

**TITLE PAGE**

**THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN**

**NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF PDP:**

**1999-2007**

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**Approval Page**

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## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to almighty God for the gift of life, guidance and protection throughout my stay in Caritas University and to my beloved parents for their sacrifice on the altar of my educational pursuits.

## **Acknowledgement**

My appreciation goes first to the Almighty God for the gift of life, protection and provision throughout my stay in Caritas University. Also to my parent for their support.

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## Abstract

There is a profound paradox about the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria. The party, which earned the respect and admiration of most Nigerians, in the period between 1999-2007 due to its politics and policies. This work based on direct study and use of secondary data examines the role of the PDP in governance in the period (1999-2007). The work revealed that the PDP government has grossly been disappointing in its performance in the management of the affairs of the Nigerian state. Thus between 1999-2007, Nigerians have suffered deep crisis of expectation as there had been serious erosion, impairment and debasement of the values of governance as reflected in macro economic instability, widespread corruption, deepening democratic crisis, human rights violations, insecurity, frustration, disillusionment and increasing lost of people's confidence in the PDP government. Arising from the foregoing, the work recommended among others ways on how to reorganize the PDP for effective governance in Nigeria.

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Democratic governance with its ideal of elective representation, freedom of choice of leaders, rule of law, freedom of expression, accountability etc has become the acceptable system of government all over the world. It is a form of government in which the supreme power of a political community rest on popular sovereignty. According to oyovbaire (1987) democracy as a system of government seeks to realize a generally recognized common good through a collective initiation and discussion of policy questions concerning public affairs and which delegat authority to agent to implement the broad decisions made by the people through majority vote. Thus, in contemporary times, democracy has been referred to as the expression of popular will of the political community through elected representatives. The contemporary democracy according to Raphael (1976) rest on representative government.

Democratic governance in Nigeria has been a different thing when compared to what is obtainable in other part of the world. The respect for human right and the rule law which are the main features of democracy are not visible especially between 1999 and 2007; election rigging and gangsterism is the order of the day that one can hardly differentiate between democratic government and autocracy.

In modern societies, political parties are very essential to political process. They have become veritable instrument or adjunct of democracy in any democratic system. Political parties are not only instrument for capturing political power, but they are also vehicles for the aggregation of interests and ultimate satisfaction of such interests through the control of government. Obviously political parties are crucial to the sustenance of democratic governance. As Agbaje (1999) notes that the extent to which political parties aggregate freely, articulate, represent and organize determines the level of accountability in public life including access to and use of power as well as political

performance. Merkel (1977:99) summarized the basic functions of political parties as follows:

- a. Recruitment and selection of leadership personnel for government offices
- b. Generation of programmes and policies for government
- c. Coordination and control of governmental organs
- d. Social integration through satisfaction and reconciliation of group demands or the provision of common belief system or ideology
- e. Social integration of individuals by mobilization of support and by socialization

Generally, political parties are very essential to democratic governance. It constitutes a central instrument of democratic governance. It provides the means of promoting accountability, collective action, popular participation, inclusiveness, legitimacy and accountability through the integration of their competing principles, ideologies and goals for eventual control of the government in the state. Political parties are the intermediate institution

mediating the affairs of both the people and personnel and agencies that exercise state power.

In Nigeria, the political parties usually are formed along ethnic, cultural, geo political and religious lines. In everyday activities of government one notices the fostering of primordial loyalties such as ethnic sensivity and overt projection of other selfish political tendencies as a result, the political class has always remained bereft of viable political ideology on which the nation's political future could be anchored. The bankruptcy in ideology and vision has reduced party politics to a bread and butter game where monetization of political process is the bedrock of loyalty and support. This has eroded the aim of the democratic system.

Since military disengaged from political power in may 1999, the PDP has dominated governance in Nigeria. After eight years of the party in government which earned the respect and admiration of most Nigerian electorates at the polls due to its programmes and policies, the party is loathed in the country. The average Nigeria encounters frustration,

disillusionment and psycho moral dislocation owing to the failure of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) government to deliver the expected dividends of democracy.

The task of this research is to examine the role of the ruling PDP in the democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic between (1999-2007).

## 1.2 Statement of Problem

The emergence of democratic governance in Nigerian political system in 1999 was a land mark in the political development of Nigeria. After fifteen years of persistent dictatorship, the return of democracy was received with pump and pageantry by civil societies, labour union, civil rights organization etc. Hope was very high in the area of human right which was completely absent during the dictatorship rule.

It was expected that the dividend of democracy would be realized through the political parties which are the means through which the

politician reach the public and make their promises and manifestoes available to the people.

This research therefore focuses on investigating the role of Nigerian political parties in democratic governance since 1999-2007 with emphasis on PDP. The investigation would be guided by the following research questions:

1. How does the circumstance leading to the emergence and formation of political parties' impact on internal democracy in the party?
2. Did the programmes enhance democratic governance in Nigeria between 1999 and 2007?
3. How were these programmes implemented to provide good governance to the people of Nigeria?

### 1.3 Objectives of The Study

The purpose of the study is to highlight the role of political parties in democratic government with the ruling PDP as a case study (1999-2007).

The study will critically analyze the issues as follows:

1. To examine the circumstance leading to the formation of political party and its impact on internal democracy of the party.
2. To examine the programmes of the party with a view of establishing their relevance to democratic governance.
3. To determine whether these programmes and policies were implemented with a view to enhance democratic governance.

#### 1.4 Significance of The Study

This work has two aspect of significance: firstly, it will theoretically increase the existing body of knowledge in the scholarship on political parties and democratic governance in Nigeria.

Secondly, the research will practically be of immense value to political leaders and policy makers in Nigeria and will also enlighten and educate the masses on responsibility of parties in democratic governance by so doing; it will go a long way in providing practical solution to some of the problems of political parties in Nigeria democratic system.

Equally, the study will serve as a contribution to the measures to be taken to enhance sustainable democracy in Nigeria.

Finally the study will serve as a motivation for further inquiry in the area of political parties and governance in Nigeria.

### 1.5 Literature Review

A political party can be define as a group of people or an organized group of people who seek to control the government in order to put their ideology or programme into practice . According to Nwankwo (1990), political party can be define as an organized group of individuals seeking to seize power of government in order to enjoy the benefit to be derived from such control. He further opines that a political party exists primarily as an electoral machine for gaining power with coherent philosophy and its deep ideological aim. Therefore, a political party can be summed up as an organized group of people or individuals whose intentions are to control the apparatus of the state if given the opportunity to form government.



Shively (1997) sees political party as a group of officials or would be officials who are linked with a sizeable group of citizens into an organization; the chief object of this organization, is to ensure that its officials attain power or are maintained in power.

Joseph (1979) in his own contribution sees political party as a formal organization whose self conscious primary purpose is to place and maintain in public office persons who will control alone or in coalition the machinery of government.

Heywood (2002) is of the view that a political party is a group of people that is organized for the purpose of winning government power by elections or other means. Heywood points out that four characteristic which usually distinguish parties from other groups are:

1. Political parties aim to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties may nevertheless use election more to gain a platform than to win power)

2. Political parties are organized bodies with a formal card carrying membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movement.
3. Parties typically adopt a broad issue of focus addressing each of the major area of government policy ( small parties, however, may have a single issue focus, thus resembling interest groups)
4. To varying degrees, parties are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.

In simple language, a political party is a group of persons bounded in policy and opinion in support of a general political cause, which essentially is the pursuit, capture and retention for as long as democratically feasible, of government and its offices. In other words, political party is a group that seeks to elect candidate to public office by supplying them with a label of party identification by which they are known to the electorate. A political party is therefore; at least do three things to its members and on lookers:

1. It's a label in the minds of its members and wider public especially the electorate.
2. It is an organization that recruits and campaign for candidates seeking election and selection into public office.
3. It is a set of leaders who try to organize and control the legislative and executive branches of government.

A political party therefore, is a group of people and an organization like other group or organization, except it is distinguished from any other group by its unique objective which in a democratic settings, is seeking control of government through nominating its candidates and presenting its programmes for endorsement via the electoral process in competition with other parties.

Duverger (1964) emphasized that the general development of parties which tends to deviate from the democratic regime and asserts that growing centralization decision making is increasingly diminishing the

influence of leaders upon members on the one hand and strengthening the influence of leaders upon members on the other. Again Duverger, is of the view that we are living in totally artificial nation of democracy forged by lawyers on the basis of eighteenth century philosophical utilitarianism, namely; the conception of democracy as government of the people; by the people providing general happiness for the greatest number. In practice the theory ceases to exist because all government tend to be oligarchic, which shows the domination of the greater number by a few. Therefore, democracy must reflect liberty for the people and for all section of the people. The author is right in opening up or revealing this obscure aspect of democratic parties for analysis, the principal objective of this work is not to study the social composition of the parties but their doctrines.

In their contribution to the study, sklar and Whitaker (1963) survey the role of Nigerian political parties in political and territorial integration, two key analytical variables postulated by the editors in the introduction. According to them, the emergency of political parties in Nigeria serves as an additional cleavage to integrated political system. The emergence of

political parties and their leaders appear sectional in the approach to national issues and unity since their loyalty flow in the direction of their ethnic groups and regions. Ultimately their loyalty transcends that of the nation and therefore, they seem unable to forge an integrated political system.

