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Intra Party Politics and Grassroots Governance in Ogun State, Nigeria

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Abstract:

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended mandated that political parties remained the only vehicle for sponsoring candidates and as such independent candidates cannot contest elections. This has affected the nature of party politics, and elections has been highly contentious since the return of democracy in 1999. The grassroots which ought to be the bedrock of democracy lack credible candidates and platform to promote good governance. Documentary data were retrieved from relevant books, journal articles, newspaper publications and internet sources. Findings revealed that majority of the political parties in Ogun State lack internal democracy and the interplay at this level were transferred to local government and general elections. Elections were hardly conducted every three years in all the 20 local governments in Ogun State and many states across the federation. Governors appoint their cronies as caretaker and transition committees. Political elites, especially, the state governors operate the local governments as extension of state government. The party at the state level often record a landslide victory in the local government elections. The paper concluded that intra party politics has not translated to grassroot democracy, good governance, therefore, local government has become a shadow of itself. The paper recommended that there should be a constitutional review to accommodate the specific number of years election should hold at the grassroots level. Political parties should adhere to their guidelines strictly and maintain internal democracy. SIECs should be scrapped and INEC mandated to monitor the activities of these parties.

Keywords: Politics, intra party, democracy, grassroots, good governance

1. Introduction

The Nigerian state at different era was dominated by military interregnum and their methods of governance was dictatorial and unitary in nature. This affected the perception and the way governmental activities was organised which did not give room for democracy and its tenets at all levels of government, therefore did not recognize or respect the people's right to have a say in their government. However, the return to democratic rule in 1999 gave new hope because expectation was high not just on adoption of democratic principles but that it will necessitate relative development especially at the grassroots level. On this note, the nature of democratic practice in this context was anchored on representative and participatory democracy which political parties remain the vehicle for ascertaining aggregate interest through electoral process that is free, fair, credible and conclusive.

The political parties on the other hand whose role as a vehicle for ascertaining and representing the interest of their members are also subject to the norms of democracy in the discharge of their responsibilities. Paradoxically, this seems to be one of the biggest challenges in Nigeria's party politics. To this extent, the activities of the political elites has not been helpful as they often hijack party machinery to favour group interest (elites) or for personal aggrandisement. Most occasion's internal democracy that give every party member the right to choose or be chosen as candidates of the party for a local, state, or even federal elections becomes a mirage. The emergence of candidates of the party for elective positions in the general elections that ought to be nominated or elected directly or by party delegates who are either elected via an electoral college system or by virtue of position they held in the party executive at various strata are sidelined, therefore, internal democracy becomes a mere tag that only existed in the imagination of the elites. Olaniyan (2009: 51) observed that, "party politics has adorned the toga of notoriety in Nigeria to the extent that its defining characteristics have been intrigues, bickering, backbiting, schisms and violence". This in most cases breed rancour, bitterness, acrimony and crisis in the political party, because the will of the majority did not prevail in the election of party candidates. The intrigues that manifested because of the party politics and lack of internal democracy and inability to inculcate party ideology necessitates decamping and exodus movement of some party members to opposition parties, all to register their annoyance and lack of satisfaction with the way affairs of the party was carried out. Their aim in this regard is to form alliance with the opposition and work against their former party in the general election.

Regrettably, some of this internal rancour and crisis that manifested in different political parties are transferred to body politics. Elections becomes a "do or die affair" and in the process, property worth millions of naira are destroyed, and many people killed. Money bags (elites) through their agents (political thugs) engages into vote buying among other anti-

democratic tenets in the quest to win elections. This has adverse effect on the political system because unpopular candidates win election. This individual does not have the competence, capability and capacity to initiate policy or programmes that can facilitate developmental projects and services that can add value to the lives of the masses. To this end, the paper examined the nature of intra party interplay and grassroots democracy in Ogun State, Nigeria.

