

Internal Party Democracy and Governorship Performance in Lagos State, Nigeria (2003–2018)

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Abstract

The need to examine the problem of governorship performance that has become a recurring feature in all states in Nigeria necessitates this study. To know the implications of internal party democracy on governorship performance in Nigeria, this study examines internal party democracy and governorship performance in Lagos between 2003 and 2018. The objectives of the study are to i) examine the relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos states; ii) examine the impact of party ideology on governorship performance in Lagos States from 2003-2018; The study employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, while data were gathered from primary and secondary sources. Interviews were conducted with state and ward chairman, ward secretary, stakeholders and civil servant from Lagos states APC and PDP. Secondary data was generated from textbooks, journal, internet materials etc. Descriptive statistics and correlational analysis were used to analysed data and test the null hypotheses at 0.05 levels of significance. The findings revealed that there were significant relationship in party candidate selection and party ideology in Lagos State. This means that there is a strong connection or association between how political parties choose their candidates and the ideological principles or beliefs of the parties in Lagos State. Based on the findings it was recommended among others that Party members must be allowed to freely elect those who will carry their party's flag during the general election. Political parties must evolve political ideologies and their activities must be guided by the ideologies they so represent.

Keywords – *Internal party Democracy, Governorship Performance, Party Primaries, Party Ideologies.*

INTRODUCTION

The continued existence of a democratic system in contemporary society rests partially on the ability of political parties to recruit people into the party and elective offices. Internal party democracy is the process of consolidating wider democratic principles and the method of instituting party politics and discipline in political parties. It is an avenue where political parties foster the transparent means of party nomination or primaries, ideological underpinnings of members, and maintenance of discipline and order. Internal democracy expresses the basic principles of democracy within political parties (Jude & Ika, 2013). Internal democracy is the assumption that transparency, accountability, and fair play in terms

of equal opportunity should be available and accessible to all party members as observed by (Okhaide, 2012, Ojukwu & Olaifa 2011, Liebowitz & Ibrahim 2013 and Hallberg 2008).

The functioning of every political party in a democratic system depends to a large extent on nature, character, composition, organization, ideals, and institutionalization of the party, system structure, and party politics (Ogundiya, 2011). Where democracy survives for a long period of time, it is because political parties, among other essential institutions, are well conventional, and have played the role expected of them. The ability of political parties to accomplish this achievement is the function of how effectively and excellently they are financed, organized, structured, and run on the basis of openness and internal party democracy (Omilusi & Ajibola, 2016).

Political parties in Africa often failed to imbibe the principles of internal party democracy which need to be promoted for good governance. Many political parties in Africa are not internally democratic because of their failure to adhere to the tenets of internal democracy by their own internal regulations, and national constitutions (Debrah, 2014). Political parties in Africa are occasionally led by people who do not believe in democracy; and their conduct is sometimes dictated and hijacked by party financiers. Subsequently, decision making among many political parties in Africa are centralized and hijacked by few godfathers and party financiers in a manner that betrays the principles of internal party democracy (Seeberg et. al., 2017).

In Nigeria, candidate selection, party ideology, and party coalitions as an aspect of internal party democracy have become turbulent and problematic. Though the Nigerian constitution (1999) and the electoral Act (2006, & 2010), and the various constitutions of these political parties stipulate democratic mechanisms of elections for choosing party leaders and candidates for elective offices, these statutory provisions have become mere legal frameworks respected more in their breach than actualization.

Many of these political parties especially the dominant ones have jettisoned the written democratic procedures for candidate and leadership selection in preference for the imposition and manipulated primaries that unleash a plethora of problems ranging from intraparty politics, factionalization, defections, legal tussles, violent and bad governance performance that bully democratic stability and consolidation in Nigeria.

The major issues that necessitated this paper is basically the problem associated with non-performance of governors in Nigeria, and the question is that, is it the nature of party primaries conducted or selection process is faulty or lack of ideology for good governance that has contributed to the nature of performance? This societal problem is, therefore, crucial for adequate interrogation.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Inter and Intra party battles have been key shapers of the presidential and national assembly, and this has continued to play a prominent role during gubernatorial polls. The argument which fuelled national intra-party conflict such as presidential power rotation between the North and the South are less relevant to gubernatorial contest, but state level disputes over the zoning of candidate and fraction caused by the imposition of aspirant often by outgoing governor and godfatherism is significant, but could this have been the rational for nature of governor's performance while in office?

State politics is highly dominated by the nature of candidate selection which requires carefully consideration on several combinations such as ethnicity, religion and senatorial districts zone. Fraction party primaries leading to intra-party disputes has fuel stronger inter-party competitions, split within parties linked to contentious primaries have seen unsuccessful candidates seek a new political party while failed primary candidate backed political opponent. Is it the nature of party primaries or lack of ideology for good governance that has contributed to the nature of performance? It is assert that Nigeria political parties do not have distinct ideologies which affected gubernatorial performance. “Governor Character and intentions are the most important factors in determine a state governors performance” (Premium Times, 2023).