In their own contribution to knowledge, Coleman and Rosberg (1958) examine the role of political parties in national integration in tropical Africa using the same combination of behaviouralism and structural functionalism as employed by Coleman in his early classes on the background of nationalism in Nigeria. They see the role of political party as instrumental in the functioning and the development of the new African society and the political system of which they are a part. Since Nigeria belong to Africa and has the knowledge that a section of the book contributed by Richard .I. sklar rosberg's work is of great importance to us in our presence research. The two scholar opinioned that unlike the relatively stabilize national society of the old, more highly developed

countries; there is an almost complete institutional vacuum at the central or national level in the new state of tropical Africa.

Agawal et al (1994). See political party as a voluntary association organized by the persons bound with common interest or aim, which seek to acquire or retain power through the election of its candidate into public office. In modern societies, political parties are distinct from other organizations. They rely on permanent structure and organization with defined offices and roles which enhance their mobilization of supporters. Also they manifest hierarchical order from the grassroots to the highest level of government. More strikingly, political parties seek to put their candidates into public offices through election in order to realize their conscious objectives, which bond their members. Political parties have become essential to the development of the political process. They have become a veritable instrument of democracy. In any democratic system, political parties are not only instruments for capturing political power but they are also vehicles for the aggregation of interests and ultimately the satisfaction of such interests through the control of government.

Obviously, political parties are crucial to the sustenance of democracy and governance. As Agbaje (1999) noted that the extent to which political parties aggregate freely, articulate, represent and organize determines the level of accountability in public life including access to and use of power as well as political performance.

James (1983), pointed out that political parties that emerged during the period of the anti colonial struggle, unfortunately were formed along tribal/ethnic lines i.e., the northern people's congress (NPC) Hausa/Fulani, national council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) eastern and the action group (AG) Yoruba. The author has it that this has been the trend of party politics which later formed the background of the emergence of political parties in Nigeria's second republic. Thus, despite all attempts to establish national parties as opposed to the ethnic/region parties in the second republic nearly all the parties, NPN, UPN, GNPP and PAP seemed to possess some elements of national outlook. This assertion was supported by James Ojiako's publication of the result of the 1979 elections which showed how the people voted across ethnic lines narrowing down the study to the

contemporary trends in party politics in Nigeria and the behaviors of political parties in the present dispensation, we note that in vibrant democratic state, political parties are not seen as mere platform for contesting elections or political appointments rather their function according to MOS Olisa, should include:

- Providing political education for their members,
- Informing members in government offices about public opinion or national issues as well as maintaining as strong ideological base that would ensure its survival in the future elections.

After the 1999 general elections, there was glamour for more political parties which the chairman of the independent national committee approved for the 2003 election with the aim of providing a level playing ground for the parties. Still the aim seems to have been defeated but who knows?

In contemporary times, one of the opposition to Abacha's self-succession was the G18 which metamorphosed into 9-34 then became the



vanguard for the formation of big pan Nigerian party carried out by the independent national electoral commission (INEC), three political parties met INEC's condition – the PDP , APP (ANDP) and AD. Other parties that were unregistered started to merge with the registered ones. The constitutional right group attributed the failure of the three political parties and the consultant “unholy” alliance. This is perhaps why all the parties presently seem to be unsettled and porous. Never the less the PDP hijacked the realm o affairs by winning the majority of seats in the two federal houses, occupying majority of 36 state governments and producing the president of the nation.

In 2003, 27 more political parties were registered there were first registered on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2002 and they are; all progressive grand alliance (APGA) national democratic party (NDP) and united Nigerians people's party. On 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2002, additional twenty four (24)political parties were registered and they are; all peoples liberation party(APLP) better Nigeria progressive party(BNPP) community party of Nigeria (CPN), democratic alliance (DA), liberation democratic party of Nigeria (LDPN),

masses movement of Nigeria (MMN) national action council (NAC), national mass movement of Nigeria(NMMN) national reformation party (NRP), new Nigeria people's party (NNPP), peoples mandate party (PMP), peoples redemption party(PRP) peoples salvation party(PSP) progressive action congress(PAC) green party of Nigeria (GPN).

Moreover, on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2002 additional two parties were registered namely; African renaissance party (ARP) and united Democratic Party (UDP). This number came to be because of the challenge of INEC to the court by Gani Fawebimi and leaders of some unregistered parties then. But still in the election, the incumbent government of PDP maneuvered and won almost all the seats in the 2003 election.

The topic of this study and its aim will not be complete without a look at some review of democratic government. In one of its special edition and columnar on Africa's new democracy, the European Acp journal takes a critical look on how Africa embarked on the part of democracy and now predictable doubts are beginning to toss in not only are people increasingly

asking whether the western democratic model is a suitable one for Africa and Nigeria in particular Africa who are European partners are the agents of democracy and they sell it as a commodity of the third world.

According to Lewis (1965), all who are affected by a decision should have the chance to participate in making that decision either directly or through chosen representation. The will of the majority shall prevail.

He posited that, in the first definition of democracy, the man who stands for election represent groups with different ideas, interest or characteristics, and the real contest between these groups. So to exclude the losing groups from participation in decision making, clearly violates the first definition of democracy. He asserts that Europe and France practice class society where single party is appropriate. In Africa and particularly in Nigeria, we practice plural society, which is not just irrelevant; it is totally immoral in consistency with the first definition of democracy. It is also destructive of any prospect on building a nation in which different people might live together in harmony. According to him, the problem with Africa

is the principle of plurality which is consequential of differences in tribes, languages, religion, race, in a long tradition of mutual hostility. In fact, people are mutually antipathetic they are historical enemies.

The democratic problem in a plural society remains the creation of political institution which gives all the various groups a single opportunity to participate in decision making. Therefore, a single party which include a representative of all the various groups and encourage full discussion within the party framework would be superior to a competition for power between parties representing different tribes, race or religion, political party as one of the recent inventions of the human race cannot be avoided in any maws democracy because of the masses are to vote, they have to learn how to cast their vote.

The literature reveals that the relationship between political parties and democratic governance is hinged on the historical development of the party and party structure. However, the sweeping wind of democratization since the 1990s has impacted on political processes and party systems. The

existing literature appears to have neglected this aspect of the development of Nigerian political parties. Also we discovered that not much has been written on the role of political parties in Nigerian nascent democracy. This study is an attempt to fill this gap. This study seeks to examine some of the political economic factors of transformation of Nigerian political parties, their roles and how these have impacted on democratic governance in Nigeria.

#### 1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is the group theory. The theory was adopted because of the strong view of scholars such as Bentley (1980) who was of the strong opinion that institutional approach should not be used for political analysis as these institutions are static as against politics which is dynamic and full of activities. He argued that politics is a group affair and each group is competing against one another for power. The group Bentley, added, is a pattern of process involving mass of activities and not a collection of individual. The group emerges from frequent interaction among its

individual members which is directed by their shared interest. The interest leads to the organization of the groups.

Bentley's group theory received the blessings of scholars like David Truman, Robert Daniel; Grant McConnell, Theodora J. Lewis, Earl Lathans among others. They saw power as diffused among many interest groups competing against each other. Earl Lathan described a society as a simple universe of groups which combine, break and form coalitions and castellation of power in a restless alteration.

The adoption of this theory as basis for the examination of the role of political parties in a democratic governance in Nigeria is as a result of the inter play of forces and struggle for power among different political parties which are formed along various ethnic/religious groups in the Nigerian society which resulted shortly after independence. Political parties were formed along ethnic or sectional line.

Therefore, the adoption of the group theory would help us to examine how the roles and activities of Peoples Democratic Party affect generally political activities in Nigeria and in particular democratic governance.

### 1.7Hypotheses

1. The circumstance leading to the emergence and formation of political parties tended to undermine internal democracy and national development in Nigeria.
2. Some programmes of people's Democratic Party (PDP) tended to be anti Democratic.
3. The implementation of PDP programmes between 1999 and 2007 seemed not to promote good governance.

### 1.8The Scope and Limitations of The Study

The scope of this study will cover essentially the role of political parties in democratic governance in Nigeria between 1999-2007. The study will also ex-ray the part played by the people's Democratic Party (PDP) as the ruling party during the period.

The work is limited to library research and other documented materials.

### 1.9 Method of Data Collection/Analysis

Data collection: The materials for this study were sourced mostly from written works from libraries and archives they include: text books, journals, newspapers, and magazines. In fact, this research work is mainly based on secondary data.

Data analysis: this analysis of data will be descriptive and historical. It will also adopt a situational approach in the data collected was examined to avoid going out of context. Also, content analysis method will be used to analyze method statements of some elites.

### Definition of Concepts

To avoid ambiguity and misconception of terms, it is imperative that a vivid and clear explanation of terms is given.

Democracy



Democracy as a concept in social science, has attracted varied definitions among scholars for the purpose of this discourse, democracy is a form of government which the supreme power of the political community rest on popular sovereignty.

According to oyovbaire (1987) democracy as a system which seek to realize a generally recognized common good through a collective initiation and discussion of policy questions concerning public affairs and which delegated authority to agents to implement the broad decisions made by the people through majority vote.

The most popular definition of democracy was that of Abraham Lincoln, which sees Democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. This definition is widely accepted.

### Governance

In the literature of political science, governance has been regarded as nebulous, ambiguous and vague. In this discourse, we have adopted dozie's definition of the term.

Governance according to Dozie (1999), relates to the totality of processes entailed in the exercise and management of the collective will of a people or group under a defined authority or constitution. Governance is not only concerned with political activities and institutions such as economy, family, and other human congregations. Thus, governance can be regarded as the provision of leadership throughout a given society for the actualization of common good.

