



## **X-RAYING TWO-PARTISM IN THE NIGERIAN FOURTH REPUBLIC'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

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**ABSTRACT:** *One of the features of the Nigerian Fourth Republic that started on May 29, 1999, was the dominance of two-partism in every circle of Presidential election between 1999 and 2019. Two-partism was engrained by the military regime that handed over to the civilian administration at the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1999, and it was sustained by varieties of factors that include the influence of money politics, a culture of electoral fraud, and the unwillingness of smaller parties to form a coalition. However, two-partism gave way in Nigeria following the 2023 Presidential election when three parties garnered substantial votes. This paper explains the concepts of two-partism based on the prism of the domination of two political parties in an election rather than an explanation that is based on the involvement of just two parties in an election. It relates the concept to the Nigerian Presidential elections that were conducted between 1999 and 2019 and why the trajectory changed in the 2023 election.*

**KEYWORDS:** Presidential Elections & Two-Partism



## INTRODUCTION

In May 1999, after sixteen years of military rule, Nigeria returned to democracy. The national electoral body, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), registered three political parties for that election, but only two political parties contested the Presidential election. The parties were the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD). The third party, All People's Party (APP), eventually entered into an alliance with AD for the Presidential election. In that election, PDP won 62.78% of the total valid votes, and AD had 37.22%. From that election, up till the 2019 Presidential election, Nigerian Presidential elections were dominated by two major parties even though several political parties were registered and participated in subsequent elections.

In 2003, twenty political parties presented candidates for the Presidential election. Among them were: the People Democratic Party (PDP) that presented Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) that presented General Muhammadu Buhari (RTD), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) that presented Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu, United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP) that presented Chief Jim Nwobodo and The National Conscience Party (NCP) that presented Chief Gani Fawehinmi. In that Presidential election, PDP and ANPP, with 61.94 per cent and 32.19 per cent of the total votes cast, respectively, completely dominated the election with 94.13 per cent. (Vanguard Newspaper, 2011). Similarly, in 2007, twenty-five political parties participated in the Presidential election, and the main parties were People Democratic Party (PDP), All Nigeria People Party (ANPP), Action Congress (AC), Progressive People Alliance (PPA), and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The parties presented Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, Muhammadu Buhari, Atiku Abubakar, Orji Uzor Kalu, and Attahiru Bafarawa, respectively. The two leading parties in that election took 88.26 of the total votes. PDP had 69.60% and ANPP had 18.66% (Vanguard Newspaper, 2011).

The 2011 Presidential election also followed the same trajectory of two-party dominance. Even though it involved twenty candidates, it was a straight contest between Goodluck Jonathan, the candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), and Muhammadu Buhari, the candidate of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). They garnered 58.89% and 31.98% of valid votes cast, respectively, totalling 90.87 of the total valid votes, leaving the remaining eighteen parties with a paltry 9.13% (Vanguard Newspaper, 2011). A similar scenario happened in 2015; the People's Democratic Party and the newly formed All Progressive Congress (APC) took the majority of valid votes. Muhammadu Buhari, the All Progressive Congress (APC) candidate, won the election with 53.96% of the valid votes. In contrast, Goodluck Jonathan, the candidate of the People's Democratic Party, garnered 44.96% of the valid votes, making up 98.92% of the valid votes cast (INEC 2015). In the 2019 Presidential election, a massive seventy-nine political parties participated in the Presidential election that was held on February 16, 2019. Two major parties largely dominated the election: the People's Democratic Party and the All Progressive Congress. The parties garnered 96% of the valid votes cast. The candidate of the People Democratic Party, Abubakar Atiku, scored 11,262,978 votes, representing 41.21% of the valid votes cast. In contrast, the candidate of the All Progressive Congress, Muhammadu Buhari, scored 15,191,847, representing 55.59% of the valid votes (INEC, 2020).

However, the 2023 Presidential election that was held on February 25, 2023, changed the trajectory of the domination of two political parties in the previous Nigerian Presidential elections. For the first time since Nigeria returned to democracy, three political parties had a good showing. According to the results declared by INEC, Bola Tinubu of All Progressive



Congress (APC), who won the election, had 8.79 million votes or 36.6% of valid votes cast, Atiku Abubakar of PDP had 6.98 million votes or 28.1% of valid votes cast and Peter Obi of Labour Party garnered 6.1 million votes which represents 25.4% of valid votes cast (MacDonald et al., 2023).

