

Campaign Promises, Leadership Performance and Democratic Consolidation in Kwara State, 1999-2015: A Federation Unit in Nigeria

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Abstract

Campaign promises, leadership performance and the deepening of democracy are elements of governance after the transition to democracy in Nigeria. Entrenching democracy is a political norm with the practice of party system in a representative government, following the demise of authoritarian regime in the country. In view of successful transition to democracy, this paper examines the leadership performance of the successive governments in Nigeria, a case study of Kwara State. As at 2019, the transition to democracy was twenty years old, within this period of governance, the successive governments have not smoothly transferred power under the multi-party system due to unethical political behaviour. The author argues that the frequent electoral irregularities, such as vote buying, intimidation of voters, falsification of electoral results and multiple thumb printing during elections have grossly marred electoral process between 1999 and 2015 in Kwara State. The paper recommends democratisation of culture as the major factors which can promote the smooth working of democracy in the current democratic dispensation. Primary and secondary data form the empirical analysis in this study, such as questionnaire, interview schedule and focus group discussion. The data gathered from the field of study was extrapolated in the tables as well transcribed to texts throughout in this article.

Keywords: Democratisation, Political institutions, Democratic Consolidation and Democracy.

Introduction

It was revealed that democratic practice in Kwara State was dominated by unethical practices and characters which often worked against the consolidation of the political system. The findings of the study further revealed that democratic failure in Kwara State was attributed to bad governance as a result of failure by the ruling political party to fulfill campaign promises. Consequently, the deepening of democracy was derailed by both the ruling political party and the opposition political parties after the post-third wave democratisation in Nigeria. The factionalisation of the political parties frequently undermined the process of entrenching and sustaining democracy for future representations. In this sense, the military was a major culprit as it was behind unending change of authoritarian regimes through coups and



counter coups in Nigeria, Kwara State, a federation unit for almost three decades. However, the authoritarian regime of the past was defeated by democratic forces. This political socialization has paved the way for the last sixteen years without military intervention in the politics. Despite the norms of collaborating with the ex-military leaders to rule the country in accordance with the principles of democracy, however, not much democratic dividends have been derived in term of fulfilling campaign promises, leadership performance and the deepening of democracy in each successive government which was established between 1999 and 2015.

The deepening of a democratic government possibly maintains changing of the political power at schedule timeframe as against tenure elongation. Otherwise the change of government can be attained as well achieved between the incumbent political party and the opposition political parties. The political elites from both parties abide by the rules and regulations that surround democratic consolidation. Apart from this process, leadership performance is subjected to government by good governance when election becomes a changing box. According to Bratton and Van de Walle(1997)¹:

Elections in Africa are generally depicted as empty and largely symbolic exercises designed to legitimise officeholders. And, indeed, following a lone competitive election at independence that is apparently what many African elections became.

Even though there was multi-party democracy between 1999 and 2015 in Nigeria, a single political party had dominated the political environment which is similar to what obtained in the early years mostly after the political independent of African countries. Political participation and competition in Africa is within two categories. First, few countries accept democratic principles for practice. Secondly, other countries are peculiar to autocratic practice in a democratic government after the fall of the military rule in Africa Bratton and Van de Walle (1997)².

The people opposed to autocratic rule as an attempt to establish democratisation and this was successful in the Europe. The general interest of the citizen towards democracy was overwhelmed in perfect consolidation of democratic governments with impacts on liberal democracy Fukuyama (1992)³. In another case, democratisation process in Africa came up in different ways as each country fought the authoritarian regime after a long retention. Therefore, consolidation of democratic governments under the post-third wave is a

¹Bratton, M and Vande Walle, N. *Democratic Experiment in Africa Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: (Cambridge University Press 1997), p 68.

²Bratton, M and Vande Walle, N. *Democratic Experiment in Africa Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*.(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), pp. 72-73.

³Fukuyama, F. *The End of History and the Last Man*. (Canada Toronto and New York: The Free Press: A Division of Macmillan, Maxwell Macmillan 1992), p. xxi.

practice towards a liberal democracy. It is also affirmative in Africa that democracy will hold the country together against any obstruction to military intervention in the civilian government. As regards reflection of adequate campaign promises and leadership performance are desirable in the practice through the free and fair elections. Ideally, the principles of election is desirable for the selection of leadership in a democratic setting periodically. Huntington (1991)⁴ aptly reported that:

Elections are the way liberal democracy operates. In the third wave they were also of weakening and ending authoritarian regimes. They were a vehicle of democratisation as well, as goal of democratisation.

The election that took place in 1999 was instrumental to the removal of the autocratic military regime at the federal level and also in the states including Kwara State. Therefore, free and fair election was an international benchmark and was trivialised in Kwara State. Elections were magnanimously rigged by the popular political party with the collaboration of political thugs, INEC and security agencies. It was disclosed in the findings that several elections were challenged by the opposition political parties which ranged from intimidation and harassment of the voters, falsification of results, stuffing of ballot papers and multiple thumb printing during the elections. These challenges can be evicted by promoting the process of democratisation of culture as basis of the deepening democracy (democratic consolidation). In this stance, democratisation of culture connotes the mechanisms and ideas that promote perfect consolidation of democratic government and these are highlighted as, (1) there should be adequate relationship between the political elites and the electorates on the selection of leadership. (2) Leadership performance should be based on the general interests of the entire citizens as against ethnic morality. (3) The electorates have the power to remove any government that perform below the expectations of the people. (4) Lastly, political elites should be committed to democracy Manheim (1960)⁵.

