

**POLITICAL PARTY ADMINISTRATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIAN: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF DONALD DUKE AND LIYEL
IMOKE IN CROSS RIVER STATE (2003-2011)**

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**BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
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CERTIFICATION

We certify that this Thesis work titled “Political Party Administration and Good Governance in Nigerian: A Comparative Study of the Administrations of Donald Duke and Liyel Imoke in Cross River State (2003-2011) by **Bisong, Hilary Ekpang (PG/NLS/1900005)** carried out under our supervision, has been examined and found worthy for the award of the degree of Master of Science in Elections and Party Politics

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DEDICATION

To the new generation of leaders, young and old who are co-creating a new definition and meaning of leadership in Cross River State.

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ABSTRACT

This research, Political Party Administration and Good Governance in Nigeria: A comparative study of the administrations of Donald Duke and Liyel Imoke in Cross River State (2003-2011) tried to underscore a comparative analysis of Political Party Administration under the two Governors in Cross River State and how they contributed to good governance. The two administrations used different governmental approaches which resulted into different outcomes. During the era of Governor Duke, the general perception was one of relative depersonalization in party administration where the Governor demonstrated limited control over party activities. On the contrary, during the administration of Governor Imoke, the dynamics of party administration showed authoritarianism and was laced with imposition as the Governor suddenly became the Exchequer of PDP in the State.

This study seeks to examine the democratic status of Political Party Administration in Cross River State during the period under review, examine the effect of lack of effective Political Party Administration and executive interference on governance in Cross River State, and examine ways by which Political Party Administration can be strengthened to ensure good governance in Cross River State. This work acquainted the reader with the knowledge of what political party administration and good governance is and how this could help in consolidating democracy in Nigeria. The relevant of this study is that it will also help provide more solutions to the challenges of political party administration and good governance in which the country has found herself.

This study used both quantitative and qualitative research designs for reliability and validation of data. Primary and secondary data were gathered through structured questionnaire, interviews and secondary materials. Marxian political economy theory was used in examining the issues. Hypotheses were tested using Pearson Correlation Moment.

Findings from the study showed that elites hijacked the process for personal ambition. It also revealed that despite the differences in governance, the orientation of the two governors in the state, the

nature and manner of the parties' activities have negatively affected good governance mostly due to lack of party administration and internal democracy. The study recommended drastic reformation of political parties to make them amenable to good governance and deepening of democracy, among other constructive input in Nigeria. In this respect, political parties should discourage the practice of private or sole sponsorship of candidates to elective offices; separate party structures from the control of state governors and ensure that party manifesto is imbibe in structuring government policy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter present succinct and apt background to the study undertaken and also acquainted the reader with knowledge of Statement of research problem, research questions, objectives of the study, the limitation of the study, and the significance of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

Political parties are building blocks of modern democratic governance. In Party Government, Schattschneider (1942:1) affirms that “political parties created democracy and that modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties.” Some scholars have suggested that Schattschneider overstated this perspective but there is a general consensus in the scholarly literature that parties are essential entities in the building and consolidation of competitive democracy. The idea of indispensability of political parties is rooted in the notion that they perform essential democratic functions, and that while these functions may not be their exclusive domain, they perform these functions better than any other type of organization (Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000; Diamond and Gunther, 2001; Diamond and Linz, 1989; Webb, Farrell, and Holliday, 2002; Webb and White 2007).

One major difference between political parties and other democratic institutions is that political parties serve as a platform for the articulation, aggregation and expression of political interests of the people in relation to acquisitions, consolidation and use of state power. When properly harnessed and used, it serves as a means to power and a platform for deepening good governance based on good policies, probity, transparency and accountability. However, the dynamics of party administration and the impact on governance is context-specific and peculiar to a given political landscape. This reveals varying degrees of implications on governance.

However, political power has often lent itself to being instrumentation for self-perpetuation of political parties in Nigeria. Ogayi et.al (2020) noted that “the underlying political character of the Nigerian state is complexed by crass opportunism sired by political jobbery”. In this country, state power has always been characterized by intense, reckless rivalry and extreme struggle where the end justifies the means as demonstrated in the Machiavellian principle. Therefore, politics have become a perplexing phenomenon, entailing all manner of moral and ethical permissiveness and unscrupulousness (Okoli and Otegwu, 2010; Okoli and Ali, 2014). Many political parties often emerge with this mindset and carry it into administration and ultimately into governance.

Since Nigeria attained political independence in 1960, her development has been largely entrenched in economic growth. In other words, the political power is the *fon et origo* for economic survival. It has therefore been seen that capturing of state power translates to economic survival and security (Ogayi & Abang, 2020). This affirms the misconception that politics is a major investment that must be attained at all cost irrespective of the hazards (Iyayi, 2004). The concept of the winner takes all and the zero-sum game which characterizes ascendancy to political power and its retention are mostly responsible for the desperate moves to capture power “in a do or die” approach. This mindset always affected the existence and administration of political parties in Nigeria.

Ayeni (2019) described political parties as the soul of any democratic governance. He explained that they are a means to power and also helps in directing the thrust of public policies towards common good. Political parties play critical roles in leadership’ selection but confers legitimacy on government and governance (Ayeni, 2019). Therefore, efficient party administration is imperative to the success of any democratic regime.

Political parties are the platforms on which democratically elected leaders emerge. However, rather than have the candidates contest and merit their positions through party

primaries and conventions, some political parties use voice affirmation or elite consensus for selection. Often, such selected candidates turn out to be highly dysfunctional and antithetical to good governance and, most times, this renders candidate selection process less credible (Abba and Babalola, 2017). On the contrary, the process through which candidates emerge is often fraught with controversies and usually led to violence and litigation. In fact, a greater percentage of those that emerge from party primaries are products of imposition, consensus and compromise with state governors and godfathers playing decisive roles (Egwu, 2014: 193)

Extant literature has shown that within Nigeria's political system, political parties and the entire democratic institutions usually existed to serve the interest of powerful individuals as against the advancement of common good. Under this situation, power lies with the godfathers rather than in the hand of party executives. Godfathers manipulate primordial sentiments and use money to maintain dominion over party administration. As a result of this, they render party organs impotent, especially during party primaries, conventions and congresses. Party constitutions and other extant laws regulating candidate selections are also rendered ineffectual (Abba and Babalola, 2017). There has been a steady but consistent degeneration of political power since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999, and this has impacted negatively on good governance in the nation.

From 2003-2011, Cross River State came under the administrations of Governors Donald Duke (2003-2007) and Liyel Imoke (2007-2011). The two administrations used different governmental approaches which resulted into different outcomes. During the era of Governor Duke, the general perception was one of relative depersonalization in party administration where the Governor demonstrated limited control over party activities as there was little by a major anchor to party administration (Ukpa, 2001). The State Assembly members in 1999-2004 comprise Peoples Democratic Party (PDP-13) and Alliance Peoples Party (APP-12). Through lobbying, the APP members defected to PDP and the House had a

rancor-free legislative culture which ultimately engendered good governance with minimal missteps (Oga, 2012).

On the contrary, during the administration of Governor Imoke, the dynamics of party administration showed authoritarianism and was laced with imposition as the Governor suddenly became the Exchequer of PDP in the State (Ogban, 2016). Under him, there was a firm grip on party structure and internal party democracy gave way to impunity just as there were imposition of candidates in party primaries. The governor was solely in charge of the party machinery and allegedly influenced the election of incoming officials; and stifled credible opposition in the state. High ranking party members believed that Imoke's autocratic leadership style was largely responsible for the downturn of PDP's fortune in the state (Babatunde, 2021). The divergent administrative approaches by these two major political actors impacted differently on the State. This has created the justification for this study. Therefore, the study will particularly focus on the effect of non-democratic party administration on good governance in Cross River State.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The focus of this study is the impact of party administration and good governance in Nigeria with emphasis on Cross River State (2003-2011). Political parties are the fulcrum of democracy. Dode (2010) describes political parties as *sine qua non* to democratic consolidation in any society just as Adetula and Adeyi (2013) aptly noted that well-functioning political parties are vital to the success of electoral democracy and political development in Nigeria. In other words, the political parties serve as major platforms for the articulation, aggregation and expression of political interests of the people in relation to acquisitions, consolidation and use of state power. When properly used, it serves as a means to power and a platform for deepening good governance predicated on good policies, accountability, transparency and probity. This is one distinct difference between political parties and other democratic

Unfortunately, the contrary appears to be the case in Nigeria because political parties and party chieftains deploy political parties for the perpetuation of personal interests. In this context, political parties and the entire democratic institutions often existed to serve the interest of the elites and powerful individuals rather than promoting and advancing common good. Although Nigeria returned to democratic governance in 1999 and has practiced this form of government for over two decades, there has not been an appreciable development in governance. This has played out in Cross River State just as in other places.

Between 2003 and 2011 which is the focus of this study, Cross River State have had the benefit of two administrations: Governors Donald Duke (2003-2007) and Liyel Imoke (2007-2011). Under each administration, there were clearly discernible differences in party administration and governance approach as reflected by governance index. Duke's administration was characterized by prevalence of internal democracy within the party; a relative depersonalization of party administration; limited control; near absence of imposition; lack of undue interference; lack of unhealthy meddlesomeness in party affairs, a considerable reduction in intra-party crises and conflict. At the onset of the administration, the State House of Assembly had a very close gap between the two dominant political parties because PDP had (13) and APP had (12). Through lobbying, the ruling party was able to attract opposition members and this resulted into having an overwhelming majority in the State Assembly. This led to a rancor-free legislative house and this engendered good governance albeit, with minimal missteps (Oga, 2012).

But during the administration of Governor Liyel Imoke (2007-2015), the paradigm shifted as follows: party structure was brought under firm control; personalization of party structure was demonstrated; consensual democracy ended; a culture of dominance was introduced. In all these, the Governor played a decisive role because he was solely in charge

of the party machinery that determined who got elected, and thereby stifled credible opposition in the state; there was imposition of candidates at different political positions.

All political positions especially the leadership level of the party (PDP), Council Chairmen and sensitive political positions were done at the behest of the governor. In some instances, those that held contrary opinions were either silenced or compromised and used the official machinery to defect to PDP. By 2011, the major opposition party had virtually disappeared due to massive decamping from the opposition party to the ruling party. The legislature had only one member from the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). The other 24 legislators were elected on the platform of the PDP in 2011. The PDP also got all the federal constituency and senate seats in that election.

The personalization of party structure by Governor Imoke not only bred impunity and eroded party discipline but led to intra-party crises and promoted executive recklessness. All these were believed to have coalesced and detracted from good governance; undermined the rule of law; compromised internal party democracy; quelled credible opposition; promoted mediocrity and eroded accountability in governance.

This study, therefore tends to comparatively examine the effects of political party administration on good governance. A proper interrogation of the issues raised will offer better comprehension of the nexus between political party administration and good governance in Cross River State from 2003 to 2007. To properly interrogate the issues raised above, the following questions needs to be examined.

1.3 Research Questions

This study is set to interrogate the following questions:

- i. Was there a proper Political Party Administration Structure and process in Cross River during the under review?
- ii. Did lack of effective Political Party Administration and executive interference affect good governance in Cross River state during the period under review?

- iii. How can Political Party Administration be strengthened to enhance good governance in Cross River State?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study aims at achieving the following objectives:

- i. To examine the democratic status of Political Party Administration in Cross River State during the period under review;
- ii. To examine the effect of lack of effective Political Party Administration and executive interference on governance in Cross River State;
- iii. To examine ways by which Political Party Administration can be strengthened to ensure good governance in Cross River State

1.5 Research Hypotheses

This study will be guided by the following hypotheses stated in null form:

- H0₁: There is no significant relationship between the democratic status of Political Party Administration and good governance in Cross River State between 2003-2011.
- H0₂: There is no significant relationship between lack of effective Political Party Administration and executive interference on good governance in Cross River State between 2003-2011.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study is a comparative analysis of political party administration and good governance under the democratic administration of Governors Donald Duke (1999-2007) and Liyel Imoke (2007-2015) in Cross River State. This delimitation is necessary because it captures two distinct administrative style of Governors Donald Duke and Liyel Imoke within this period. It is believed that the orientations and policy thrusts of the operations and general party administration during the two administrations are contradictory and therefore, led to varying degrees of successes in good governance index.

A study limited to this period will offer a very deep and useful insight for evaluating political party processes in Cross River State. The outcome will provide a clearer

understanding into the dynamics of internal party democracy and its effects on election and good governance in the state. Despite the delimitation, inferences would be drawn from contiguous democratic contexts and periods to enrich available data for the study.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will give a deep and robust insight into the nature and character of politics in Cross River State in particular and Nigeria in general in the following ways:

Politics appears to be the instrumentation for primitive accumulation of wealth. Wealth acquisition and personal aggrandizement appears to be a strong motive for political participation. This, in turn, drives all kinds of intense and reckless struggle for power with attendant implications on good governance. This sheds light on the roles of political parties as platforms for recruiting political leaders.

The study raises critical questions about various aspects of political party administration and their correlation to governance in Cross River State. It is believed that this will engender further research studies into relevant but often avoided areas in politics, governance and democracy and come up with relevant solutions while advancing the course of knowledge.

This study is topical because of the prevalence of inter and intra-party crises between APC and PDP, the two major political parties. The crises have intensified defections across party lines and left grave consequences on governance.

The study will add to extant literature on political party administration and their effects on good governance. At the end, this study will provide source material to researchers, policy makers, and government at all levels.

Engineer the consolidation of democratic and political party processes in Cross River State in particular and Nigeria in general as its recommendations would attempt to mainstream party administration and separate it from State administration under the administration of State governors

The study will provide the ground to check the excesses of party administrators that usually abused party's internal democracy and prevent unnecessary infractions that also affect electoral outcomes.

Internal Party democracy will be strengthened and this would check the reckless culture of party indiscipline that usually precipitated defections and other intra-party crises. Once such party discipline is restored, many political parties, particularly the PDP will become major beneficiaries because discipline would also displace intra-party conflicts.

1.7 Definition of the key concepts

Political Party: Political party refers to a democratic institutional organization with defined ideology used as a medium for recruitment of leaders and advancement of defined interests through the auspices of free, fair and credible elections.

Political Party Administration: Political party administration refers to the nature and manner in which the day-to-day activities of the party is managed by party leadership in order to realize, protect and advance party objectives

Governance: Governance simply refers to the manner in which power is authoritatively exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (ADB, n.d)

Good Governance: Good governance implies that the exercise of the vested authority is accountable, transparent, predictable, participatory and dynamic. It is consensus-oriented, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society (UNESCA, n.d).

1.8 Organization of the Study

This study is contained in five chapters. Chapter one deals on general introduction. Here, the focus is on a general background, thematic strands, problem statement, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, among others.

Chapter two focuses on literature review. Here, related literature is reviewed and discussed. The sub-themes of the review are adapted for a purposeful direction. This section also addresses the theoretical framework to ensure that it has a theoretical background,

Chapter three addresses research methods; data collection, analysis and evaluation of research propositions were discussed.

Chapter four is the presentation, analyses, discussion and interpretation of the data. This is expected to drive the study into accepting or rejecting the research propositions/questions.

Chapter five deals with summary; conclusion; and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter adopts thematic approach in reviewing and discussing extant and relevant literature. The study was later situated within the framework derives from the writings of Karl Max and Fredrick Engels (1948).

2.1 General Overview

In Nigeria, extant literature on democratic governance is copious. Some scholars address democratic governance from institutional point of view and only pay attention to the roles of the various democratic institutions in the consolidation of democracy (Bankole, 2009; Zwingina, 2010). Others uses comparative perspective and focus on similarities and differences in the pattern and practice of democracy in Nigeria and other states and the influence of contending global variables and imperatives on democratic ethos in various countries (Omeiza, 2010). Other scholars examine democracy from a normative and legalistic perspective because they are interested in the norms and legal processes in democratic practices such as constitutional provisions and administrative procedures in democratic systems (Adewale, 2009). Even where the challenges to democracy remained the main focus of discussion, the approaches were quite generic thus, offering non-specific accounts. This has equally led to generic recommendations thereby, making implementation difficult if not impossible.

Scholars have articulated the institutional, normative and constitutional issues that border on democracy, but pay little attention to the challenges confronting democratic States that seek to deepen and consolidate democratic practices and principles.

In view of these infractions, this study is context-specific and theme-oriented to examining contemporary democratic challenges confronting Nigeria in framing political party administration. This approach is considered useful in that it will take, into consideration, the

experience of Cross River State. By this approach, the challenges and suggestions towards democratic consolidation will be better appreciated and comprehended.