This paper interrogates the concept of two-partism in the Nigerian Presidential elections in the Fourth Republic. It adduces reason reasons that sustained it between 1999 and 2019. It also highlights the implications of two-partism for the Nigerian political process while it lasted and discusses the issues that terminated two-partism in the 2023 election. The paper concludes that it will be difficult to predict that Nigeria will revert to two-partism in the next Presidential election.

### **RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL EXPLANATION ON TWO-PARTISM**

Two-partism, as emphasised in this paper, was defined by Ware (2009). According to him, while two-partism can be defined literally as a political system comprising two parties, it can also be defined as a system where two parties typically garner 85% to 90% of total votes in elections. The third approach he mentioned is when two parties are interchanging the control of governments between themselves over a period of time. The second approach is relevant to the Nigerian situation in the Presidential elections conducted between 1999 and 2019. Pradeep and Ken (2004) traced the history of two-partism to the twentieth century. They argue that before that time, electoral support was spread across more than two parties, and they were dominant in one state or a couple of states. They were known to support particular causes such as immigration, regulation of liquor, and religious schools.

The paper adopts Duverger's Law to explain the dominance of two political parties in a multi-party system like Nigeria. Though Duverger's postulations hold for the parliamentary system, its modified version also holds for the Presidential contest. For instance, Ware (2009) believes it might have greater predictive power in presidential contests. Duverger's law-modified version applies to a plurality system like the Nigerian Fourth Republic Presidential system. Duverger (1954) states that "the simple-majority single ballot system favours the two-party systems". Smith (2012) believes that Duverger's law is based on the "mechanical effect of denying representation to voters who do not vote for winning parties and candidates" and a "psychological effect deriving from the feeling that voters 'waste' their votes by casting a ballot for a party that does not have a reasonable chance of winning". Burden and Jones (2009) argue that some voters support candidates of minor parties and deliberately vote for candidates of major parties in an election because they believe they can influence the election winner. Duverger's law is about the equilibrium of two-party dominance. According to him, a continuous domination of two parties leads to a sort of equilibrium that can only be displaced if another party or parties break the domination of the two parties. According to Grofman et al. (2009), if the equilibrium is disrupted, it will lead to a series of non-Duvergian equilibria that will lead to the dominance of more than two parties. Similarly, Cox (1997) argues that the equilibrium will be distorted when more than two parties have a close number of votes in an election, thereby making domination of two parties impossible.

There are several criticisms of Duverger's law. One of them has to do with its nomenclature. According to Riker (1976), the phenomenon behind Duverger's law has been known for years, but Duverger only took ownership of it by attaching his name to it. However, despite the doubt



of its originality, the phenomenon continues to be known and recognised as Duverger's law. Another exception to the law was pointed out by Grofman et al. (2009). According to them, the Law seems to only apply to the United States of America alone, which has a dualist political culture, but other top democracies like Canada, India, and Britain because these countries have witnessed intermittent incursion of third or even fourth parties in their political histories.

However, in Presidential elections held between 1999 and 2019, Nigeria has a dualist political culture when it comes to Presidential elections, just like that of the United States of America. Nigerian Presidential election maintained a two-party dominance of the Presidential elections between 1999 and 2019. Also, in each election circle, out of the two dominant political parties, the People's Democratic Party has been ubiquitous. Even Pre-1999, the Nigerian political system had evolutionary tendencies to culminate in two grand alliances. Nigeria had two-party dominance in the First Republic: the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and the Nigeria National Alliance (NNA). At the same time, in the Second Republic, the Peoples Progressive Alliance (PPA) and the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) were the dominant alliances. Also, in the transition process that led to civil rule in 1999, Ibrahim Babangida's regime adopted a two-parties template when he founded and foisted the Social Democratic Party, SDP and National Republican Convention, NRC on Nigerians (Osuntokun, 2022).