## Chapter Two: Emergence of Political Parties in Nigeria

### 2.1 Historical Overview

Political system is often affected by unique historical circumstances and so are political parties. For us to fully grasp the principle of political parties, we shall take a look at the ancient Greek city state.

In the ancient Greek city state, the people appreciated the fact that democracy as a form of government involves the entire people. In modern times there is no way the whole people could be involved at the same time in running state craft. The option to approach this problem is therefore, a representative government where people can elect their representatives. To do this, the people formed themselves into groups according to their views on how best to run the state under the platform of modern political parties.

Rodes et al (1983) notes that the historic root of the party is hinged upon the struggle for the legislature, especially in Europe, to limit the power of the monarchy and expand the electoral base of the people in

recognition of their interest. But it is worthy to note that every nation has a peculiar major especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century England and indigenous political experience of the colonialist was said to be origin of political parties in the united state of America.

The development of anti colonialist and nationalist struggle and in particular the constitutional reforms prompted and fueled the early formation of political party in Nigeria. Herbert Macaulay one of the foremost Nigerian nationalists formed the first ever political party, the Nigerian national democratic party (NNDP) following the constitutional changes introduced by the Clifford constitution of 1922. The constitution introduced the elective principles into four legislative seats in the colony of southern protectorate of Nigeria ( 3 from Lagos and 1 from calabar). The NNDP was not national in it outlook its activities were confined to the Lagos area until the emergence of the Nigeria youth movement (NYM). In 1937, the NNDP contested and won election into the Lagos municipal council and the three Lagos elective seats. It also won all elective seats In the Lagos municipal council election of 1943. The strength or advantage of the NYM

over the NNDP was its more national spread in terms of membership. The prominent members of the NYM included chief H.O Davies , Ernest Okoli, dr. nnamdi azikiwe, chief obafemi awolowo, Samuel Akinsaya, and chief akintola. However, the strength of NYM declined following the introduction of ethnic and tribal sentiment sequel to the disagreement between awolowo and Azikwe over appointment. This disagreement led to resignation annulled exit of Azikiwe and other igbos from the parties leaving the movement to more or less Yoruba affairs (Okhaide 1995)

Ront Nigerians and Cameroon [NCNC]. The colonial government for greater participation of the people of the various parts of Nigeria in their own governance. The constitutional changes, which liberalized the political space for Nigerians between 1946 and 1950, paved way for the emergence of other political parties such as the Action group [AG], northern elements progressive union [NEPU] and the northern people's congress[NPC] in 1951. Like the NCNC, AG and the NPC grew out of ethno-religious and cultural associations, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa formed the AG, while the Jamiyya Mutanem Arewa formed both the NEPU and NPC [Ikeligbe 1996; 130-136].

These new political parties with the NCNC were the major political parties in Nigeria until the January 15 1996 when the maiden military coup took place. The parties were regional bound. Respectively, the NCNC, AG and NPC operated mainly in the eastern, western and northern regions. It is instructive to note that apart from major political parties there were. Other smaller parties some of which broke away for the major ones. These parties include the united middle belt congress, (UMBC) led by Joseph Trka, the united national independent party led by professor Eyo ita and the dynamic party led by chike obi. By January 1966, when the military punctuated the first republic there were 78 minority political parties representing ethnic, regional, professional and ideological interests. These parties tapped their energy from their electoral alliance with the major parties from other major regions. The NCNC and AG and their client parties NEPU, UMBC, Zamfara commoners party, Kano peoples party the united progressive grand alliance (UPGA). The NPC aligned with smaller parties like he NNDP, the Niger delta congress (NDC), the mid west democratic front (MDF) and the dynamic party to form the Nigerian national alliance (NNA).

The motivation of these clients' parties was the agitation for state creation (Ikelegbe 1996, Osaghae 2002).

In the second republic, five political parties were registered in December 1978 having supposedly satisfied the stipulated requirement for registration.

In the second republic five political parties were registered in December 1978 having supposedly satisfied the stipulated requirement for registration. The registered parties were; the great Nigerian people's party (GNPP), the national party of Nigeria (NPN), the Nigerian people's party (NPP), the people's redemption party (PRP), and the unity party of Nigeria (UPN). Late in 1983 a sixth party, the national advanced party (NAP) was registered. The NPN controlled the federal government and most state of the federation. The other parties such as the UPN, GNPP, the NNPP and PRP controlled other states until December 31, 1983 when the military coup which truncated the second republic occurred. The second republic parties were said to be reincarnation of the parties of the first republic

respectively, the NPN, NPP and the UPN were reincarnate of the NPC, NCNC and the AG.

In the aborted third republic, two political parties, the national republic convention (NRC) and the social democratic party (SDP) were decreed into existence after the cancellation or dissolution of the political associations which bade for registration on the ground that they were constituted along ethnic and religious lines. The two political parties which were described as government parastatals had their programme constitution, structure funds and organization determined by the federal government. Government officials supervised the primaries state congresses and national conventions of the two parties. The NRC controlled the government in 16 states against 14 of the SDP. However, the SDP had majority seats in both the senate and the house of representative respectively; the SDP and NRC won 52 and 37 senatorial seats as well as 314 and 275 seats in the House of Representatives.



The two parties were dissolved on November 17 1993 when general sani abacha sacked interim national government (ING) constituted by the general Ibrahim babangida after the annulment of the historic June 12, 1993 presidential election.

In the journey towards the fourth republic, general sani abacha registered five political parties; the congress national consensus (CNC), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), the grass root democratic movement (GDM), the national conscience party of Nigeria (NCPN), and the united Nigerian congress party (UNCP). The activities of these parties were fettered and goaded. The political leaders of the five parties, which critics described as the “five leprosy fingers” bore implicit stamp of military consent and cronyism. The five parties had adopted abacha as a consensus candidate for the august 1998 presidential election before his sudden demise on June 8, 1998.

The five political parties were dissolved under General Abubakar Abdulsalam administration in the restarted transition programme to the

fourth republic. Initially, nine political associations were provisionally registered to contest the local government elections for chairman and counselors in December 1998. Based on the performance of the political association, in the elections, three political parties; all people party (APP), alliance for democracy (AD), and the peoples democracy party (PDP), were registered. The three parties contested the presidential, governorship, states and national assemblies of the fourth republic in the 1999 general election.

Before the 2003 general elections INEC registered additional twenty seven (27) more political parties, bringing the total number of registered political parties to thirty (30). A large number of the political parties are struggling to survive. Only 16 out of the 30 political parties registered before 2003 general elections fielded candidate for the presidential election. And only five of the new parties; justice party (JP), all progressive grand alliance (APGA), national conscience party (NCP), united Nigerian people's party ( UNPP) and people's redemption party (PRP) made noticeable showing at the elections (obia 2006; 9-10).

After the 2003 general elections, there has been further proliferation of parties. There are 50 registered political parties jostling for the 2007 general elections. Several of the other new parties such as the movement for the restoration and defense of democracy (MRDD), advanced congress of democrats (ACD), action congress (AC) among others are formed by some discontented elements from the older parties like PDP.

The PDP emerged on July 28, 1998 from a coalition of leaders of like-minded political associations such as the G-34 and the People Democratic Movement (PDM). The PDP which prides itself as the largest political party in Africa was one of the initial nine provincially registered parties under General Abubakar Abdulsalam administration based on its satisfactory performance

in the December 5, 1998 local government elections in which the chairmen and councilors were elected in all the local government councils in Nigeria. Essentially, the origin of the PDP is connected with the political developments such as the increased liberalization of participation and competitive electoral politics after prolonged years of military governance. It had in its membership the cream of Nigerian political elite which included a

pack of former military officers most of whom were in the corridors of powers in the immediate years (Olarenwaju 1999: 15). The circumstance surrounding the emergence of the PDP are quite reflected in its mission, vision and objectives, which are outlined as follow:

The Party shall:

a) Have a manifesto;

b) Subject to the provisions of the constitution of the Federal Republic of

Nigeria, the manifesto of the party shall be implemented by all organs of

the party and governments elected under the platform of the party.

c) The Party shall strive as provided to:

i) Promote sustainable development through the provision of sound education, basic health care, food security, rapid industrial growth,

Adequate housing, full employment and the improvement of infrastructure

and basic services.

ii) Promote federalism and an equitable revenue sharing formula;

iii) Promote the security of life, and property, and enhance family values;

iv) Promote self-respect, self-reliance and human dignity;

v) Uphold the integrity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

as one united indivisible political entity;

vi) Promote national integration and the peaceful co-existence of the diverse communities of our country;

vii) Promote an egalitarian society founded on freedom, equality and justice.

viii) Uphold the independence of the judiciary and the fundamental rights

Enshrined in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;

ix) Promote learning and research in science and technology and the arts;

x) Assist in the just resolution of local and international disputes;

xi) Support the struggle for the rights of children and the disabled;

xii) Advance the political, social, educational and economic interests of

Its members and act as the channel of communication between them, the

Government and other political parties or associations.

At this juncture, a curious mind may pose some critical questions such as how does the circumstance leading to the emergence of the PDP shapes and influences its set objectives? Is there any significant connection between the party's set objectives and the fundamental elements of good governance? If any, to what extent has the party since 1999 when it gained control over the machinery of government pursued and realized the set objectives? We could say that there is so much connection between the political development leading to the formation of the PDP and its set objectives. A hindsight benefit revealed that the PDP essentially emerged in response to the political Developments especially increase liberalism, and political participation after prolong years of military misadministration with serious erosion of the fundamental elements of democracy and good governance. After about fourteen years (1983-1998) of unbroken military rule, Nigerians

encountered anesthetizing frustration, disillusionment and disenchantment. They were not only tired but were desirous to ease the military out of power (Olawale, 1998: 15). It was this increasing need to consciously enthrone a government that emerges from the threshold of fair and credible popular democracy and poised to meet the yearnings of the people that perhaps influenced the objectives of the PDP.