RESEARCH QUESTION

- i. What is the relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos State 2003-2018
- ii. Does party ideology affect governorship performance in Lagos State 2003-2018

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this study is to investigate internal party democracy and performance of governors in Nigeria: Lagos State has case study.

- i. examine the relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos State 2003-2018
- ii. examine the impact of party ideology on governorship performance in Lagos States from 2003-2018.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

H₀₁: There is no significant relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos states from 2003-2018

H₀₂: There is no significant relationship between party ideology and governorship performance in Lagos states from 2003-2018.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The scholars have unanimously agreed that promoting internal party democracy constitutes a fundamental function; some writers believe that these classical scholars expounded the theoretical as well as the practical basis upon which the majority of subsequent writings on the subject matter depend. According to Scarrow (2005), sees internal party democracy is a broad range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberation and decision-making. Internal party democracy articulates the essential tenets of democracy within political parties and therefore the extent to which political parties subscribes to the essential democratic values within their internal structures, in terms of selection of candidates for elective positions, the discipline of erring members, conduct of party congresses as well as the general conduct of all the party members.

Bille (2001) studied candidate selection at the national level in a comparative context using party rules and regulations, and he found that over time, candidate selection has become more de-centralized and party members have increased influence. Lundell (2004) used a statistical model to analyze candidate selection and found that in Scandinavia,

candidate selection is more decentralized than in Southern Europe. It appears that the selection of candidates for local elections has been somewhat ignored.

Scarrow (2005) opines that within the most inclusive parties, all party members, party supporters, are given the chance to decide on important issues, like the choice of the party leader or the selection of party candidates. It is a fact that inclusiveness may be a matter of process and formal rule; more inclusive parties will offer more opportunities for open deliberation before the choice stage.

Omotola, (2009) asserted that the connection is complex. Because the political parties form the government which is an institution of the state, they are interdependent. The study also emphasized the need for party ideology in a well-defined relationship; hence this absence poses a threat to political liberalization, democratization, and democratic consolidation. The conclusion was that Nigerian political parties lack party ideology and there is a need for sound intra-conflict management as a functional tool of ideology. This could be achieved through the help of both the elites and civil society in reforming the party and the members to achieve a good democratic process.

Ranney (1981) sees candidate selection as an incorporated process by which a political party decides which of the persons is legally eligible to hold an elective office and which are to be designated on the ballot paper. Kura (2014) posited that Candidate selection represents one among the foremost important functions of political parties, and intrinsically, the methods, techniques, and style of candidate selection which have lasting implications not only on the party but also on those selected and their actions within the political office.

Hazan and Rahat (2006) noted that: regardless of the electoral formula utilized in elections, candidate selection is one of the primary things that political parties must do before they acquire political position (p.109). Recruiting and selecting candidates is a crucial task for parties, because parties' profiles during elections, and while in office, are largely determined by which candidates are chosen and where their loyalties lie.

Katz (2001, p.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 in the office is reproduced. As such, it raises central questions about the ideological and sociological identities of the party as a whole". The method(s) which a party(ies) employs in candidate selections and nominations has incontrovertible implications on those selected or elected and indeed how they behave in either party or public office (Gallagher & Marsh, 1988; Mainwaring & Shugart, 1997). Importantly, Katz and Mair (1995) argue that the technique of a party's candidate selection explains and provides adequate information on (i) how the party functions internally and (ii) the location of political power in a particular country.

Nnoli (2003) also concludes that ideology is a very crucial aspect of politics, not only by serving as a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and providing a prescriptive formula, that is, a guide to individual action and judgment but also as a powerful instrument of legitimization. It may, therefore, be correct to assert that the first and most important vehicle of a political party, under an ideal situation, should be its ideological stance. Perhaps, due to the shallowness of democratic roots especially in Nigeria and the developing countries as a whole, other force of identity particularly ethnicity and religion would appear to have taken the place of ideology. The rising influence of money politics represents another crucial limiting dimension (see, Nugent, 1999; and; Omotola, 2004).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research employed both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. The combination of the two methods of inquiry enhances reliable data (Moten, 2009). The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the Internal Party Democracy on Governorship Performance in Lagos State from 2003-2018. The study used mixed methods in the process comprising quantitative and qualitative techniques. The Quantitative was employed to cover aspects of the relationship between candidate selections, party ideology. On the other hand, the qualitative aspect of the study deals with the interview involving experts on governorship performance and challenges that are facing political parties in the area of Internal Party Democracy and governorship performance. The qualitative aspect was employed to supplement the findings obtained from quantitative methods about the internal party democracy and governorship performance in Lagos State.

THE POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The population of the study falls into these categories: the registered party members, the State Chairman and State Secretary of APC and PDP, Ward Chairman and Ward Secretary of APC and PDP, Party Stakeholders, Civil Servant, and University Lecturer.

The study focused on registered party members due to the nature of the study. The level of involvement of the party members in attending party meetings, political participation, and political discussion on daily basis, this category of the study population comprises 808.