Therefore, this review is thematically arranged such that there is a consistent review of themes and sub-themes for the articulation of political party administration in this country. Some of the themes include: conceptual overview, political parties, democracy and good governance, political party administration: issues and challenges, among others.

2.1.2 Political Parties

According to Stoke (1999), political parties are endemic to democracy. Political parties created democracy... modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties (Schattschneider (1942). This shows that there is a functional relationship between political parties and modern democracy. This is undisputable but there is great concern about definitional unanimity of both concepts. Bell (1981:3; Blondel (1978:13) have noted that attempts at offering concise definitions have, in many instances, resulted in engendering further complications. The intersection between political parties and democracy clearly underlines the importance of political parties in a democratic setting.

Michels (1962:78), a prominent writer using a classical approach, defines a political party as “a fighting organization in the political sense of the word” while Sartori (1976:64) defines it as “any political group that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office.” Ware (1995:5) said it is “an institution that seeks influence in a state, often by attempting to occupy positions in government, and usually consists of more than a single interest in the society and so, to some degree, attempts to aggregate interests.” Duverger (1962:17) who is considered an authority on political parties, stated that a political party is “not a community but a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country.”

All these definitions offer invaluable insights into political parties, their objectives and roles in modern democracy. They all use the concept of political party to designate a nationally

and locally articulated political institution that has the ability to engage in political recruitment, to contest elections, to win maximum support at elections, to control the decision-making positions and personnel of a government, and to make concerted efforts to implement a broad range of public policies (LaPalombara and Weiner 1966:29).

Essentially, Aldrich (1995) stated that political parties are collective entities that organize competitions for political offices. The members of political parties contest elections under a shared label. Chibber and Kollman, (2004) offer a rather narrow definition and stated that a political party can be thought of as just the group of candidates who run for office under a party label. Sarah, Olivia and Meeks, (2014) said that political parties are the apparatus that supports the election of a group of candidates, including voters and volunteers that identify with a particular political party, the official party organizations that support the election of that party's candidates, and legislators in the government who are affiliated with the party.

Bell (1981:3) and Blondel (1978:13) affirm that the plurality of approach adopted by the scholars cited did not demonstrate a clear and acceptable definition that has won acceptance in academic circles. Therefore, it can be stated that a political party is a political institution that has a number of identifiable characteristics. A political party is established by like-minded individuals who share a common set of beliefs and agree on important matters of public policy. These individuals are, in a self-conscious manner, determined to gain and hold power on their own or in coalition with other political parties (Shively 1999:224; LaPalombara & Weiner 1966:6; Budge & Keman 1990:10). Furthermore, a political party has a recognized degree of permanence and continuity, its expected life span not depending on the life span of its leaders or founders (Bell 1981:3; Monga 1999:49). Bell (1981:3) explained that each political party possesses a “distinctive label which distinguishes it from other political groupings.” Moreover, a political party is linked, in an organized way, to various citizens, and has a stable structure founded on two levels. On the one hand, there is the national level which

operates in the name of the entire political party and where the major decisions are made. On the other hand, there is a subordinate local level geographically dispersed but directly answerable to the national level (LaPalombara & Weiner 1966:6). The relationship between the two levels is, by nature, diverse and subject to changes in conditions (Mesfin, 2008).

There are fundamental elements that stand out clearly in political parties. In addition, there are some basic elements that would ensure the development of a strong political party. These elements, according to the EU Manual on Political Party Management and Local Party Work include:

1. **Clear ideology that is translated into**

- a. Defined principles;
- b. Comprehensive platform;
- c. Concrete policies; and
- d. Coherent programs and services.

The relationship between ideology and concrete programs and services must be clear and easily demonstrated.

2. **Clear strategic vision and concrete plans**

- a. Strategic, medium-term and annual plans on the following:
 - i. Encompassing legislative and executive agenda;
 - ii. Membership expansion and consolidation;
 - iii. Public and media relations and communications; and
 - iv. Financial and fund generation-related business activities.

After political parties are established, they must undertake regular planning and assessment to determine whether milestones have been met and to identify the challenges faced in the course of building, expansion, and consolidation.

3. Sustained party operations

- a. Has functional commissions and other units that have their own clear annual, medium- and long-term plans;
- b. Has clear and operational policies, systems and procedures;
- c. Adheres to internal democracy in its decision-making process;
- d. Promotes horizontal and vertical feedback system; and
- e. Encourages policy, i.e. organizational or governance-related, debates within between and among Party members and units.

4. Leadership and membership that have:

- a. Ideological discipline;
 - i. Knowledgeable and adhere to the Party's ideology
 - ii. Knowledgeable and constructively critical of other Party's ideology and programs
- b. Party discipline;
 - i. Governed by the Constitution and By-laws of the Party
 - ii. Subsume individual self-interests to that of the Party's; and
- c. Clear program for party leaders and cadre development.

5. Electoral base

- a. Has the potential to further expand the Party's base and its representation in both parliament and government;
- b. Can mount political campaigns, mobilize supporters, and win elections;
- c. Has comprehensive communications plans about its platform, programs, (policy) positions on issues; and
- d. Has the capacity to debate in public with other political parties on issues of national/regional importance to the Party (EU, 2018).

2.1.3 Democracy

Gallie (1956) stated that democracy is a classic example of an “essentially contested” concept, since there is not now, nor will there likely be, a final consensus on its definition or full content. Nevertheless, there are certain features of democracy about which there is significant consensus and the world has countless examples of democratic practices that have existed over long periods of time and have now advanced across vast geographical spaces. The idea that democracy is a form of governance based on some degree of popular sovereignty and collective decision-making remain largely uncontested. But it is the concern over the additional features to this basic formulation that have produced significant and serious debate about the different definitions of democracy (Landman, 2007).

As a basic requirement of democracy, Dahl's liberal model of democracy presupposes three conditions that needed to be unconditionally available to all state citizens:

- (1) The freedom of expression;
- (2) The freedom of association; and
- (3) The freedom of information (Dahl 1971:2-8).

To ensure these conditions, a minimum of eight political arrangements, practices, or institutions have to be given: elected officials; free, fair, and frequent elections; freedom of expression; alternative sources of information; associational autonomy; inclusive citizenship;

political competition; and institutions that ensure a horizontal division of powers to hold government accountable (Dahl 1971:3).

Those eight conditions reflect the basic dimensions of political democracy: political competition and political participation (the right to contend in political competition). Linz, one of the major scholars in transition research, takes recourse in his definition of democracy to these eight minimum conditions propounded by Dahl. A political system can be considered democratic, “when it allows the free formulation of political preferences, through the use of basic freedoms of association, information, and communication, for the purpose of free competitions between leaders to validate at regular intervals by nonviolent means their claim to rule, without excluding any effective political office from that competition or prohibiting any members of the political community from expressing their preferences” (Linz 1975:182f). Di Palma (1990) also presents a surprisingly scant definition of democracy, emphasizing that “Political democracy, as the issue in the transition, is understood in the conventional Schumpeterian or representative sense” (Di Palma 1990:16). Przeworski presents an even shorter definition of democracy as “a system of organized uncertainty” (Przeworski 1991:131). Normative elements of democracy are not discussed any further.

Following Przeworski (1991:12), “Democracy” is regarded as something procedural, as a system in which conflicts are continually conducted through institutions. These results in a system where none of the competing political forces holds the power single-handedly to determine results in advance or to correct them in retrospect – the uncertainty and openness of the process and the outcome is, however, limited by the institutional frame by which means the political contestants can evaluate their own scope of influence. This study assumes that political parties perform pivotal functions in democracies and hence in the process of democratization (Wattenberg, 2005:5). The most central functions of parties illustrate their significant societal position as an intermediary between the rulers and the ruled.

Larry Diamond (2004), in his studies, offered an overview of democracy. He describes democracy as a system of government with four key elements:

- i) A system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections;
- ii) Active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life;
- iii) Protection of the human rights of all citizens; and
- iv) A rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

Popper, as cited in Javie (2006), defines democracy in contrast to dictatorship or tyranny. He places emphasis on the availability of opportunities for the people to control their leaders and to rule them without recourse to a revolution. Popper's view must have hinged on the fact that there are many variants of democracy in the contemporary time. The most dominant variable is what he terms direct democracy in which all citizens of a country are given direct and active participation in the decision-making process of their countries. Another variant is the representative democracy in which the whole body of all eligible citizens remains the sovereign power but political power is exercised indirectly through elected representatives.

From the foregoing, one can conclude that the basic features of democracy, according to Nassbaum (2000), is the capacity of all voters to participate freely and fully in the life of their society, and that democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens have an equal say in law-making (Diamond, 2006). It is a system of government in which the citizens have the power and choice of either exercising such power directly or elect persons who will represent them or to come together and form a governing body. It is also referred to as the rule of the majority. Okoli and Gusau (2013) describe democracy as rule by the citizens or citizen's rule. They view democracy as one of the surviving legacies of the ancient Greek civilization. This is however, not without any partiality to the belief that comparable practices of democracy grew well in other places, even in Africa prior recorded history. As Huntington

(1991) poignantly remarks, “democracy survives where the principal leaders (of a form) of government are chosen through a competitive election during which the majority of the population are enabled to participate. Inherent in this definition is the notion of election as a fundamental element of democracy.

It equates democracy to election and therefore the electoral processes during which the making of decision and selection are with the people,” Democracy, to Huntington, revolves around selective procedures, which leaders go through to power. In contemporary times, democracy is perceived as the most desirable form of government and man’s best idea for governance. Under democratic government, authority is entrenched in the populace.

2.1.4 Political Party Administration

Political party administration embodies principal elements of political management wherein the day-to-day management of parties are taken into account towards achieving certain objectives through the auspices of party ideologies. As rightly noted by Vojvodic et al (2016), “party administration is a skill for managing the information as a significant resource on the political market where there are voters, current and potential members of political parties etc., whose confidence for a certain political idea and a political programme should be gained by a political party or a political person, and in that way there should be acquired the possibility for the political party to perform political governance, i.e. to implement its political programme in the best interest of all, based on pre-election promises.”

For further clarification, Vojvodic opines that political party administration is somewhat not different from Henri Fayol’s principles of management. According to him, the basic administrative principles are the most and they include:

1. **Maintaining the position on the political scene:** This is the foundation of survival and development of the political party. It is provided by improvement of the existing programme and by launching the new ones. The reliability for the position must be

taken over by the managers and employees, that is, the party should adopt the marketing operational philosophy.

2. **Division of functions:** This is related to the need for specialization of functions by the management and working activities according to the formal education and vocation, for the sake of increasing the working and management efficiency.
3. **The political manager's authority:** This is the right and reliability to issue and implement the directives for performing assignments or the form of directing the subordinates by the managers,
4. **Discipline:** This represents the request aimed at the employees in the party, members and political manager to perform the assignment consistently and to cooperate with each other on demand of the working organization
5. **Unity in giving orders:** According to this principle, employees should have just one superior with whom they communicate directly and whereas higher political managers don't give orders to the employees, instead a lower-level political manager does it.
6. **Unity in leadership:** Based on this principle, all activities with the same goal are united and these activities are managed by one political manager. This principle enables the efficient coordination.
7. **Subordination of the individual interests to the general ones:** This implies that the interest of the political party is above the interest of an individual or a group and that the individual interest must be sacrificed for the general interest,
8. **Development of human resources:** Human resources are the main carriers of political functions and it has a goal to ensure the appropriate number and structure of political managers, to increase knowledge, abilities and motivations of human resources, to work with youth and to include them actively in the realization of the goals and assignments of the political party.

9. **Rewarding:** The basis of this principle is rightful and stimulative rewarding which enables satisfaction of the employees and management.
10. **Centralization:** This principle demands the balance between centralization and decentralization, provided that planning and control are centralized and other functions decentralized.
11. **Hierarchy:** This principle consists of the system of giving orders, and it includes superiors and subordinates (the highest political manager doesn't give orders to the performer of the working process).
12. **Order:** As a principle, it demands the right people on the right positions and knowing the abilities and knowledge of the candidates for the functions.
13. **Equity:** This is a principle which demands a humane and fair relation to the employees and members because that is the way to increasing motivation and efficiency.
14. **Personnel Stability:** This principle enhances the feeling of safety at work. A layoff must be carried out exceptionally carefully.
15. **Initiative:** By using this principle one stimulates the creativity, innovation and self-initiative of the employees and members of the party.
16. **Spirit of Togetherness:** This principle ensures harmony and team work of the employees and members of the party, which enhances the organization and work efficiency

Political party's administration emphasises strategic planning for the party to be effective and efficient on the political battle field (Bebek, 2000). Essentially, it means the ability of the party hierarchy to manage and sustain innovations in an uncertain political climate to win elections and remain united after which is critical for party administration. Strategic planning, therefore, offers political parties the opportunity to step back from their day-to-day activities and worries to reflect on more fundamental and long-term issues. It also

provides an approach for setting realistic long-term objectives for repairing, maintaining or enhancing their institutional strength (Casper, 2000).

In simple terms, it means political party administration is an ideology-driven management of political parties. It involves formulating a mission and following up to fulfilling that mission. For the parties that assistance providers work with, strategic planning can help improve their positioning vis-à-vis their external environment and their performance in their internal environment (Bebek, 2000).

2.1.5 Good Governance

Good governance conveys a whole lot of meanings that have provoked contemporary intellectual debates. Governance is the totality of the process of constituting a government as well as administering political community. Governance has also been described as a process of social engagement between the rulers and the ruled. This concept of governance is rooted in the social contract theory in which social engagement is defined in terms of the consent of men to constitute a sovereign authority in order to gain three things: laws, judges to adjudicate laws; and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws (see Jacques Rousseau's "Social Contract," 1762). According to UNDP, governance is "The totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country's affairs, comprising of the complex mechanism, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and mediate their differences" (UNDP, 1997a: 7).

Since governance involves rules, processes and institutions, Olowu's (2005:2) definition integrates value judgment regarding the propriety or otherwise of the application of these rules, processes and institution. He stated that governance is the "...manner in which (state) political leaders manage, use (or misuse) power whether to promote social and economic development or to pursue agendas that undermine such goals." Thus, the emergence of good governance in theoretical and practical terms is closely associated with the issues of

public accountability, transparency and efficiency in the conduct of government business (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2016).

At its lowest ebb, governance refers to ways in which men and materials are administered to achieving the development goals of the society. The World Bank (Cited in Yagboyaju, 2011) sees it as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development.” This further underscores the place of politics in governance. Fadakinte (2008:11) defines governance as “exercising power and authority and also appropriating resources.” This goes to show the place of the management of both human and material resources of a particular human society as crucial elements of governance. The extent to which this is achieved optimally underscores the quality of governance being experienced in a particular social system.

Governance goes beyond government; a complex yet essential universal force that manifests in all human societies. Governance is at work in people’s daily lives to manage human relationships, just as corporations and countries use it to manage their interactions and activities. In this regard, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) offers a more encompassing definition of governance as the, “exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the complex mechanism process, relationships and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights, meet their obligations and meditate their differences” (quoted in Yagboyaju, 2011).

The basic point of the UNDP concept is the place of institutions and processes in attaining the ends that the overall social system could seek per time. These are important elements for governing of states as subsequent discussions on political parties and governance will show.

When the word “good” goes with governance, its inherent features attain a different height. It now goes from the “what” of decision-making in government to the “how” it is made. It describes the capacity of the political system to function optimally in the service of the public good. Africa Leadership Forum (2000) defines governance as “the ability of a government to effectively manage resources of the state in such a manner that it is capable of providing for the basic needs of the people and the people are allowed to develop their full potentials under a democratic political framework based on the rule of law’. The basic features of good governance include trustworthiness, integrity, harmony, accountability, openness, public spiritedness, vision; and courage” (Africa Leadership Forum, 2000:4).

Elements of good governance include effective leadership committed to the promotion of social and economic wellbeing of the citizens. In other words, good governance thrives where state has not been incapacitated to perform its core functions (Rotberg, 2014). Put differently, Robert Rotberg has noted, “good governance occurs when astute, fully legitimate leaders mobilize a dejected or demoralized populace behind a vision of promise and coming prosperity” (Rotberg 2014, p.18).

Effective political leadership is *sine qua non* to the promotion of good governance in any democratic setting. Part of the responsibility of political parties is ensuring that candidates for political offices are credible and worthy of their roles. Besides, opposition political parties are vital agents of accountability. Effective monitoring of the activities of the government by the opposition with a view to ensuring that the ruling party and its government are accountable appropriately to the people and ultimately to the voters (Rotberg 2014, Fagbadebo, Agunyai and Odeyemi, 2014).