Research Question:- Does the leadership performance motivate the electorates in elections?

⁴Huntington, P.S. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1991), p. 174.

⁵Mannheim, K. *Essays on the Sociology of Culture*. London: (Routledge & Paul Limited 1960), pp. 171-201.

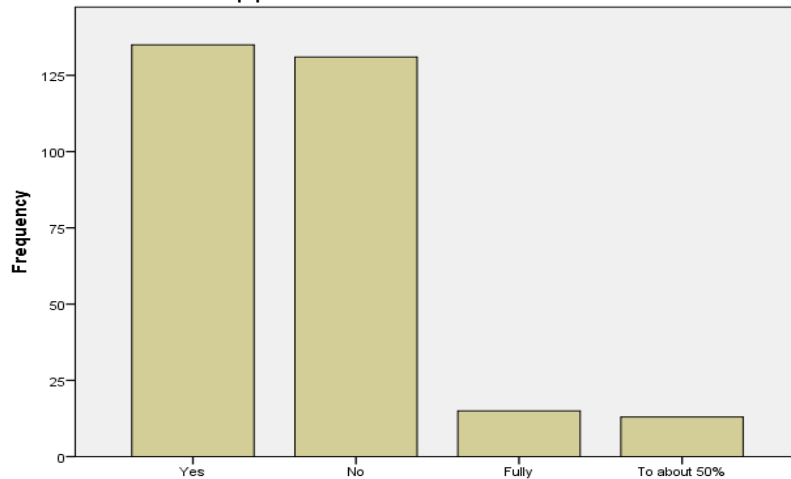
Figure 1: Leadership performance and electorates' motivation

Figure 1 shows whether leadership performance motivates the electorates during elections. The data collected from the respondents indicated that leadership performance motivated the electorates in elections. The bar graph indicated 'Yes' as the highest frequency of 135 with 45.9 per cent as against the backdrop which stated 'No' with the frequency of 131 and 44.6 per cent. The gap between 'Yes' and No was just 1.3 per cent. It reflected that leadership performance motivated the electorates in elections, although the margin of difference was neither wide nor quite significant.

Dr Jawondo (respondent) stressed from the interview schedule that the votes of the electorates were not counted based on the character of the political godfather or personal leaders who win elections at all costs. In this sense, any electoral candidate from the godfather-political leader always wins election. It is clear that the electorate votes do not count much in the establishment of government due to electoral malpractices of patron-client networks in the State. However, in the general practice, the electorates, as the political gate-keepers in the distribution of power, would not support undemocratic structure and would make arrangement for alternative government which support a new political party under a multi-party representative.

Research Question-: Is there any electoral protest on leadership performance in the state?

Figure 2: Electoral protest and leadership performance

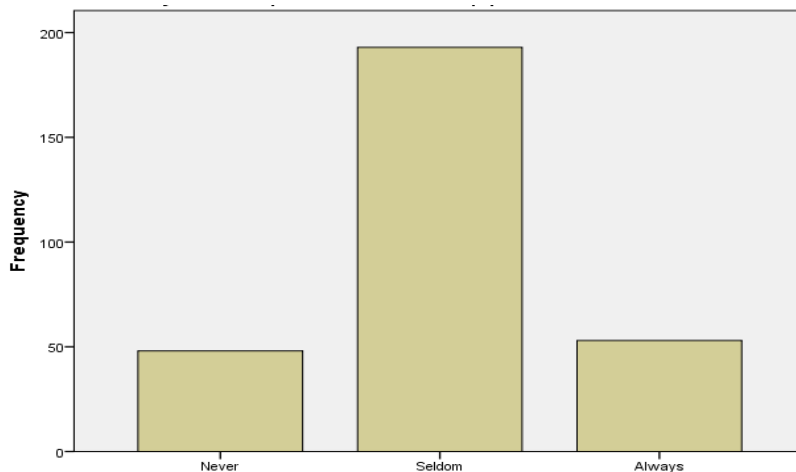


Figure 2 shows whether the people protest against leadership failure in the state or not. The data collected from the respondents indicated that electoral protest seldom occurred. The issue of electoral protest was an instrument of influencing government decision with regard to basic needs of the people. However, electoral protest is either high or low based on the circumstances that motivate people's behaviour. The bar graph indicated seldom as the highest frequency of 195 with 65.6 per cent. This means that electoral protest was organised occasionally in the State. It was also gathered from the interview schedule of respondents that there was a protest against the 2011 elections. This was organised by one of the opposition parties Action Congress of Nigeria ACN. Available reports revealed that a protest was carried out against Senator Bukola Saraki in 2004 by the Kwara State teachers that were employed in the government of late Muhammed Lawal. The rationale for that political protest was based on policy implementation which disregarded the teachers' employment in the public schools when Senator Bukola Saraki assumed power in 2003. Governor Abdulfatai Ahmed in 2015 also faced similar political protest for non-payment of the local government and colleges of education workers' salary. Therefore, political protest was an electoral activity in which the people express their disapproval to government policy or decision. It involves strike action, procession, carrying of banners, slogan-shouting, and distributing leaflets. In the study, the researcher observed that there were electoral protests which appeared very rarely in the state and this action was due to poor leadership performance of the government.