Similarly, the State Chairman and State secretary, ward chairman, and ward secretary including party stakeholders are considered due to their transitional and gladiator level of political participation. These categories of personnel play significant roles in internal party democracy.

Besides that, Civil servants in level 12 upward are considered as part of the study population due to their relationship with different administration both in Lagos State from 2003-2018.

The four categories are experts that include University lecturer, especially from Political Science from the higher institution both in Lagos State that has adequate knowledge regarding internal party democracy and governorship performance, using their level of research objectivity knowledge.

Table 1: Distribution of Senatorial Districts and Local Government Population in Lagos State

Senatorial Districts	Local Government	Populations
Lagos Central	Apapa	307,100
	Lagos Island	292,900
	Surulere	692,500
	Lagos Mainland	449,900
	Eti-Osa	390,800
Total		2,133,200
Lagos East	Ikorodu	727,000
	Epe	250,00
	Kosofe	940,300
	Somolu	555,800

	Ibeju Lekki	162,200
Total		2,635,300
Lagos West	Alimosho	1,817,200
	Agege	635,900
	Ifako-Ijaiye	589,000
	Mushin	870,100
	Badagry	327,400
	Ikeja	437,400
	Ojo	838,900
	Amuwo-Odofin	453,300
	Oshodi-Isolo	866,300
	Ajeromi-Ifelodun	946,500
Total		7,781,700

Source: Population (National Bureau of Statics 2006: National Population Commission of Nigeria 2006).

Table 1: as shown above indicate that Lagos Central consists of five (5) Local Governments which are: Apapa with the population of 307,100, Lagos Island 292,900, Surulere 692,500, Lagos Mainland 449,900 and Eti-Osa 390,800. Lagos East consists of five (5) Local Governments which are: Ikorodu 727,000, Epe 250,000, Kosofe 940,300, Somolu 555,800, and Ibeju Lekki 162,200 while in Lagos West, there are ten (10) Local Governments which are: Alimosho 1,817,200, Agege 635,900, Ifako-Ijaiye 589,00, Mushin 870,100, Ikeja 437,400, Badagry 327,400, Ojo 838,900, Amuwo-Odofin 453,00, Oshodi –Isolo 866,300 and Ajeromi-Ifelodun 946,500 (National Bureau of Statics 2006: National Population Commission of Nigeria 2006).

Table 2: Distribution of Wards in the largest Local Government at Surulere with the numbers of registered political party memberships in APC and PDP in Lagos State

12 Wards in the largest Local Government selected in Surulere	Total Registered APC members in the Wards	Total Registered PDP members in the Wards
Adeniran/Ogunsanya	2310	981
Igbaja Stadium	1540	845
Itire	1022	694
Ijeshatedo	1410	742
Iponri	1680	986
Yaba/Ojuelegbe	2056	1580
Orile	2498	1230
Ikte	1012	910
Shitta /Ogunlana Drive	1082	583
Coker	1370	605
Aguda	2068	891
Akinhanmi/Cole	1910	680
Total	19,958	10,727

Table 2: as shown above indicate that Surulere consists of twelve (12) wards which are: Adeniran/Ogunsanya where the APC and PDP had 2310 and 981 registered numbers of membership, in Igbaja Stadium, APC and PDP had 1540 and 845; Itire, APC and PDP had 1022 and 694; Ijeshatedo, APC and PDP had 1410 and 742; Iponri, 1680 and 986; Yaba/Ojuelegba 2056 and 1580; Orile, 2498 and 1230; Ikate, 1012 and 910; Shita/Ogunlana

Drive, 1081 and 583; Coker, 1370 and 605; Aguda, 2068 and 891; and Akinhanmi, 1910 and 680.

Table 3: Distribution of Wards in the largest Local Government at Kosofe with the numbers of registered political party memberships in APC and PDP in Lagos State

10 Wards in the largest Local Government selected Kosofe	Total Registered APC members in the Wards	Total Registered PDP members in the Wards
Ketu/Alapere	2580	958
Ajegunle	1180	710
Ifako	1580	812
Ketu/Ikosi	1192	696
Owonrosoki	2694	1014
Anthony/Mende	1234	994
Ojota/Ogudu	1892	837
Isheri/Olowoira	1605	946
Agboyi I	1022	562
Agboyi II	985	453
Total	15,964	7,982

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 3: as shown above indicate that Kosofe consists of ten (10) wards which are: Ketu/Alaper where the APC and PDP had 2580 and 958 registered numbers of membership, in Ajegunle, APC and PDP had 1180 and 710; Ifako APC and PDP had 1580 and 812; Ketu/Ikosi, APC and PDP had 1192 and 696; Owonronsoki, 2694 and 1014; Anthony/Mende, 1234 and 994; Ojota/Ogudu, 1892 and 837; Isheri/Olowoira, 1605 and 946; Agboyi I, 1022 and 562; and Agboyi II, 985 and 453.