2. Methodology

Survey research method was adopted in this paper. All the registered political parties in Nigeria (but limited to 20 Local Governments in Ogun State) constituted the study population. Purposive sampling was used to select four political parties that had governed the state since 1999 to 2018. The parties include Alliance for Democracy (AD) 1999 to 2003, People's Democratic Party (PDP) 2003 to 2011, Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) 2011 to 2014. Though ACN along with CPC, ANPP and faction of APGA merged to form All Progressive Congress (APC) and has been in Government from 2014 to 2019 (though has just won election for another four years in Ogun State). Data were collected through Questionnaire administered to 1,800 members of the four political parties and public servants in the local government councils. The response rate was 92 percent. 63 Unstructured interviews were conducted with politicians. Secondary data were collected from relevant literature such as books, journals, 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, 2010 Electoral Act in Nigeria as amended, articles, Newspaper Publications and Internet sources. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics and qualitative data were content analysed.

2.1. Conceptual Clarifications

2.1.1. Intra-Party Politics

Intra Party Politics is also known as Internal democracy in political parties which refers to the level and methods party members are accommodated and involved in the decision-making process and deliberation within the party structure. The idea behind Intra-party democracy is to encourage vibrant political participation among the 'card caring' members of a political party and train them to become capable representatives and through their competences ensures that the party produces more viable and people-oriented policies and political programmes. According to Norris (2004), one of the key issues in intra-party democracy is parties' nomination processes, that is, who decides and how which citizens are entitled to run for parliament as a candidate of that specific party. The idea is that the more people gets involved, the more internal democracy is established.

On this note, internal democracy transcends the internal activities of a political party. This is the reason the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended recognised and advocated for its compliance. For instance, Section 228(a) noted that: "...guidelines and rules to ensure internal democracy, within political parties, including making laws for the conduct of party primaries, party congresses and party convention..." In pursuant to this, the National Assembly enacted Section 87 of the 2010 Electoral Act as amended that clearly set out rules, guidelines and steps on the conduct of primary election (direct or indirect) which must be applicable to all political parties in the nomination of candidates for elective positions. The primary objective of the provisions was to institutionalize intra party democracy in a more transparent manner with equal opportunity to party members.

Nwaodike (2013) summarises the concept as the level of democratic principles practised or allowed to take place within a political party, especially, in terms of choosing party representatives (party candidates), adoption of party rules and guidelines (party constitution) and the level of adherence to these rules. To this extent, party supremacy must prevail and much bigger than any political elite or individual member.

2.1.2. Grassroots Governance

This is an act of designing political processes that shifts much of the decision-making authority from the federal or state governments to the Local Government. In this context, the political processes are driven by ordinary citizens rather than the political elites who has a vested interest especially in the appointment of political offices, formulation of governmental policies and general administration of programmes. The idea is to promote visible grassroots programmes that will add value to the life of the masses. The elected political functionaries are not only representatives of the people but must also be accountable to them.

2.2. Theoretical Framework: Democratic-Participatory Theory

The theory facilitates local government to function to bring about democracy and to afford opportunities for political participation to the citizens as well as to educate and socialize man politically (Ezeani, 2004). Sharpe (1970), a staunch supporter of the theory argued that one of the related aspects of democratic values of local government is the idea that the councils serves as political education, and as a means of civilizing man through the medium of self-government. Other proponents that supported this notion include Dahl and Mill. For instance, Dahl quoted in Sharpe (1970) argued that it is at least a great indispensable and comprehensible attribute. It entails democratic virtues of local government, especially, its role as an agent for political education and enlightenment.

Again, the theory maintained that through democracy, the best brains are groomed to advance good governance. In this regard presenting unqualified personalities to manage the affairs of grassroots government will be a disservice to the people because they will make little or no meaningful impact in governance. More importantly, the process of recruitment is very important so that quality personalities are not discouraged from emerging into political office.

The theory also maintained that local government serves as a training ground for democracy to strive. That is, local government provides a nursery for the supreme legislature. The grassroots government are good recruiting platforms for upper levels of government, thus, a source for greater participation (Ezeani, 2004).

The theory further observed that local government is an essential element for establishing a stable and harmonious national state, the breeder of better societies. In this context, Sharpe (1970) argued that it is only by participating in and learning the arts of self-government at the local government level that the individual had a stake in and came to appreciate the virtues of free government at the national level.