A supplement to the above is the renewed culture of constitutionalism. Adherence to the rule of law would promote transparency and accountability. This has the capacity for strengthening political leadership towards its commitment to the provision of services for the

improvement of the well-being of the people. Adherence to the rule of law is fundamental to redressing moral weaknesses and illicit leadership behaviour that has pervaded the African political systems.

The nature and quality of political leadership are necessary for stability. Indeed, stability and security are fundamental instruments for measuring the well-being of any polity (Omotola, 2010). Ideally, stability occurs when there exists a “congruence between the constitution and the regulatory rules of the system, such that changes within the action-set, either in terms of the realignment of forces in the set, or in its configuration, can be made to follow from and conform with the regulative rules of the system (Dudley 1973, p.38). Political stability, as Samuel Huntington has noted, has to do with political order, which depends largely on the relationship between the level of political participation and the level of political institutionalization (Huntington 1968). This requires system maintenance, civil order, legitimacy, and governmental effectiveness.

Governance is “good” to the extent to which, among other things, it is participatory, transparent, accountable, effective, equitable, and promotes the rule of law. Political, social and economic priorities have to be based on broad consensus in society and the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources. To these, the World Bank (2000) added some features such as participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision.

The positions of the Africa Leadership Forum and the World Bank on what makes governance “good” offer a resemblance to the views of former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Anan. According to Kofi Anan, “in practice, good governance involves promoting the rule of law, tolerance of minority and opposition groups, transparent political processes, an independent judiciary, an impartial police force, a military that is strictly subject

to civilian control, a free press and vibrant civil society institutions, as well as meaningful elections. Above all, good governance means respect for human rights” (UNDP, 2001).

In totality, when we refer to the degree of the quality of country’s governance, as encapsulated in the term “good governance,” we refer to the degree to which its institutions (such as parliament) and processes (such as elections) are transparent and accountable to the people, allowing them to participate in decisions that affect their lives. “Good” governance exists when the authority of the Government is based on the will of the people and is responsive to them. It is when open, democratic institutions allow full participation in political affairs and when human rights protections guarantee the right to speak, assemble and dissent. And it is when Government and Governmental institutions are pro-poor, promoting the sustainable human development of all citizens (UNDP, 2001; Fagbadebo, Agunyai and Odeyemi, 2014).

2.1.6 Mapping Nigerian Political Environment

The neo-patrimonial character of the Nigerian state and the politics that it engenders offers another perspective for understanding the dynamics of party politics vis-à-vis governance in Nigeria. The Nigerian petro-state, unlike the taxation-driven states, is not really a productive one but a rentier one that depends on oil rent (Obi 2011:62). Given its central role in the economy and collection of oil rents, coupled with its non-autonomy in relations to the social classes, the Nigerian petro-state, over the years, has become the arena of intra-class struggles in which the triumphant party becomes the dispenser of oil wealth. And given the imperial nature of the country’s presidential system, the individual that captures power through the instrumentality of the ruling party becomes the holder of the keys to the country’s treasury (see Basiru 2016). This reality may have accounted for the fierce struggles among the key gladiators in PDP – in the run-ups to the 2003, 2007 and 2011 presidential elections – to get the party’s presidential ticket to preside over the department of capital accumulation (Okereka 2015:100; Amadasu and Amadasu 2003:120).

Again, the weak party system, the incubator of pervasive intra-party conflicts in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, cannot be separated from the character and content of the democratization project that was first imposed on Nigeria and other African countries by the colonial authorities during the decolonization era. The project was further marketed and promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, as part of the "political conditionality" packages, during the structural adjustment era (Adetula 2011:10). As argued elsewhere, this factor can be better understood and appreciated if situated within the context of the country's colonial history (Basiru 2015: 93). There, the argument is that liberal democracy and all its appurtenances, inclusive of political parties, emerged in Nigeria within a colonial framework. As Basiru (2018:137) remarks, "liberal democracy and its institutional components, like other Eurocentric social institutions that have become an integral part of Nigeria's socio-economic and political existence, were products of British colonial engineering."

With colonial order in place, many functioning traditional democracies in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa were supplanted by the European-modeled bureaucratic state. What consequently emerged was a model of democracy whose underlying ideologies and values were alien to the players (Parekh 1993). Indeed, when liberal competitive democracy, adapted to the European cultural milieu, superseded pre-colonial traditions in Africa, it took another form. As a result of that, what blossomed in Nigeria and other colonies in Africa was a democracy that was in content and form markedly different from the one in Europe (Mafeje 2002). Interestingly, by the time party democracy eventually emerged in colonial Nigeria, during the decolonization phase of its evolution, what emerged were parties that were the complete opposite of parties in Europe – lacking internal discipline and a democratic ethos.

The point here is that institutions of liberal democracy, including party politics, exported to Africa/Nigeria did not fit into the African cultural milieu. Putting this in perspective, Finkel and others (2008:15) aver, "The adoption of particular institutions

(elections, legislatures, universal suffrage, and so on) is ... a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the establishment of democracy.” Therefore, the pervasive intra-party conflicts that have characterized party politics in the post-1999 era, as those in the previous republics, are throw-backs of the crises of the liberal democratization project in Nigeria/Africa.

It can be deduced that the character of Nigerian politics is oriented towards prebendalism. Joseph aptly captures the essence of prebendalism in Nigerian politics. According to him “Politics, as is often asserted, is fundamentally about the struggle over scarce resources” (Joseph, 1983). In some countries, that struggle is not focused in a continuous and insistent way on the state itself. Power, status, and major economic goods can often be procured through a variety of paths and from a multiplicity of sources. In Nigeria, however, the state has increasingly become a magnet for all facets of political and economic life, consuming the attention of traders, contractors, builders, farmers, traditional rulers, teachers, as much as that of politicians or politically motivated individuals in the usual sense of these terms (Joseph, 1983).

Simply put, prebendal politics refers to “patterns of political behaviour which reflect their justifying principle that the offices of the existing state may be competed for and then utilized for personal benefit of office holders as well as their reference and support groups” (Joseph, 1983 in Dike, 2001:14).

From a similar perspective, Nnoli (1980:54, 55) clearly illustrated the place of parochialism in Nigerian politics. Parochialism, according to Nnoli, thrives on “ethnic and regional sentiments.” In effect, he identified “politicisation of ethnicity” and “regionalization of politics” as fundamental attributes of Nigerian political practice, which stem from the excesses of Nigerian politicians (Nnoli, 1980:140-175).

Ekekwe (1986) emphasizes the class character of politics in Nigeria. He clearly demonstrated the phenomenon of class “capital accumulation” via politics and the consequent “feudalization of the state” in Nigerian context (Ekekwe, 1986:147).

Furthermore, Claude Ake in Ihonvbere (1989:45) makes allusion to the fact that politics in Africa nay Nigeria is essentially normless, reckless and hopeless. He observes that the high premium placed on state power has made politics a” warfare.” He stated that “Power is overvalued and security lies only in getting more and more power. There is hardly any restraint on the means of acquiring power, holding it or using it” (Ihonvbere, 1989:45).

In fact, Ake’s remarks represent an all-time platitude about Nigerian politics. Essentially, it captures the logic behind the crude recklessness characterizing party politics and governance in Nigeria today. The above scenario represents the debased character of politics in Nigeria. In relation to this, Okoye (1996:18) asserts: “the pictures of politicking and politicians in Nigeria are not wholesome”. He further advances the reason for this anomaly as he stated that “Two prevalent and related factors have been identified as largely contributing to the unwholesome image of politics in (Nigeria) – the primacy of indiscreet personal interests, and the attendant reckless clash of private interests, sometimes occasioning physical violence” (Okoye 1996:18).

The preceding observation by Okoye is quite illuminating and instructive. In fact, the “primacy of indiscreet personal (selfish) interests” and the attendant “clash of private interests” have been at the root of many crises of partisan politics in Nigeria over the years. Whether one is talking about ethnic, class, prebendal, or even godfatherism, this is certainly true, though in varying degrees.

At this juncture, it is pertinent to reiterate that the character of Nigerian politics is better understood from the standpoint of politicking, which in turn, is the product of the country’s socio-economic conditions. Therefore, it is to be observed that Nigerian politics

has been characterized by ethnic and regional parochialism, prebendalism, clientelism, opportunism, etc, in its continuum of degeneration. It is in relation to the above that we can better appreciate the emergence and abuse of Nigerian political party's relevance with attendant intra and inter party crises. This has negative impact on delivery of good governance otherwise generally referred to as democracy dividends in Nigeria.

2.1.7 Political Party Administration and Good Governance

The declaration of Kofi Annan and the UNDP provide a platform on which one can “fit in” political parties into the realms of the totality of what constitute good governance. As institutions, political parties are platforms on which the citizens seek to influence the affairs and process of governance. They are means by which the people express themselves and decide the system of government they want. Rudolph (quoted in Kangu, 2001) views them as association of private citizens formed to promote certain political and economic beliefs and to have them adopted as government policy.

The features of good governance are traceable to the activities of political parties as institutions within the polity. From time to time, political parties compete to capture the state apparatus by which they can be in a position to run the affairs of government. This being the case, any project towards governance with a view to achieving good governance must target political parties as well.

As democratic institutions, political parties open up the political space for participation of citizens. They are platforms through which citizens get to express their free political will and be actively involved in day-to-day governance (Berek, 2019). They also enable citizens the channel to form associations and let their voices be heard in accordance with democratic norms and values. Political parties equally provide choices for citizens, not just in choosing their political affiliations and ideologies amongst the various options presented by existing political parties, but also in the candidates presented for various elective offices.

Beyond the individual, a political party is supposed to be a bridge between the government and the state and also serves as a watchdog of the elected to ensure they keep faith with the articulated preferences of the party on the basis of which they have been elected and also to discipline erring officials. Political parties should serve as an inventory of aggregated interest.

The place of political parties in good governance begins with the internal process and mechanisms used in party functioning and operations. Governance is enhanced if parties entrench a credible system in the process and selection of candidates for elections. In cases where there is no discipline and proper management of a political party, the likelihood of the outcome of such a process is always indiscipline in the candidates produced and there is the tendency that such candidates lack focus and proper plans, which later takes its toll on governance when they assume office.

Before, during or after elections, political parties, either in power or in the opposition, are important institutions whose activities have telling effects on the political system, positively or negatively. Parties vying for public offices project their plans and programmes to the electorate in forms of manifestoes prior elections. The manifesto reflects a party's ideology which implies a philosophy or set of principles that underlies a political programme (Keverenge, 2011).

The ideology and the policies that flow from its ideology become the manifesto (or blueprint or action plan). This manifesto is a statement of the goals and principles the party promises to pursue if voted into power. As a social contract with voters, the manifesto spells out the party's perception of the country's problems and states how the party proposes to address the problems and help achieve the collective aspirations of the nation if elected. The manifesto sets out the measures which the party proposes to take in order to improve public

services and address public concerns. In effect, when political parties roll out manifestoes, they present their orientation and plans for the realization of good governance.

As a pact between the party and the electorate before elections, governance is enhanced when the government that emerges after elections abide by the defined ideology or the programs on the basis of which its party was elected to government. These should define the kind of policies that the government will pursue in attaining the developmental goals of the society. When this path is not honorably pursued, electoral promises get broken and citizens develop lack of trust in the government, thus eroding legitimacy. Thus, party programs and manifestoes which develop into public policies must necessarily promote good governance as exemplified by its features.

According to Musa (2020), “political parties also have a responsibility to keep watch on the activities of members who occupy public offices following elections. The party must necessarily remain above the activities of its members in government while retaining its right to monitor and discipline members whose activities in government are at variance with the values, policies and aspirations of the party, as encapsulated in its ideology, programs and manifestoes on the platform of which it rode on to power. Since political parties depend on people’s votes to win the next election, it behooves on them to ensure that the government is accountable and promotes the interests of the citizens in policy implementation.”

Beyond the party in power, opposition political parties also have roles to play in advancing democracy and enhancing good governance. Through constructive criticisms and presentation of alternative approaches and proposals to the running of the affairs of government, opposition parties keep the party in government on its toes and in the process influence decision making thereby leading to good decisions and good governance (Kangu, 2001).

Indeed, a ruling party can borrow from the manifestos, proposals and programs of opposition parties; study them and where possible implement some of those proposals and programs as if they were their own party's proposals and programs, if it enhances governance. On the other hand, the opposition parties, whilst outside government can bring their own ideas, proposals and programs in to the running of the government, to the benefit of the common good of all the members of society.

In essence, effective institutions and processes contribute to good governance. In addition, in a democratic setting, political parties are among the most important institutions while also actively involved in the key processes of governance. What the foregoing analyses imply is that political parties, through inter and intra party activities, always have critical and invaluable roles to play in the workings of day-to-day governance, and the extent to which they effectively play these roles determines the quality of governance and indeed, the democratic system.

Ideally, effective political party administration is invaluable to democratic consolidation. Okeke (2015) contends that democracy consolidates when it defends people's rights and the sanctity of ballot. "Democracy is therefore, a system of government and a system of defense. It is a system for defending the powers of the people against seizure by political thugs. Democracy defends the hopes of a people against onslaught by sundry intruders. In the context of developing democracies the stronger the defense mechanisms of democracy, the nearer the tendency of the system toward democratic consolidation." In other words, democratic consolidation occurs when people's desires, choices, aspirations and decisions are well guided, defended, promoted and executed.

It can be deduced that an ideology-driven party administration provides a platform for consolidation of democracy and deepening of good governance. In other words, when parties

are managed negatively, there is the likelihood of political instability characterized usually by intra and inter party crises and this detracts from good governance.

However, as important as these political parties are to democracy and good governance, Michael (2013, p. 286) opines that for political parties to consolidate democracy and impact on governance, they must strive to be democratic in their internal operations. This is because they are the key instruments for communicating an integral aspect of democratic process and by implication; the fate of democracy and essence of the political system itself lies in the political party's health and resilience. Democracy relies on political parties to survive because political parties choose, from popular participation of citizens to selection of candidates and the staging of competitive political programs and the structuring of elections. It is assumed, that the growth of effective party system is the cornerstone of every government within a democratic setting.

Adejumobi and Kehinde (2007) documented some features that political parties must manifest in relation to the consolidation of democracy and good governance, namely: be composed of people who are likeminded and share similar world views; must promote a set of packages or programs that represent the vision, mission and manifestoes of the party and are designed to meet the needs of the public; must be mass-based (this helps to legitimize them); must evolve steadily over time, with identifiable leaders who constitute rallying points and they must show some characteristics of intraparty activities in their operations. The democratization procedure can be considered as consolidated when these political parties have established these characteristics for a considerable period" (Musa, 2020).

2.1.8 Internal Party Democracy, Democratic Consolidation and Good Governance

Internal democracy is a function of a robust party ideology. According to Anene, "political party ideology is an essential vehicle through which the party convey the philosophy

behind its beliefs, purpose and programs of action...cherished values of parties translate into ideology that is expectedly decisive in governance” (Anene, 2020).

Party ideology and internal party democracy are inseparable mechanisms in party administration. When a party is driven by ideology, internal democracy becomes a norm. NDI (2013) highlighted the pivotal significance of ideology to a political party by maintaining that ideology helps political parties to realize the following: attract, unite, and mobilize support; withstand significant changes in the internal organization and external operating environment; identify like-minded groups in other countries; and provide political parties with frameworks for analyzing societal needs, assessing and prioritizing any problems, establishing a vision for the future, and identifying the policy actions required to achieve that vision. It follows that without a clear-cut and well-thought-out ideology, a political party is doomed for failure.

Fulford (2017) lent credence to the above position by positing that ideology is essential to a political party because, it is that which is built upon a set of philosophical premises, and which define, in a broad stroke, the political template that a political party uses to create their brand, and is the standard they use to attract people with similar notion to support them. In essence, party ideology is a necessary factor for the breeding of internal democracy in political parties.

Obiora and Chimaogu (2020) have underscored the importance of internal party democracy to good governance. Using the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. in their assertion, “Internal democracy in political parties engender cohesion and responsibility on the part of members thereby creating shared electoral fate and strength in shared party label. This implies that parties’ decision-making structures, processes, conventions/congresses and nominations/primary elections provide opportunities for members to influence the choices that parties offer to voters on free and fair grounds without having to come or relate directly or

indirectly with some persons or groups that enjoy undue advantage over other members” (Obiora and Chimaogu, 2020).

