-square analysis at 26 degree of freedom ($\chi^2 = 103.212$, $p = .000$) shows that there is statistically significant impact of money politics on good governance in Southwest geo-political zone of Nigeria between 2011 and 2019. Thus, the null hypothesis which states that Money politics did not significantly influence good governance in southwest geo-political zone of Nigeria is not retained. Rather, the alternate hypothesis which states that money politics significantly influenced good governance in southwest geo-political zone of Nigeria between 2011 and 2019 is retained.

V. DISCUSSION

Mean and Standard deviation were used to answer all the five research questions on the independent variable (money politics). However, the chi-square statistics was used for the analysis on the Hypothesis on the influence of money politics on good governance in southwest geo-political zone of Nigeria. Discussions of the findings are summarized in the five items below;

Impact of Money politics on the emergence of the people's choice of political leadership in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019

The respondents perceive that money politics have high impact on the emergence of the people's choice of political leadership in the Southwest Nigeria. This result is in agreement with the findings of Abdulrahman, Danladi & Sani (2016) and Nwoko (2019) who established that party manifestoes and integrity of candidates contesting for political offices are no longer convincing enough to guarantee them electoral successes thus, resulting to vote-buying.

The finding agrees with Nwoko (2019) who is of the view that influence and effect of monetizing politics on the responsibilities of leadership and obligations of governance in Nigeria. This implies that money politics influences the choice of political office holders in Southwest Nigeria. In addition,

effective governance, virile democratic institutions and citizenship rights may not be achievable with interferences such as money politics. This finding also reveals that Southwest voters are not completely or as much as possible insulated from outside pressure in the choice of who emerges as the choice for a political party. Therefore, money politics determines the electoral choices which may impinge on good governance and development of the Southwest.

Impact of money politics on the electoral system in the Southwest

Result on the extent of the impact of money politics on the electoral system in the Southwest Nigeria shows that the respondents perceive that money politics impacts on the electoral system in the Southwest Nigeria. The finding is in line with the findings of Ovwasa (2014) who posits that money politics and vote buying have taken the centre stage in our political activities because parties and candidates have shown by their conduct during political campaigns, that good party manifestoes and integrity of candidates jostling for public offices are no longer sufficient to guarantee electoral success. This behaviour or practice constitutes a blemish on public policy and the electoral process as it portend dangers to the democratic process of electing officers which by implication impinge on good governance. The finding of the study also is in agreement with Sule and Tal (2018) who discovered that there was heavy use of money during General Elections in Nigeria and the outcome was affected by such brazen act given undue advantage to politicians who have the means to buy their way into power.

Consequences of money politics on good governance in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019

Results of the study show that money politics have consequences on good governance in Southwest Nigeria between 2011 and 2019. This is in agreement with the findings of Ogbette, Idam, Kareem, & Eke (2019) who established that money politics have negative consequences towards ensuring good governance in Nigeria. Some of the consequences include: weakening of the independence and supremacy of political parties, increases in the chances of electoral violence, increase in voter apathy and lack of transparency in the governance of Southwest states.

Others are, disregard to rule of law and increase the chances of misappropriation of developmental funds and fragile economic growth formulation in government policies. The study found that wealthy politicians in Southwest Nigeria take advantage of level of poverty and unemployment in the country to achieve their personal interest. It was also discovered that, Southwest electorates are fast losing societal values and that is why they are easily manipulated by politicians. These consequences perverse justice and creates problems for good governance in Southwest Nigeria.

Impact of money politics on performance of political office holders in the Southwest

Results of Mean and Standard Deviations of responses on impact of money politics on performance of office holders in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019 indicates that money politics impacted negatively on performance of office holders in the Southwest between 2011 and 2019. This finding is in line with the findings of Onah & Nwali (2018) and Idowu and Etinosa (2013) who posit that money and its manipulative tendencies will continue to undermine the process of democratic governance in Nigeria.

The study found that money politics impacted negatively on developmental projects and undermined speedy economic transformation in Southwest development. This implies that during this period under investigation, office holder's performance in Southwest Nigeria was negatively impacted. The overall implication of the study is that respondents are of the view that performance of office holders in Southwest Nigeria is impacted negatively by money politics hence, manipulative tendencies will continue to undermine the process of democratic governance in the region and will be affected.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it is evident that the challenges associated with the crisis of good governance are multi-faceted with the issues of poverty, money/godfatherism desperation to win at all cost and corruption being the principal factors. So many reasons can be adduced as being responsible for the persistent and increasing level of money politics in Southwest Nigeria. Some of these factors include ignorance on the parts of the electorates, apathy, poverty, inadequate information or lack of awareness and inadequate sensitization, willingness on the part of the voters and deceit by the politicians. There is also attitudinal problem on the side of the people involved in both buying and selling.