Despite the laudable thesis presented by this theory, it must be noted that it has some notable shortcomings. Critical to this was observed by Nwaodike (2016), that local community interests do not necessarily coincide with personal interest, neither with the national interest. In other words, self-government may or may not nurture civil virtue, but if it does, there is no guarantee that this will always enhance the citizen's perception of the national interest and it is likely to enhance local loyalties.

In a nutshell, the argument put forward by the proponents is that local government is a handmaiden of democracy, therefore, creates opportunity for political education, training and by acting as an essential element for establishing a stable and harmonious national state. In this regard, it is expected that future political leaders get groomed or tutored at the councils, especially, on the act of legislating, accountability and other democratic virtues. This also implies that the best hands within the councils are discovered and given the responsibility to manage the affairs of the councils and in the process play a significant role especially, in training and encouraging other people in the community. Recruitment process to political leadership must be transparent, free, fair and credible.

- The Tenure of Office of Political Functionaries and Trends of Local Government Electoral Outcome in Selected States in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Section 7(i) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, guaranteed the system of local government by democratically elected local government councils. Thus, the state governments are vested with the power to legislate to ensure the existence of a democratically elected local government. The provision restricts the state government's power over local councils by providing how this power can be exercised. Paradoxically, local government since inception has suffered from the continued whittling down of their powers which made the state governments to continue to encroach upon the power of these councils. Consequently, there has been a divorce between the people and government at the grassroots level.

In this regard, the tenure of office of political functionaries and election into local government are major problems confronting Local Government in Nigeria. Based on the Basic Constitutional Provisions Decree No. 36 of 1998, a three-year tenure for the democratically elected council officials: chairmen, their deputies and councillors were set (Nwaodike, 2013). In spite of the arrangement in place, the local governments are still political tools in the state governors' hands. Aina (2006) posits that at the inception of Nigeria's last attempt at civil rule, most of the local councils had elected men and women sworn into office. Also, the Local Government election held in December 1998, still under a military dispensation had nine political parties that contested.

Again, from June 1st, 2002 when the elected functionaries completed their tenure and left office in Ogun State, no election took place until March 27, 2004, making it two years when elected functionaries completed their tenure at the grassroots. Within the two years, state governors and their political parties made use of their selected cronies to control the affairs of the local government councils. It was a situation in which voters list was to be compiled by the federal government appointed Independent National Electoral Commission which was not in place. Ironically, the same voters list that supposedly not in place was used to conduct elections at the state and federal levels in April/May 2003 to re-elect many state governors and the president of the country. Similarly, the episode repeated itself in 2007. This took place after the general elections at state and federal levels in April, there were no elections into the local governments from March 3, 2007 after the functionaries had left the office (Aluko 2007).

This ugly situation as observed in Ogun State also occurred in Yobe State. For instance, in 2008, former Governor Mamman Ali said that local government election could not be conducted in the state because of pending legal issues raised by opposition political parties. They challenged the Yobe State Independent Electoral Commission (YOSIEC) on the time frame of notice given to the parties to participate in the polls. The former governor as a result of this, sworn in caretaker committee chairmen of 17 councils (Nwaodike, 2013). Perhaps the worst case is that of Anambra State, where local government elections was not conducted for 12 years (Nwaodike, 2013). Election was conducted in 1998 by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), under the Abdulsalami Abubakar military regime that midwived democracy in 1999. The council executives elected then served out their tenures in 2002, during the Chinwoke Mbadinuju led administration. From 2002 to 2014, the 21 council areas in the state were administered by one caretaker committee or the other till 2014. However, there was a local government election in Anambra State on January 11, 2014, since the expiration of the tenure of political functionaries in 2017, election at the grassroots level have not been held in state. From the observation, it seems that the power to carry out election into the local government councils by a state may after all be political forces beyond the state itself.

For example, section 7(4) of the same 1999 Constitution states that;

The Government of a state shall ensure that every person who is entitled to vote or be voted for at an election to a house of Assembly shall have the right to vote or be voted for at an election to a local government council.