Internal party democracy therefore describes the level of inclusiveness or otherwise of political parties’ members and structures in the affairs of the party especially as it concerns membership and candidate recruitment in primary elections. Yes, the selection and nomination of candidates to fly party flags has remained a knotty issue in Nigeria’s party administration. Internal party democracy further describes the critical activities of deciding who controls and uses which structure and strands of the party in elective conventions and access to opportunities and positions in government. These constitute the bases of the conflicts in contemporary Nigerian parties where small groups or persons have always reigned supreme over other members of the party and maintained publicly undefined interests that continually guided parties (Ibrahim, 2015).

It follows that party democracy is *sine-qua-non* to party successes and consolidation of democracy. Amusan (2011) posited that principles such as inclusiveness, decentralization, commitment to rules and procedures of party operations if given due attention and properly adhered to by political parties will result in political sustainability, stability, foster deliberations, bring consensus among party leaders and cadres and will make organizational structure of the party more cohesive in the competition for power. The question then is, are political parties in Nigeria ready to strive for democratic consolidation? A critical assessment of Amusan’s averments shows that it is the responsibility of political parties to provide avenues for democratic consolidation by adhering to these principles. Amusan (2011:61) further stated that openness within the political party by political leaders through balanced representative system that cuts across various ethnic, religious and marginalized groups based on bottom-top system would entrench the activities of the political party. He added that the input and output of a political party should not be controlled by a faction for their narrow-

minded objectives which are designed mainly to perpetuate them in power. The critical question is would Nigerian political leaders allow openness and transparency above their selfish ambitions, desires and interest?

Momodu and Matudi (2013, p. 7) contended that the essence of internal party democracy, is basically to create a level playing field for active participation of every member in the party affairs and to build a cohesive party that is vibrant enough to win elections and as such provide a strong government committed to quality service delivery that would meet the needs and yearnings of the citizens. Omotola (2010) affirmed that political party's decision-making structures and processes should provide opportunities for individual citizens to influence the choices that parties offer to voters. This converges with the views of Momodu and Matudi (2013) on the potency and benefits of inclusive decision-making process in boosting party activities. Mike (2016) submitted that internal democracy of political parties have significant impact on democratic consolidation and representation because internal party organizational issues such as membership, recruitment, socialization, training, discipline and resources of the party have profound influence on electoral outcomes and where political parties are weak and ineffective, politics is reduced to free opportunism and open self-serving interest of individual politicians who may derail the nation-building process and the democratic project.

According to Awofeso, Obah-Akpowoghaha and Ogunmilade (2017), internal democracy involves party's selection of candidates, consultation, internal principles of party discipline and sanction, promotion of party's ideology and accountability. To Hallberg (2008) cited in (Babayo and Muhammad, 2019:118), two major methods of promoting internal democracy, are the advocacy and legal/regulatory measures which include selection of party leaders; party representative for election; collective decision making and peaceful negotiation. The second aspect which is the legal/regulatory entails the party's constitution, regulations,

governing representation, minority consideration, negotiation and punishment for members. Babayo and Muhammad (2019:117) asserted that for political parties to avoid and manage conflict in order to prevent subjective decision or imposition of candidates against the majority members wish, party members must work within the ambit of laid down procedures and principles of mutual decision. They further posit that internal democracy gives avenue for proper recruitment of members, political socialization, training, discipline, accountability and transparency, with ultimate effect of meeting the yearnings of the citizenry.

Reduced to essentials, there is a general agreement among political analysts that without the effective participation of political parties, democratic consolidation would be impossible and good governance unrealistic. Political parties are major components in legitimizing control of political office and are the sole means for translating electoral outcomes into effective action.

Przeworski (1991) argues that “in a democracy, multiple political forces compete inside an institutional framework”. He further explained that “Democracy is consolidated when under given political and economic conditions, a particular system of institutions becomes the only game in town, when no one can imagine acting outside the democratic institutions and democracy is consolidated with compliance – acting within the institutional framework – constitutes the equilibrium of the decentralized strategies of all the relevant political forces” (Przeworski (1991).

This implies that for a fully unified democracy to evolve, democratic process needed to be developed into the very first level of political organization and that includes the grassroots. Unnecessary meddlesomeness of some state governors and political ‘godfathers’ stifle this process and has remained the bane of consolidation of democracy and good governance in Nigeria.

Since the commencement of the Fourth Republic, a discernible patterning has emerged that suggests that elites on the political scene have not learnt much from the mistakes of the past. The culture of cross-carpeting by some governors and defections in the National Assembly which is part of the various crises affecting the major parties are graphic instances of political elites having learnt nothing from past mistakes. Another prominent shortcoming in all the major parties is lack of party discipline just as fractionalization within the parties remains the fallouts of indiscipline among party members (Mike, 2016). The phenomenon of carpet crossing and decamping has unwittingly benefitted from the seeming connivance of successful registration as new parties. Unfortunately, these actions portend great danger to democratic consolidation. These trends show that through their internal and external conduct political parties have impacted democratic consolidation. However, it is sad that the impact is often negative rather than and consequently impedes democratic consolidation and good governance.

2.1.9 Perspectives on the Enablers of Political Party Crises

Considering the level of intra and inter party crises in Nigeria, there is a serious concern that the consolidation of democracy and further deepening of good governance is unrealistic. Scholars have advanced reasons that account for frequent party crises in Nigeria as follows:

1. **Weak Party Structure Engendered by Western Imperialism:** Here, the first thesis often proposed is that weak party system is the incubator for pervasive intra-party conflicts in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. They stated that it cannot be separated from the character and content of the pioneer democratization project that was first imposed on Nigeria and other African countries by the colonial authorities during the decolonization era. The project was further marketed and promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, as part of the "political conditionality" packages, during the structural adjustment era (Adetula 2011:10).

As argued elsewhere, this factor can be better understood and appreciated if situated within the context of the country's colonial history (Basiru 2015:93). Here, the argument is that liberal democracy and all its appurtenances, inclusive of political parties, emerged in Nigeria within a colonial framework. As Basiru (2018:137) remarked, "liberal democracy and its institutional components, like other Eurocentric social institutions that have become an integral part of Nigeria's socio-economic and political existence, were products of British colonial engineering." To be sure, with colonial order in place, many functioning traditional democracies in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa were supplanted by the European-modeled bureaucratic state. What thus emerged was a model of democracy whose underlying ideologies and values were alien to the players (Parekh 1993). Indeed, when liberal competitive democracy, adapted to the European cultural milieu, superseded pre-colonial traditions in Africa, it took another form. As a result, what blossomed in Nigeria and other colonies in Africa, was a democracy that was in content and form markedly different from the one in Europe (Mafeje 2002).

Interestingly, by the time party democracy eventually emerged during the decolonization phase of its evolution, what came up in this nation were parties that were the complete opposite of parties in Europe – lacking internal discipline and democratic ethos. The point here is that institutions of liberal democracy, including party politics, exported to Africa/Nigeria did not fit into the African cultural milieu. Putting this in perspective, Finkel and others (2008:15) aver, "The adoption of particular institutions (elections, legislatures, universal suffrage, and so on) is ... a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the establishment of democracy." It can be deduced that the pervasive intra-party conflicts that has characterized party politics in the post-1999 era, as those in the earlier republics, were throw-backs of the crises of the liberal democratization project in Nigeria/Africa.

2. **Lack of party discipline:** Parties in Nigeria have not been able to attain the expected degree of institutionalization especially in the areas of discipline and internal cohesion. This inadequacy has also diminished conflict management capacities at both inter and intra-party relation levels (Akubo & Yakubu, 2014). The height of crisis at both levels of party relations is worrisome. It is such that none of the parties had been able to hold together without severe conflict that most times threaten their very existence (Simbine, 2013:18). Party and party system institutionalization is measured by the internal and external activities of parties. Internal refers to all those factors relating to party organization, such as internal democracy, adaptability, finance, complexities, and external refers to the relationship of parties with their external environment (Kura, 2011, p. 270).

The way political parties operate internally and how power is configured led to huge organizational weaknesses and internal conflict. The parties have, in particular, been blighted by expulsions and suspensions of party members, cross carpeting particularly prior to elections and deep divisions and factions that have resulted in violent clashes (Ikelegbe, 2013, p. 18). During elections, violent intra-party conflicts tend to rise particularly due to fact that the favored candidates are often imposed and party chieftains swapping nominated candidates dubiously.” Ikelegbe (2013, pp. 18-19) posited that due to the absence of egalitarian platforms and the will of ordinary party members and delegates in party primaries being subverted, several party leaders and members have been grieved and this has led to many of them defecting and cross-carpeting. Empirically, the degree of party and party system institutionalization in a state shows whether political parties in that state are able to perform these functions effectively or not (Kura, 2008).

3. **Lack of Robust Party Ideology:** According to Okoli (2018), “political parties in Nigeria are ‘ideologyless’ and bereft of any tangible philosophy to guide their

activities.” The importance of party ideology had earlier been noted in the preceding section of this study and need not to be overstretched. However, what is instructive is that political party ideology is the philosophy that ought to serve as a compass and give direction to political parties’ activities. In Nigeria’s Fourth Republic, all the political parties appear to be more or less the same because they lack clear-cut ideology that distinguishes one from the other. This accounts for the ease of defection from one party to the other with attendant political crises that usually greeted such defections. Since parties lack ideologies, members’ commitment to the party is limited to the expected dividends from such membership. When such gains are threatened, defection becomes the next viable option. Olanrenwaju and Shola rightly noted: “Nigerian political parties have been manifesting ideological indisposition resulting in poverty of ideology. It is only in Nigerian that candidates work against their parties when they failed to secure parties’ tickets to contest elections. Basically, Nigerian political parties have more similarities than differences, the only visible difference being their names (Olanrenwaju and Shola, 2015). Essentially, politicians under the remit of political parties devoid of ideologies work principally for their indiscreet interests and not that of the parties. When they fail to use the party platform to advance their interests, they resort to activities that undermine the party’s electoral success. This usually results into party crisis (Omotola, 2009).

There is a consensus among scholars that any political party without a defined ideology remains detrimental to the tradition of participatory and representative democracy. Soludo in Solanke (2013) corroborated that a political party without a consistent ideological predisposition is like an individual who does not believe in anything. And that is dangerous to the country. Poverty of party ideology in Nigeria undermines democracy and democratic process (Nnamdi and Ogan, 2019).

4. **Executive Interference in Party Administration:** Lack of a well-articulated ideology is responsible for the wrong notion prevailing in Nigeria that a candidate elected on the platform of a political party, automatically becomes its leader as soon as s/he assumes office and is above the party. Some examples of this include Governors, who become the leaders of their parties in the State and the President at the centre. This has somewhat made the so-called leaders not to be focused, become dictatorial because they see themselves to be above the party and cannot yield to party disciplinary measures when they violate party ethics. In this circumstance, the party becomes a pun in the hands of the Governors of the President and is manipulated to suit their whims and caprices (Nnamdi and Ogan, 2019).

As opined by Oleyemi, the problem of meddlesomeness of President and Governors in party affairs is not entirely a problem. Where the problem lies is some level of highhandedness that they exhibit in the process. Where a Governor would want to be the sole decider of political appointments and impose candidates on the party process is a recipe for party implosion and a red signal to governance (Oleyemi, 2013).

5. **Party Funding:** The crux of party funding and campaign financing against the background of the institutional designs guiding such activities in Nigerian parties is another fundamental reason for party conflict. Fisher and Eisenstadt (2004) argue that it is ironic that despite extensive studies on virtually all aspects of parties, financial issues seem to have eluded and escaped the attention of academic researchers. For any political party to function effectively there is need for a solid financial backing from members. The importance of party funding is underscored by the contribution that money can make in democracy and especially in developing economies where few elites control both the sources and distribution of money (Kura 2011). By implication, money, more than anything, is a source of political power and political power in turn

is a source of economic power. Little wonder, Karl Marx argued on the “materialist conception of history,” that it is the economy that serves as the foundation upon which is erected the superstructure of culture, law and government (Olaniyi, 2001:28)

The centrality of party funding is underlined by how it contributes to general crises affecting political party institutions. Hopkin (2006), for example, argues that the manner in which parties fund their activities has been quite embarrassing. The diversities of democracies as well as different typologies of parties suggest that party financing activities differ from one democracy to another and from one type of party to another. In contemporary clientele democracies, poverty, low level of education and general economic underdevelopment as well as the socio-cultural nature of such societies contribute to the “success” of clientelistic strategies of party funding. Perhaps, because of its complexities and susceptibility to corruption and absolute abuse, certain mechanisms are designed to regulate party funding.

In 2002, PDP campaign team, for instance, organized a launching to boost the campaign for 2003 elections. In that event, over six billion naira was realized. At the end, the donors were compensated with contracts and political appointments. Looking at Anambra State chapter of PDP between 1999 and 2006, Chief Emeka Offor and Chris Uba made the state ungovernable because they were two of the outstanding PDP financiers. Chief Emeka Offor not only tormented Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju, the then governor of Anambra State, he also dominated the running of the affairs of the State. The pinnacle of the ugly situation was the abduction of Dr. Chris Ngige (former governor) in July 2003 because Ngige opposed the move of Chris Uba (godfather) to colonize the State. Interestingly, PDP did not bother to carry out any investigation or disciplinary actions rather Ngige was made to leave the party with ignominy. It would be correct to infer that PDP had been inadvertently hijacked by plutocrats and kleptocrats. This scenario amply illustrated the problem of party funding and the attendant crises generated in Nigeria.

6. Unbearable Influence of Political Godfathers: Party crisis is mainly traceable to the influences of political godfathers in the party administration. Crisis associated with political godfatherism has, to a large extent, been a major challenge with which the current democratic regime of Nigeria has grappled (Dukor, 2004). The danger associated with this practice has been demonstrated in the occurrences in Oyo and Anambra States between 2000-2007, where crises and complications associated with the practice had led to molestation and consequent removal of serving governors in bizarre circumstances (Okoli, 2007).

Besides, the extent of confusion, tension and crises, which has come to characterize godfatherist relations in Nigerian politics over the recent years, has, among other things, greatly adumbrated its contiguity to political instability and bad governance. Godfathers lord it over political parties' decisions and, in most cases, impose their choices and dictate the affairs of the party. This violates party principles, cohesion and undermines party ideologies (if any). Against this backdrop, Okoli opined that the present democratic government of Nigeria is at the mercy of crisis of godfatherism. And this crisis, if left unchecked, is capable of truncating the current attempt at consolidating democracy in Nigeria (Okoli, 2007).

Ayoade (2008: 85) further stated that godfather is “a benign political accretion of the position of either political notables or dreaded political rascals who are recalcitrant to the deterrence of the legal regime”. Godfatherism has been described as “an ideology which is constructed on the belief that certain individuals possess considerable means to unilaterally determine who gets the party ticket to run for an election and who wins in an electoral contest” (Ogundiya, 2009:286). “To Ayoade (2006), godfatherism is not an act of philanthropy; it is marked by undemocratic and devious acts such as bribery, violence and corruption, all for the sake of pursuing the interests of the political godfather. There is a relationship of dependence between the godfather and the godson: the godfather ‘invests’ his resources in the godson and

the godson must, or at least should, on getting into office return the harvests of the godfather's investments by reimbursing him in kind and staying loyal to the godfather in all respects, including his decision making while he remains in public office. The key goal of all godfathers is rule by proxy or rule through protégés (Ojo and Lawal, 2013:187).

Godfather politics typically ensures that even when there is no evidence that voting actually took place, results are still declared. It plays electoral politics with little or no respect for the established rules of conduct that governs the procedure, and does not display any sense of moral restraint in its appreciation of what constitutes appropriate behavior in a democratic political order." Whether at the level of general or at the intra-party elections, the declared losers always dispute the elections results and it is no longer surprising. This is visible with the fact that, the three presidential elections that took place between 1999 and 2011 have been the subject of judicial intervention (Abutudu, 2013:10-11).

Political parties being the subject of hijacking by godfathers have suppressed the party system as a channel for the aggregation of constituency or local interests. These parties then operate based on the preferences or personal interests of the godfather. Therefore, because godfathers influence the internal workings of political parties significantly, they are involved in the stability or otherwise of these parties unknowingly or deliberately. Godfathers have influence and power and therefore continue to shape and reshape the nature of internal democracy within political parties and this continues to play a significant role in understanding the crises in political parties in Nigeria (Momoh, 2013:16)." There are other challenges to the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria, which include incessant political violence, poverty, corruption, insecurity, incumbency factor, electoral malpractice, voters' apathy, gender issues, among others

It should be noted that political godfatherism is an aberration, which has no justification whatsoever in the culture of democracy. It erodes the virtue of popular choice

and defies the utilitarian principle both of which define democratic governance (Ukhum, 2004:91). In essence, therefore, political godfatherism is an anti-democratic practice.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Extant literature on politics, governance and political parties' administration has generated substantial theoretical contributions albeit in an unequal pedestal. A most appropriate way to examining this array of theories might be to consider them along Cox's (1991) line of classification of orthodox or "problem solving theories" and radical or "critical theories" (Cox, 1991:276-277). This classification is informed by Cox's observation of the functions of theory generally. According to him "Theory can serve two distinct purposes. One is simple, direct response; to be a guide to help solve the problem within the terms of the particular perspective which was the point of departure. The other is more reflective which gives rise to theorizing and its relation to the other prospective.... And to open up the possibility of choosing a different valid perspective from which the problematic becomes one of creating an alternative world (Cox, 1991:277).