Money politics has obliterated the political process in the Southwest states of Nigeria and it is the godfatherism and clientalism that caused it and the impact is the cronyism attached to it. Money politics also impacted negatively on good governance and abuse of political office because the political office holders used their money to get into the offices not their integrity or performance or any track record of their social services.

Therefore, the way out of this quandary of reckless governance that has pervaded the Southwest states of Nigeria rest on the need to address the issues of economic poverty and social deprivation of the masses in accessing the basic necessities of life. This will go a long way to create the platform for the entrenchment of good governance and capacity building for social justice and empowerment for the masses to exercise their civil rights appropriately. In similar vein, there is need for all to collectively arise from slumber to seize the sovereignty of the Southwest states from the political

class who have misused it to the detriment of the masses. This can be achieved by employing the tool of total reorientation and awakening of the nationalistic consciousness in us to ensure the installation of a proper democratic system with the right values and civil culture where the will of the greatest majority would be the final arbiter in deciding the form of governance we need and those that will govern the Southwest in particular and Nigeria in general.

In addition, the people of Southwest must insist on the formulation of a constitution that is people oriented and accented to by a referendum and not the kind of constitution that we are operating now which is a military contraption characterized with all forms of inconsistencies that has failed to address the pertinent national question of true federalism, resource derivation, true citizenship, indigenization and settler dilemma, fiscal federalism to mention but a few.

Finally, a new template is needed for genuine service leadership that is transformational in all ramifications and ready to embrace a developmental state model characterized by the accountability of the leadership to the followership; decentralization of power and authority, orderly and transparent succession etc as against the current attitude of governance for primitive accumulation of wealth. In all, as long as our democratic experiments are planned and executed with money as central factor, proper democracy and good governance will continue to elude the Southwest and Nigeria in general.

It is revealed that effective governance, virile democratic institutions and citizenship rights are achievable only when undue interferences are avoided. The study also revealed that any polity where voters are not completely or as much as possible insulated from outside pressure, they cannot choose freely. It notes that if power and money influence take the centre stage of determining the elector choices, the very essence of constitutional rights of the citizens to freely exercise their freedom of choice and equality in the democratic society may be called to question while such good governance and development will remain a mirage.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study, following a critical analysis of the various data obtained from relevant literature and questionnaire and to reduce the increasing trend of money politics and its impact on good governance in Southwest Nigeria, the following recommendations are made:

- a. Governmental and non-governmental organizations needs to expand the scope of their responsibilities to carry out elaborate sensitization and voter education of the masses about the importance of their conscience in the voting process in elections.
- b. The use of food stuffs and emotional appeals on the personal attack at the campaign rallies by our modern politicians without workable legal prohibitions has

greatly affected the psychological stability of the voters.

- c. Adequate and definite means of preventing such malaise should be put in place by relevant authorities that help to check-mate the excess of politicians in the way and manner they abuse peoples' rights.
- d. The federal government and other stakeholders in governance can reduce poverty and unemployment in the country if only they can help sustain social intervention schemes like the N-Power.
- e. The government at all levels should ensure that social values are restored in our society and make sure civic education is taught in schools all over the federation at least to avoid being manipulated.

Implications for the Future of Good Governance in Southwest Nigeria

The enthronement of money politics in the country is a major obstacle to achieving a healthy electioneering process and the cause of all forms of crisis, controversies, electoral violence, institutional decadence, low democratic consciousness, desperation of contestants, manipulation of the electoral law, mass poverty, and the over dependence of the masses on the political system and corrupt leadership that subverts the system. This menace poses serious negative implications for the future of the electoral process and good governance not only in the Southwest but Nigeria in the following ways:

In the contemporary Nigerian society, politics appears to be the most lucrative business. The power of incumbency, money bags politicians, special interest individuals, political machines and godfathers have hijacked the electoral process thereby undermining democratic consolidation in the country. Unfortunately, desperate electorates have also given in to the practice of looking for party or candidates that is ready to pay the highest before they vote in elections. This ugly experience portends a negative direction for the future of democracy in the country.

Another danger posed by money politics to good governance in Southwest Nigeria is that if the money bags politicians, special interest individuals, political machines and godfathers continue to dictate and determine the direction of elections in the country, the perception that politics is an easy access to wealth will continue to be the prevailing expression of the character of democracy and elections in the region. This is apparently dangerous for the development of democratic governance in the region (Southwest).

The continued use of money by political parties and candidates to manipulate the electoral process and buy electoral outcomes will continue to breed political thuggery and violence in the region. As political office seekers

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