However, the two major parties' dominance continued until twenty years later in the 2019 general election. Even though the Nigeria electoral law that has been amended severally since 1999 stipulates that the winner of the Presidential election is expected not only to win the majority votes but also to win 25 per cent of votes in 24 States in the federation, otherwise, there will be a run-off, but since 1999 no election has been decided through a run-off. All the elections were decided on the first ballot, and each of the Presidential elections was won by a major party, with another major party coming second.

The Nigerian Presidential elections' two-party dominance has positive and negative impacts. One of the negative impacts is that it shrinks the democratic space by 'conscripting' electorates to choose from the major parties irrespective of the pedigree of the candidates they presented for election. There is also the issue of Nigerian ethno-religion cleavages. A situation whereby a major political party presents a same-faith ticket or a candidate from the ethnic group of the outgoing president is dangerous for a fragmented, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious country like Nigeria. An emergence of another major party outside the big two will allow the electorates to choose outside the two of them and, in the process, help to deepen the democratic process in Nigeria. On the other hand, two-party dominance may be advantageous for young politicians contesting for other political positions apart from the presidential election under these parties because of the high cost of prosecuting elections in Nigeria. They can take advantage of the 'structures' of these parties, thereby minimising their cost of prosecuting elections.



## REASONS FOR TWO-PARTY DOMINANCE OF THE NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Two-party dominance has become a norm in the Nigerian Presidential election post-1999. One of the Scholars who have adduced a reason for this is Otubanjo (2022). He believes that the phenomenon is due to the political culture of Nigeria, which is still largely autocratic, feudalistic, and theocratic. However, this paper addressed the following reasons for the phenomenon.

**1. Military Rule Legacy:** One of the legacies that were bequeathed to Nigerian democracy by the military was the two-party democracy format. Notably, the Babangida Administration forced two political parties on Nigerians during its aborted transition to civil rule that terminated in 1993. The regime formed and funded two political parties: the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC). Among other supports, the regime constructed gigantic secretariat buildings for the two parties in all the 774 Local Governments across Nigeria. Babangida forced Nigerians to choose from only two political parties despite the country's diversity in religion and ethnicity.

Elections were conducted for various positions in the state House of Assemblies and the two arms of National Assemblies, i.e., Senate and House of Representatives. Governors were also elected from the two parties across the thirty States of Nigeria. Between March 27 and 31, 1993, NRC and PDP elected their Presidential candidates in their respective conventions. Chief MKO Abiola and Alhaji Bashir Tofa were elected as the candidates of SDP and NRC, respectively. The Presidential election that was conducted on June 12, 1993, suffered a severe challenge when an Abuja High Court restrained INEC from releasing the final results of the election, even though the election was adjudged to be free and fair by both the local and foreign observers. On June 23, 1993, Babangida regimes nullified the election and suspended the electoral body, thereby aborting the transition to civil rule.

After Nigeria returned to civil rule in 1999, it was not a surprise that even though three parties were registered to contest that election, the parties later aligned under two parties, PDP and AD, that eventually contested the election. Subsequent Presidential elections from then have witnessed the domination of two major political parties.

**2. High Cost of Prosecuting Presidential Election:** The cost of prosecuting elections in Nigeria is generally staggering. A party contesting for the Presidential election is expected to have 'structures' nationwide. These structures are established and serviced with huge funds. Some of the 'structures' include: having elected officials in elective positions at National, State and Local Government levels, having a presence in all the Local Governments and Wards across the country, being able to establish and fund campaign offices across the country, being able to engage and pay party agents in all the Polling units on election days across the country, being able to advertise on billboards and other media outlets across the country.

It is challenging for political parties that do not have the above structures to contest with those with them. Political officeholders in Nigeria are known to mobilise funds for their parties' campaigns, an advantage the political parties without them need to have. Also, Elections financiers in Nigeria, like CEOs of conglomerates and other political financiers, are usually comfortable supporting major parties because of their high chances of winning compared to smaller parties.