Consolidation of Power in Kwara State

The political stakeholders are the major players and they should be ready to defend democracy at all costs. Particularly when there is disagreement in the process of leadership selection in the state. The corporation within the citizen to make democratic government stable is necessary for smooth consolidation of the political system. In view of defending a democratic government, the principles and mechanisms of democracy are instrument that promote democratic consolidation with regard to the incumbent party and the

opposition parties accept the electoral outcome. Power is reciprocal in consolidation of the political system because democracy is a game of victory and lose. Political elites are recruited by each political party to contest for power through the electorates that give mandate to the winners by election. The electoral offices are changed periodically from the process of election so that representation is not confined to privilege class or personal position in the state. However, the elections are conducted periodically for leadership selection but the outcome of the elections always resulted in electoral petition between the incumbent party and the opposition parties. Therefore, consolidation of power is frustrated by unethical practice in the state.

The role of mass media is not left out in the consolidation of the political system. The electorates are always updated on the issues that bother the state particularly before and after the election. More often than none, the party system is recognised on the process of selecting candidate that would contest for the election. Therefore, each political party reaches the people through the mass media in order to sell the candidates for the positions. However, in the process of reaching the electorates through the mass media, the incumbent party has a leverage over the opposition parties Imoh (2013)⁶. It is a major practice to create an awareness to the people in order to select the best among the contestants. This would make consolidation take a due process in information dissemination to the public. In Kwara State political activities are scheduled by the Constitution of the country. The Electoral Acts play the major roles in making democracy stable particularly elections are opened to the public. The roles of information technology in democratisation process is akin to transparency and fairness of the political system. Generally, democracy is a global practice which cuts across different countries either developed democracy or developing democracy.

In this segment, developed democracy is defined as complete or liberal practice with regard to empowerment of the people. It is a complete democracy because of the electoral stability which cannot be reverted to authoritarian regimes. For example, the European and Latin American countries have established the government of the people for the people and by the people. In the order hand, developing democracies are recent transition from the authoritarian regimes to democratic governments in African countries. It is labeled as a democratisation process which either progresses or regresses depending on the leadership performance in the system. Therefore, after the third wave African countries have established democracy that is similar to autocratic practice. The governments are isolated from the principles and mechanism of democracy and the practice is recognised as hybrid Adejumobi (2006)⁷. The reflection on Kwara State is significant to justify the current character with the principles of democratisation.

In fulfilling the process of democratisation, return to democracy in Nigeria (1999), three elected governors had been established within the period of

⁶Imoh, G.O. Mass Media and Democratic Consolidation in Africa: Problems and Prospects. *Journal of New Media and Mass Communication*, Vol. 16 (2013), pp. 42-57

⁷Adejumobi, S. Governance and Poverty Reduction in Africa: A Critique of Poverty Reduction Strategy. (ECOWAS2006), p.20

sixteen years. Under the post-third wave in Kwara State, there had been regular rigging of elections by the incumbent party, People's Democratic Party (PDP). This practice challenges the process of democratic consolidation as the power holders always scale through various elections being conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The only opposition party on the ground was Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). The opposition party has not relented effort in an alternative power between 2003 and 2015. However, the next political approach that would make power change in the state was the formation of the party coalition. The party coalition was organised and controlled by the ACN across the country. Therefore, the respondents reported in the findings that electoral participation and competition in Kwara State is filled with unethical process and this practice frustrated electoral consolidation between 2003 and 2015.

Entrenching the Principles of Good Governance

There are two fundamental elements which described entrenchment of democratisation and democratic consolidation. First, ethic which means what is right as against wrong political behaviour which can mar electoral process. Second, good governance connotes feasibility of democratic government in the perspective of offering expectations of the people in the state. The combination of ethic and good governance reflects the overall practices of representative government. However, the ethics of good governance acts as nation-building in the ethnic diverse society. Nigeria as a plural society with three major distinctive political groups such as Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo and other minority groups. They are collectively divided by their languages, religions, and cultures. These cultural backgrounds primordially challenged political participation and competition across the country. The ethics of governance are instrumental in the working of democracy as well as minimise ethnic dictatorship which prevailed after the political independence in 1960 and was inherited after the initiation of democracy in the country.

In essence, it is important to ask: what frustrates the ethics of good governance in the different electoral competition and participation in the state? The answer is linked to the absence of good governance which is provoked by the unchallenging executive power and popular disaffection of the legislative arm of government in Kwara State. As a result of unethical participation and competition, regressive democratic consolidation become the arrangement of the ruling party in Kwara state. Without the elements of good governance in a new government, there would not be true democracy in the state, and of course, good governance conceives a broad idea of humanity in the political participation and competition process Otoghile and Igbafe (2014)⁸. Good governance thus becomes imperative to democratic consolidation and implies meeting the people's expectations, investment in human capital and the

⁸Otoghile, A. and Igbafe, A.A. The Quest for Governance in Nigeria: A Survey of People Perception in Benin. *Journal of Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. 4,no 28 (2014): pp.179-180

promotion of citizens' participation in the policy process, as well as promoting safety, security and human dignity Olurode and Anifowose (2004)⁹.