This postulation suggests that theories serve as lenses through which certain problems are interrogated, digested and conjectured, coherently. Hence, theories on socio-political discourse are perspective centric. On the basis of these distinctions, much of the theoretical contributions to the contemporary scholarship on politics, governance and political party administration in Nigeria utilized numerous variants and strands of elite theory; structural functionalism and power theories. While these contending theories are useful in understanding the dynamics of party politics in Nigeria, they fail to situate their studies in the ambit of critical political, economic sub-structure. Their orthodoxy is obvious and merely descriptive and prescriptive.

In view of this, this study adopts the Marxist Political Economy approach as a theoretical framework. This framework essentially derives from the writings of Karl Max and Fredrick Engels (1948). According to Marx, political economy is the "anatomy of civil

society” and this entails “the study of the sum total of relations of production, the economic structure of society” (Aina in Ezeani, 2004:23). Thus, the political economy approach emphasizes the centrality and primacy of the mode of production in the study and analysis of social phenomena.

The theory and method of Marxian political economy is based on historical materialism and dialectical materialism (Beckman, 1983:106). Characteristically, therefore, Marxian political economy approach is distinguished by its materialist conception and interpretation of realities. Contrary to the postulations of Hegel and other idealists, Marx argues that it is the material existence (matter), which determines consciousness. Marx thus believes that the “mode of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life processes in general” (Marx, 1968:181).

The above points have been brilliantly captured by Tucker (1969:15) in the following words: “In every instance...the mode of productive activity has been the definitive fact of social epoch, the determinant of the character of society in all its super-structural expressions: political, legal, intellectual, religious...”

In the Marxian nomenclature, the mode of production constitutes the infrastructure (foundation) of the society upon which the superstructure (political, ideological, social, cultural, etc.) is built. This makes it imperative that any meaningful analysis of social phenomenon must take into cognisance, its economic basis. After all, it is “the economic basis of the society (which) determines its social structure as well as the psychology of the people within it” (Wright, 1962:105). The major assumption and thrust of this theory are vividly captured by Barongo (1981); a leading proponent of the theory. According to him, in a very real sense, the nature of political life in a particular society, the type of institutions that are created and sustained and the peculiar patterns of political processes that emerge are a function of the interplay among three main factors, namely; the condition of the base of society, the

history and the experience of the society and the actors' perception, interpretation and response to environmental stimuli (*Barongo, 1981: 138*).

2.2.1 Relevance of the Theory

Fundamentally, Marxian political economy is materialist, historical, dialectical and holistic in approach (cf. Ake, 1981:1 – 5). Above all, the theory radically emphasizes objectivity and pragmatism in analysis of social phenomena. Applying this theory to the analysis of the present study, it must be noted, first of all, that the phenomenon of political parties' administration and crises of governance has materialist origin. As a social reality, political parties' administration and the attendant crises of governance is a function, a necessary outcome of the Nigerian material existence. Much as the reality of party crisis obtains within the ambience of the political culture, our analysis of its occurrence must, as a point of departure, consider the sub-structural imperative that underlies it. The interests of the political class and major party actors to wit: State Governors are conditioned by materialism. Where these indiscrete interests cannot be sustained by the existing political arrangements, crisis ensues. Inter and intra-party crises and their effects on good governance obtain from this ambience.

In short, the basis of party crisis and dysfunctional governance is better understood within the context of prebendal and accumulative politicking, which is necessarily and inevitably informed, by the objective conditions and “contradictions” of Nigerian economic base (Okoli, 2007). Party crisis, factionalisation and conflicts that characterize the Nigerian political landscape are functions of a dysfunctional political system oriented towards acquisitive and survival politicking.

Secondly, with its emphasis on historical circumstances as it affects the development of the productive system, Marxian political economy enables us to situate this study in historical context. Here, the event of imperialism/colonialism and systemic decapitalization,

dislocations and disarticulations it brought on Nigerian economy (Ake, 1985) are put into account in trying to come to terms with the occurrence of political parties crises and dysfunctional governance in Nigeria. It is against the backdrop of this that we contend that the gamut of conditions which today characterizes Nigerian political relations derive their origin and essence from the character and structure of the colonial and post-colonial political economy of the country.

Furthermore, with its holistic conception of social phenomena, Marxian political economy gives us a deeper insight into the interconnectedness and functional relationships that define social occurrences. In this respect, the phenomenon of party administration and attendant crisis of governance is related to the state of economic system, as well as patterns of political relations and practices, which are attendant from this prevailing economic system.

From the foregoing, it is evident that Marxian political economy theory offers an incisive and rather pragmatic explication of the problem of our study. Undoubtedly, a proper understanding of Nigeria's political system and democratic experiences cannot be attained without an in-depth knowledge of the political history and economy of the Nigerian state nor can the workings of the political institutions that are created and sustained be understood without a good knowledge of the personal preferences and ideological inclinations and proclivities of those who act on behalf of the state. Thus, the Marxist theory as captured above, its shortcomings and weaknesses notwithstanding, adequately explains the challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria. This is because these challenges revolve around the history and economy of the Nigerian state as well as the nature and character of the political and democratic institutions developed and sustained by the leadership. It is in the light of this that the theory is considered most appropriate for this study.

Howbeit, the Marxian political economy approach has been severely criticized, especially by bourgeois scholars, on the premise that it amounts to "economic determinism

(and/or unilinear analysis of society” (Momoh and Hundeyin in Anifowose and Enemu, 1999:44). This charge, however, can hardly be sustained. What Marxian political economy stresses in this regard is the role of economic factors as the “determinant in the last instance.” As a matter of fact, the notion of primacy of economic factors in Marxian literature does not in any way presuppose economic absolutism or dogmatism. In summary, Marxian political economy provides the best approach for objective and rewarding analysis of the subject matter, hence its adoption in the study

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the research method of this study. The components of the chapter include: research design, area of study, sample and sampling method, instrument of data collection, administration of data and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Methodology

Case Study Research Design was adopted for this study. Using the case study enables the researcher adopt carefully select-cases and study them intensively’ (Gilbert 2008: 36). The method “probes deeply, intensively and analyses the interaction between the factors involved in the study” (Idaka and Anagbogu, 2012). This gives an overview, and in-depth understanding of case(s), processes, and interactional dynamics within the unit of study (Kumar, 2011), and helps in unveiling the underlying causal relationship between variables which leads to holistic understanding of the phenomenon through available data. This research design is generally said to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of the real-life events.

The design is suitable to this study because it provides a very deep insight into the dynamics of political party administration and its effect on governance. Cross River State also provides a very good case study for interrogating party crises and their collateral effects on governance because the two different governors that adopted two different administrative styles (back-to-back in the state) provided the needed elements for a comparative analysis for the scope of the study.

3.2 Area of the Study

Cross River State is the study area. The name, Cross River emanated from the two rivers that pass through the state. It is a coastal state located in the Niger Delta region, and occupies 20,156 square kilometers. It shares boundaries with Benue State to the north, Ebonyi and Abia States to the west, to the east by Sud-Ouest Province, claimed by both Ambazonia and Cameroon Republic, and to the south by Akwa-Ibom and the Atlantic Ocean (Andem, 2013).

The State is made up of 18 local government councils. The language groups consist of Efik and Ekoi peoples. The state is presently governed by His Excellency, Prof. Ben Ayade.

3.3 Population of the Study

The study population comprises party leaders, chieftains, and members of Peoples' Democratic Parties (PDP) as well as other politicians and informed citizens of the state. The PDP was the ruling party within the years that Governors Duke and Imoke ruled the state. The membership of the party is spread across the eighteen (18) LGAs of the state. The population distribution is shown in table 3.1:

TABLE 3.1:**Distribution of Registered Active PDP Ward and State Exco Members in the LGAs of Cross River State**

S/N	LGAs	POPULATION
1	Abi	35,750
2	Akamkpa	165,176
3	Akpabuyo	39,485
4	Bakassi	17,451
5	Bekwara	57,501
6	Biase	39,974
7	Boki	25,868
8	Calabar Municipal	147,865
9	Calabar South	192,190
10	Etung	39,431
11	Ikom	95,711
12	Obanilku	38,503
13	Obubra	25,654
14	Obudu	45,898
15	Odukpani	29,699
16	Ogoja	62,707
17	Yakur	42,533
18	Yala	39,444
	Total	1,140,844

Source: PDP database, 2016

3.4 Sample Size

Sampling refers to that aspect or subset of a population that enables a researcher to draw conclusion(s) about the larger population. Many studies find it impossible or extremely difficult to study the entire population because it can be both time consuming and extremely expensive. Therefore, the appropriate sample size would be representational of the entire population. This sample size aids validity as well as reliability. A small sample size in contrast to the entire population would yield results that are invalid and questionable results while an ambiguous or bogus sample size would make the study scientifically unethical. The sample size for this research is 100 respondents in which questionnaire was administered and thirteen (13) prominent individual who were interviewed.

3.5 Sampling Methods

Purposive sampling is the technique adopted for the study. According to Isangedighi (2012:121), purposive sampling “is predicated on the assumption that with good judgement and acceptable approach, the researcher can creditably and intentionally include in his sample, elements which are judged to be characteristic of the population being investigated.” As such, the researcher’s judgment and the operational convenience of field research are determinants. The adoption of purposive sampling enables the researcher to exercise more discretionary flexibility in determining and eliciting relevant field data.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

Interview techniques and questionnaire administration were used for data collection. For the interviews, the researcher posed questions to interviewees (respondents) to elicit verbal responses and recorded those responses (Obasi, 1999). The interviews were conducted with individuals that have sufficient knowledge on party politics of the state. Some of the interviewees comprised PDP members who ruled the state from 2003 to 2007. The study also administered questionnaire to respondents and requested them to respond to the questions by ticking (✓) Agree or Disagree to structured questions to reflect their opinion.

Questionnaire usage was informed by the need to get politicians' responses in a way that allows for empirical validation of research outcomes. To a certain degree, this instrument eliminated bias and protects the identity of respondents. Intensive Interview (II) was also used to generate primary data from party leadership, members and critical stakeholders.

3.7 Sources of data

The study relied on the following sources for data:

Primary Source: Primary source is a first-hand data gathering technique. It suggests that such a data had not been gathered before. In other words, it is data directly gathered by the researcher. The major primary source of data used in this study is Intensive Interview (II) and Questionnaire administration. The justification for the adoption of this technique has been provided in the preceding section

Secondary Source: Secondary source refers to information and facts obtained from existing studies and documents. The information-therefrom was extracted from published and gazetted works: books, journals, magazines, periodicals, internet etc. use of both sources are necessary because it empirically validates the result.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

A number of analytical tools used in data analyses include both descriptive and inferential statistics – frequency distribution, analysis of variance, pie chart, and bar charts.

In order to test the hypotheses with the correlations in the variables in this study, the Pearson Correlation Coefficient rho (r) statistical method was used. The formula for the Pearson Correlation Coefficient rho (r) is:

$$r = \frac{N \sum xy - (\sum x)(\sum y)}{\sqrt{[N \sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2][N \sum y^2 - (\sum y)^2]}}$$

Where:

N = the number of pairs of scores

$\sum xy$ = the sum of the products of paired scores

Σx = the sum of x scores

Σy = the sum of y scores

Σx^2 = the sum of squared x scores

Σy^2 = the sum of squared y scores

The hypotheses testing with (r) will be tested at 0.05 significance level.

Decision rule: In using this statistical method if $|r|$ is greater than the critical value, hypothesis (H_0) will be rejected, otherwise, fail to reject H_0 .

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter focuses on the presentation, interpretation and analyses of data collected in the course of the study. Data was obtained through interviews and questionnaire. Data obtained was systematically presented, interpreted and analyzed to obtain valid information for drawing conclusions. A total of 110 questionnaire were distributed to a broad category of respondents in the study area and 100 were completed and retrieved. This number formed the basis for presentation, testing of hypotheses and analyses. Pearson Correlation Coefficient (r) was used in the testing of hypotheses at 0.05 significance level.

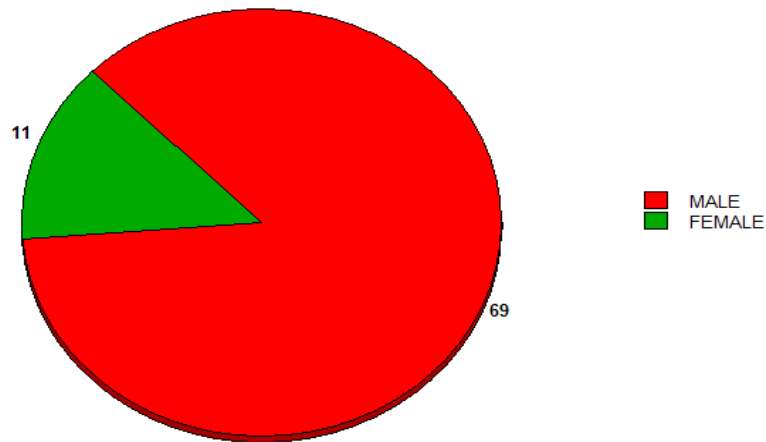
4.1 Data presentation and analysis

The respondents' bio-data and socio-economic status were first presented and analyzed. The respondents share socio-economic characteristics such as age, gender, religion, highest level of education, occupation etc. This characteristic has useful information for this research hence, the analysis.

4.1.1 Socio-Economic Data

1. **Gender:** Data obtained from the respondents showed that both male and female responded to the questionnaire. From the data, it was observed that 69 representing 86% are male while 11 representing 14% are female. Figure 4.1 shows this:

Figure 4.1: Sex Distribution of Respondents



Source: Researcher’s computation of field work, 2021

The distribution of respondents based on sex shows that partisan politics is male dominated in Nigeria. Certain reasons appear responsible for male-domination. Politics in Nigeria is capital intensive and since more men than women appear to have more access to finance, the tendency is for more men (than women) to comfortably sponsor themselves into politics. Again, successive national policies that have not encouraged the education and the relevant-exposure of the girl child, have impeded female access to competitive politics. In other words, lack of the girl-child education remains a major factor that has denied women basic qualifications to actively participate in politics. In addition, there are cultural stereotypes that portray women as “not suitably positioned” and not expected to be politically visible. These, among other factors, account for poor female participation in politics. In fact, Prof Obi in her interview with the researcher summarises the issue succinctly: According to her “My observation in party politics in Cross River State since 1999 has been that it is men dominated possibly as a result of men cultural advantage and wealth which often put them ahead of their women counterpart in the society. They have continued to use this advantage over women despite the qualification of woman”.

2. **Age Distribution:** The age distribution of respondents shows that (14%) belong to age categories of 20-29 years; between 30-39 has 26 representing 32%, 40-49 has 28 representing 35% while 50 years and above has 15 representing 19% of the total respondents. Table 4.1 shows this:

TABLE 4.1

Age Distribution of Respondents

Category	Frequency	Percentage
20-29	11	11
30-39	28	28
40-49	46	46
50 and above	15	15
TOTAL	100	100%

Source: Researcher’s computation of field work, 2021

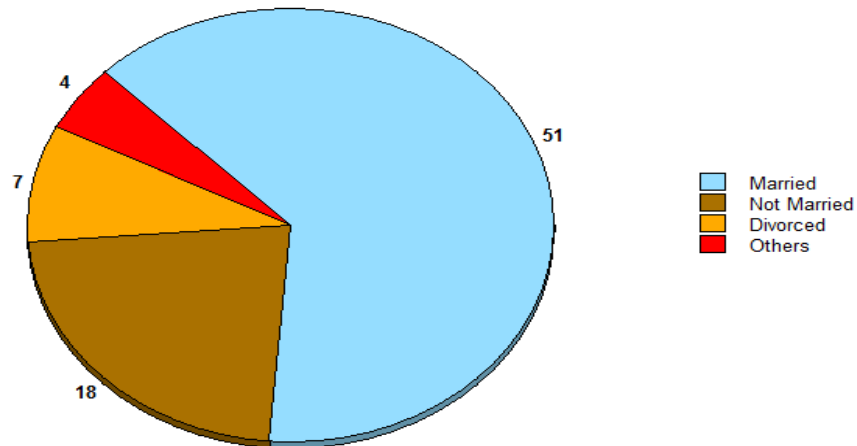
From the table 4.1, it could be deduced that the active age range of most politicians is between 40-49 years in Nigeria. The next category is those in the age bracket of 30-39; 50 and above and 20-29 in descending order. This result shows that active political participation did not bar younger population but the reality favor people of older ages. These statistics resonates with the remarks of Bamidele (2021) that “the commercialization of politics, which is now regarded as a business with anticipated returns and no longer primarily about public service, has put the political selection process at the discretion of merchants of power, the godfathers, who wield near absolute control over political party machineries and processes. The youths are far left behind in this process” (Bamidele, 2021). Dr Peter Ojie, a former Deputy Chairman of People Democratic Party (PDP) in Cross River State concurred with this position as he stated: “the activities of certain party leaders as it relates to nomination of candidates and discipline has continued to threaten the existence of the party. Some godfathers strive with their influence and positions in the party to highjack the party structures through their wealth thereby making

internal democracy within the party difficult. In doing this, they abandoned the youth wing as a critical organ of the party.”