Apart from legitimate means of financing elections in Nigeria, there is also the phenomenon of voters' inducement. According to Stone (2002), the idea behind inducements is that knowledge of a threatened penalty or a promised reward motivates people to act differently than they might otherwise choose. Voters' inducement is in several forms; we have vote buying, which is the direct purchase of votes from voters on Election Day. Other forms of inducement exist through materials and gifts before the election. Inducement is rife in the Nigerian electoral space, and it is common among the major parties before and during an election.

**3. Manipulation of the Electoral Process:** Only the major parties have the wherewithal to manipulate the electoral process. They have the means to bribe and influence the electoral officials. For instance, in 2019, two Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) employees were sentenced to 42 years imprisonment by a High Court in Yola for receiving a bribe totalling N362 million to influence the 2015 general election (Vanguard, 2019). Also, the ruling party can influence the appointment of Resident Electoral Commissioners for each State of the Federation. There are instances where the Government nominated card-carrying members of the ruling political party to serve as Resident Electoral Officers contrary to Section 14 (2a) of the third schedule to the 1999 Nigerian Constitution that states that "a member of the Independent National Electoral Commission shall be non-partisan and a person of unquestionable integrity." For instance, on November 2, 2022, Premium Times reported that PDP protested the appointment of the Resident Electoral Commissioner for Jigawa State as a card-carrying member of the ruling party, APC (Maishanu, 2022).

**4. Inability Of Smaller Parties To Form Alliance:** Another factor that has kept the domination of two major parties in the Nigerian Presidential election is the unwillingness or inability of smaller parties to come together to form a competitive alliance. Many Presidential candidates of smaller parties know they have no realistic chance of winning the election, but they will still contest all the same. They are only interested in the Prefix 'former Presidential Candidate' in their resume instead of going into the election to win. A more realistic approach would be to form a formidable alliance to challenge the dominant parties.

**5. Voting for A winning Party Mentality:** Many Nigerians, in compliance with Duverger's law, prefer to vote for the candidates of major parties due to the psychological effect of sharing the anticipatory triumphant moment of the major party instead of voting for the candidate they consider as more competent that is contesting under a smaller party. In other words, many electorates prefer to belong to the winning team irrespective of the competency of the candidate of the winning party. Many Nigerian electorates are wrapped up in the ephemeral feeling that they are part of the winning team when the candidate they voted for emerges as the winner. Many Nigerian electorates celebrate the election victory of major parties without holding back. On the extreme level, some electorates die while celebrating election victories. For instance, on April 1, 2015, not less than twenty-five supporters of President Muhammadu Buhari died while celebrating his victory in the 2015 Presidential Election that he won. The supporters died in Abuja, Kano, Makurdi and Kontagora. Apart from those who died, several others were reported injured. All the deaths and injuries were a result of crazy celebrations, like dangerous acrobatic displays with their motorbikes around the town, with many of them that had motorbikes removing the mufflers of their bikes in order to generate much noise as they rode dangerously in the streets (Umoru et al., 2015). Also, in March 2019, after President Muhammadu Buhari won the Presidential election to secure the second term, some of his supporters died while celebrating his victory. For instance, a supporter died after bathing and drinking drainage water in Sabo, Yaba, Lagos State. The supporter had earlier promised to



enter inside a gutter, remain there for ten minutes and drink the drainage water if Buhari becomes victorious in the Presidential election. He later felt sick and was diagnosed with Gastrointestinal bleeding, which resulted from the contaminated water he drank (The Guardian, 2019).

## **6. Vote Wasting Slogan**

Just as Smith (2012) posits on the politics of the United States of America that there is a psychological effect deriving from the feeling that voters will waste their votes for a party that is considered an outsider in an election, Nigerian voters are also subjected to the same effects by major parties to discourage them from voting for the candidates of minor parties. It is common in Nigeria for dominant parties to tell the electorates to refrain from wasting their votes on the candidates of the smaller parties even though the candidates of the smaller parties are more competent. While this syndrome continues to be activated by the major parties election after election for their undeserved benefits, the reality is that if electorates decide to vote for popular and competent candidates instead of those parties that have a high propensity of winning, those candidates stand a chance of winning irrespective of their political parties. An election is decided based on the number of votes cast for the winner and other parameters specified by the Nigerian electoral law. So, if the majority of people decided to vote based on competence, for instance, instead of being cowed by the major parties, the result would be different. Major political parties know this. That is why they continue to echo this assertion to sway voters instead of basing their campaigns on what they can do to improve the lives of the citizens. For instance, the Vice Presidential candidate of the People Democratic Party used this slogan in a campaign in Delta State in December 2022 when he told the electorates in Delta State not to waste their votes by voting for the Labour Party (Egobiambu, 2022).