The significance of good governance in a democratic setting is to differentiate between autocratic system and representative democracy. The former (autocratic) is considered as indiscipline leadership that violate human rights in an attempt to protect the interest of the few in the government. The latter (representative democracy) is projected as an open system to the public because it is recognised by the people's mandates in all circumstances. One of such quality is change of power by election which entrenches the new democracies in Africa. Huntington (1991)¹⁰ opines that the alternative power is a symbol of procedural legitimacy as it promotes the ethics of good governance. This quality could be achieved by commitment to the party system either two party system or multiparty system, it is advisable for African countries to adopt multiparty system because of the multiethnic groups. Adoption of the multiparty system in Africa is a reflection on large representation by different political groups. Therefore, political activities will be opened to future opportunities such as party coalition, formation of political party, and cross carpeting to another party. For example, in the politics of Kwara State, several opposition parties formed a party coalition in order to defeat the incumbent party that over stay in the power such parties are ACN, CPC, APGA and others. The context of good governance is the nerve of democracy because it centres on the expectations of the people that constitute the government. However, it is important to mention the practice behind democracy which is ability to recruit leadership by the political parties and the electorates to select among them through disciplined party system. The party system that is recognised and guided by mandates of the electorates in the state. The question however is, how can this system be maintained and practised in Kwara State? In this study assessment, this is only possible when campaign promises and leadership performance focus on the community development, transparency and accountability that can accommodate harmony between the legislative and the executive arm of government. This is what is likely to bring the desired change which the people of the state are yearning for.

Political legitimacy and change of power are products of the alternative government (power) in a democratic setting. The electorates have power to select leadership among the contestants under the multiparty system. In the process of fulfilling the electoral system, the pattern of selection is usually organised by the election which forms the opinion polls. The opinion polls or electoral polls is a reflection on the people's votes which serves as the practice of procedural legitimacy. This means that power is not constant but it is shared by the political elites. According to the Electoral Acts of each country, the rules and regulations guiding the election is ratified through the constitution. For example, campaign date, election date, collation of results, announcement of the results, and announcement of the winners is scheduled in the Electoral Acts.

⁹Olurode, I and Anifowose, R. (2004) *Democratisation and the Military in Nigeria*. (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung FES2004), p.115

¹⁰Huntington, P.S. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1991), p. 50

These aforementioned political activities are general mechanisms of participation and competition Arowolo and Aluko, (2012)¹¹. However, in Kwara State instead of the people legitimising election, it is the ruling party, INEC and security agencies that usually do so through conspiracy by rigging elections declared by the respondents thus, making mockery of the people's participation in the electoral process. Under normal practice, democracy alone is meant to serve the cause of the people directly.

Equality before the Law

The principles of equality before the law appears in the electoral system in Kwara State. This is because it serves as the fundamental guide to the representative government. Particularly the process of the electoral system which paves the way for political participation and competition in the state. However, the findings in this study reveal that the principles of equality before the law was constantly trivialised in the governance of Kwara State. Pointing to the responses from respondents showing that the popular party always won the elections with the support of the judicial arm of government, it was evident that the opposition parties have often sought redress and contested the outcome of the electoral results after the elections in the state. Despite the irregular practices during the election, the winning party gains political leverage in the state. In this sense, the judiciary has failed to dispense justice in the two electoral tribunals which was established in 2007 and 2011 according to the views of the respondents in the study.

The practice of equality in a healthy manner is responsible for smooth consolidation of a democratic government. Equality before the law is one of the cardinal principles of democracy and it works for the system to entrench without any challenge that obstructs democracy. The practice also recognises human dignity and democracy without the principles is an autocracy according to the treaty of United Nations. Equality before the law agrees with the democratic practice that everybody is equal irrespective of the age, religion, positions and culture. Therefore, democratisation process without equality before the law is considered as autocratic system of government in all practices John (1994)¹².

Political Efficacy

Political efficacy is the manifestation of effective party system in a representative democracy. Institutional efficiency is often determined by the participation and competition of the people to select credible leadership in the state. In the case of Kwara State, few representative members in the legislative house flared that the democratic governments from 1999 to 2015 had performed better on the management of the roads. This argument was contested by the counter opinions of the individual respondents that the state is

¹¹Arowolo, D.E and Aluko, O. Democracy, Political Participation and Governance. *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 1, no. 3 (2012): pp. 797-80

¹²John, S. *The State in Contemporary Society: An Introduction*. (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf 1994), p.212.

currently witnessing large potholes. "The representative members are not accountable to the people, therefore, socio-economic development has not reflected due to dilapidation of schools, teachers are not adequately paid, no drugs in the clinic and hospital.