3. Marital Status: Data obtained showed that respondents share some marital characteristics.

Table 4.3 highlights this:

Figure 4.3: Marital status of the Respondents



Source: Researcher’s computation of field work, 2021

Figure 4.3 highlights the marital features of the respondents. 51 of the respondents were married; 18 were not married; 7 were divorced while others accounted for 4. These statistics is not out of place considering the age characteristics of the respondents as already highlighted here.

4. Religion: The distribution of respondents based on religious inclinations was as follows: 62 (76%) Christians, 1 (1%); Muslims, 5 (6%); Traditional Worshippers and 8 (10%) for other forms of religion. Figure 4.4 illustrates this.

FIGURE 4.4: RELIGION

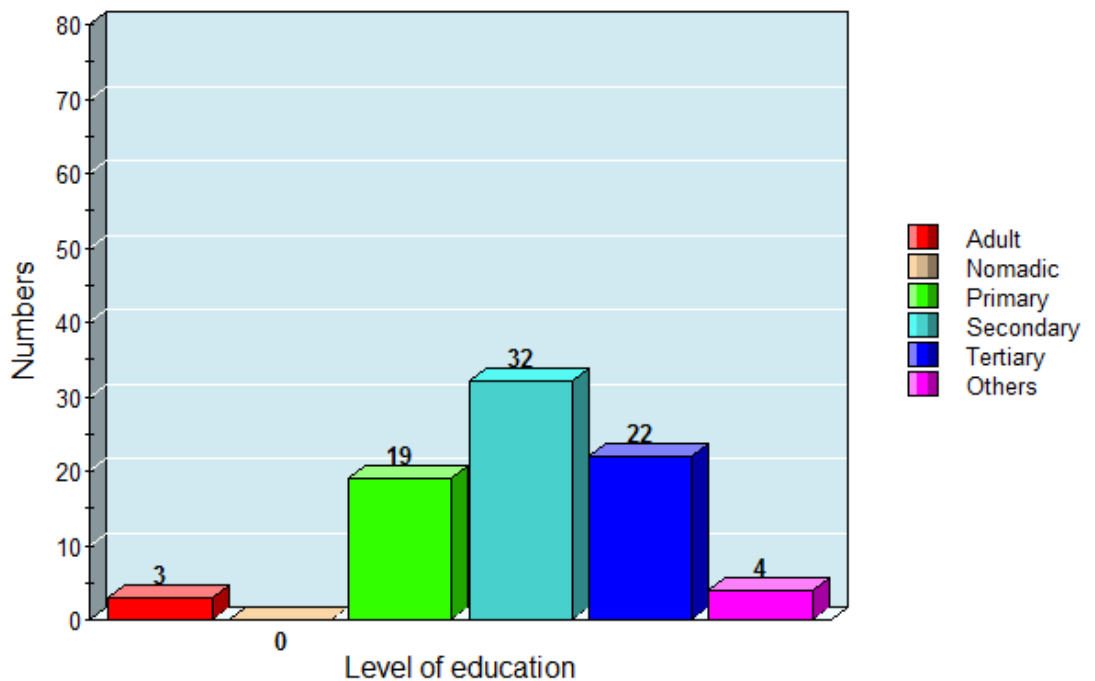


Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

Figure 4.4 highlights the religious characteristics of the respondents. As seen, there is an overwhelming majority of the respondents of Christians and they account for 76% of the entire population. This is understandable considering the fact that the entire South-South region is dominated by people who profess Christian religion.

5. Level of Education: Data obtained from the respondents showed their highest level of education as follows: Nomadic formal education was 0 (0%); Adult education 3 (4%); Primary 19 (24%); Secondary 32 (40%); Tertiary 22 (28%); and Others 4 (5%). Figure 4.5 illustrates this distribution.

Figure 4.5: Level of Education



Source: Researcher’s computation of field work, 2021

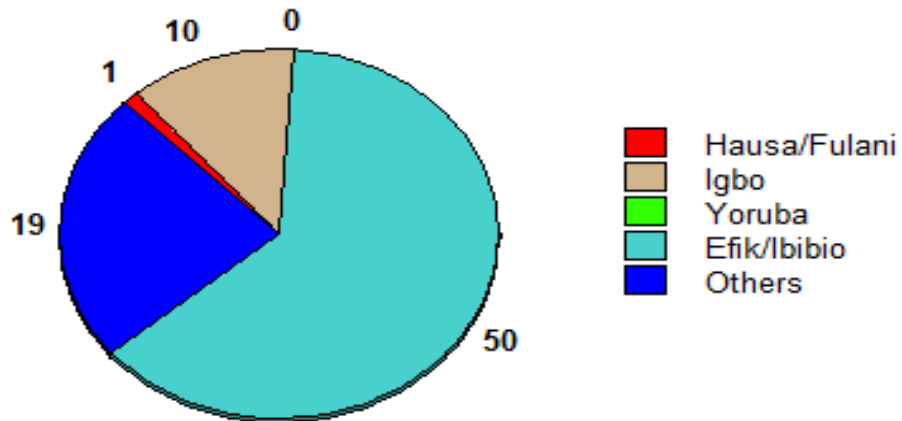
From the figure, people whose highest qualification is secondary school account for 40% of the total population. This was followed by Tertiary (28%); Primary (24%); Others (5%); Adult (4%) while Nomadic education recorded 0%. These statistics indicate that the average educational qualification of most politicians in the area is Secondary School and West African School Certificate (WAEC) is the certificate. This could be attributed to the fact that the Nigerian Constitution takes cognizance of basic minimum qualification for any elective position to be Senior School Certificate Examination (SSCE) or WAEC or its equivalent. This made it compulsory and thus committed most politicians to seeking and acquiring this qualification before going politics.

However, the high number of primary school holders is suggestive of low priority given to education as prerequisite for political participation. Most partisan actors who care not

to seek elective political positions may choose to be political actors but support candidates with prerequisite qualifications. Some of them include political party patrons and godfathers. In fact, Okoli (2001) alluded to the fact that “political godfathers are mostly men of affluence with poor educational background who influence political events to suit their financial and inordinate interests.”

6. **Ethnic Group:** Here, the respondents were expected to indicate their ethnic background. Data obtained from the respondents shows that people of Hausa/Fulani ethnic background are 1 (1%), Igbo 10 (13%), Yoruba 0(0%), Efik/Ibibio 50 (63%), Others 19 (24%). Figure 4.6 below illustrates this:

Figure 4.6: Ethnic Background



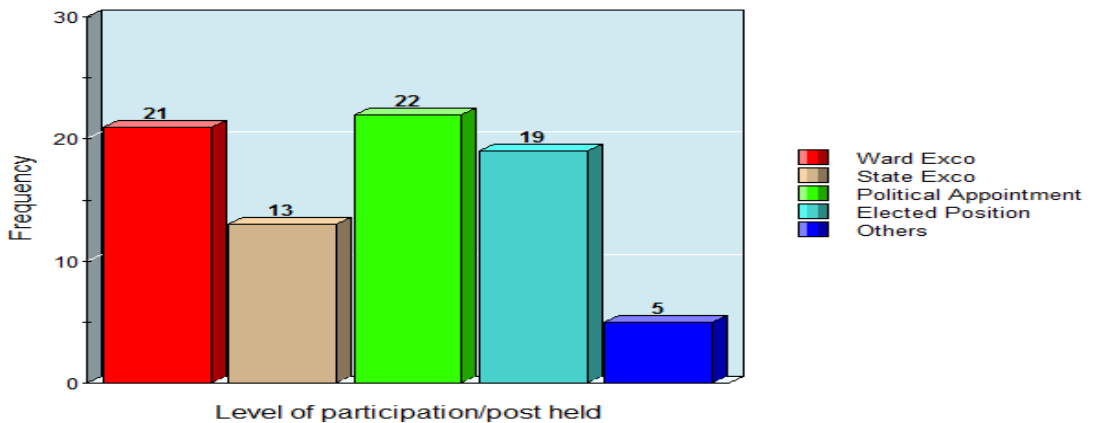
Source: Researcher’s computation of field work, 2021

Figure 4.6 above depicts the ethnic background of politicians and political actors in the study area. The data shows that politicians of Efik/Ibibio speaking background were in the majority with 50 frequencies while nationalities other than the ones highlighted here had the second highest frequency of 19 (24%). Other ethnic speaking nations like the Obudu, Ogoja, Yakurr,

Ikom and other ethnic nationalities existing in Cross River State share the remaining frequency.

7. **Level of Political Participation/Positions:** The research sought to know the level of political participation of the respondents and the result obtained was highlighted in figure 4.7:

Figure 4.7: Level of Political Participation/Positions



Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

Data highlighted in figure 4.7 indicated the positions/posts held by politicians who responded to the questionnaire. In the result, those who served at different levels as Ward Exco were 21 (27%); State Exco 13 (16%); those who served as political appointees were 22 (28%); those on elected position were 19 (24%) while other levels of political participation accounted for 5 (6%).

Therefore, it could be deduced that most of the respondents have or held political appointments at different levels. It has been noted that Cross River State had an over bloated State Executive Council and other appointments. The Special Adviser on Media and Publicity to Governor Ben Ayade of Cross River State, Christian Ita, for instance, said the governor has over 6,000 political appointees. Among the appointees were 39 Commissioners, over 100

Special Advisers and over 300 Special Assistants. There were also Senior Special Advisers (Punch, 2020). With this figure, it is expected that every active politician has been offered political appointment in the state. Other figures show that politicians at ward levels accounted for 27%; State Excros 16%; Elected Politicians 24% and others 6%.

4.2 Analysis of Responses to Questionnaire

The questionnaire contains twenty-two (22) items arranged in three clusters. Introductory questions were meant to introduce questions (items) in the clusters. Clusters A and B had seven questions while Cluster C had eight questions. All the 22 questions were answered by 100 partisan politicians who were randomly selected from the three senatorial districts of the state. The responses have been presented as follows:

4.2.1 Analysis of Issues Related to Specific Objective 1

Objective 1: Regarding the democratic status of political party Administration in Cross River State.

Lead Question: How democratic is your party?

TABLE 4.2:
Responses to Questionnaire Cluster A

S/N	Democratic Status Indicators	RESPONSES	
		Agree	Disagree
1	My party's activities are guided by the rule of law	65	45
2	My party operates an open-door policy	66	44
3	My party gives a level playing ground for all mem	22	78
4	My party discourages influences of godfathers	30	70
5	My party runs an all-inclusive government encourages youths, disabled and gender participati	45	55
6	My party obeys court orders at all times	41	59
7	My party runs a transparent government that promotes good governance	30	70

Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

Responses to the above questions gave some insight into the dynamics of party operations in the state. A significant number of party members believe that their party is guided by rule of law while 7 agreed and 5 disagreed. Apart from item number 1, all other items recorded higher frequencies in negation to the questions. Significantly, an overwhelming number of respondents disagreed to item numbers 3 and 4. This response indicated that the party structure in the state does not give a level playing ground to all members. They also disagreed with the fact that their party discourages influences of godfathers. This means that despite the democratic credentials being bandied by the PDP over the years, their compliance to real democratic status is suspect.

Understandably, some party faithful may have defected to the APC (in what is often described as a band wagon effect) following the defection of the State Governor in 2021. Perhaps, lack of internal democracy in the party may have prompted their defection. The

reflected opinion (as found in this questionnaire) is indicative of how poorly the party affairs had been managed over the years.

4.2.2 Analysis of Issues Related to Specific Objective 2

Objective 2: Regarding the lack of effective Political Party administration and executive interference on governance in Cross River State.

Lead Question: What is the extent of your party's inclination to internal democracy?

TABLE 4.3: Responses to Questionnaire Cluster B

S/N	Internal Political Party Administration Indicators	RESPONSES	
		Agree	Disagree
1	My party relies on party constitution at all times in all actions	10	90
2	Aggrieved members are encouraged to go to court	70	30
3	My party gives in to imposition of candidates in elections	60	40
4	Party leadership operates independently from elected governor	10	90
5	Party leadership operates independently from chieftains/godfathers	30	70
6	My party has robust internal disciplinary measures	40	60
7	Elected Governor Duke from my party, delivered good governance in Cross River State	70	30
8	Governor Imoke delivered on good governance in Cross River State more than Duke	30	70

Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

Questions in Cluster B were structured to elicit the responses of the party men on the extent of their party inclination to internal party administration. The responses were indicative of the fact that party administration lacks this essential credential. Responses to Question 1 indicated that the party did not rely on its constitution at all times. This clearly explains why there were intra party crises at different levels.

Response to Question number 5 underscores the internal party credentials of the party. In response to the question on party leadership operating independently from the elected governor, overwhelming majority (9) disagreed to this. This simply explains the fact that party administration is tied to the whims and caprices of the governor. There might be differences in style of party administration as seen in Questions 7 and 8, however in general terms, party structure rests on the governor to a great extent. In this instance, the governor combines his administrative task of governing the state with the management of party affairs. This, in most cases, undermines internal democracy in the party.

4.2.2 Analysis of Issues Related to Specific Objective 3

Objective 3: Regarding the need to advance ways in which Political Party Administration can be strengthened for good in Cross River State.

Lead Question: What strategies do you consider useful for advancing effective party administration and good governance in Cross River State?

TABLE 4.4: Responses to Questionnaire Cluster C

S/N	Strategies for advancing effective administration	RESPONSES	
		Agree	Disagree
1	Elected governors should concentrate on governance and allow for independence of party administration	50	50
2	Imposition of candidate during elections is necessary to reduce party indiscipline	10	90
3	There is need to increase the fees paid for nomination	85	15
4	Godfatherism should be discouraged	70	30
5	Our party should uphold tenets of internal democracy in all its affairs	80	20
6	Party ideology should be upheld at all times	60	40
7	An all-inclusive governance must be enthroned in order to have good governance	70	30

Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

Table 4.4 highlights ways of advancing internal party democracy and good governance in the state. The responses also indicated that party men were willingly disposed towards enthrone internal discipline sired by robust adherence to party ideology and all-inclusive administrative styles. In response to Question 1, an even response was recorded on the issue that suggested that elected governors should concentrate on governance and allow for independence of party administration. Six (6) were in favor while six (6) were against. This could be attributed to the fact that though, meddlesomeness of some governors in party affairs may not be necessary, it was desirable considering the enormous pressure usually exerted on the party leaders. Therefore, the intervention of governors in this circumstance may be necessary.

An overwhelming majority of 90 against 10 were against imposition of candidate during elections as necessary to reducing party indiscipline. A similar result was recorded in Question 3 where 85 against 15 disagreed that there was need to increase the fees paid for nomination.

In all, they submitted to the fact that all-inclusive governance must be enthroned in order to have good governance. Refer to Question 7.

4.3 Test of Hypotheses

A total of three (3) hypotheses were raised in this study. The thrust of the hypotheses was to ascertain the correlation between political party administration and good governance in Nigeria, using Cross River state as case study. Data generated from the questionnaires were distributed in 3 clusters were for the test.

4.3.1 Test of Hypothesis 1

H₀₁: There is no significant relationship between political party democratic status and good governance in Cross River State.