Unfortunately, the same powers were made concurrent by paragraphs 11 and 12 of the concurrent legislative lists. The two paragraphs are as follows;

- The National Assembly may make laws for the federation with respect to the registration of voters and the procedure regulating election to a local government council.
- Nothing in paragraph 11 here of the concurrent list shall preclude a house of assembly from making laws with respect to election to a local government council in addition to but not inconsistent with any law made by the National Assembly.

There are two critical issues in Section 7(4) together with paragraphs 11 and 12 of the concurrent legislative lists. First, the legislative powers explicitly given to the states in section 7(4) were reduced in paragraphs 11 and 12 as cited above. Secondly, the power explicitly stated in the main body of the constitution were reduced in the same paragraph 11 and 12.

Besides the constitutional loophole, a careful look at the results of most local government elections conducted in Nigeria shows a set pattern of victory for the ruling parties. The pattern had been for the ruling parties in most states to win over 95% of the total number of council seats available. For instance, in December 15, 2007 local government elections in some selected states indicate the following results: In Oyo state, People's Democratic Party (PDP) won all the 33 chairmanship seats and 360 of the 361 councillorship seats, leaving one councillorship seat to the Action Congress (AC). In 2018, All Progressive Congress (APC) won all the chairmanship seats in the 33 local government councils and 35 local Council Development Areas. The party also won the councillorship seats in the 610 wards.

Whereas, in Saturday October 22, 2011 local government election in Lagos State, Action Congress of Nigeria won all the chairmanship seats in 20 local government areas and 37 Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs), 355 councillorship seats in the 376 wards, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) won 16 councillorship seats, Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) won 2 seats (Nwaodike, 2013). Local Government election held on July 22, 2017 in Lagos State shows that All Progressive Congress (APC) which happened to be the ruling party at the state level won all the chairmanship seats in the 20 Local Government Areas and 37 Local Council Development Areas. The party also won 369 Councillorship seats while PDP won only 4 seats, Accord Party (AP) won 3 seats.

The trend also repeated itself in other geo-political zones. For instance, in Enugu State, People's Democratic Party won 16 out of the 17 chairmanship seats in the 2007 local government election, while All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) got one seat. PDP won 245 of the 254 councillorship seats, leaving ANPP with nine seats. In Anambra State, the results as declared by Anambra State Independent Electoral Commission (ANSIEC) in the local government election held on January 11, 2014, indicated that All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) won all the 21 local council chairmanship seats. The party also won 304 out of 327 electoral wards. People's Democratic Party (PDP) won 12 councillorship seats, Progressive People's Alliance (PPA) and United Progressive Party (UPP) won one seat respectively. APC did not participate in the election because of lack of confidence in the voters register. However, since the expiration of the elected political functionaries in 2017, the caretaker committee has been in office. In the November 17, 2007 local government election in Kano State, ANPP got all the chairmanship seats (Oyebode, 2008).

A similar occurrence was recorded in Ogun State local government elections. Taking a cursory look at these elections, especially, the March 27, 2004; December 15, 2007, June 21, 2012 and October 8, 2016 elections respectively. The results indicated that in 2004 local government elections, People's Democratic Party won the chairmanship election 100 per cent with nine of them returned unopposed. Meanwhile, out of the 236 wards where elections were held for the councillorship position, PDP won 232, ANPP won four council seats. The four wards won by ANPP were one seat in Yewa North, one in Ikenne and two in Ipokia local governments (Nwaodike, 2013). On the other hand, in 2007 local government elections, the People's Democratic Party won all the 20 chairmanship seats, including all the 236 council seats, whereas in 2012, Action Congress of Nigeria won all the 20 chairmanship seats and 227 councillorship seats, while People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Peoples Party of Nigeria (PPN) won eight and one councillorship seats respectively (Nwokolo, 2012; Nwaodike, 2013). The 2016 election was not different from the previous ones as observed above as the ruling All Progressives Congress in Ogun State won all the 57 chairmanship seats in the local government and local council development areas (LCDAs) election held on Saturday, October 8, 2016 in the state. APC won 346 out of the 349 councillorship seats while the Unity Party of Nigeria won two councillorship seats in Oke Odan ward in the Ifesowapo LCDA and Omu ward in the Leguru LCDA. The People's Democratic Party won one councillorship seat in Ona Otun-Igbogila ward in the Yewa South Local Government (Awoyinfa, 2016).