As can be gleaned from the above the PDP seeks to consolidate democratic culture, promote constitutionality, social justice, and freedom of the mass media, independence of the judiciary, socio-economic self-sufficiency and credible leadership. These objectives are in consonance with the elements of democracy and good governance. However the extent to which the activities of the ruling-party has been undertaking since its inauguration in May 1999 is a different ball game as analyzed in the latter part of this discourse.

## 2.2 Party Organization in Nigeria

The organization and structure of the party states from the ward level through local government and state levels to the national level. At the ward level, party members elect their officers and delegates to represent

the ward at the local government congress. The local government congress is a collegiate election by the ward representatives who elect local government representative. Election is conducted by the party at the state level and from there delegates are elected to the national congress.

Flow of information and directives follow the same pattern from the national level to the ward level. The ward is the base of membership.

An issue of importance is the case of funding of political parties; it is pertinent to note the prodigious impact of this factor on the nation's democratic governance. Political parties in Nigeria are financed from a number of sources, prominent among which is grants from the government. There are also donations and revenue from registration and sales of party souvenirs. External or foreign financing is unlawful and corporate organization do not publicly identify with parties. However, the commonest sources of fund for political parties in Nigeria are millionaire business men who regard politics as investment. They have been labeled



“money bag” and because of their enormous financial contributions to the party, they dictate what happens within the party even in trivial matters.

### 2.3 Functions of Political Parties in Nigeria

Political parties perform a number of functions in any political system. Some will be mentioned here to buttress their expected contributions to the achievement of a democratically stable polity. Political party should exercise political power (authority) (yaqub 2002). Schumpeter has stressed so much on this requirement for a system to be tagged truly democratic.

Political parties are equally expected to serve as instruments of political education, interest aggregation, political socialization and political recruitment. Parties are institutions that help organize, move or affect agenda of government etc.

The functions of political parties specifically include; educating, articulating, and aggregating issues that the parties feels the public is not well informed about or about which they want to make their position clear.

In the words of yaqub 2002: it is the basis of competently performing these roles that a political party can stand a good chance of displacing and thereby, taking power form a political party currently in the saddle.

In the course of preparing to capture state power and exercise authority in the future, the party must devote its attention to recruiting and training people to occupy political positions in the state. They thus, articulate alternative policies, while serving as legal opposition to the party in power by performing these functions, it is expected that parties will reduce the incidents of antinational building factors like ethnic chauvinism, bigotry and other communal and cultural intolerance, particularly in ethnically and culturally diverse countries.

Merkel (1977) summarized the basic functions of political parties as follows;

- a. Recruitment and selection of leadership personnel for government offices.
- b. Generation of programmes and policies for government

- c. Coordination and control of governmental organs
- d. Social integration through satisfaction and reconciliation of groups demand or the provision common belief system or ideology.
- e. Social integration of individuals by mobilization of support and by socialization

Political parties according to the political bureau (1987) can be seen as both the expression and management of conflict within a political system. Political parties are therefore, are to be seen not only as products of their environment but also as instrument or institutions organized to affect the environment. Viewed this way political parties function as:

- i. Agent of political participation and
- ii. Aggregation of demands. We explain this as follows; individuals and groups normally express in discreet terms the functions they want the government to perform for themselves or others. Thus some people may demand roads and bridges; some may demand free education and health services, while others may demand subsidized houses or

adequate agricultural facilities or logistics. The parties normally collect and articulate these demands or interest upon which both ideas and programmes are evolved.

iii. Through the instrumentality of the political parties, political attitude and behavior of members could be mobilized more effectively towards the ends and goals of government. It is through political parties that political ideas are transmitted within the realms of political structures

iv. One other major function of political party is in the area of legitimacy of authority. Political parties are more flexible instruments for winning popular support. Equally in countries where parties exist, it is easier to deal with leadership succession than in countries without political parties.

V. sectional religious and ethnic loyalties are arrested through truly national political parties. Put differently, political parties help in the achievement of national integration.

vi. other specific roles of political parties include: spreading general understanding of the national philosophy and national objectives, drawing up canvassing strategies for attaining national objective, sustaining the fraternity of the people examining entirely government politics and their implementation in the light of national philosophy and national objectives and inculcating national pride, self reliance in members, representatives and in the public generally (see Nigeria's political bureau report, 1987 p. 125). It is therefore an instrument of generating national consciousness in any dramatic and civilized nations of the world.

## **Chapter Three: Internal Democracy Role of The PDP**

### **3.1 Candidate's Selection/Recruitment Procedures.**

Candidate selection which is synonymous with political recruitment is one of the important functions of political parties for all democracies in fact, many scholars define a political party in terms of this function (Schlesinger, 1991).

Kartz (2001:277) notes that candidate selection is a vital activity in the life of any political party. It is the primary screening device in the process through which the party officers and aspirants are produced. The method which a party employs in candidate selection has incontrovertible implications on those selected or elected and indeed how they behave in either party or public office (Gallagher and marsh, 1988; mainwaring and shugart 1997). Importantly, katz (1995) argues that the technique of a party's candidate selection explains and provides adequate information on how the party functions internally and the location of political power in a particular country.

Methods of candidates selections include primaries (either restricted to the party caucuses only or extended to ordinary party members), internal party elections, centralization, consensus etc. the differences in candidates selection procedures among parties is explained partly by the nature of a political party, partly by national laws, intra-party decision making and the electoral fortunes of parties (penning and Hasan 2001:269). However, the extent to which parties democratize their candidate selection procedures, despite its generic importance depends on the national laws and internal party rules, as well as the extent to which party leaders adhere to these laws.

Structurally, the pdp is organized and administered at ward, local government, senatorial district, state zonal and national levels. At each of these organizational levels, there are relevant organs responsible for managing the party affairs. For example, at the national levels, there are five organs, viz:

- National executive committee (NEC)

- National working committee (NWC)
- The board of trustees (BOT)
- The national caucus.

There are also similar organs at all other levels of the party structure. The duties and functions of each of these organs are clearly stated in the 2006 pdp constitution (as amended). What seem crucial here is not actually the organs of the party but the process of recruitment or selection or electing officers to man these organs effectively. Already the 1999 constitution and INEC statutory rules mandated parties to conduct periodic democratic congresses and conventions to select these officers. Parties must inform INEC about such exercises for it to supervise the process.

Article 16, section 16.1-4 of the pdp constitution unambiguously state the mode of election of these officers. It states that: the national convention, the zonal, state, local government area and ward congress shall meet to elect the officers of the party at the various levels of the party structure as specified in this constitution except in the federal capital



territory where officers of the party shall be elected based on geopolitical zones. Every registered member of the party who has satisfied the requirement for nomination and election under this constitution, the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria or any other law, rules or regulations in force shall be eligible to contest for any of the party guidelines.

The guidelines for elections to any office of the party shall be approved by the national executive committee of the party in accordance with the provision of this constitution; no member of the party shall be qualified for nomination or election or appointment into any of the offices of the party, unless he or she has been a registered member for at least 18 months and is of a good financial standing in the party except there is a waiver by the appropriate executive committee (emphasis added, article 16, section 16. 1-4).

Apart from the selection and /or electing of officers to manage party organs, the party also conducts congresses and primaries to nominate

candidates for national elections into public offices as defined by the 1999 constitution. Depending on when national elections are to be conducted, the process of electing party officers and the period of such are different from primaries, for nominating candidate for general elections. In selecting party officers, members of the pdp contest against one another, while in the general election pdp candidates contest against other party candidates.

However, where party congresses coincide with the period of national elections, the two processes are simultaneously conducted. This was the case in 2007 when pdp conducted congresses and primaries simultaneously to elect party officers and nominate candidates for general elections. The guidelines for nomination of candidates into public offices are stated clearly in article 17, section 17. 1-17.2a-I for example, the constitution states that: the national executive committee shall subject to the provision of this constitution, formulate guidelines and regulations for the nomination of candidates for election into public offices at all levels and shall be the final authority for resolving dispute relating to the choice of candidates for the party for any elections and for confirming the names or

list of names of candidates for the party, for any elective public office in the federation (section 17.1).

In addition to the above, section 17.2a-I in particular state that the national executive committee shall regulate the procedure for selecting the party's candidate for elective offices. For example ,NEC is to regulate national convention where the party's presidential candidate is to be nominated. Similarly, primaries for governorship candidates should be held at state congress, at local government constituency head quarters. For council chairman and house of assembly at constituency head quarters, for house of representative and at senatorial constituency headquarters for senators. At ward level, councillorship candidates and 25 delegates by direct primaries in which all registered party members participate are to be elected as required by the pdp constitution, NEC does formulate additional guidelines to regulate congresses and national conventions.

Evidently, despite these rather laudable institutional designs guiding candidates selection and nomination, why often the process turn out

chaotic and quarrelsome. In some instances, the exercise results into violent conflict with attendant consequences of participants sustaining fatal injuries and even lost of live? The simple answer might be that these rules and regulations are not strictly followed. It is worthy to note that the institutional designs in the pdp are ment to stabilize the party and ensure internal democracy in its organization. Scholars of party democracy believe that institution design strengthen internal and external democratic practice of political parties and democracy in general (ballington, 2004;scarrow, 2005).