TABLE 4.5: Political party democratic status and good governance in Cross River State Cluster A Table of Frequency

X	Y	X ²	Y ²	XY
65	45	4225	2025	2925
66	44	4356	1936	2904
22	78	484	6084	1716
30	70	900	4900	2100
45	55	2025	3025	2475
41	59	1681	3481	2419
30	70	900	4900	2100
Σ =299	421	14571	26351	16639

Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

$$r = \frac{N\sum xy - \sum x \sum y}{\sqrt{[N(\sum x^2) - (\sum x)^2][N(\sum y^2) - (\sum y)^2]}}$$

Substituting

$$= \frac{7(16639) - (299)(421)}{\sqrt{[7(14571) - (299)^2][7(26351) - (421)^2]}}$$

$$r = \frac{116473 - 125879}{\sqrt{(101) - (89401)(184457 - 177241)}}$$

$$r = \frac{-94}{\sqrt{(124)(76)}}$$

$$r = \frac{-94}{\sqrt{9,424}}$$

$$r = \frac{-94}{97}$$

$r = -0.969$ Critical $r = 0.754$

Decision: Comparing calculated r with critical r , we find that $0.969 > 0.754$ at 0.05 level of significance; therefore, the correlation is significant. It is a rule in Pearson Correlation Statistical analytical method to reject the null hypothesis when the calculated r is greater than the critical r . as such, we reject the null hypothesis 1.

This result implies that:

i: There is significant relationship between political party democratic status and good governance in Cross River State

4.3.2 Test of Hypothesis 2

H₀2: There is no significant relationship between lack of effective political party administration and good governance

**TABLE 4.6: Lack of effective political party administration and good governance
Cluster B Table of Frequency**

X	Y	X ²	Y ²	XY
10	90	100	8100	900
70	30	4900	900	2100
60	40	3600	1600	2400
10	90	100	8100	900
30	70	900	4900	2100
40	60	1600	3600	2400
70	30	4900	900	2100
30	70	900	4900	2100
Σ =320	480	17000	33000	15000

Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

$$r = \frac{N\Sigma xy - \Sigma x \Sigma y}{\sqrt{[N(\Sigma x^2) - (\Sigma x)^2] [N(\Sigma y^2) - (\Sigma y)^2]}}$$

Substituting

$$r = \frac{8(15000) - (320)(480)}{\sqrt{[8(17000) - (320)^2] [8(33000) - (480)^2]}}$$

$$r = \frac{120000 - 153600}{\sqrt{(136000 - 102400)(264000 - 230400)}}$$

$$r = \frac{-256}{\sqrt{(256)(256)}}$$

$$r = \frac{-256}{\sqrt{65,536}}$$

$$r = \frac{-256}{256}$$

$$r = -1 \text{ Critical } r=0.754$$

Decision: Comparing calculated r with critical r, we find that $1 > 0.754$ at 0.05 level of significance; therefore, the correlation is significant. It is a rule in Pearson Correlation Statistical analytical method to reject the null hypothesis when the calculated r is greater than the critical r. as such we reject the null hypothesis 2.

This result implies that:

There is a significant relationship between lack of effective party administration and good governance

4.3.3 Test of Hypothesis 3

H03: There is no significant relationship between strategies for advancing effective party administration and good governance

TABLE 4.7: Strategies for advancing internal party democracy and good governance Cluster C Table of Frequency

X	Y	X ²	Y ²	XY
50	50	2500	2500	2500
10	90	100	8100	900
85	15	7225	225	1275
70	30	4900	900	2100
80	20	6400	400	1600
60	40	3600	400	2400
70	30	4900	900	2100
Σ =425	275	29625	13425	12875

Source: Researcher's computation of field work, 2021

$$r = \frac{(N\Sigma xy - \Sigma x\Sigma y)}{(\sqrt{([N(\Sigma x^2) - (\Sigma x)^2] [N(\Sigma y^2) - (\Sigma y)^2])}}$$

Substituting

$$r = \frac{7(12875) - (425)(275)}{\sqrt{[7(29625) - (425)^2] [7(13425) - (275)^2]}}$$

$$r = \frac{1,218, -1,584}{\sqrt{(1,652 - 1,296)(2,324 - 1,936)}}$$

$$r = \frac{-366}{\sqrt{(356)(388)}}$$

$$r = \frac{-366}{\sqrt{138,128}}$$

$$r = \frac{-366}{372}$$

$$r = -0.984 \text{ Critical } r=0.754$$

Decision: Comparing calculated r with critical r , we find that $-0.984 > 0.754$ at 0.05 level of significance; therefore, the correlation is significant. It is a rule in Pearson Correlation Statistical analytical method to reject the null hypothesis when the calculated r is greater than the critical r . as such, we reject the null hypothesis 3.

This result implies that:

There is significant relationship between strategies for advancing effective party administration and good governance.

4.4 Research Findings

At the end of analyses, the research came up with the following findings:

1. There is a significant relationship between political party democratic status and good governance in Cross River State
2. There is a significant relationship between lack of effective party administration and good governance
3. There is a significant relationship between strategies for advancing internal party democracy and good governance

4.5 Discussion on Findings

4.5.1 Discussion on finding 1:

There is a significant relationship between political party democratic status and good governance in Cross River State.

The objective of this proposition was to ascertain the inclination of political parties under consideration towards enthroning good governance in the state. The research findings indicated that the extent to which political parties subscribe to essential democratic status, the more it dovetails into good governance in the state. Unfortunately, the political progressions in Cross River state under different Governors did not demonstrate a positive impact. Political parties are expected to provide the platform for political office seekers to access elective positions. This is expected to be guided by clear cut party ideology with total subscription to party manifestoes and devoid of imposition. Unfortunately, in Cross River State and so many

states in Nigeria this has been regressively applicable. One better means of understanding the state of governance under the ambience of various political parties is to generally interrogate the nature and character of Nigerian politics. Prof. Bassey, a Professor of Political Science at the University of Calabar and the immediate past Director General National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, (NIPSS) Kuru, Jos stated during the interview “The nature and character of Nigerian politics have not progressed beyond prebendal politics. Politics in this context has remained a clearing house for job and contractors instead of service at all levels in Cross River state; it’s nothing more than dominant culture of Prebendalism wherein service is sacrificed at the altar of personal interests. At the end, we see progress in error (Interview, 2021).

Prof. Bassey’s remarks reveals the ugly character of Nigerian politics as demonstrated in Cross River State’s experience. According to Okoli, the nature and character of politics can be described as a rat-race in which each stakeholder struggles to have a piece of the state at the expense of giving out a piece of one’s energy to the state. Essentially, this depicts the Hobbesian manner of Nigerian politicking that is characterized by the axiom: “the end justifies the means” (Okoli, 2001). Over valuing political power far above and well beyond service in the politics “of do or die” has become a culture in Nigeria. Under the period being studied, the PDP that ought to serve as the machinery through which political interests were to be articulated and expressed towards realizing state objectives predicated on good governance in Cross River State lent itself as tools to some wealthy and influential politicians especially during the Imoke era. This largely explains the undemocratic status and the crises of party control towards the 2015 elections. Again, Prof. Obi during the interview, revealed that “The nature and character of Nigerian politics simply indicate that we are far behind ideals of democracy qua democracy. Our politics is much more on infrastructural and money politics.Political Parties in this circumstance lack ideology. Unlike the US politics where ideology

drives politics, here, individuals' interests drive politics. The incessant cases of defections from one party to the other in attendance to negligence of good governance clearly explain the character of Nigerian politics" (Interview, 2021).

On the contrary, the opinion of a party chieftain who served as PDP Chairman within the period under study averred that "I seem to disagree with the widely held opinion that our politics is all about 'chop make I chop'. Within the gamut of my experience, I think the character and nature of Nigerian politics is nothing far from the US politics. Yes, our parties may not boast of the same level of political awareness, consciousness and ideologies, but we should note that our brand of politics is being conditioned by political actors....Nigerian politicians are driving the politics of Nigeria and their interests (selfish as there were) are giving identity to our political culture. I mean, there is nothing wrong with Nigerian politics but everything is wrong with the political actors (Interview, 2021).

The above excerpt gives a clearer picture of the nature and character of Nigerian politics vis-à-vis the prevailing political culture. Democracy has universal identity but the specific character of actors in a given political climate defines the character of politicking in such context. All the interviewees appeared to be speaking from the same perspective but had different points of view on the nature and character of politics particularly in Cross River State and generally in Nigeria. How, then does this culture affect political parties' operations in Nigeria?

The answer is embedded in the democratic status of PDP in particular from 2003 to 2007 in Cross River State. Results obtained in this study demonstrated that the activities of the party were not guided by the rule of law. The party neither operated an open-door policy nor an inclusive policy directed at accommodating all party members. In an interview granted by Mr. Ben Ndem, a civil rights activist, he said "the PDP and, indeed all other political parties in Cross River State as well as in Nigeria operate in a manner that is completely divorced from

democracy. Their activities and candidates' selections in primaries are simply nightmarish" (Interview, 2021). Though, certain peculiarities may be evident, the posture of most political parties is against the tenets of democracy especially as it relates to good governance. When this becomes the case, Ayara opined that "Governance will lose its relevance; because those who paid their way to be selected to stand in general elections will be more interested in recouping their 'investments'. The party will lack no moral justification to punish or chastise them....where the elected official is the Governor, the party becomes his property and he exercises unlimited control on who gets what, when and how. In fact, making the Governor the leader of the party simply explain the fusion of executive and party powers in the hands of a single individual") *source*

The dynamics of the operations of political parties in Nigeria have largely been predicated on prebendalism, clientelism and godfatherism. The prevailing "cash and carry" political culture has inadvertently undermined the positive impact of the political parties on good governance. Where a party becomes a platform to accessing political power in an undemocratic manner, it detracts from good governance. The personal interests of the political actors often surreptitiously translate to the interests of the party. This has largely been preponderant in Cross River State as shown by the results from this study.

4.5.2 Discussion on finding 2:

There is a significant relationship between lack of internal party democracy and good governance

Political parties remain important components of a democratic system. International IDEA rightly remarked that "political parties are the main gatekeepers for candidates to participate in elections. They decide who will be placed on their candidate lists and at which position. As intermediary institutions, they link the state and civil society, translating the policy preferences of citizens into political action" (IDEA, 2017). An important institution that is the pillar of democracy is expected to be democratic in the true sense of it. The findings

under discussion simply adumbrated and underscored the importance of internal party democracy to good governance. The reasons for this position are apt.

Internal party democracy is an ideal that commits political parties to the dictates of rule of law, accountability, and party's constitution and should as well offer a level playing field for party members to vote and be voted for within the party spectrum. According to one of the anonymous respondents during the interview, he opined that "the logic that applies to the democratic system should apply also, to the internal affairs of the political party organizations themselves. The objective of democracy is that the people should have the right to choose. Through elections, they select and gain control over their political masters. Just as the citizens of a nation are entitled to cast ballots in elections, so the citizens of a political party - the members - should be entitled to select and to reject their leaders, office-holders, and candidates for public office" (*Interview, 2021*).

Unfortunately, most political parties in Nigeria and in developing nations lack internal democracy. Chief Goddy Iyala, in an interview, posits quite clearly that "All political parties since 1999 to date lack true internal democracy and ideologies. A democratic political party would mean that even in intra party affairs, they should be democracy. Imposition of candidates and the adoration of consensus candidates are indications that the party structures and functioning are controlled by some influential individuals.... I mean, there is nothing democratic in intra party affairs (*Interview, 2021*).

This finding also indicated that in as much as internal party democracy is an essential feature that should define the dynamics of party operations, the party operates rather undemocratically. Intra party operations (especially during party primaries) are often marred by crises. This usually resulted from the prevailing culture of impunity and impositions of candidates. A retired Permanent Secretary, Ministry of International Donor Agencies Cross River State, revealed very clearly that "In Cross River state like many other states, the reign

of PDP was all about impunity, rascality and recklessness in the conduct of party primaries, elections and governance...those who emerge from parties are people who paid huge sums. In most cases, they stay in hotel rooms and write names of delegates who will only be limited to collecting money from contestants while the party will just anoint preferred highest bidder. At the end, the people are left with no choice than to vote for such candidates notwithstanding the personality” (Interview, 2021).

It is common to ask for a certain degree of internal democracy in political parties. This is preponderant because accountability, transparency and good governance are derivables expected from a democratic government. However, what was witnessed in 2007 in Cross River State during the party primaries for almost all the elective positions was a situation where the party’s constitution was neither adopted nor consulted (but discarded as mere papers) and without commitment to its tenet and this became antithetical to good governance.

The internal functioning of political parties impacts on how different needs, interests, and social demands in the society get represented in government. It is sufficed to argue that where the dynamics of intra party operations is subjugated to impunity and undemocratic practices, governance suffers. Since political parties are controlled by godfathers and other external influences, party crises leading to factionalization, defections and general anomie becomes evident.

In this vein, the party structure is essential to the study of the internal functioning of political parties. The party structure determines who influences the decision- making process and how much influence they have. As noted by Prof. Bassey in an interview, “Godfatherism, otherwise referred to as clientelism, (patron-client relationship) is one major feature of Nigerian democracy and one of its major undoing” (Interview, 2021). The existence of godfathers as the real owners of party structures is inimical to internal party democracy and governance. The trajectory of both godfatherism and cabalism in all intents and purposes

antagonizes statecraft, democracy and governance. Okoli (2014) aptly captured this culture by saying, “the opportunistic character of the political elite in Nigeria has been the worst undoing of public governance and development in the country. Manifesting in terms of corruption, self-service, political violence and the like, the opportunistic tendencies of the Nigerian political elite have vitiated the prospects of good governance and sustainable national development. The outcome of this scenario is manifold and readily evident in all facets of the public sphere in the country.”

Intra party crises leading to implosion of parties have been the bane of good governance in many states in Nigeria. The experience in Anambra State from 1999 to 2006 remains a typical example of party implosion. Perhaps, it should be noted that Godfatherism had its earliest appearance in Anambra State with its attendant degenerative occurrence. By June 1999, barely a month into the Fourth Republic, the then Governor-Chinwoke Mbadinuju was plunged into a serious crisis with his political godfather, Sir Emeka Offor. The ensuing conflict plunged the state into political mess characterized by total political unrest culminating in leadership failure. This development saw to the humiliation of the Governor and his ouster from power in 2003 by his godfather. The State did not fare better in 2003. Amid the grand politicking that attended the 2003 gubernatorial electioneering in the state, Dr. Chris Ngige emerged governor, alongside Chief Chris Uba a political godfather under a strict contract that would have transferred the entire resources of the state resources to Uba. In a matter of weeks, the duo fell apart and it resulted into a serious political crisis that culminated in the abduction of Governor Ngige and his eventual removal from office by the Appeal Court in 2006.

A similar but sad narrative had earlier played out in: Enugu State between Chief Jim Nwobodo (Godfather) vs Governor Chimaroke Nnamani (godson); in Oyo state, between Chief Lamidi Adedibu (Godfather) Vs Rasheed Ladoja; in Kwara State, between Dr. Olusola Saraki (Godfather) Vs Governor Mohammed Lawal; in Borno State, between Senator Ali

Modu Sheriff (Godfather) Vs Governor Mamman Kachalla (godson); in Abia State, between Dr. Orji Uzo Kalu (Godfather), Elder Mrs. Eunice Uzo Kalu (Godmother) Vs Governor Theodore Orji (godson); in Lagos State, between Chief Bola Tinubu (Godfather) Vs Governor Raji Fashola and Akinwumi Ambode (godsons) (Okoli, 2001; Ogayi, 2012).

It can be deduced that due to lack of internal party democracy especially where godfathers or elected governors control the party structure, the propensity of such parties to crises, failure and catastrophe in governance is inevitable. Cross River State may not have experienced total intra party crises as Anambra State but skirmishes in its primary elections since 1999 to date have affected governance.

In Cross River State, under the governments of Governors Donald Duke and Liyel Imoke, party administration and governance had different approaches and produced varying results in governance index. Under Duke (1999-2007), the general perception was relative depersonalization of party administration wherein the Governor exerted limited control over party affairs as there was near absence of imposition; undue interference; and unhealthy meddlesomeness in party activities by the Governor. Intra-party crises as well as conflict were at the barest minimum with the prevalence of internal democracy as a major anchor to party administration (Ukpa, 2011). The State Assembly members from 2003-2007 were divided between PDP (13) and APP (12). Through party lobbying, the APP members defected to PDP in a rancor-free legislative order. This seemed to have engendered good governance albeit, with minimal missteps (Oga, 2012). In the words of Prof. Obi, “Governor Duke was like a pathfinder and his government came at a time when democratic stability was in doubt....as such, party structure was not personalized and the government had a clear objective” (Interview, 2021).