Table 4: Distribution of Wards in the largest Local Government at Alimosho with the numbers of registered political party memberships in APC and PDP in Lagos State

11 Wards in the largest Local Government selected Alimosho	Total Registered APC members in the Wards	Total Registered PDP members in the Wards
Shasha/Akowonjo	1584	928
Egbede/Alimosho	2982	1012
Ipaja North	1413	780
Ipaja South	1745	1071
Ayobo/Ijon	2042	690
Oke Odo/Pleasure	1908	821
Abule Egba/Alagbado	2698	1510
Idimu/Isheri	2948	1038
Ikotun/Ijegun	2849	1029
Egbe/Agodo	1320	985
Igando/Egan	1912	881
Total	23,401	10,745

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 4: as shown above indicate that Alimosho consists of eleven (11) wards which are: Shasha/Akowonjo where the APC and PDP had 1584 and 928 registered numbers of

membership, in Egbeda/Alimosho, APC and PDP had 2982 and 1012; Ipaja North, APC and PDP had 1413 and 780; Ipaja South, APC and PDP had 1745 and 1071; Ayobo/Ijan, 2042 and 690; Oke Odo/Pleasure, 1908 and 821; Abule Egba/Alagbado, 2698 and 1510; Idimu/Isheri, 2948 and 1038; Ikotun/Ijegun, 2849 and 1029; Egbe/Agodo, 1320 and 985; and Igando/Egan, 1912 and 881.

Table 5: Distribution of Five (5) Selected Wards which have the highest population of registered membership in the Local Government at Surulere for APC and PDP in Lagos State

5 Wards selected in Surulere	Wards with Highest Population of Memberships of APC	Wards with Highest Population of Memberships of PDP
Adeniran/Ogunsanya	2310	981
Iponri		986
Yaba/Ojuelegbe	2056	1580
Orile	2498	1230
Aguda	2068	891
Akinhanmi/Cole	1910	
Total	10842	5668

Source: Field Survey, 2019

In Table 5: the researcher purposively chooses five (5) wards with high population of registered membership in the two parties in order to subject it to sample size. In Surulere, the wards are Adeniran/Ogunsanya, APC and PDP had 2310 and 981, while in Iponri, PDP had 986; Yaba/Ojuelegba, APC and PDP had 2056 and 1580; Orile, APC and PDP had 2498 and 1230; Aguda, 2068 and 891; while in Akinhanmi APC had 1910

Table 6: Distribution of Five (5) Selected Wards which have the highest population of registered membership in the Local Government at Kosofe for APC and PDP in Lagos State

5 Wards selected in Kosofe	Wards with Highest Population of Memberships of APC	Wards with Highest Population of Memberships of PDP
Ketu/Alapere	2580	958
Ifako	1580	812
Oworonsoki	2694	1014
Anthony/Mende		994
Ojota/Ogudu	1892	
Isheri/Olowoira	1605	946
Total	10351	4724

Source: Field Survey, 2019

In Table 6: in Kosofe, the wards are Ketu/Alaper, Ifako, and Oworonsoki, APC and PDP had 2580 and 958, 1580 and 812, and 2694 and 1014 respectively. In Anthony/Mende PDP had 994; Ojota/Ogudu APC had 1892; while in Isheri/Olowoira APC and PDP had 1605 and 948

Table 7: Distribution of Five (5) Selected Wards which have the highest population of registered membership in the Local Government at Alimosho for APC and PDP in Lagos State

5 Wards selected in Alimosho	Wards with Highest Population of Memberships of APC	Wards with Highest Population of Memberships of PDP
Egbede/Alimosho	2982	1012
Ipaja South		1071
Ayobo/Ijon	2042	
Abule Egba/Alagbado	2698	1510
Idimu/Isheri	2948	1038
Ikotun/Ijegun	2849	1029
Total	13519	5660
Grand Totals	34,712	16052

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 7: as shown above indicate that in Alimosho, the wards are Egbede/Alimosho, APC and PDP had 2982 and 1012; Ipaja South, PDP had 1071; Ayobo/Ijon, APC had 2042; in Abule Egba/Alagbado, Idimu/Isheri and Ikotun/Ijegun, APC and PDP had 2698 and 1510, 2948 and 1038 and 2849 and 1029 respectively.

SAMPLE SIZE

The study used a 5 percent margin error, as put forward by Cochran (1977) who maintains that determining sample size is to specify a margin of error for the items that are regarded as more vital to the survey. Therefore, 808 samples were drawn, been increased to 900 to obtain a better outcome. Korzillius (2010) asserts that the greater the sample size the more accurate the estimates from the population expected.