As stated earlier, the pdp constitutionally adopts primaries as mechanism for selecting party officers and nomination of candidate for public offices. The constitution is very clear as to who is qualified to participate and contest election. However, even though the constitution states that all registered members of the party are qualified to contest any party office and or be nominated controversially , the same constitution clearly states that any member of the party contesting election must be of good financial standing in the party (section 16.4) by implication, the same

provision seem to favour only individuals with strong financial base or must obtain the approval of some wealthy political moguls, popularly known in Nigerian politics as Godfathers. It is therefore not an exaggeration to say that since the formation of the party in 1999, it has been radically hijacked by notorious wealthy political elites. Thus, all its congresses and conventions always turn out to be chaotic.

### 3.2 Party Funding and Its Implications on Political Recruitment

Funding is one of the most crucial issues for political parties in Africa and indeed for the pdp in Nigeria. In fact, when democracy is labeled as an expensive political system it was not unconnected with huge sum of money needed by parties to provide offices, equipment, staffing, campaign for political offices, organizers, congress and conventions and pay litigation fees and so on. Perhaps, in view of the challenging nature of party funding and finance, section 228 © obliged government to provide grants to registered political parties, the procedure for sharing annual grants is that; 10 percent of the amount will be shared equally to registered parties, while

90 percent is shared in proportion to each party's number of seats in the national assembly (senate and house of representatives). Similarly, section 90 of 2006 electoral act clearly states the regulations of party finances. Specifically, it requires the national assembly to approve a grant for disbursement to all political parties contesting elections. In addition, section 92-3 of the 2006 electoral act allows parties to source funds from private individuals.

Accordingly, the pdp sources of funding have clearly been stated in its constitution. Article 18, sections 18.1(a-f) and 18.2 state that: there shall be established and maintained for the party a fund into which shall be paid all :

- a. Subscription fees and levies from membership of the party;
- b. Proceeds from investments made by the party
- c. Subventions and donations
- d. Gifts and grants by individuals or groups of individuals as authorized by law

- e. Loans approved by the national executive committee
- f. Such other moneys as may be lawfully received by the party  
(section 18.1)

Similarly, article 18.2 (a) peg annual subscription fee of 200 naira only. The party also levies its elected public officers as follows; elected public officers in various legislatures, appointed public officers at all levels such as ministers, commissioners, special advisers, etc and ambassadors 5% of basic annual salary, while board chairmen at federal level are to pay 5% of their remunerations and allowances. Other sources of funds for the party include subventions and donations from individuals and friends that enjoy patronage from the party at all levels of government. Donations are also provided in the form of sponsoring candidates to contest elections. Proceeds from the sale of nomination forms is another source of funding for the party especially because it is capable of presenting candidate for all electable public offices and across all levels of government . for example, in the 2006 primaries (for 2007 general elections) 31 presidential aspirants obtained nomination forms at 5million naira each (giving the total of 155

million), while three female aspirant were exempted as a way of encouraging women participation each of these aspirants including women paid compulsory 10,000 naira each for expression of interest (giving the total of 310,000).

The nomination form for gubernatorial aspirants was pegged at 3million naira, 1million and 500,000 naira each. This shows that sales of nomination forms contribute hugely to the pdp purse. (ojo 2008).

National chairman's annual fund raising dinners, business ventures, proceeds from investments and borrowing and other constitutionally enshrined sources of pdp funding (section 18.2e-h). of these, the national chairman's annual and presidential campaign fund raising dinners are the most important. Entrance to these dinners is strictly on special invitation and conducted secretly under tight security. This means that patronage and clientelistic networks are the major channels of pdp funding. Those patrons who contribute hugely to pdp funding and fully control their political terrain tend to crudely manipulate the selection processes to the extent



that only the ir anointed candidates are selected both for party offices and national election candidates. These powerful political patrons or their agents, perhaps because of the magnitude of their influence on the party and party candidates are popularly called Godfathers. Thus, godfatherism has become a household name. The influence of the godfathers in candidates selection is captured eloquently . in almost all the states of the (Nigerian) federation, only candidates anointed by political godfathers in Abuja or in the state won (gubernatorial primaries and congress and conventions) (newswatch 2006).

Evidence have shown that internal party rules are only used as window- dressing, often informal arrangements become thee substantive rules of the processes, empirical studies have shown that lack of internal democracy has largely contributed to factions, crises and conflicts that besieged the party since 1999. (kura, 2008).

In contract to democratic procedures, pdp employs dubious tactics in their candidate selection and nomination process. Hence, the so called

conventions, primaries and congresses are mere pretexts to celebrate the appointment of anointed candidate. Often, because of the relationship between party

Funding and candidate selection/ nomination; financial donors (godfathers) of the pdp take over and/ or hijack its control. They manipulate all its major activities. They determine who is selected or appointed to occupy which party or public office. Godfathers have become owners of the pdp. Abubakar (2006). While expressing dismay over the influence of godfathers states that: I am particularly concerned about the emergence of godfathers as a directing principle in our political affairs. The concept of godfathers as owners' of political parties or section thereof is a threat to the development of democracy. Godfathers must not be allowed to substitute themselves for members of political parties or indeed for the voting citizenry during elections by determining who gets nominated to contest and who wins elections. Godfatherism is therefore, the main defining character of party politics in Nigeria. Godfather politics explains the power of an individual

over the machinery of a political party, its constitution, statutory laws, and the Nigerian constitution.

In Nigeria, information from personal observation revealed that majority of the people regard the godfather phenomenon as a huge challenge to democracy and to organizational development of the PDP (Fieldwork Diary, 2006; Gambo, 2007a and b). In fact, godfathers are a major plague of party politics in the country” and are specifically responsible for factionalism, acrimony and conflict (International IDEA, 2006) within the ruling PDP. Moreover, in an interview, a former chairman of a Local Government Council in Nigeria stressed that one of the ways through which most politicians finance their political activities (campaign rallies and political mobilization) is through getting *ubangida* (godfather).” He maintained that in politics in Nigeria, there is a need for *ubangida* (godfather). So your *ubangida* would be supplying campaign monies and even pocket monies for your daily political spending. This is because the *ubangida* believes that he is investing. So, immediately you win the election, he [the

godfather] would be coming to you to reap his investment (Nuru, Interview 2006). The problem with this undemocratic arrangement between the godfathers and godsons is that when an election is won, the godfather either becomes the *de facto* chairman, or governor or uses carefully calculated tactics of siphoning the resources of the local government or the state to himself or his cronies (Nuru, interview, 2006). From this evidence, godfathers rather than the PDP are the driving forces of the ruling party. By extension, this means that the godfather controls the party, its machineries, as well as the chairman or the governor.

According to Gambo (2007a), godfathers are the major financiers of the PDP and its electoral candidates, and use the party as an “astutely thought out investment outlet to be recovered through frivolous and bloated government contracts, appointments of cronies into chosen public offices and other prebendal returns by the beneficiaries”. Godfatherism has led to the personalization of the party, siphoning of public resources, embezzlement, mismanagement and outright theft. The magnitude of the mafia-style phenomenon of godfathers also is demonstrated by how the godfathers decide party nominations and campaign outcomes and, according

to Ibrahim (2007), when candidates resist, the godfathers use violence to deal with the situation. This makes free and fair elections extremely difficult and raises the potentials of violence in primaries and general elections. The examples of Anambra and Oyo States during Governor Chris Ngige and Rashid Ladoja, respectively, provide prime illustrations.

Though the PDP has procedures for funding and campaign financial activities, they are often jettisoned by godfathers and political barons. In other words, the political significance of the party has become no longer determined by popular support but by administrative manipulation by the godfathers through all necessary means. For example, Ibrahim (2007) argues that these godfathers are mainly interested in controlling the party machines instead of presenting popular candidates for healthy electoral competition. Indeed, owing to the control of the party organization, godfathers cum the PDP has various ways of eliminating popular candidates from the so-called party primaries. These include: A declaration by powerful political barons, state governors, godfathers, and others that those entitled to vote must support one candidate and other aspirants must withdraw. Since these people are very powerful and feared in their communities, their declarations carry

much weight. (ii) Zoning and other procedures exclude unwanted candidates by moving the party zone out of the seat or position in question to an area where the excluded candidate is not local. (iii) Candidates who oppose the godfathers' protégés are often subject to violence by thugs or security personnel. (iv) Money, a significant factor in party primaries, is used to bribe officials and induce voters to support particular candidates. Since the godfather generally has more money than the independent" candidates, many of the latter are eliminated because they cannot match his spending. (v) What Nigerians call "results by declaration": An aspirant wins a nomination or election, but polling officials disregard the results and declare the loser the winner (Ibrahim, 2006b; 2007:5; Mamah, 2006).

In addition to the above, the financial supports from godfathers are not directly channeled to the PDP. They are directly given to 'potentially' winning candidates, with the hope of enjoying political patronage. This helps in furthering clientelistic alliances completely outside the party organization, but which are detrimental to the development of the party. These external alliances proved to be stronger than the party organisations. The exclusive control of PDP funding and campaign financing by godfathers

through clientelistic networks and political alliances was made ‘easier’ by the failure of the PDP to source a substantial part of their income from membership dues and other statutory fees from elected party members, such as legislators, Governors, Chairmen, Councillors and party members holding political appointments.