On the contrary, the dynamics of party administration under Governor Imoke, was characterized by authoritarianism and imposition as the Governor suddenly became the

Exchequer of PDP in the state (Ogban, 2016). With a firm grip on party structure, internal party democracy gave way to impunity and imposition of candidates in party primaries. The decisive influence of the governor who was solely in charge of the party machinery determined who got elected, when and how thereby, stifling credible oppositions in the state. During this period, imposition of candidates into different political positions festered. Party men including the Governor of Rivers State believed that Imoke's autocratic leadership style was responsible for the misfortune of PDP in the state (Babatunde, 2021). The different administrative approach by these two major political actors is believed to have consequential effects on the governance of the State.

Prof. Bassey noted that under Duke, "tourism was given the much-needed priority. In fact, the general assessment of governance under him was clear. He did very well by trying to pattern Calabar after Dubai... I felt that this should have been sustained by successive governments" (Interview, 2021). Prof. Obi expressed a similar opinion: "I didn't see much of independence of the party under Imoke. Consensus and imposition of candidates started with him. He did fairly well in the area of rural transformation after Duke had sold Calabar to the world but party indiscipline and relative missteps were recorded under Imoke." Dr. Ojie stated that: "during the first stanza of democracy under Duke, the party was fairly independent with limited interferences....in contrast; the party was more dependent on the governor under Imoke.... By and large, Cross River approximated what could pass as good governance in both regimes" (Interview, 2021).

Wherever a political party operates independent of external influences, there is always relative order and stability in the political system. This also gives the modicum of sense of purpose to the party while the Governor concentrates on governance. Where there is internal democracy in party affairs, there is higher tendency for discipline and less frequency of litigations. Differences in the rating of the two Governors in the state stem from this context.

4.5.3 Discussion of Finding 3:

There is a significant relationship between strategies for advancing internal party democracy and good governance

Party politics is a fulcrum of democracy. Party politics not only gives meaning and purpose to democratic processes it also serves as a platform for the articulation and propagation of people's wishes and interests in a political process. In essence, there cannot be elected government without the party-based-politics. Government, at the other end, is elected to deliver on people's mandate and promote the welfare of the people. The way and manner in which this mandate is exercised defines governance. Under the remit of this finding, the relationship between internal party democracy and good governance is espoused.

According to the African Development Bank (ADB), good governance should be built on a foundation of: (i) effective states; (ii) mobilized civil societies; and (iii) an efficient private sector. The key elements of good governance, then, are accountability, transparency, combating corruption, citizens' participation, and an enabling legal/judicial framework (ADB, 2015). Good governance is predicated on certain words or indices. They include participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive.

Unfortunately, this study has revealed that political parties in Nigeria lack internal democracy and there are ideologically deficient. This is against the backdrop of the fact that parties operate in a manner that is completely against the ethos of democracy whereas, they ought to be the vanguard of democratic institution.

Political parties with virile ideologies are necessary for good governance in a democratic system. They should also be pillars of democracy and channel through which effective services could be delivered. As observed by Pwanagba (2015), without ideologically-based, strong and independent political parties, good governance is not likely to be deepened. This is because political parties should not be mere instrument for capturing

political power but platform for bringing good living standards and conditions to the people by instituting viable policies. In the words of Ikelegbe (2013), where political parties perform their responsibilities, they regularly mediate in the affairs of the people and public office holders to ensuring the public benefit from enthroning their candidates with state power. Political parties should create appropriate links between citizens and government. They should, as well, be institutionalized channels for connecting future political leaders to their constituents and serve as avenues for providing and promoting accountability, inclusive participation and resolving gridlocks, especially between the executive and the legislature. When voters are linked with political parties through established ideology, representation and policies; it lowers the chances of populist leaders rising to power (Morgenstern et al., 2011). Political parties also engage in debate and thereby develop in citizenry the art of political orientations as well as decision-making (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

Despite the importance of ideologically based political parties to good governance, this finding avers that Nigerian party structure in its content, context and reality lack internal democracy and these impacts on governance. This was corroborated by an interviewee who preferred anonymity. According to him “The PDP and indeed all the political parties are suffering from poverty of ideology and internal democracy... they operate in a manner that runs counter to democratic ideals. Their primaries and conventions lack internal democracy... resultantly, once they help in sponsoring candidates through imposition, the government turns into a monster that imposes their unpopular selfish interests on the party and the entire populace. Good governance takes a flight in the environment of barren party ideology” (Interview, 2021).

Elsewhere, a retired Director of Cross River State Civil Service and a Chieftain of PDP in the State observed that *Nigerian political parties have many similarities than differences, the only visible difference being their names... we are experiencing the rein of impunity and bad*

governance because we lack the opportunity to vote in term of party ideology rather we vote for persons imposed on us by the party. Political parties during the days of the late Obafemi Awolowo were driven by meaningful ideological stance. Today, we lack political parties that prioritize the needs of the citizens, what the country parades today are party that unashamedly lack ideology. Democracy and good governance cannot be deepened under the ambit of parties that are utterly disrespectful to internal democracy” (Interview, 2021).

In essence, strategies for advancing good governance in party politics rest squarely on repositioning political parties towards adopting visible ideology, robust manifestoes and upholding of internal democracy. Good governance can be possible where rule of law prevails; where the party structure operates in an open and transparent manner; where equity and justice are upheld; and most importantly, where internal democracy and ideology are internalized.

In Cross River state, the varying degrees of successes and failure are partly attributed to the failures of the party in upholding true democracy. According to an anonymous interviewee *“Governor Duke as a pathfinder led the state and operated an open door policy with minimal interference on the party administration. Under Imoke, the era of the governor being the leader of the party had begun. The party was him and he was the party.....How the present governor was singlehandedly selected in the primaries explains the ruins of the party administration devoid of internal democracy” (Interview, 2021).*

In more specific terms, the opinion of our interviewees especially, Professors Obi and Bassey that “good governance can only be deepened where political parties are reformed and ideologically aligned towards imbibing internal democracy” resonated, impactfully. As advanced by Prof. Obi “A legal and legislative instrument is necessary to checkmate the culture of defections from one party to the other....The defections, is symptomatic of party structures without ideology and internal democracy. Party conventions and primaries should not be an arena for consensus candidate affirmation rather, people should be allowed to freely

exercise their franchise based on their convictions and in consideration of robust manifestoes put forwards by the parties” (Interview, 2021).

Dr. Ojie stated that, “good governance can be approximated when party appropriate internal democracy” (Interview, 2021). This also suggested that since Cross River State politics is a microcosm of Nigerian politics, the entire political culture that is premised on “money politics, godfatherism and prebendal politics have to be reformed. Democracy serves its purpose on majority interests, accountability and rule of law” (Interview, 2021). Barrister Tanko concurred with the above observation and said that the crises of internal democracy within the PDP have done more harm than good to the political party itself and good governance in Cross River State. Making the governor the leader of the party means handing over the party structures to the governor and that makes him determine who gets what, when and how within the party. According to him, the indices of good governance especially during the Imoke administration dropped significantly because the governor attempted to control both the party and the executive powers. Therefore, it is imperative to separate political party administration from executive control to allow the governor and the executives be more focused on achieving good governance for the state.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter Introduces the summary of the findings, conclusion of the writer and recommendations based on the findings gotten from each research objectives.

5.1 Summary of findings

Findings from the study revealed that dominant political parties in Nigeria suffer from lack of ideology and infractions in internal democracy which is premised on free, fair and transparent primaries. The parties neither committed themselves to democratic ethos nor premised their activities on the rule of law and have no recourse to their constitutions and guidelines. The party structures and administrations are rooted on the whims and caprices of influential figures, Governors and godfathers thereby accentuating the tendency of intra party crises, fractionalization and unwarranted litigations. The study revealed that these issues impact negatively on good governance.

The study reveals that there is need for a pragmatic approach towards restructuring Nigerian political culture and turning it away from prebendalism. Prebendalism is believed to be responsible for the relentless quests of politicians for political offices which inadvertently gives Nigerian democracy and political parties wrong identity. To ensure sustainability of democracy, it is imperative to systematically and holistically address the myriad of complex issues around party ideology, manifestoes, control and funding of political parties and indeed all other factors that tended to predispose and complicate the occurrences of intra party crises in Cross River State in particular and Nigeria in general. Good governance comes when and where political parties play their role(s) as expected and align their activities with sound and robust democratic ethos.

5.2 Conclusion

A dominant idea espoused in this study is that political parties' administration is a critical component of governance in Nigeria. In Cross River state and other states in Nigeria,

political parties have been manifesting ideological indisposition arising from lack of ideology and deficiency of internal democracy. This has often resulted into intra-party crises, fractionalization; general anomie; and ultimately; indeed, substantially affect governance.

Good governance can be achieved by political parties when they ensure that government is effectively, efficiently, and transparently administered in line with democratic dictates. The ability of political parties to promote good governance does not only lie in the ideologies they set but the disposition of their key actors to pursuing them. Political parties have not been able to bring about good governance in Cross River State especially with the meddlesomeness of Governor Imoke into party administration and lack of commitment of parties to internal democracy.

There is no doubt that political parties are viable institutions for promoting accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, rule of law, and bridging the gap between the governed and the government if they perform their functions creditably and are well-grounded in ideology. Political parties fail in their expected function of deepening good governance in Cross River State in particular and Nigeria in general because they are weak, corrupt, engulfed in crises, lack clear ideology and are hijacked by elites for personal ambitions. All these made good governance to be shallow and impacted negatively on governance. An unhelpful factor is prebendal politics that has prejudiced the entire political space. Politicians and other stakeholders seek state power not for service but simply for the personalization and instrumentalization of the state for personal aggrandizement (Okoli, 2021; Riegner & Stacey, 2014). Under this ambience, the quest for political power is pursued without moderation and often in a reckless, normless and insensitive manner. This fuels intra party crises and affects good governance.

Therefore, it is imperative to insulate Nigerian political parties with appropriate qualities that are capable of spurring them to pursuing policies that can create improved

standard of living of the people. This can be possible if the party administration is separated from the control of governors and influential party patrons.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the foregoing, this study makes the following recommendations:

There is need for a holistic reformation of the political process especially the remuneration of political office holders and improving the state of the national economy. This effort must emphasize the development of the productive forces by way of promoting industrialization, agriculture and entrepreneurship. This is to enhance opportunities and prospects of effective economic accumulation in these sectors and, consequently, reduce the prevailing prebendal culture and over-reliance on the state for economic accumulation and upward mobility. This prebendal culture is a major driver of intra party crises.

There is need for a drastic reformation of the political parties in Nigeria to make them amenable to democracy and good governance. In this respect, political parties should discourage the practice of private or sole sponsorship of candidates and separate party structures from the control of state governors. One way of doing this is to place restrictions or ceilings on the amount of donations (financial assistance) which individual sponsors can make to aspirants during election campaigns. This would disallow party financiers from arrogating the privilege of godfathers and/or kingmakers to themselves.

Political parties should be reformed to adopt sound and robust ideology and harness the commitment of their members. In addition, internal party democracy should be allowed to reign in all party activities. This will reduce suspicion, tension, fracas, intra party crises and litigations that often characterize the opaque processes of political parties. The National Assembly should enact laws that will reform political parties' administration to discourage defections of elected office holder from one party to the other. A stiffer penalty that will make such a person to lose his seat should be at the center of this reform. Through this Act, party discipline will be enthroned.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

I am a post graduate student of the National Legislative Studies. As part of the requirements for the completion of my M.Sc programme of study, I am conducting a research on: “Political Party Administration and Good Governance in Nigeria: a Comparative Study of Cross River State Government Between 2003 and 2011”

You have been considered resourceful enough to provide answers to the questions asked below. While I solicit your sincere co-operation, be assured that your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used specifically for academic purposes. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,

HILARY EKPANG BISONG
(PG/NLS/1900005)
Researcher

Request: Please tick [√] or respond where appropriate.

SECTION A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Part I: (To be completed by the researcher)

Name of Political Party:.....

LGA of Residence.....

State:.....

Part II: Bio-Data of Respondents

1. Title (if any): (a) Official(b) Unofficial
2. Political Ward/Village/Town/LGA:
3. Age (Years): (a) 18 – 29 [] (b) 30– 39 [] (c) 40– 49 [] (d) 50 – 59 [] (e) 60 and above []
4. Sex (a) Male [] b. Female []
5. Marital Status: Married () Not Married () Divorced () Widow ()
6. Religion: (a) Christianity [] (b) Islam [] (c) Traditional [] (d) Others []
7. Highest Level of Education: (a) Adult [] (b) Nomadic [] (c) Primary [] d) secondary [] (e) Tertiary [] (f) post-graduate [](g) None of the above []
8. Ethnic group: (a) Hausa/Fulani [] (b) Igbo [] (c) Yoruba (d) Efik/Ibibio (e) Others (specify).....
9. Political Positions Held in the past or present (Specify).....

SECTION B: Please tick [√] on your appropriate choice of answer to the following questions. Note: tick [√] for ‘Agree’ or ‘Disagree’ to the questions and clusters: A= Agree, D= Disagree.

CLUSTER A: Political Party Democratic Status and Good Governance

Lead Question: How democratic is your party?

RESPONSES

S/N	Democratic Status Indicators	RESPONSES	
		Agree	Disagree
1	My party’s activities are guided by the rule of law		
2	My party operates an open door policy		
3	My party gives a level playing ground for all members		

4	My party discourages influences of godfathers		
5	My party runs an all-inclusive government that encourages youths, disabled and gender participation		
6	My party obeys court orders at all times		
7	My party runs a transparent government that promotes governance		

CLUSTER B: Lack of internal party democracy and good governance

Lead Question: What is the extent of your party's inclination to internal democracy?

S/N	Internal Democracy Indicators	RESPONSES	
		Agree	Disagree
1	My party relies on party constitution at all times for actions		
2	Aggrieved members are encouraged to go to court		
3	My party gives in to imposition of candidates in elections		
4	Party leadership operates independently from the elected governor		
5	Party leadership operates independently from chieftains/godfathers		
6	My party has robust internal disciplinary measures		
7	Elected Governor Duke from my party, delivered on good governance in Cross River State		
8	Governor Imoke delivered on good governance in my state more than Duke		

CLUSTER C: Strategies for advancing internal party democracy and good governance in Cross River State?

Lead Question: What strategies do you consider useful for advancing internal party democracy and good governance in Cross River State

S/N	Strategies for advancing internal party democracy	RESPONSES	
		Agree	Disagree
1	Elected governors should concentrate on governance allow for independence of party administration		
2	Imposition of candidate during elections is necessary to reduce party indiscipline		
3	There is need to increase the fees paid for nomination by candidates seeking to be elected in our party		
4	Godfatherism should be discouraged		
5	Our party should uphold tenets of internal democracy in its affairs		
6	Party ideology should be upheld at all times		
7	An all inclusive governance must be enthroned in order to have good governance		

APPENDIX II

Interview Questions Guide

1. What is your general perspective on the nature and character of Nigerian Politics/Democracy?
2. Since 1999, do you think that political parties in Nigeria have truly been democratic? If yes, please explain and if no, kindly give reasons for your answer
3. Considering the conduct of PDP in Cross River State under Governors Duke and Imoke, what major features can be deduced from their styles of administration as it relates to party administration?
4. What are your assessment of the PDP in terms of internal party democracy and electoral outcomes between 1999-2015?
5. How robust was party discipline within the two administrations and what were their effects on governance in the state?
6. How would you rate the achievements of the two governors in terms of good governance in the state?
6. What measures do you consider necessary for deepening party democracy, elections and good governance in Cross River State?

APPENDIX III

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

S/N	NAME	POSITION
1.	Prof. Florence Obi	Vice-Chancellor, University Calabar
2	Prof. C. Bassey	Former Director General, N Kuru Jos. Senior professor political science, University Calabar
3	Dr. Peter Ojie	Special Adviser to the Governor Cross River State on political matters/former Dep Chair,PDP
4	Ntufam Ekpo Okon	Former state chairman PDP, Cross River State
5	Mr. Ben Ndem Ndem	Coordinator Youths for Governance (CSO)
6	---	Former chairman, Civil Service Commission
7	Dr Beshel Akpeke	Rtd. Perm. Sec. Ministry of International Donor Agencies
8	----	Rtd. Perm. Sec. Ministry OF works
9	Mr Joe Agba	Rtd. Director, Ministry of Education
10	????	Director, Due Process Office
11.	Chief Goddy Iyala	Former Director of Admin. Ministry of Health Politician
12.	Prof. Ndem Ayara	Former Economic Adviser.
13.	Barr. Tanko A	Former Governor Aspirant/Commissioner