The selection of the worthy leaders in Kwara State by the electorates and the elites was not defined in the participation and competition after the post-third wave of democratisation. In the findings, the condition that supports democratisation practice in Kwara State was the domination of a single party under multi-party system. This dominance often leads to electoral malpractices, such as rigging of the elections, falsification of electoral results, intimidation of electorate and party agents during elections. The findings of the study also demonstrate that the alternation of electoral power in Kwara State was frustrated by the undemocratic attitudes between the ruling party and the opposition parties. As a result of this political animation, the party system in Kwara State was daunting in the sense that the same set of elites are in leadership by distributing electoral representation.

The working of political efficacy is determined by the leadership performance and the deepening of democracy in the public institutions. The efficiency of the public institutions co-opts with a practice that democratic institutions are stabled in the state. I have said earlier that democratic consolidation is a discernible process when there is regular alternation of power among the political elites through the party system. In this sense again, political efficacy cannot be isolated from the institutional performance either regression or progression. Therefore, political efficacy means capacity or power to produce a desired effect in the political environment. It also means that the expectations of the people are the major priorities with regard to leadership performance Sohl (2014)¹³. In connection to the explanations, the attitude is enmeshed in Kwara State political activities as the Kwarans demonstrated their voting right to choose among the contestants on the election days. Political participation and competition in the politics engages different set of people on the opinion polls. The engagement of the people in the affair of the state is designed as an open deliberation before the election. It also induces the people's discussion about the political efficacy after the transition to democracy Sharoni (2012)¹⁴. Political efficacy is also subjected to educating the electorates on credible candidates among the contesting political parties. On this ground, Kwara State as a new democracy should equally engage political efficacy as a practising culture so that smooth transfer of power will further democratisation and democratic consolidation.

The significance of political efficacy on democratisation process starts from the perspective of citizens' protest against the policy of the government. The youths are forces that mobilise other segments of the population at the level of

¹³Sohl, S. *Youths' Political Efficacy: Sources, Effects and Potentials for Political Equality*. (Orebo University 2014), p.1-2.

¹⁴Sharoni, S. Trust in Government, Political Efficacy and Political Participation in Internet Era. Georgetown University. Journal of Electronic Media and Politics, 1, no. 8(2012): pp.119-135

participation and competition. The youths are also instrumental in leading decision-making process that would benefit the country Hashish and Kamel (2014)¹⁵. In this regard, the case study of Kwara State in this democratic dispensation should be determined by establishing a political forum that will reflect generation of the people. Youths are the pillars that can facilitate the political forum so that leadership performance will be the only practice in the state. As against the unethical attitudes which worked against the leadership of the past governments. This could be done in a robust political participation and competition for establishing a responsible government which listen to the yearnings and aspirations of the people in the current political dispensation. It says that the researcher should look at government efficacy in a representative democratic system mostly through evaluation of the political life of the people Steven and Shopia (2019)¹⁶.

Participation through Transparency and Accountability

The legislative institution is, perhaps, the most visible manifestation of democratic tenets in a representative democracy. It is, at least, the most representative of the three arms of government being the institution representing the people in the state. However, transparency and accountability are the basic ingredients of the legislative house to check the excess power of the executive arm and to protect the interest of the people but was trivialised in Kwara State according to the respondents. The accountability of a representative government engages features such as recall, adequate representation, party caucus decision, and party to check members. Accountability reflects with channel of communication through the constituency offices. Adversely, there is no adequate check of members in Kwara Freedom House by the ordinary citizens due to level of poverty and illiteracy. The people only engage them when there are personal problems such as, marriage, naming ceremony, sickness, school fees, etc. Therefore, money is given to them in order to offset such problems.

Corruption in the public institutions is subjected to bad governance and this can be controlled by establishing the anti-corruption institutions. Apart from the anti-corruption crusade, transparency and accountability are themes that protect governance USAID (2013)¹⁷. According to the findings, governance was trivialised in Kwara State due to the monolithic political party that controlled the power of the state. Political godfather/leader was the major decision maker that circulates the political elites into different electoral offices. This practice frustrates the transparency and accountability in the Freedom House (legislature). The members in the legislative house are not accountable to the

¹⁵Hashish, E.A. and Kamel, N.M. Identity Political Efficacy and Expected Political Participation among Nursing Students after 25th January Revolution, Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research, 6, no. 4 (2014): pp. 69-76.

¹⁶Steven, B and Shopia, R. *Representative Democracy in EU Recovering Legitimacy*. (Centre for European Studies CEPS 2019), pp. 128-129

¹⁷USAID. *Transparency and Accountability Regional Agriculture Trade Environment Summary*. (United Nations Publisher 2013), pp. 2-4

people but regularly consult the political godfather/leader on any political matters and this runs between 2003 and 2015.

Adequate Civic Education

Several elections in Kwara State have been conducted in an atmosphere of intense fear, insecurity, political alliance, and re-alliance while the campaign was dominated by great issues of national concern such as insecurity, vote buying, intimidation of voters during elections, unemployment and poverty was observed by the respondents in the study. Therefore, the failure of campaign promises, leadership performance and the deepening of democracy was as a result of absence of civic education after the post-third wave of democratisation in the country. The political parties as organisations that bring together groups of people with common belief about the way society should be structured, the role that government should play, and the way government and citizens should relate to each other. It also provides channels for the ideas and opinion of citizens and compete for the power as the legitimate elected government. However, these ideologies of political parties have been restrained by the political characters in Kwara State. Political parties exist for only the elite class as an instrument of oppression of the electorates. This was because the nature of party formation removed the opinion inputs of people. The clear fact in Nigeria was that political parties were formed by big men at the National level and it informed the representation of Kwara State. These big political cabals (rich) sell their political ideologies to the thirty-six states of the federation with a view that each state leader recruited as well as influenced political followers at local government level.