The Process of Consensus in party candidate selection in the PDP As indicated in the above discussion, given the enormous power of the godfathers, in some states, they appoint or at least claim to appoint all electoral candidates of the state and made them to win their elections. For instance, in the aftermath of the 2003 elections in Anambra state, Chief Chris Uba in an interview proudly stated that:

*I am the greatest godfather in Nigeria because this is the first time an individual single-handedly put in position every politician in the State.... It is not just the Governor [that I sponsored]; there are also three senators, 10 members of the House of Representatives and 30 members of the House of Assembly... I sponsored them...and this is the first time in the history of Anambra state that one single individual would be putting every public officer in the state in power (Interview, Sunday Champion, June 8, 2003).*

Similarly, at his 79th birthday celebration, Chief Lamidi Adedibu who is the godfather of Oyo politics (Kura and Marquette, 2007; Omobowale and Olutayo, 2007) arrogantly stated that: I am employing this occasion of my

79th birthday anniversary to announce on behalf of the Deputy Governor of Oyo state, Executive members of the PDP in Oyo state, wards, local and state executives, the two PDP senators in the Senate, 9 federal honorable members, 20 operating members of the Oyo state House of Assembly, 351 PDP councilors and 33 council Consensus' has become a household name in Nigerian political system since 1999. It is a political vocabulary introduced to convince someone sometime forcibly - to step aside in their political ambition for their opponents. In fact, most of the local and national primary elections organized by political parties were simply seen as window-dressing. This is perhaps why at most party primaries more problems were created than solved. Ironically, this is where godfathers play a significant role in making sure the candidates they are supporting win the party primaries. The consensus process is usually done in stages: the first stage is the lobby and pursuit of the opponent candidate (irrespective of his leadership credentials and popularity), who has no 'strong' godfather to support him, to step down in the contest for his opponent. If the candidate appears difficult to convince, the second stage is to promise him official position if election is won and all expenses already committed in the course of campaign and rallies, would be settled by the



godfathers. The third stage would be to contact his parent depending on the level of opposition under contention. The fourth stage is to contact the traditional ruler of his area to intervene to convince him to step down. The traditional ruler in the discharge of this duty would either be paid or do it as the father of the area, or even for both reasons. The fifth and final stage, if all previous stages appear unsuccessful would be to go for the primaries. The political maneuvers would start at the preparation of the primaries, especially in deciding or electing the delegates. The majority of the participants that made it into the party delegates list would be paid all their financial expenses, and a substantial amount would be given to each delegate to vote for a prepared and predetermined choice. (Fieldwork Notes, 2006).

### **3.3 Political Enlightenment**

Political enlightenment is a process by which knowledge or information on political issues is passed to members of the public through different medium. It is one of the major functions of political parties to educate the masses and their members on the policies and programmes and activities of the party in general ([www.ijhssnet.com](http://www.ijhssnet.com)). There are

different means by which political parties carry out these functions of enlightenment. These methods include party activities such as campaign, rallies, conventions, publications, political debate, bill boards etc.

Pdp since 1999 has performed this role of political enlightenment which helps them in mobilizing support of the masses. They do this through campaign of different forms and publications. Campaign is carried out in a number of ways to enlighten the members of the party and the entire public even to the grass root. This among others includes; music, party slogan, flags, symbol etc.

Music in election campaign in Nigeria: music performance are central to artistic expressions and experience in African tradition. Nketia (1974) defined music performance as an act of playing musical instrument, singing with the voice, dancing with the body or acting in a music drama. The location of their total theatre spectacle within the context of religion, social and political activities underline the indigenous perception of music. Okafor (2002) observes that we forsake the conscious constructive use and power

of music to our loss in interpreting this fully; it means the product of music in the electionary campaign must be able to function at the best and highest levels of the country's political development. One time foremost afro beat exponent, late fela anikulapo kuti, used his music to preach against political domination, oppression, economic hardship, unemployment and nepotism. It is the view that music plays a highly important function in creating awareness in a framework of mass mobilizing the populace towards election. If music is used as a cross fertilization of ideas through medium of television or radio, then the electioneering campaign will be made easy to reach the teeming population who are willing to hear what each political party need to deliver to the electorate. Only through music can political parties get their information to the grassroots. It is like advertisement which is used to reach out to the public. Emeka (1992) considers it as a useful tool in dissemination of information it is only through it that the electioneering campaign can reach the grass root.

In attempt to educate the people, music is used and equally used in controlling behavior, thought and character. It provides adjustment and redirection for political enlightenment. Sometimes, slogans in form of music are used in political rallies and campaign. During the pdp gubernatorial elections in oyo state, a team of singers campaigned for the pdp candidate Ladoja with the song written below:

*All-a egbe mi ewa sia pdp lonfe lele, ladoja eni olorun yon kose lekeji,  
Egbe olomburela egbe pdp, egbe onire tide kire wole wa,  
Solo- efibo gbe debe kowole, chorus- ladoja leni olorun yano,  
Solo-eni olorun yan lawanfe, chorus- ladoja leni olorun yan o,  
Solo- pdp, chorus- power to the people.*

Meaning; oh my comrades see the flag of pdp flying, ladoja is the person God has chosen to go for second term, it umbrella party, it peoples democratic party.a party with a good will, please use your vote and let him win.

One of the chieftains of pdp also sang during one of the campaign rally that it is a must for pdp to win in southwestern part of nigeria. See one of the song below;

*Lau erebe erebe lau,  
Lau erebe erebe lau  
Obasanjo onigba kadido  
Kamawoleo lau erebe erebe lau.*

Meaning ;lau erebe erebe lau, lau erebe erebe lau, obasanjo will not agree for election to be rigged lau erebe erebe lau.

Lau erebe is Yoruba folk tune. The song emphasizes that obasanjo will not agree for elections to be rigged. This is an irony considering the do or die election campaign slogan or chant that he choruses during the 2007 general elections.

Party slogans: this is another form of campaign used to enlighten the public. The slogan of the party sometimes bears the name of the party and educate the public on the whole ideas of the party.

The slogan for the people's democratic party according to article 3 of its constitution is; **"PDP- POWER TO THE PEOPLE"** demonstrated by a raised and clenched right fist. Aside enlightenment by campaign, another form or method of political enlightenment is; publications

Publication refers to written document or materials which serve as a means of enlightenment. The publications of the people's Democratic Party which enlightens the members and the public include; the constitution, the manifestos etc.

The pdp's constitution refers to a written document which states the establishment of the party, the name of the party, aim and objectives of the party, organs of the party, structures of the party, rules and regulations guiding the conduct and activities of the party.

The manifesto is a written public declaration of the intentions, motives and policy views of the party. Here its states the directive principles of the party, direction of policy and programmes they wish to implement if voted into power.

Some of the enlightenment procedures lack the ethics of political behavior. Some of these procedures such as the music engage in mind slinging and character assassination.

## **Chapter Four: The Role of The PDP in Governance**

In the literature of political science, governance has been regarded as a nebulous, ambiguous and vague. In this discourse, we have adopted Dozie's definition of the term. Governance according to Dozie (1999), relates to the totality of processes entailed in the exercise and management of the collective will of a people or group under a defined authority or constitution. Governance is not only concerned with political activities and institutions such as economy, family, and other human congregations. Thus, governance can be regarded as the provision of leadership throughout a given society for the actualization of common good.

Governance is synonymous with good government. For purpose of contemporary relevance governance needs to be qualified good (Hyden 1999). Good governance is measure in terms of certain attributes such as popular participation, transparency, accountability, effectiveness, equality, respect for the rule of law, political stability, peace and security of lives and properties, economic self-dependency, and social welfare system. Governance is also expected to provide the mechanisms, processes and institutions for citizens



and group to articulate their interests, exercise their rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences (Akande, 2004:11). Some of the major elements of good governance include the following:

***Participation:*** involvement of stakeholders in priority setting, policy-making and resource allocation as well as access to public goods and services.

***Equity and Fairness:*** application of rules in equitable manner to all irrespective of one's class or caste.

***Transparency:*** clarity of public decision and openness to scrutiny of citizens.

***Decency or Respect for the Rule of Law:*** enactment and administration of rules without compromising the people.

***Accountability:*** to hold rulers answerable for their action or inaction and depending on the answer to be subjected to potential sanction both positive and negative.

***Efficiency and Effectiveness:*** transacting public business in a manner that produces reasonable and sustainable development in the state. according to the PDP manifestos no 3.i-iv and number 4.i- iv states that:

At the root of Nigeria's political and social problems is poverty and low access to economic opportunities. The improvement in the well-being of Nigerians is the ultimate objective of the PDP's economic policy, and makes accessible to every Nigerian the basic needs of life. The focus would be to create a market-based economy driven by small and medium scale businesses and regulated by a reformed public sector.

At the very foundation of the above objective of the party is the pursuit of a strong, virile and diversified economy built to stem rural urban migration through investment in modern agricultural methods. PDP's economic policy is centred on people and seeks to realize the Millennium Development Goals while aiming to:

- i. Develop a middle class driven by small business owners, professional class with access to credit.
- ii. Create easy access to transferable property rights in urban and rural areas.
- iii. Protect the weak and poor through initiatives that is designed to integrate them in the economy.

iv. Improve investment in physical and social infrastructure.

The PDP aims, altogether, at establishing the leading economy in Africa and one of the 20 leading and largest economies in the World by 2020; an economy that experiences rapid and sustained growth of not less than 10% per annum.

#### 4. The Judiciary And The Administration Of Justice

The Party shall:

i. At all times uphold and defend the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;

ii. Uphold the principles of separation of powers as enshrined in the Constitution;

iii. Uphold the Independence of the Judiciary;

iv. Ensure the security of lives and property of all Nigerians. The question now is, how well has the PDP government performed the roles in providing democratic dividend to the people of Nigeria?