Generally, the trend in these elections is that some of the major opposition political parties in the state boycotted the elections claiming a level playing ground was not provided by the state government. The state government is often accused of using the security agencies to threaten the opposition, while in other instances, State Independent Electoral Commission are allegedly used to rig the elections. Therefore, incumbency factor becomes a winning tool for the state chief executives. In addition, the use of cronies who are appointed by the governor manages the affairs of the local government for one year or more as caretaker/transition committee before 'real' elections are conducted at the grassroots.

3. Analysis of the Quantitative and Qualitative Data Collected

3.1. Question 1: The Level of Inter and Intra Party Democracy Among The Political Parties In Ogun State Is High

Analysis of question 1 shows that 97 or 5.8 percent of the respondents agreed that the level of inter and intra party democracy among the political parties in Ogun State is high; 109 or 6.7 per cent of the respondents were undecided, while 1451 or 87.5 per cent of the respondents disagreed that level of inter and intra party democracy among the political parties in Ogun State is high.

The above data shows that inter and intra party democracy among the political parties in Ogun State is low despite the appearances of what seems like party competition. Thus, as a result of this, democracy is far from becoming a reality in Ogun state local government administration. In a follow up unstructured interview with an Action Congress of Nigeria chieftain who craves for anonymity on the question, are there any inter and intra party democracy among the political parties in Ogun State, he stated that on the surface, one may think that there is an element of democratic tenet, but practically, some of the elections were not worth calling an ideal election but selection. He went further to argue that: Like the chairman in Sagamu Local Government, if you ask her same question, she will tell you she was nominated from the ward to the party level in the local government, and people came out in mass and voted for her. But in reality, it is the state governor that nominated her and she eventually emerged as the chairman. So, to be realistic, credible election is far from the reality in the local governments.

However, intra party crisis in the People's Democratic Party on the other hand affected not only the performance of the party in 2011 general election, the party that controlled the entire 20 seats at the State House of Assembly, only managed to retain six after the elections. The unending crisis continued to linger even to the local government election. Major issue prior to the local government elections in the party in 2012 was between the existing two factions between Irete-Oliyide led group which is the caretaker committee set up by the Transition and Reconciliation Congress Committee (TRCC) put in place by the National Working Committee (NWC) of the party and the Bayo Dayo led group, which was produced by the state congress conducted in March 2012 by the Dayo Soremi led exco. The bone of contention was on whose right to nominate and present candidates for the July 21, 2012 elections (Olukoya, 2012).

In the build up to the local government election, the two factions almost clashed when the state electoral body held a stakeholders meeting in Abeokuta, as to which faction would collect the election guidelines and other materials. The action further heightened the disunity among the members of the political party. This intra party rancour also surfaced during the presentation of candidates for the election to the Ogun State Independent Electoral Commission (OGSIEC) and subsequent court cases that followed. Thus, the Chairman, screening committee of OGSIEC, Mutiu Agboke in his reaction confirmed the acceptance and recognition of the Oniyide led group recommended to it by the National Working Committee (NWC) of the party (Olukoya, 2012).

On the other hand, the Action Congress of Nigeria equally witnessed intra party challenges especially on the issue of nomination of candidates for the local government elections. In 2012 for instance, the Ibikunle Amosun led faction and the Olusegun Osoba led group were accusing each other, especially on imposition of candidates for the election which was characterised by series of protest across the local governments. The situation worsened when OGSIEC finally released the list of names forwarded by Governor Amosun as against the interest of clear majority in the party. The candidates whose names were cleared by the OGSIEC were those who defected with Amosun from the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) to the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), ruling party in the state.