The civic education is a mechanism that protects democratisation and democratic consolidation in this dispensation. Frequent involvement of the political godfather in Kwara State politics has taken away the consents of the people in the policy framework. In this sense, civic education is a relative of the human rights such as liberty, association and expression PACT (2013)¹⁸. In addition to civic education, people will be able to abide by the rules and regulations in all circumstances. Democratisation of culture is also a process of civic education when the political interplay interfuse with the principles of democracy. However, the practice of this in kwara state between 2003 and 2015 has resulted in political violence. Several electoral violence are caused by the incumbent political party and the opposition parties and the youths are incorporated into such action.

Instituting civic education in primary school creates and enables children to understand their society in totality particularly a plural society. Capturing the children at this stage of human life entails culture of humility which promotes democratisation Smith *et al* (2002)¹⁹. Truly, a plural society with an authoritarian regime may witness a range of crises which can destroy the foundation of a state. Therefore, the civic education campaign in the country is a

¹⁸PACT [2013]. *Civic Education*(Washington, D.C., 2013), pp.1-2

¹⁹Smith, A, Fountain, S and Mclean, H. *Civic Education in Primary and Secondary Schools in the Republic of Serbia*.(UNICEF 2002), pp.9-11

function of the deepening democracy through the social media Owen *et al*, (2011)²⁰. The political stakeholders, vis-à-vis politician, teacher, doctors students and nurses are instrument of deepening democracy from the root of civic education. All of these stakeholders have a responsibility in selecting credible leaders in the state. The afore-mentioned stakeholders in Kwara State should know their civic rights with reference to socio-economic welfare. For example, teachers should be responsible for qualitative education in the state while student need to prepare to lead the country with good leadership example, medical doctors and nurses should respect the ethics of their professions, police should inculcate habit of protecting the state at all times and in every way possible especially the electoral matters, and market women and men should fulfill their civic duties especially electoral participation in Kwara State.

Improving of Socio-economic Development

Socio-economic development is a strong tool for measuring democracy which also helps democratisation process of a state. However, we can ask a question about the significance of democratic government particularly the campaign promise and leadership performance as these contexts are means of fulfilling dividends of democracy. In the light of this, Kwara State is a civil service state which receives federal allocation monthly to perform the statutory functions in the state. It has access to grants which come either internally or externally and revenue collection within its jurisdiction. The expectation of the people is that Kwara State government should formulate economic policies that can stimulate economic growth and political development.

The democratic government centres on the socio-economic development by provision of basic amenities for the people. The infrastructures recognises the welfare of the citizen as it determines economic development in the state. In this sense, availability of potable water, electricity and roads are important to human lives. However, water is an input to socio-economic development in terms of its relationship with other sectors of the economy. The policy was formulated by the international community particularly, the United Nations transformation agenda on adequate provision of water to the community for domestic use Cox (1987)²¹. The failure of socio-economic growth in most developing countries of Africa over the years is responsible for weak political system. The resultant consequences are unemployment, hunger, poverty, insecurity, disease, illiteracy, wars and crime. This unfortunate development compromises new thinking and re-direction of economic development and growth which focus on the citizens' welfare. Therefore, the urgent solutions to the socio-economic predicaments lie in government proactive effort in setting economic policy that would direct economic development through the

²⁰Owen, D, Soule, S, and Chalif, R. *Civic Education and Knowledge of Government and Politics: A Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association*. (Washington, D.C. 2011), pp. 1-2

²¹Cox, W.E. *The Role of Water in Socio-economic Development*. (United Nations. 1987), pp. 1-12

establishment of basic physical infrastructures to appreciate industrialisation with regard to economic growth and economic development Ewetan (2014)²².

Tolerance and National Unity

True national sentiment cannot be created without the spirit of tolerance. In fact, the spirit of tolerance is the keynote of democracy. In a democracy citizens do not demand conformity nor assimilation, but different political groups are expected to co-exist in spite of their differences. In this sense, it is free to win others' consent by persuasion and discussion, not by force, coercion or blackmail. The minority is expected to respect the majority. Thus majority is also expected to accommodate minority with full dignity in a democratic state. On this ground, representative democracy is not by marginalisation of the minority group but incorporation in decision-making process in the state. On the positive side, it implies the general dismantling of democratic hurdles which can de-democratise (regression) as well as truncate smooth consolidation of the political system. Therefore, what Kwara's need is interpersonal relations with spirit of tolerance and this paves the way for national unity across the country. The thinking of the local and the international electoral observers is that entrenching the national unity should be the priority against the primordial attitudes which disassociate the political groups in Nigeria. In this case, triangulation politics connotes bridging the divide between the incumbent party and the opposition parties which serve as democratisation of culture in the current dispensation Clinton (2005)²³.