Sometimes it's appropriate to select a sample based on knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study. The population sizes of the administration questionnaire of the registered members of the political parties are subjected to sample size using the Taro Yamane method for sample size determination. Yamane (1967) provides a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. The sample size was calculated using the Taro Yamane Scientific formula which is given as:

$$n = N / (1 + N(e)^2)$$

Or

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n= signifies the sample size

N= signifies the population under study

e= signifies the margin error (it could be 0.10, 0.05 or 0.01)

Lagos State Population size and Sample Size Determinant

APC- 34712

PDP- 16052

50764

$$n = N / (1 + N(e)^2)$$

$$n = 50764 / (1 + 50764(0.05)^2)$$

$$n = 50764 / (1 + 50764(0.0025))$$

$$n = 50764 / (1 + 127)$$

$$n = 50764 / 128$$

$$n = 396.5 \text{ or } 397$$

The sample size of this study was (Lagos 397) for the questionnaire which is considered to be representative enough to the total population of the three local government areas

3.9.1 INTERVIEW

Here, the researcher makes use of an oral interview. Interviews conducted within the five (5) wards in one (1) Local Government each within the (3) Senatorial districts that made up of the state (Lagos) Nigeria. The study interview the State Chairman of the party, State Secretary, Local Government Chairman, Wards Chairman, and Wards Secretary in the five wards selected area, and inclusive are stakeholders within the party to compliment the interview.

The selection of this category of people was based on their level of political participation and more so, because, they are all registered party members and they are the political actors in the political party system and considering the nature of the title of the thesis. Moreover, the Civil Servants were purposively selected from Level 12 to 16. The rationale for selecting the civil servant at this level was because of their political exposure to the administrations and more so; they are relevant to the political terrain between the periods of the study.

3.9.2 QUESTIONNAIRE

Apart from the personal interview method, the study also administers structured questionnaires. The questionnaires were closed-ended, administered within the five (5) Wards in One (1) Local Government each within the (3) Senatorial districts that made up of the state of study. The researcher considered the three local government area with the largest population base on the report from the National Bureau of Statistics 2016, which are Lagos Central (Surulere, 692,000), Lagos East (Kosofe, 940,000) and Lagos West (Alimosho, 1,817,200) (National Bureau of Statics, 2006: National Population Commission of Nigeria, 2006).

Furthermore, respondents from the three (3) wards within the local government with regards to the questionnaire were mainly APC and PDP registered members. Most of these questionnaires were distributed at the ward meeting using a simple random sampling method.

3.9.3 SECONDARY SOURCES:

The Secondary data for this study were sourced from the existing literature documented in academic books, journals of social sciences, published articles, magazines, newspapers, government publications, and internet materials. These materials were accessed and collected from the Library, Documentary sources from the APC and PDP Secretariat, Lagos State, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and other sources available and accessible by the researcher.

DATA ANALYSIS

The research questions attract relevant statistical analysis and SPSS version 20.0 was used in the analysis of the quantitative of the questionnaire data obtained from the respondents. Descriptive statistics involving frequency, percentage, Mean and Standard Deviation, as well as Pearson Product Moment Correlation and Multi Regression Analysis were used to determining the relationship between candidate selection, party ideology, and party coalition on governorship performance.

While on the other hand, the input from the expert interview was recorded, transcribed, interpreted, and then analyzed to evaluate the challenges facing political parties in its efforts of enhancing internal party democracy and ensure good governorship performance.

The Ethical consideration of the participant was sought for. The researcher seeks the full consent of the participant before the study. The research participant was assured that they will not be subjected to harm in any ways whatsoever and respect for the dignity of the research participant is been prioritised

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Analyses of Demographic Data

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Party Membership by Gender in Lagos State.

Gender	Lagos Frequency	Lagos Percentage (%)
Male	301	75.8
Female	96	24.2
Total	397	100.0

Source Field survey, 2019

The table above reveal the frequency and percentage of Male and Female respondents used for the study. Out of 397 respondents in Lagos state, the Male and Female 301 and 96 (75.8% and 24.2%). The implication, therefore, is that male respondents are more than the female respondents probably because there is more male party membership than females in politics in the states.

Table 9: Distribution of Respondents by Age in Lagos State

Age	Lagos Frequency	Lagos Percentage (%)
18- 28	114	28.7
28- 38	105	26.4
38- 48	102	25.7
48- Above	76	19.1
Total	397	100

Source Field survey, 2019

Table 9: reveals the frequency and percentage of the age of respondents used for the study. Out 397 respondent from Lagos state, 114 (28.7%) were in the range of 18-28; 105 (26.4%) were in the range of 28-38; 102 (25.7%) were in the range of 38-48; while 76 (19.1%) were in the range of 48 years and above. The implication, therefore, is that there are more adults in Lagos where youth from age 18-38 are more than the adult respondents probably because there are more youths in politics likewise as party membership than adults in Lagos state politics.

Table 10: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status in Lagos State

Marital Status	Lagos Frequency	Lagos Percentage (%)
Single	158	39.8
Married	239	60.2
Total	397	100.0

Source Field survey, 2019

Table 10: reveal the frequency and percentage of single and married respondents for the study. Out of 397 respondent, 158 (39.8%) were single; while 239 (60.2%) were married.

Objective 1: Examine the relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos State 2003-2018

Question 1: What is the relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos and State 2003-2018?