However, the local government elections held on 21st of July 2012 and October 8, 2016 were marred by voter apathy and inaccuracy in the voter register used for the polls. For instance, the name of former president Olusegun Obasanjo among others was conspicuously missing in 2012, while the low turnout was because of lack of intra party democracy among the political parties and candidates were handpicked by power that be in such parties (Nwaodike, 2013). Other noticeable observations in the election which was not different from the experience in the previous local government elections in the state was that the party in government had a landslide victory. This situation did not go well with the opposition who alleged massive rigging in the elections. However, this agreed with the view of Salako, the former Ikenne local government chairman in a television Programme titled the "New Dawn" on November 27, 2012, who had once observed that there is no democracy in the local government and what is visible is civil rule. That is, dominance of interest, without a given ideology.

3.2. Question 2: State Governors (Past) Intentionally Created Vacuum in Local Government Administration in Ogun State to Give Room for Political Appointees to Manage Its Affairs

The above question 2 shows that 1289 or 77.8 per cent of the respondents agreed that state governors (past) intentionally created vacuum in the local government administration in Ogun State to give room for political appointees to manage its affairs. 68 or 4.1 per cent of the respondents were undecided, while 300 or 18.1 per cent of the respondents disagreed.

The data shows that majority of the respondents agree that state governors intentionally created vacuum in the local government administration so that their cronies can be appointed as caretaker committee members to manage the affairs of the councils. This is indicative of the events that were always reoccurring after the tenure of top state political functionaries, whereby elections would have to wait for at least six months or more before another local government election could come up in the state.

According to Nwaodike (2016), after the expiration of tenure of political functionaries in 2012, former governor Olusegun Osoba appointed caretaker committee to administer the local governments in the state. These appointed caretakers remained in office till May 28, 2003 when Gbenga Daniel was sworn in as governor of the state in May 29, 2003. Daniel subsequently dissolved the caretaker committee and went ahead to appoint another set of caretaker committee who happened to be his cronies and surrogates from the same People's Democratic Party. There were different caretaker committees between May 2003 to April 2004, September to December 2007 and December 2010 to July 2011. Local government election was again held in 2012 and after the expiration of political functionaries in the councils across the state elapsed in 2015, about a year when another local government election was held on October 8, 2016, caretaker

committee who were cronies of former Governor Ibikunle Amosun administered the local governments in the state. The scenario repeated itself when Dapo Abiodun's administration took effect after May 29, 2019.

3.3. Question 3: These Political Appointees (Members of Caretaker Committees, Sole Administrators, Transition Committees or Interim Management Officials) Are Not Returned by Their Political Parties to Contest for Local Government Elections

Question 3 above shows that 66 or 4 per cent of the respondents agreed that these political appointees (caretaker/transition committee officials) are not returned by their political parties to contest for local government elections. 34 or 2 per cent of the respondent's state undecided, while 1557 or 94 per cent of the respondents disagreed.

The data above shows that these caretaker committee members are returned by their political parties to contest election. Just as it is obtainable in some states where caretaker committee member is returned to contest for local government election, such do occur in Ogun State as well. In fact, Adepegba Otemolu was the chairman Transition Committee of Ikenne local government between February to April 2004. He later became the executive chairman of the same council between April 2004 to September 2007. Again, Tiwalade Sobo was the chairman Transition Committee in Ikenne local government between September 2007 to November 2007, and later became the executive chairman of the same local government between December 2007 to December 2010.

3.4. Question 4: The Legislative Arms Often Capitalise on the Doctrine of 'Checks and Balances' to Stamp Their Authority, Especially, When the Executive Arm Goes Contrary or Beyond Its Powers

Question 4 above shows that 195 or 11.8 per cent of the respondents agreed that the legislative arms often capitalise on the doctrines of 'checks and balances' to stamp their authority, especially, when the executive arms goes contrary or beyond its powers. 478 or 28.9 per cent of the respondents were undecided, while 984 or 59.3 per cent of the respondents disagreed.