The ethnic or political groupings should not be organised and managed with negative outcome but should be treated with tolerable understanding in terms of positive influence in the political environment that is under democratic system. Ethnic groups sometimes are sympathiser in mobilising the electorates for participation so as to establish democratic government that is closer to the people in terms of good governance. In another sense, it provides the policy framework against poverty, unemployment and other aspects of economic welfares in the state IDEA (2000)²⁴. Therefore, the practice of patron-client networks dominates the political environment of Kwara State as the political godfather/leader distributes state resources to the constituencies that supported during each election. This type of reward is neither dividends of democracy nor welfares. It is considered as slavery and master relations which is absolutely rejected in the Europe.

Independent Judiciary and National Electoral Commission

The independent judiciary and the electoral administration INEC are relevant in a democratic setting and each performs the statutory functions in the state. One of the statutory roles of the INEC is to conduct free and fair election in the

²²Ewetan, O.O. Insecurity and Socio-economic Development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies*, 1, no. 5(2014): pp. 40-63.

²³Clinton, B. *My Life Bill Clinton*. (Vintage Books, New York. 2005), p. 660

²⁴IDEA. *Democracy in Nigeria Continuing Dialogue(s) for Nation-Building*. (Sweden/Nigeria: Nykopia, 2000), pp.51-53

country. Also, the members of staff INEC are organised nationally with electoral guidelines which are the process of democratisation and democratic consolidation. While the judiciary is independent because it enables the judges to pronounce their verdicts without favour or fear in a democratic state. The trajectory process between the INEC and the judiciary system in Nigeria is that the elections have been frustrated with several challenges which de-democratised the system. The confirmation of the scenario in Kwara State is that the 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections were massively rigged by the incumbent party. Despite the control of the INEC and the judiciary that looked into the electoral petitions filled by the opposition party ACN. The incumbent power holders always scale through the electoral petitions in the court. The judiciary is a non-political institution which operates under the ambit of the constitution therefore, the independent of the judiciary in the Fourth Republic is geared towards achieving democratisation process as well as democratic consolidation. However, one of such is partisan politics of some court judges is obviously challenging the democratic government Abdullahi, (2014)²⁵ aptly states:

Judiciary independent can be defined as the ability of a judge to decide a matter free from pressure or inducement. The judiciary as an institution, judicial independent means ability of the judiciary to be independent by being separated from government and other concentration of power.

It is being debated by the social scientists that consolidation of the political system in Nigeria can be addressed when the three arms of governments are statutorily separated in the Constitution. The separation of power should also reflect the practice in all circumstances so that there will be improvement on the new dispensation in Nigeria at large Chucks *et al*(2016)²⁶. In view of this, one of the electoral guidelines is the organisation of the electoral tribunal which looks into electoral abnormalities before and after the election Ochim (2013)²⁷. Over the years, electoral petitions were issued by the opposition parties in Kwara State and this action serves as instrument of defending democracy between 2007 and 2011; despite the struggle by the opposition parties, the ruling party finds their way to the electoral position in Kwara State. Indeed, some respondents interviewed faulted the judiciary for engaging partisan politics in the state.

Stable Civil Society Groups

The deepening of democracy in Nigeria is guaranteed by the effective civil society. In a democratic setting the civil society is the fourth arm of government

²⁵Abdullahi, I. Independence of the Judiciary in Nigeria: A Myth or Reality. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*. 2, no. 3(2014):pp.55-66.

²⁶Chuks, M.V, Grace,O.U and Ifeanyi, F.A. Judiciary and Theory of Separation of Powers in Achieving Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria Fourth Republic. *British Journal of Education*, 4, no. 8 (2016):pp.84-104.

²⁷Ochim,F.I. The Judiciary and 2011 General Elections in Nigeria, In, Egwemi, V. (eds.), *Issues in 2011 General Elections in Nigeria*.(105-125) (Department of History and International Studies, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University Lapai, Niger State 2013), p.110

apart from the legislative, the judiciary and the executive arm of government. This is because the responsibility of civil society is overarching in practice from democratisation and it continues to manifest beyond in the political system. Practically, in the Europe and Latin American countries, the civil society groups have fallen the authoritarian regimes for establishment of the modern representative governments. Meanwhile, Africa countries suddenly developed attitudes towards evicting the military rules through the civil society under the post-third wave of democratisation. For example, in Nigeria the civil society groups confronted the military rules with democratic approach and the effort resulted in the demise of autocratic power in the country.

The importance and role of the civil society groups is often reflected the working of democracy as a catalyst for the nation-building. It also entrenching democracy by paving the way for free and fair election through electoral observation periodically. This practice adds to political stimulus on perfect consolidation of democratic government. Under the post-third wave, Nigeria established a democratic government in 1999 but in the aftermath, the civil society groups are derailed by primordial interests across the country. In this sense, some active civil society groups in Nigeria then were: National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), Pro-Democracy Group (PG), Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO). The current challenge in the country is the character of the ethnic militias groups which operate in this dispensation. In this democratic dispensation, Nigeria as the populous democracy in Africa should engage the civil society groups with socio-economic and political ideology. The civil society groups are institutions with interest in transparency and accountability of the government and not dogmatic in operation Diamond (1997)²⁸.