Table 11: Frequency, Percentage, Mean and Standard Deviation of Responses on Party Candidate Selection and Governorship performance in Lagos State's election from 2003-2018

SA: (Strongly Agree) A: (Agree) U: (Undecided) SD: (Strongly Disagree) D: (Disagree)

S/ N	Items	SA F (%)	A F (%)	U F (%)	D F (%)	SD F (%)	Total	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	From 2003 to 2018 vote-buying and vote-selling was key to the selection of governorship candidates in Lagos State.	114 (28.7)	97 (24.4)	11 (2.8)	68 (17.1)	107 (27.0)	397	3.11	1.624

2	Loyalty to the influential party faithful/godfathers won governorship ticket in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018	144 (36.3)	154 (38.8)	27 (6.8)	25 (6.3)	47 (11.8)	397	3.81	1.311
3	From 2003 to 2018 religious sentiment determined the eventual outcome of governorship primary elections in Lagos State.	64 (16.1)	80 (20.2)	40 (10.1)	106 (26.7)	107 (27.0)	397	2.72	1.455
4	Personality and qualifications of governorship aspirant were central to the success of winning the primary election in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018	89 (22.4)	134 (33.8)	25 (6.3)	72 (18.1)	77 (19.4)	397	3.22	1.466
5	Ethnic background determined the eventual outcome of primary elections for governorship candidates in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018.	42 (10.6)	91 (22.9)	60 (15.1)	120 (30.2)	84 (21.2)	397	2.72	1.313
6	The geo-political zone was central to the success of winning governorship primary elections in Lagos State between 2003 and 2018.	71 (17.9)	143 (36.0)	51 (12.8)	82 (20.7)	50 (12.6)	397	3.26	1.313
7	Governorship candidates in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018 emerge through party primary election.	139 (35.0)	139 (35.0)	56 (14.1)	44 (11.1)	19 (4.8)	397	3.84	1.153

Source: Field Survey, 2019

NOTE: SA+A=Agreed; D+SD= Disagreed

The analysis in Table 11 reveals the response of samples on Determinant of Candidate Selection in Lagos State. This shows that majority 211 (53.1%) of the respondents indicate that vote-buying and vote-selling is a key to the selection of governorship candidates. However; 268 (75.1%) of the respondents believe that loyalty to influential party faithful/godfathers won governorship ticket.

Furthermore, 213 (53.7%) of the respondent disagree that religious sentiment determined the eventual outcome of governorship primary elections in Lagos state. Also, 56.2% (223) of the respondent indicates that Personality and qualifications of governorship aspirant were central to the success of winning the primary election, while 51.4% (204)

believes that Ethnic background does not determine the eventual outcome of primary elections for governorship candidates in Lagos State,

However, 53.9% which translates to 214 of the respondents agreed that Geo-political zone was central to the success of winning governorship primary elections in Lagos State and 70% depicting (278) agreed that Governorship candidates in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018 emerge through party primary election.

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS ONE

H₀₁: There is no significant relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos state from 2003-2018

Table 12: Pearson Correlation of Party Candidate Selection and Governorship Performance in Lagos State 2003-2018

Variables	Mean	SD	N	Df	R-cal	P-value	Remark
Candidate Selection	22.68	5.41	397	395	-.242	.000	Significant
Governorship Performance	39.82	7.59	397				

P<0.05

Table 12 showed that there was a significant relationship between party candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos state from 2003 to 2018 ($r = .242$; $P < 0.05$). Therefore hypothesis one on Lagos is rejected. This means that the null hypothesis is therefore rejected because the party candidate selection influences significantly the level of governorship performance in Lagos State.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Interviews from the experts have been used to supplement the findings from the quantitative data obtained from the relationship between candidate selection and governorship performance in Lagos State 2003-2018.

Katz (2001, p.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 in the office is reproduced. As such, it raises central questions about the ideological and sociological identities of the party as a whole". The method(s) which a party(ies) employs in candidate selections and nominations has incontrovertible implications on those selected or elected and indeed how they behave in either party or public office (Gallagher & Marsh, 1988; Mainwaring & Shugart, 1997)

Importantly, Katz and Mair (1995) also argue that the technique of a party's candidate selection explains and provides adequate information on (i) how the party functions internally and (ii) the situation of political power during a particular country. Similarly, the above statement has also buttressed the argument of Kura, (2014) opined that Candidate selection represents one among the foremost important functions of political parties, and intrinsically, the methods, techniques, and designs of candidate selection have lasting

implications not only on the party but also on those selected and their actions within the political office.

In an interview with APC Ward Chairman in Lagos state argued that:

APC does not impose candidates on the electorates but rather use principles and other constitutional provisions in dealing with internal democratic procedures of the party, for instances, regarding the emergence of candidates for party primaries, we normally apply one of the first two factors (i.e Domination, compromise or integration) of Mary Parker Pollet's theory of conflict resolution to reconcile the emergence of competent candidates for good election that was why we try as much as we can to fix candidate that can truly represent the interest of the party at the state level (Interview Anonymous, 2019)

The justification and evidence for the result of the hypothesis one on Lagos candidate selection, to buttress this analysis in 1999 a rigorous primary exercise was conducted under the platform of AD between Bola Tinubu, Funsho William and Wahab Dosunmu but his performance won him a consensus candidate in 2003 (cited in Ayoade and Akinsanya, 2013).