### **4.1 The Economic Role of the PDP**

According to article 7 section 1.c-I of the PDP constitution states that PDP will promote sustainable development through the provision of sound education, basic health care, food security, rapid industrial growth, adequate housing, full employment and the improvement of infrastructure and basic services.

When the PDP took over the reins of government in 1999 the Nigerian economy was in a comatose state. In response to the problem, the PDP government embarked on a myriad of programmes, policies and reforms of the public sectors. Financial and monetary institutions to enhance macro economic stability and the public financial management as well as resource mobilization. Some of these economic reforms include the promulgation of privatization and commercialization act, bank consolidation, budgetary control, eradication of poverty and pursuit of foreign direct investment. The backlash effects of most of these economic reforms have been high costs of living and unemployment due to mass rationalization of the workforce.

The implication of privatization and commercialization programme has mainly helped some powerful Nigerians to pocket our national inheritance like the Nigerian national petroleum corporation (NNPC)

Nigeria telecommunication limited (NITEL) and national electric power authority (NEPA) now power holding company of Nigeria. (PHCN). The privatization programme also resulted in the mass retrenchment of workers in the affected establishment.

The obasanjo administration launched its poverty alleviation programme which has a baptismal name of poverty eradication programme. In quest for more sustainable approach to poverty alleviation, United Nations development programme (UNDP) gave support to the government of federal republic of Nigeria to design the community action programme for poverty alleviation (APPA). The strategic document outlined objective strategies and areas of emphasis for government intervention and UN agencies support. The objective of APPA are to progressively reduce incidence of poverty in Nigeria by improving the living conditions of the poor, their sustainability, safety net and national status. It was also designed to enhance the productivity, control of resources and ensure full participation in development process. This has been articulated into a draft national policy on poverty alleviation.

The poverty alleviation programme has been fundamentally flawed. A chunk of financial resources committed to the implementation could not be accounted for (Osumah and Oyibo, 2006). According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) about 48.5% of Nigerians were living on less than one dollar per day in 1998 but by the year 2006, the figure has increased to 70%. Nigeria has become one of the 20 poorest nations in the world. The level of unemployment even among graduates of polytechnics and universities remain high.

Although the PDP government has made the Paris Club to write off Nigeria's debt after paying 12 billion of the 18 billion, the World Bank has classified Nigeria as heavily indebted country. There has been a sustainable increase in domestic debt (Fafowora 2003: 8). There has also been an unprecedented increase in the rate of inflation while there has been a steady decline in the gross domestic product (GDP). There have also been huge deficits in the annual budgets of the federal government. These deficits have averaged 20% of the budget, the exception being in 1999 when some efforts were made to reduce the deficits. In 2002, the deficit was nearly 50% with the budget of 70 billion naira being exceeded by nearly 500 billion naira

(fafowora 2003:( 8). There has been no serious effort on infrastructure development. The roads and rails are dilapidated and unmaintained. There has also been no noticeable improvement in the aviation sector, which had recorded a number of human carnage. The electricity and water supply are still chaotic. The low cost housing scheme has been quite elusive.

In the area of agriculture, the pdp government has also performed poorly. This indicated by the rising price in foodstuff. The pdp also intended to eradicate illiteracy in our society and promote learning and research; science and technology in pursuit of this objective the pdp government implemented the universal basic education and teachers education programmes.

The universal basic education (UBE) was launched on the 30<sup>th</sup> September 1999 by President Olusegun Obasanjo. This programme was established in order to create assess at equipping individuals with such knowledge, skills and attitude that will enable them:

I. live a meaningful and fulfilling lives.

ii. Contribute to the development of the society

iii. Derive maximum social, economic and cultural benefits from the society and

iv. To charge their civil obligations competently based on the fact that was a signatory to the 1990 jometiem declaration of education for all the year 2000. And also a member of the groups of E-9 nations committed to the eradication of illiteracy, evidence bound that the situation in Nigeria has not improved over the years. The pdp were inadequate and ineffective to achieve the intended objective, as preparation for the programme was shoddy. It was also the several industrial actions and the current strike of the academic staff union of universities (ASUU) over the pdp government breach of the 2001 agreement between ASUU and the federal government over the funding of the universities are indications of the level of commitment of this objective.

Similarly, the performance of the pdp government in the area of youth and women empowerment has been abysmally low. Here, it is needless to over emphasize the large under- representation of youth and women in the pdp government.



## **4.2 The PDP Government and Anti Corruption Policies**

The problem of corruption in Nigeria has become an endemic and successive Nigerian government have come realize the problem posed by corrupt practices to the nation economic and political development and have at different times devised various means to curb it menace. Democracy was restored in Nigeria in may 1999, with the election of the civilian government under the leadership of president Olusegun Obasanjo. One cardinal programme of the administration in the fight against corruption and waste in the public service. This, he has demonstrated by the establishment of major anti graft institutions; the independent corrupt practices (and other related offences) commission (ICPC).

The economic financial crimes commission was established in 2002 by an act of the national assembly as amended in 2004. This commission was formed by obasanjo administration to combat corruption in Nigeria. We are informed that the establishment of the commission was to curb the rampant corruption of the day by enforcing all the economic and financial crimes law.

The EFCC which is today the arrow head in the fight against corruption in Nigeria and money laundering and in answer to the financial action task force (FATF) concerns about Nigeria's anti money laundering and combating financial terrorism.

The commission is empowered to investigate present and prosecute offenders who engage in money laundering, embezzlement, bribery, looting and any form of corrupt practices, illegal oil bunkering, illegal mining, tax evasion foreign exchange malpractices including counterfeiting of currencies, theft of intellectual property and piracy etc. in addition to other laws relating to economic and financial crimes, include; the criminal and penal codes.

Investigations by EFCC has caused the removal from office and prosecutions of ministers, parliamentarians, chief executives of banks etc. the commission has successfully prosecuted and secured convictions against top government functionaries, including the former chief of law enforcement officer of the nation the inspector general of police (IGP).

Emeze (2006) has it that the EFCC has been corrupt in some of their discharge of duties. They pronounce unfair judgment to some innocent Nigerians as may be instructed by obasanjo. When in dispute with his state men and decide to use the EFCC to fight them. It is obvious that the commission will definitely do as their master has said by putting an innocent citizen behind bars, so as to serve as a deterrent.

The ICPC is a body independent of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. Was established by the corrupt practices and related offences act 2000 which was signed into law on June 13 2000 in response , it is believed to the international scorn often poured on Nigeria as a corrupt nation . the functions of the ICPC, carefully set out in the ICPC act, are all embracing. The commission is not only a specialized law enforcement agency but is also an institution set up to deal light corruption in all its ramifications. Section 6 of the act established the basis for a threefold mandate to investigate and prosecute reported cases of corruption; secondly, the system study and review mandate whereby the commission is empowered to examine the practices, system and procedure of public bodies, and where in the opinion of the commission such practices procedure and or

facilitates fraud or corruption and related offences and to enlist and foster public support in combating corruption.

The code of conduct bureau is a watch dog organization that monitors the activities of the public officers in order not to depart from the lay down rules set by the federal government. The bureau through its department of investigation and monitoring, receives complaint from members of the public, of breach of the code of conduct by public officers this ranges from indiscipline, abuse of office, lack of accountability, corruption and unethical conduct in government business among others.

According to section 12 of the fifth schedule of the 1999 constitution which lays down that public officer must disclose their assets any allegation that a public officer has committed a breach of or has will comply with the provision of this code shall be made to the code of conduct bureau.

Governance under the PDP has witness the establishment of several anti crime and corruption commission such as the code of conduct bureau, the independent corrupt practices and other related crimes commission (ICPC) and the economic financial crimes commission (EFCC).

Although these commissions have served as instruments of restraint on the corrupt tendencies and practices of the public office holders, their impact is still less than expected at their often public and vocal launch. Corruption still undermines economic policies and the efficient functioning of the state institutions. In fact, there is the perception that the anti crimes and corruption laws are not evenly applied to all Nigerians. There has been the colony of the untouchables never subjected to scrutiny. Moreover, the anti graft crusade has been suborned as instrument for witch hunt, blackmail, intimidation and political vendetta.

#### **4.3 National Security and Protection of Lives and Properties**

The constitutional provision of the pdp to pursue the objective of national integration and foster peaceful and harmonious relationship among the religious and cultural groups in the country is entrenched in article 7.ciii-vi of the pdp constitution. This objective to the people of Nigeria is far from being realized since the inauguration of the nascent democracy in 1999, the nation path has been dogged by heightened levels of ethno- religious conflicts, communal clashes, age long boundary disputes and domestic

violence and explosions. There was the gravitation of the age long disputes especially the ife modakeke in osun state, tiv junkun in plateau state, and the youth militancy in the Niger delta region.

Many towns cities in the country have witnessed ethno religious clashes and violence with huge carnage. Relihion has become a weapon for ulterior motivated equalization or dissembling schemes employing the grandiose term of propagation for religious cleansing that more often than not end in avoidable, nauseating and barbaric acts or carnage (momodu 2001:12). The ethno religious conflagration in plateau state in 2004 led to the imposition of emergency rule in the state.