## **2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: WHAT CHANGED?**

Having maintained two-partism between 1999 and 2019, the Presidential election in 2023 defied all odds when three major parties scored a minimum of 25 % of valid votes, and the winner could not secure up to 40% of the total votes cast. The Presidential candidates of the incumbent All Progressive Congress, People's Democratic Party and Labour Party garnered 36.6%, 28.1% and 25.4% of valid votes cast, respectively. The question is, how was a relatively unpopular third party able to emerge as a strong force in that election? This paper adduced several reasons for this scenario:

### **1. The Personality of the Labour Party's Candidate**

Peter Obi, a former Governor of South East Anambra State, was the flag-bearer of the Labour Party in the Nigerian 2023 Presidential election. He has some uncommon attributes of Nigerian politicians that endeared him to a section of the Nigerian youth and first-time voters: As a former Governor in Nigeria, he has no criminal record and is considered one of the most frugal Nigerian politicians. He has never been prosecuted for fraud or corruption after he left office, unlike the experiences of most former Nigerian Governors. In particular, he claimed he did not convert any landed property of the state to himself or his family members. It is not unusual to see him carrying his luggage by himself at the airport. This is highly unusual among Nigerian politicians who are known to engage an entourage of aides and assistants to handle simple tasks that they could handle themselves. In several interviews he granted and the debate he attended



towards the election, Obi claimed that during his tenure as the Governor of Anambra State, he did not borrow money on behalf of the state and left seventy-five billion Naira in the State's coffers. In a country where departing Governors usually leave humungous debts to their successors, this unusual act also greatly endeared him to a section of voters. His family life is also impressive. He has one wife and two children. Unlike most Nigerian politicians, his children are not in public life.

## 2. Religion and North-South Presidency Rotation

Religion and geographical rotation of the Presidency was also a major factor for the emergence of a strong third party in the 2023 Presidential election. All the Presidential elections held in Nigeria, from the Second Republic to the Fourth Republic, always have religious balancing in the position of President and Vice President. Even the military governments that ruled Nigeria in some period in its history also ensured religious balancing in the position of President and Vice President apart from two regimes of Aguiyi Ironsi /Brigadier Babafemi Ogundipe regime (1966-1966) and General Buhari/Brigadier General Idiagbon regime (1983 -1984). In the history of the Nigerian Presidential system, the Presidential and Vice Presidential positions were shared by adherents of the two major religions in Nigeria, Christianity and Islam. Since 1999, Nigeria has returned to democracy, and the Presidency has been rotating between Northern and Southern Nigeria and Christians and Muslims.

However, in the 2023 Presidential election, the ruling All Progressive Party (APC) fielded Muslim-Muslim Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates despite the disapproval of many Nigerian Christians. While the main opposition party, the People's Democratic Party, fielded what could be considered a balancing ticket in the religious aspect, the ticket also ran into a storm because the party fielded Atiku Abubakar, a Northern Muslim. This is despite the fact that there was opposition to the party's stands on the North retaining power after eight years of Muhammadu Buhari, who is also a Northern Muslim. Even though Atiku Abubakar chose a Christian from Southern Nigeria as his Vice President, the opposition to his ticket within his party led to an implosion that led to some key members of the party like Nyesom Wike, the Governor of oil-rich Rivers state leading four other Governors to work against the party in the Presidential election and some other members of the party leaving the party to pursue their aspirations elsewhere. Without a doubt, Peter Obi, a former Vice Presidential candidate of the PDP in the 2019 Presidential election, was the most important figure in the PDP that left the PDP. He joined the Labour Party and won the ticket as its presidential flag bearer, breaking the jinx of having a third major party in the Nigerian Presidential election.