Similarly, in 2007 Babatunde Fashola contested the gubernatorial election with Senator Afikuyomi, Jimi Agbaje, and Remi Adiukwu Bakare (cited in Ayoade and Akinsanya, 2013). Wole Soyinka said: Fashola had performed above average across many sectors, including security, environmental sanitation, education, health, and the judiciary (Guardian, 2018)

More so, in 2015 Ambode did not get the party ticket on platter gold. The exercise was largely contentious, Akinwunmi Ambode polled 3,735 votes to emerge the party flag bearer, while Obafemi Hamzat polled 1,201 votes, Ganiyu Solomon 272, Adeyemi Ikuforiji 182, Leke Pitan 112, Supo Shashore 121, Tola Kasali 68, Adekunle Disu 9, Wahab Tokunbo 9, Abayomi Sutton 0, Tokunbo Agbesanwo 0, and Tayo Ayinde 0 (Premium Times, 2014). This had a positive impact on Ambode governorship performance in Lagos state.

Objective 2: Examine the impact of party ideology on governorship performance in Lagos State from 2003-2018.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: Does party ideology affect the governorship performance in Lagos State from 2003-2018?

Table 13: Frequency, Percentage, Mean and Standard Deviation of Responses on Party Ideology on Governorship Performance in Lagos State's from 2003-2018

S/ N	Items	SA F (%)	A F (%)	U F (%)	D F (%)	SD F (%)	Total	Mean	Std. Dev.
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1	Political parties in Lagos State were drawn by a specific party ideological system between 2003 and 2018	129 (32.5)	162 (40.8)	42 (10.6)	41 (10.3)	23 (5.8)	397	3.84	1.159
2	Membership of political parties in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018 premised on the ideology propagated by party leaders.	109 (27.9)	183 (46.1)	31 (7.8)	62 (15.6)	12 (3.0)	397	3.79	1.100
3	Governorship performance in Lagos State was based on self-ideology, not party ideology from 2003 to 2018	47 (11.8)	98 (24.7)	37 (9.3)	150 (37.8)	65 (16.4)	397	2.78	1.307
4	The existence of party ideology has a great influence on the performance of governorship candidates in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018	139 (35.0)	181 (45.6)	37 (9.3)	26 (6.5)	14 (3.5)	397	4.02	1.012
5	Governorship candidate/aspirant did consider party ideology before joining a political party in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018.	118 (29.7)	160 (40.3)	52 (13.1)	40 (10.1)	27 (6.8)	397	3.76	1.179
6	The imposition of party ideology was common on governorship administration in Lagos State from 2003 to 2018.	112 (28.8)	166 (41.8)	46 (11.6)	57 (14.4)	16 (4.0)	397	3.76	1.131

Source: Field Survey, 2019

The analysis in Table 13 reveals the response of samples on party ideology effect on governorship performance in Lagos state. This shows that majority 291 (73.3%) of the respondents agree that political parties were drawn by specific party ideological system, however; 292 (74%) of the respondents believe and agree that Membership of political parties premised on the ideology propagated by party leaders,

The analysis in Table 13 reveals the response of samples on party ideology effect on governorship performance in Lagos state. This shows that majority 291 (73.3%) of the respondents agree that political parties were drawn by specific party ideological system, however; 292 (74%) of the respondents believe and agree that Membership of political parties premised on the ideology propagated by party leaders,

Furthermore, 215 (54.2%) of the respondent in Lagos state disagree that governorship performance was based on party ideology, not self-ideology, Besides, 80.6% (320) of the respondent indicates and agree that The existence of party ideology has a great influence on the performance of governorship candidates, while 70% (278) believes and agree that governorship candidate/aspirant did consider party ideology before joining a political party and 70.6% which translates to (278) of the respondents agreed that Imposition of party ideology was common on governorship administration in both state.

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS TWO

H0₃: There is no significant relationship between party ideology and governorship performance in Lagos state from 2003-2018.

Table 14: Pearson Correlation of Party Ideology and Governorship Performance in Lagos State 2003-2018

Variables	Mean	SD	N	Df	R-cal	P-value	Remark
Party Ideology	21.95	3.97	397	395	.248	.000	Significant
Governorship	39.82	7.59	397				
Performance							

P<0.05

Table 14 showed that there was a significant relationship between party ideology and governorship performance in Lagos state from 2003 to 2018 ($r = .248$; $P < 0.05$). This means that the null hypothesis is therefore rejected because the party ideology influences significantly the level of governorship performance.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Interviews from the experts have been used to supplement the findings from the quantitative data obtained from the relationship between party ideology and governorship performance in Lagos State 2003-2018.

Mendilow (2003) indicate that party ideology often affects the performance of party representative while in office. This also corroborates the finding of Brewer (2008) who asserts that political party ideology is a true reflection of its candidate performance in any political position occupied by the party. Similarly, Ogunleye (2014) also submitted that political party performance in the office can be evaluated better base on its ideological position, and it is able to defend various positions base on its ideology. Abati (2018) asserts that Nigeria politics does not base on ideology, the group of the same bird of fellows comes together to want to take power to share a formula that automatically affects their performance.