The legitimacy and credibility, which heralded the inauguration of the democratic governance has been declining in rapidity. The citizenry have retreating into ethnic shelters due to the increasing irrelevance of the state in meeting their needs. The pdp government disappointment performance in the area of security a as indicated by the heightened level of insecurity of property and killings of many high profile personalities such as the former attorney general of the federation and minister of justice, chief Bola Ige,

former ANPP chieftain, chief Harry Marshall, chief Funso Williams a pdp gubernatorial aspirant in Lagos state among others resulted to loss of hope in the ability of the nation's security agencies to maintain and protect lives and property. Although, the pdp government made efforts to strengthen the police in terms of manpower and operational facilities, social crimes have been widespread. Armed robbers lay siege everywhere. The citizens and residents of both high and low profile in the country have virtually been left at the mercy of brutal armed robbers. The loss of sense of security has been ascribed to the proliferation and illegal possessions of arms among street urchins and miscreants used during the general elections held under the pdp converted most of the arms for robbery, act of terrorism and other criminalities. The state of insecurity prompted many citizens to resort to ethnic militias and vigilante groups for security and protection of life and property (Obia 2006:b9).

#### **4.4 Fundamental Human Rights**

Although there has been significant difference between the human rights situation

since inauguration of the PDP government in May 1999 than it was under the immediate years of military rule, the government has perpetrated several cases of violation of human rights of many Nigerians. Extra-judicial killings by the police and military personnel have been rife. The Apo killings of 2005 in Abuja, the Okigwe killings in Anambra state, the police brutality against anti-fuel price hike protesters and state violence and bombardment of communities in the Niger Delta region, Zarki Biam in Benue State, Odi in Bayelsa state are classic cases of human rights violation under the PDP government.

#### **4.5 Constitutionality of Government**

Under the PDP there has been low adherence to the constitution and due process of governance. The PDP federal government in many instances took certain decisions and actions, which utterly and brazenly violates the constitutional rights of the states and legislative power. The PDP government has been characterized by personalized rule and executive dominance. The legislature charged with oversight administrative functions has been recklessly marginalized, compromised and undermined in making major decisions. There are many major decisions that were taken unilaterally



by the executive before consulting the National Assembly. For instance, the PDP government embarked on several extra budgetary spending without the consent or approval of the National Assembly. The PDP Federal government withheld Lagos state local government council funds over its creation of more local councils until the intervention of the Supreme Court. Also, the same illegality was committed in Plateau state when the federal government was losing the battle against Governor Joshua Dariye, and in Ekiti state after the National Assembly failed to form quorum to deliberate on extending the tenure of Major General Tunji Olurin at the expiration of the first six months emergency rule as the sole administrator.

There were sporadic impeachment threats and processes against the president for constitutional breaches, personalization of government, unconventional approach and reactions to issues. In the first term of the PDP government, the House of Representatives compiled about 15 constitutional Breaches to underscore the motion for the impeachment of the president on August 18, 2002. It took the intervention of Shehu Shagari to persuade the legislators to drop the impeachment bid against the PDP presidency, which had then reached a delicate stage. Also, in 2000, the National Assembly

passed a vote of no confidence against the PDP Presidency, which it shelved only to respect Bill Clinton who was on a visit to Nigeria. In November 2005 the House of Representatives served impeachment notice on the president (Lasisi 2007: 11). The PDP presidency sought to influence the National Assembly to take decisions that were not necessarily in the national interest through the offer or promise of financial inducement, lobbying, resort to plebiscitary appeals of creating parliamentary irresponsibility or rascality in the minds of the public by the president, and sometimes intimidations (Umar 2002: 1&4; Lohor 2002: 1; Okocha 2002: 8).

The state governments in the face of most of these constitutional violations have been pliant (Vanguard 14/9/07: 36). Apart from the Lagos State

Governor Bola Tinubu and his counterpart in Abia State, Chief Orji Kalu other governors that served with Obasanjo had accepted his Babuism (kabiyaism) {kingship or domineering posture}.

## **Chapter Five: summary of findings, Conclusion and Recommendation**

### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

This work represents an attempt to evaluate the roles of political parties in democratic governance of Nigeria with main emphasis on the People's Democratic party from 1999-2007.

Based on the foregoing assessment on the role of PDP in democratic governance. It has been clearly established that the PDP between 1999 and 2007 against all hopes and expectations performed dismally low in promoting democratic governance. Several factors can be ascribed to the poor performance of the PDP in government. First is the issue of internal democracy. The issue of internal democracy has become a major challenge since the country returned to democratic rule in 1999. Its absence was identified as one of the major banes of democratic deepening by the Justice Uwais Electoral Reforms Committee. Virtually all significant parties in Nigeria today failed to conduct meaningful primaries. Consensus has become the means through which internal party democracy is trounced. Where the powerful leaders of a party do not agree on a candidate, multiple

primaries are conducted by various factions of a party. In many instances, the resultant disagreement ends up in the court for adjudication. The highest point of legal disputes over such imposition of candidates was the case of Rotimi Amaechi vs the PDP. Amaechi, who won the 2007 primaries, was not allowed to stand as a candidate of the pdp in April 14, 2007 gubernatorial election in river state. Although, Amaechi name was presented to the independent electoral commission (INEC) as the PDP candidate, his name was latter substituted with that of Celestine Omehia because his candidacy was said to have been undermined by allegations made by the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) against him. Celestine Omehia contested and won the election as PDP gubernatorial candidate. However, in a twist of irony in that case, the Supreme Court voided the election of Celestine Omehia and declared Rotimi Amaechi as the elected governor of rivers state.

Another factor is the problem of Godfatherism. Godfathers are political financiers who raise money fund to sponsor candidates (political godsons) for the state executive and legislative elective positions based on agreement and perceived loyalty. In return, the godson promises loyalty,

enormous powers, influence in the running of the state, contracts, money, allocation of resources, amenities, employment, appointments etc in favour of the godfathers. The practice of Godfatherism smacks of political criminality and subverts the values of democracy and good governance (Obia 2004: C6). It also results in the enthronement and retention of criminals, mid-night rascals and mediocre in governance. It also encourages the political office holders (godsons) to be little concerned with of the values of good governance such as transparency and accountability. Thus, it encourages brazen rascality and irresponsibility on the part of political office holders to mobilize and use the resources of the state to serve the interest of select few in the society. A case in point is the case of governor Ngige of Anambra state (godson) and Chris Uba (godfather). Also is the case of chief tony Anine (godfather) and James Ibori (godson).

Another factor that contributed to the poor performance of the PDP in governance is widespread corruption. In spite of the declaration of Obasanjo to have zero tolerance for corruption and the subsequent enactment of anti-corruption agencies, corruption during his administration has been pervasive. Many of the elected officials have been accused of various

dimensions of corruption ranging from embezzlement to misappropriation of public funds without caring for rules of accountability and transparency. The anti-corruption agencies themselves have been suborned as instruments of fighting perceived political enemies while loyalists were sacred cows that must not be touched.

Lack of party discipline is also a contributory factor to the failure of the PDP in governance. Lack of discipline in the PDP manifests in official wrangling, accusation and counter accusations, washing of dirty linen in the press, litigation, decamping, carpet crossing, and use of arm tactics. A team of undisciplined personnel cannot promote stability and good governance.

Another explanation for the failure of the PDP in governance is executive lawlessness. The chief executives at the various levels of government were infused with the governing and supreme power of the party. Thus, increased their tendency for the abuse of office.

## **5.2. Conclusion**

This paper in the context of the contention of the group theory that the set goals and objectives of organizational constitute the basis for passing

judgment on the standard performance examined in the ruling PDP and governance in Nigeria since 1999. It established that the PDP has demonstrated incompetence in nurturing the values of democracy and governance. The PDP impairs the fundamental elements of democracy and good governance through its inability to promote equality, popular participation in recruitment of party aspirant, accountability, transparency, and respect rule of law. Although the programmes and goals of the PDP are quite laudable, the party has not been able to systematically pursue and realize them. The PDP has been relentlessly bogged down by internal wrangling, squabbles, mutual distrust, open antagonism, vindictive war, washing of dirty linen in the public, and intolerance for opposition parties with little or no energy, time and resources left to pursue its programmes and objectives. Thus, there has been the disconnection between its policies and politics. Rather than pursue common interest, the party was beholden to the interest of select few. This style of politics and governance has led to mounting mass disillusionment and discontentment with the government. In fact more than ever the people were increasingly alienated from the Nigerian state due to its rapid decline in capacity, legitimacy and relevance in

promoting genuine development and sense of security among the teeming populace.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Arising from the above one might pose the question, what then is to be done for democracy and good governance to thrive under PDP especially as it is remaining in power in the next four years having secured controversial mandate in the just concluded 2007 general elections. First, the party must develop a mass based, oriented and directed approach. Politics is the struggle for power and power in democracy and as proclaimed in the slogan of the PDP belongs to the people. It is not enough therefore to say power belongs to the people when in reality power belongs to only a pocket of individuals.

Secondly, there has to be unity of command in the party leadership. Disciplinary actions must be taking against individuals or groups for actions contrary to the party ideology.



Thirdly, the leadership of the party must be involved in policy articulation and policymaking and implementation in order to keep its government at various levels to the objectives of the party.

Fourthly, we suggest the adoption of a two party system in the country to ensure effective and vibrant opposition to the PDP in subsequent general elections. The multi-party system as we are currently operating cannot guarantee the kind of effective and vibrant opposition required to put the PDP on its toes. The opposition parties should be strong enough to mobilize the electorates to defend their votes and prevent massive rigging.

Finally, the members of the PDP must learn to develop the spirit of sportsmanship in politics. Life is a game of give and take. The game of politics should not be regarded as do or die battle. As the saying goes he who fights and run away lives to fight another day. But if one fights and destroys others their ghost would forever haunt him. Thus, the spirit of sportsmanship is a major way to curb indiscipline and enhance elements of democracy and good governance.

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