The data above shows that the legislative arms in Ogun State local government hardly capitalise on the doctrine of 'checks and balances' to stamp their authority, especially, when the executive arm goes contrary or beyond its powers. It means that the body is not performing its legal or constitutional role. The resultant effect of this is corruption. Corrupt practices have become the bane of local government administration in Nigeria, therefore, have been canonically accommodated, entertained and celebrated within the system (Adeyemi, 2012). These legislatures (councils) demand for bribes from the executive arm to have his way. It could be in the process of passing a bye law, approval of budget among others. In this regard, corruption is misnomerly labelled and euphemistically referred to as "Egunje" (a slogan which means "illegal offer" in Nigeria) (Lawal and Oladunjoye, 2010:232).

In the course of this, officials at the local level do not adhere to provisions of the financial memorandum (FM), conspicuous consumption on the part of the local officials, lifestyles that are not commensurate with official sources of income, imposition of leaders on the local government through corrupted political process and low wages of local government officials (Ali, 2008). The resources allotted to the councils are mismanaged. Thus, priorities are mismanaged; projects are done hap-hardly. Regrettably, this collusion is carried out in tune with selfish end and aggrandisement of the political leadership and senior bureaucrats at the local government level of administration (Adeyemi, 2012).

This scenario has negative effect on the political system. That is, democratic values are eroded and as observed by Lawal and Oladunjoye (2010), corruption tends to destroy democratic ethos in the local government system. All the values of democracy, such as responsiveness, accountability, participation and human development, are either subdued or neglected where corruption thrives. Again, development is hindered in a regime of corruption. Rather than utilising the available resources for the upliftment and development of the council, they are diverted to private use. More so, rule of law is also subverted and replaced by muscle power. To successfully steal government resources, the officials in the local government system undermine the values and regulations that guide their activities and ensure that whatever is stolen by them cannot be traced or tracked within their tenure in office. This has serious implication for service delivery as developmental projects may be abandoned without any necessary action. Also, in this ugly capacity, contracts are bound to be inflated, bribes and kickbacks are bound to be taken and contracts are also bound to be awarded to non-existent companies (i.e. companies that exist on paper alone).

Finally, manpower development and capacity building become sluggish and discouraged in the arena of corruption. The chief executive of the councils is not thinking about the need to train and re-train the staffers, but how to steal the money meant for manpower development and capacity building into his own pocket for selfish purpose. The effect of corruption in the local government councils is somehow negative in the sense that democratic values are destroyed and development at grassroot is hindered.

4. Discussion of Findings on Research Questions

The findings revealed that there are no intra and inter party democracy among the major political parties in the state. For instance, there were intra party rancour among these parties, especially, between the political heavy weights in each of the parties. For instance, the crisis between Akinfenwa and Akande in Alliance for Democracy (AD) (National Level), Sunday Oguneko and Banjo (Ijebu North Local Government) (Nwaodike, 2013). The crisis in the then ruling party (2008-2011) in the state, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), led to the creation of two factions. Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President; Dimeji Bankole, the former Speaker of the Federal House of Representative and his father, Alani Bankole; Iyabo Obasanjo; and Jibril Martins-Kuye, were in one faction with some members of the State House of Assembly, while on the other hand was the state governor and his allies (Nwogwugwu, 2012). Also, Ibikunle Amosun and Olusegun Osoba in ACN formed two groups. A similar scenario also occurred between Ireti Oliyide and Bayo Dayo in PDP. The intra party crisis also repeated itself in 2018 prior to 2019 general elections. The major parties i.e. PDP and APC experienced

internal rancour and because of these crises, two different factions emerged. For instance, in PDP, the factions were led by Adebayo Dayo that presented Kasumu Buruji on one hand as gubernatorial candidate and Sikirulahi Ogundele faction that supported Oladipupo Adebutu on the other. A similar scenario also occurred in APC led by Amosun who had Akinlade as gubernatorial flag bearer on one hand and Osoba who supported Dapo Abiodun on the other hand.

The major crisis rocking these parties was the desire to be recognised as the political god father and first to be reckoned with in the sharing of the largess therein. Most times, these quest for supremacy among the various camps is manifested during the party congress (at the state level) and on the other hand, nomination of party leaders and candidates (which is characterised by selection) for election. Thus, at various occasions, the governor capitalises on the incumbency power to substitute party candidates for the favoured loyalists. This scenario was witnessed in Ogun State, when Ibikunle Amosun led faction hurriedly substituted the chairmanship candidates of ACN with his loyalists ahead of the state local government elections in 2012.