In an interview with an APC stakeholder in Lagos State, the respondent argued that:

our ideology is progressive, and we believed that we need to care for the welfare of our people, and that is why we set a template that reflects our ideology to every governor's and all political office holders in the state, and they must inculcate/ imbibe the culture of performance. There is constantly checkmating so that they would not deviate from the standard-setting for them. (Interview Anonymous, 2019).

The statement above also corroborates an interview granted to Tinubu who said that Lagos state is a progressive state (Tinubu, 2019).

The finding (a) is in line with the finding of Iredia (2013) who argued that for party supremacy to thrive nobody should be bigger than the party, during a situation whereby party caucus and secretive bodies are prevalent over elected public officer this automatically made the Governors redundant and a subjective of bourgeoisies.

In line with the findings (b) Kedzia (2011) who argued that one among the key criteria for the standing of the party ideology, if not the essential one, remains the party's political effectiveness, borne out not only bye-election result, but also by the party's ability to influence decision taken by its representative within the parliament, and in governance.

The above argument was also corroborated by Weissenback, (2010) who stated that party officeholder who possesses or abide by the party ideology is probably going to perform efficiently and effectively in good governance. Similarly, Kędzia and Hauser (2011) posit that party ideology makes these organizations more predictable and, in a way, accountable. If the party is playing the role of a broker in political life, its members should be able to perform the social function in governance. More so, Tonnie, (2013) believed that a method of upholding party ideology and party supremacy is to make sure that members elected into positions like governors are subordinated to the party. From the interview below, it is discovered that party ideology is intertwined with party supremacy in Lagos State.

In an interview with APC stakeholder in Lagos State, respondent observed that:

Performance of governorship in Lagos State is a subject of party ideology and party supremacy which comprises the Governorship Advisory Council (GAC), party leaders and some party members were the engine room of influencing governor's decisions. The governors were subjected to scrutiny and checkmating, aside from that, some templates were used to measure the level of performance. The governor that failed to yield to party ideology and party supremacy would be disciplined by the party (Interview Anonymous, 2019).

Evidence of party ideology supremacy which had a significant relationship in Lagos was shown to the sitting governor Akinwumi Ambode. Tinubu (2018) assert that:

Party supremacy is the submission to the wishes and yearning of the party structure. "Ambode is doing well but not only the glamour, not only about brake and mortal but a talent is also determined by character, for you to become an influential you have to respond to the yearning of the party".

Similarly to this view Ambode (2018) posit that party ideology is supreme over individual interest because it has the common goods for all of us and party should remain supreme. It can be deduced from this statement that party ideology and party supremacy is about the interest of party members not the interest of an individual. In an Interview with Oba Abedina Durosinmi (The Oso of the Irene Kingdom in Ojo Local Government) stated that: when leaders of the party and other well-meaning Lagosian were against Governor Akinwunmi Ambode second term bid, Tinubu consulted extensively with traditional rulers and we said we did not want Ambode to have a second term because he destabilized the Lagos state master plan and also deviate from party ideology (Vanguard 2019).

RECOMMENDATION

- Political elites of whatever should be ready and willing to be governed by the provisions of their party's constitution and the Electoral Act. The party elites should believe that only urgent restoration of participatory democracy, social justice, and good governance by a government formed by a strong responsive political party led by patriotic men and women of the highest integrity and outstanding ability and knowledge can save democracy and party politics from the disaster into which it had been plunged.
- Party leaders must evolve political ideologies and their activities must be guided by the ideologies they so represent. Party ideology should be established and be a guiding rule of conduct for all party members across the states in Nigeria. Party manifesto should be strictly adhered to actively respond to the yearnings and aspirations of the electorate. Additionally, the leadership of the political parties should ensure that there is internal party discipline that will curb the excesses of party members that sponsor hate campaigns.

CONCLUSION

In any democratic government or political party, the conduct of credible elections requires the existence of an independent electoral body, an honest, competent, and non-partisan administration to manage, a general acceptance of certain rules of the game throughout the political community, and a developed system of political parties, well organized to put their programmes and candidates before the electors as alternatives within which to choose. These requirements are useful in anticipating the outcome of elections and in determining the health of the electoral system. Free and fair primary elections constitute the bedrock of a democratic political party. The challenge of conducting free and fair elections is largely hinged upon the composition and conduct of the body for managing elections, and for creating a level playing ground for the major actors and contestants. It also requires a strong culture of opposition politics and a strong civil society that can play the role of a Watchdog, including the capacity to undertake civic education and monitor all the important stages of elections.

Political parties play significant roles in all political systems; they are however more important in plural democracies, whose health often depends on the success of parties in linking the people to the political process. The nature and functions of parties vary with the nature of governance and the characters of the people, both of which it links. Parties take different forms under different regimes. While their functions and degree of importance varies from nation to nation, party to party, and from time to time. Political Parties can be of any size and any ideological persuasion. Parties may appeal to the narrowest segment of the electorates or assume the form of catch-all parties that appeals to all and sundry.

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