Peter Obi filled the gaps that both APC and PDP left in their choices of Presidential candidates. Apart from his stellar personality that has been highlighted earlier in this paper, he is a Christian and, at the same time, an Igbo man from South East Nigeria, where no one has ever become Nigerian President. He got key endorsements from major socio-cultural groups in Southern Nigeria and the Middle Belts, as the groups believed that it was not only Southern Nigeria's turn but an Igbo man's turn. Also, major Christian groups rallied around him because of their distaste for Muslim-Muslim tickets of APC and the Northern Muslim Presidential candidate of PDP. He received massive support from the evangelicals and orthodox groups. Peter Obi himself is a member of Roman Catholic, one of Nigeria's largest Christian groups. The religious factor and the need for power to return to Southern Nigeria played a huge role in the votes garnered by Peter Obi in that election.





### 3. Involvements of Youth in the Electoral Process

On October 10, 2020, thousands of Nigerian youth who were camping at the Lekki Toll Gate, Lekki, a high-brow Island settlement in the Nigerian commercial centre of Lagos, were shot at by a detachment of the Nigerian army. In an Uprising that was tagged 'ENDSARS', which represented a protest to put an END to the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a notorious arm of the Nigerian Police Force that was accused of several extra-judicial actions, especially against the Nigerian youths, many of who were arrested based on their looks such as: haircuts, ear piercing, tattoo and other youthful behaviours Till today, figures of deaths and injured are still a matter of controversy in Nigeria. On October 22, 2020, The Lagos State Governor, Babajide Sanwo-Olu said only two people died at Lekki Toll gate (Adediran, 2020), while Amnesty International claimed at least 12 people were killed (Amnesty International, 2021). However, the Judicial Panel of Inquiry (JPI) set up by the Lagos state government to probe October 20, 2020, claimed that eleven people were killed at the Lekki Toll gate (James & Addeh, 2021) and in July 2023, Lagos State backtracked from its earlier claim when it stated that no corpse was picked from the Lekki Toll Gate by its officials (Okojie, 2023).

Dissatisfied by how the ruling government of APC at the Federal and Lagos State level treated the issue, some harrow heads of the ENDSARS decided to work directly and indirectly for Peter Obi, the candidate of the Labour Party. Individuals like Aisha Yusuf worked as one of the officials of Peter Obi's campaign council, and many others led the support online, especially through Twitter. They were able to dominate and galvanise massive support for the emerging third party's candidate, especially among the youth who are internet savvy.

**4. State Of The Nation:** The state of the nation before the 2023 Presidential election showed that Nigeria was battling with several issues, including insecurity and a deteriorating economy. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2022) reported in 2022 that 63% of persons living in Nigeria, translating to 133 million people, were multidimensionality poor. In June 2023, The World Poverty Clock, a device that tracks poverty worldwide, reported that 71 million Nigerians were impoverished (Ubanagu, 2023). The high rate of poverty and unemployment led to an unprecedented number of Nigerian lower and middle class fleeing the country for countries such as Canada and the United Kingdom, a phenomenon known in Nigeria as 'japa' syndrome. Apart from economic issues, Nigeria was also grappling with a high level of insecurity. Kidnapping for ransom had become so popular in the previous four years before the election. So many incidences of farmers and herders clashes in Nigeria have led to hundreds of deaths across the country. The two political parties that have ruled Nigeria since the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1999 were seen mainly as incompetent by many Nigerians, and they decided to support a different party outside the two of them.



## CONCLUSION

It will be very difficult to affirm that Nigeria will maintain multi-partism in the next Presidential election in 2027. Before that election, there might be alignment and re-alignment within the Nigerian political parties. It is generally believed that based on the scores of the two defeated parties (PDP and LP), APC would have been roundly defeated if the PDP and LP were merged before the election, as the combined parties would have defeated APC by more than 4 million votes. At the same time, it is not inconceivable to predict that there will still be three major parties in the 2027 Presidential elections because most of the factors that made Peter Obi, the flag bearer of LP, exit from PDP are still there. For instance, religion is likely to play a crucial role in that election still because, by 2027, Muslim Presidents would have ruled Nigeria for an unprecedented twelve years in the Fourth Republic. Just like in 2023, Peter Obi may be the rallying point for Nigerian Christians.

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