According to Olukoya (2012): a list of candidates signed by the Secretary of the party, Alhaji Abimbola Awofeso, dated 15th June, contained "original" names of candidates endorsed at the enlarged state executive committee meeting of the party on May 31 however, three out of the 20 "original" chairmanship candidates have dragged the state governor to court over alleged imposition while the other 17 chairmanship candidates and 236 councillorship candidates have also filed a suit before a High Court in Abeokuta restraining the OGSIEC from recognising any other candidates list except one forwarded to the electoral body.

The affected candidates which cut across the 20 local governments in the state were embittered by the allegation that the governor, Ibikunle Amosun unilaterally imposed the candidates screened by OGSIEC against the party process and procedure. As a reaction to dissatisfaction by the marginalised group, there is always a reaction, in form of protest after the outcome of these congresses and party primaries, leading to boycott of the local government elections. Hence, one of the most significant reasons for the voter apathy often witnessed during local government elections in the state. Other reasons for voter apathy include omission of names in the voters register and omission of party logo on the voter's card.

However, like in some states like Lagos and Oyo where caretaker committee members are often returned or nominated by their political parties to stand for an election in local government elections, the situation was the same in Ogun State. These caretaker committee chairmen do get return tickets or nominations to stand for an election. For instance, in Ikenne local government, Chief Adepegba Otemolu was the chairman, transition committee between February to April 2004, and was also nominated by People's Democratic Party (PDP) to contest for an election in the March 27, 2004 local government election which he eventually won and was sworn in April 2004 as the executive chairman of the council. The same can also be said of Otunba Tiwalade Sobo who was the chairman, transition committee in Ikenne local government between September to November 2007. He was nominated by the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to contest for the December 15, 2007 election, he also emerged victorious in the election, and was sworn into office as the executive chairman of the council on December 17, 2007.

It is also important to note that the legislative arm often referred to as council which often sits at least once a month to deliberate and carry out their duties, had failed to capitalise on the doctrine of 'checks and balances' to stamp their authority, especially, to checkmate the excesses or over bearing influence of the executive. From 1999 to 2019, no local government chairman was impeached in the state for lack of transparency, accountability and other impeachable offences in these councils even when evidences are clear that some of them had gone contrary to the law. The reason was that, they are puppets in the hand of the chairman who was installed by the state governor. This among other reasons was why the governor will make sure that an opposition party does not win local government elections.

5. Concluding Remarks

Local government elections in Ogun State local governments do not hold triennially, by implication, caretaker committee members who are cronies of the state governor are appointed to manage the affairs of the councils. On other occasions when elections are held, the state governors nominated their stooge right from the party primary elections, and they were equally returned by the electoral umpire as victorious in the council elections.

These elected political functionaries were mere 'figure heads', because they had gone into office as agents of state governors. This is the more reason why they could hardly challenge the overbearing influence of the state chief executives, as they carried out all the directive issued and could not independently direct the affairs of the councils to make for laudable programmes.

Again, the local governments are mandated in the fourth schedule of the 1999 constitution as amended to carry out some functions. The same constitution makes local government a creation of the state, thus, these councils cannot exercise or carry out the functions until the State House of Assembly has passed a law empowering the councils to perform the stated functions. This is probably one of the reasons why some of the functions are taken away by the state government, especially, those in the revenue generating item, which ordinarily should generate substantial revenue to the local governments.

6. Recommendations

There is need to promote intra and inter party politics at the grassroot, state and national levels if democracy must thrive in Nigeria. Therefore, political parties must adhere to the dictates of their respective constitutions, 1999 Constitution as amended, and the electoral acts as amended. The State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIECs) should be scrapped and all elections executed by National Independent Electoral Commission (INEC). The electoral body should

adequately monitor the activities of these parties to conform to the laws that govern them. However, whenever the parties falter, they should be sanctioned accordingly to serve as deterrent to others.

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