Disciplined Party System

The importance of party discipline in Kwara State in this democratic dispensation is to reflect the character and action of democratisation and democratic consolidation. However, the organisation of party system in Nigeria is directed by the Electoral Acts stating the guidelines on the formation of the political party and other electoral activities are included in the hard and soft copy. Meanwhile, the attitudes of the political stakeholders in every election have not conformed with the guidelines and these attitudes often worked against the deepening of democracy in Nigeria. Many states in the country including Kwara State have not perfectly consolidated the political system due to the nature of politics. The reason for the practice is stemmed from the method political party is established by the big men that are in the corridor of power. The political elites always want power as well as circulate their members in the central, state and local government. This dubious character has regularly derailed the principles of democracy across the country. In connection to this practice, therefore, adequate campaign promises and leadership

²⁸Diamond, L. Introduction: In Search of Consolidation. In Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (eds.), *consolidating the Third Wave*. (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore and London. Xii-xlvi 1997), p. 6

performance are mechanisms that can alternate political power in accordance with the electoral guidelines.

There is no uniform notion of democracy anywhere in the world. Every democracy is historically specific and historically defined across the continents. However, for the third world countries, democracy has been seen as democratisation, and everybody talks about democracy they actually mean democratisation, the Western authors have never been mistaken on this claim Momoh (2006)²⁹. Democracy whether classical or social democratic, popular or socialist talks about representative government and empowerment of the people. Democratisation on the other hand talks within the realm of the market. Making choices within the multiparty system is the only link to democratisation process and the election is the only measurement of operation in the state. In another sense, democratic consolidation is also a practice of democratisation with regard to alternation of power under the rule of the multiparty system. The multiparty system is in the template of the Electoral Acts in Nigeria but political party is distinctive according to the functions and structural performance, Jinadu (2011)³⁰ aptly states that:

In the west a political party has generally been defined more in functional than in structural terms, with two core elements, namely that a political party helps to; (a) structure electoral choice; and (b) conduct the business of government, under a party label or banner. A party needs not perform both functions but generally all parties tend to perform both functions, more or less. In short, the core functions of a political party, not its organisational structures, are what typically distinguish a political party as a conceptual category from other organisations

At this juncture, it is important to differentiate between political party by the functions and electoral performance in a democratic system. In order to state this, therefore, the concept of ideology, votes and power are themes which succinctly explain the functions of the political party under a representative democracy. First, Political ideology simply means an orientation that characterizes the thinking of a political group, individual people and nations. Ordinarily, political ideology systematically improves upon democratisation of the new democracies particularly African countries after the post-third wave of democratisation Omotola (2009)³¹. Secondly, the votes of the people are instrument of ideology when it defined from healthy practice. Lastly, the political power is achieved when the necessary operation has taken place by the mandate of the electorates. We can say that democracy is an ideology that is

²⁹Momoh, A. *Democracy, De-Democratisation and Development in Nigeria*. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*. 32, no 2 2006): pp. 61-85

³⁰Jinadu, L. A. [2011]. *Inter-Party Dialogue in Nigeria: Examine the Past, Present and Future: Lead Paper at Inaugural DGO Political Parties Dialogue Series*, held on October 4, (Bolingbo Hotel Abuja.2011), pp. 1-2

³¹Omotola, J.S. *Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology*. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*.1, no. 3(2009):pp.612-634.

attributed to campaign promises, leadership performance and the deepening of democracy Elischer (2010)³². Therefore, the party system in Kwara State should be a reflection on ideology in all circumstances.

Conclusion

The deepening of democracy maintains the principles of democratic consolidation in a manner that complies with the mechanisms of democratisation process. This can be achieved by the process of multiparty system in Africa regarding the political interplay between the incumbent political party and the opposition political parties. Electoral power is distributive by leadership selection in the state. Kwara State as a unit in the federation of Nigeria, perhaps, experienced unending military rule between 1966 and 1998. This political animation exists to manipulate the civilian governments in the country. Therefore, the inauguration of democratic government in 1999 has however, adopted deliberative democracy with hope that the people will select their leadership periodically by election. In view of the election, the successive outcomes have transposed to political violence, acrimony and vendetta behaviour across the country. Many people wonder about the smooth transfer of power between the incumbent political party and the opposition political parties in the state because the practice was illiberal after the post third wave democratisation. The current dispensation is also witnessing the preceding challenges which perhaps obstruct democratisation process. For example, elections in Kwara State were not free and fair due to unethical practice ranging from rigging, falsification of results, and multiple thumb printing between 1999 and 2015. An evaluation of democratisation by Social Scientists in this twenty- first century involve assessing the principles which can deepen democracy. Meanwhile, leadership performance, and campaign promises are principal themes that can be used to measure political efficacy after the post-third wave in Africa. In the light of political efficacy, performance of a democratic government is determined by the electoral votes, that is, if a government performed below the expectations an opposition political party will be given a mandate to form a new government which is a legitimate practice of democratic consolidation.

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³²Elischer, S. *Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in Non-industrialised Societies: Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa*. (German Institute of Global and Area Studies. 2010), pp. 5-6

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