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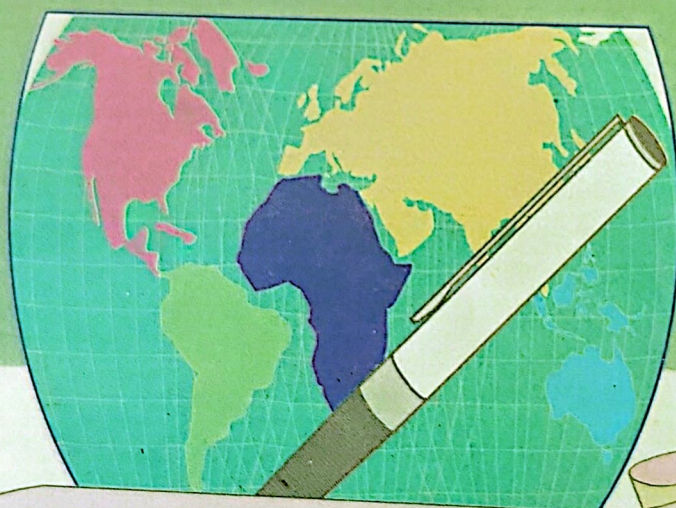
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AN APPRAISAL OF THE ROLE OF PROMOTION IN THE PERFORMANCE OF CIVIL SERVANTS IN KWARA STATE CIVIL SERVICE, NIGERIA

By

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ABSTRACT

Promotion is significant if workers are to be motivated towards greater performance. It is against this background that this study appraises the role of promotion in the performance of Civil Servants in Kwara State Civil Service. A survey design was adopted and data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. A multistage sampling technique was adopted utilizing purposive, simple random and proportional sampling techniques. Purposive sampling technique was used in selecting a total of seven ministries and one agency, and 250 respondents were randomly selected and closed ended questionnaires were issued but 222 were retrieved. Data collected was organized and analyzed into tables and percentages. The analysis was done through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17.0. Pearson Moment correlation Coefficient was used to test the hypotheses formulated; decisions of significant relationship between variables were based on 5% (0.05). Expectancy theory of Victor H. Vroom was adopted because it has a direct link on the influence of promotion on performance. The findings revealed that level of commitment/performance of civil servants to work will increase when promoted. However, the benefit accruing from promotion is not paid as at when due, even arrears are not paid. The study also reveals that there is a strict adherence of the criteria for promotion. Furthermore, the research revealed that promotion remains a factor that enhances performance. The study therefore concludes that, promotion remains a yardstick for enhancing performance but if promotion is denied it demoralizes the working sense of civil servants. It is recommended among others that, there should be prompt payment of entitlements and other benefit to the workers especially when they are promoted as it will encourage them to greater performance.

Introduction

Promotion is the advancement of employee in rank from one level (lower) to another level (higher). In the Nigerian Civil Service, promotion is never a right but a privilege for those who meet up with the criteria for promotion. An officer does not ordinarily require to be promoted. Decision on whoever is to be promoted regardless of status and position, rested on the authority or management within the ministry's setup. Junior and Senior

Management Committees compile and scrutinize the names of staff due for promotion within the year. It is on this note that Orire (2007) observes that promotion that is otherwise called elevation has remained a sine-qua non for effectiveness and efficiency in the public service. Outright stagnation often demoralizes performance and consequently brings backwardness to any organization. Promotion practice and performance evaluation are normally based on standard criteria, procedure, and policies, performed by qualified and experienced persons of the organization. In view of the above, the most likely reason for the adoption of staff appraisal is to draw attention to past and present performance in the job in order to reward people fairly and identify those with potentials for promotion.

The moment promotion is denied an employee, frustration, aggression, fixation among others set in and these invariably lead to decline in productivity especially if he perceives his effort as deserving elevation. Hence, management should have a promotion policy and procedure which must be reasonably acceptable to all employees. By being fair and thorough the confidence of employees in the exercise will minimize defensive behavior that is likely to be produced in the candidate that has not been promoted (French, 1983). Employee belief and perception about the fairness of such practices matter a lot. For conducting promotion, employees must know what is expected from them and what they can do.

However, several studies have been conducted on the appraisal of performance of civil servants from different perspectives; none of these studies has covered the appraisal of the role of promotion in the performance of civil servant in Kwara State. It is against this background that this study appraises the role of Promotion in the Performance of Civil Servants in the Kwara State Civil Service, Nigeria.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to appraise the role of promotion in the performance of civil servants in Kwara State Civil Service, Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

- i) identify the criteria of promotion of Civil Servants in Kwara State;
- ii) assess the level of compliance with criteria in promotion of Civil Servants in Kwara State; and
- iii) examine the extent to which promotion affect performance of Civil Servants in Kwara State.

HO₁: There is no significant correlation between promotion and performance in service delivery of civil servants in Kwara State.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Concept of Civil Service

Ibiyemi, Michael and Bodun (2004), conceives of the civil service (being a part of the public service) as a body of employees responsible for planning, giving advice, and implementing policies in government ministries and departments. These employees are called civil servants. Government ministries are headed by ministers or commissioners and assisted by directors general (permanent secretaries), as well as other departmental heads. Shaiye (1998), viewed civil service as the term used to describe the departments of the state which are saddled with the responsibilities and functions of implementing the policies and programmes of the government. It is an extension of the executive arm of government, whose personnel perform purely administrative and executive duties.

Concept of Performance

According to Brumbach (1988), performance means both behavior and results. Behavior emanates from the performer and transforms performance from abstraction to action. As instruments for result, behaviors are also outcomes in their own right - the product of mental and physical efforts applied to tasks - and can be judged apart from results. Motowildo (1997) in Fajana et' al (2010) asserts that performance is the behavior that can be evaluated in terms of extent to which it contributes to organizational effectiveness. Onukwube et' al (2010), added that job performance is the behaviors and outcomes that employees engage in or bring about, that are linked with and contribution to organisational goals. Esu and Iyang (2009) affirm that performance is a multi-dimensional construct the measurement of which varies depending on a variety of factors with the designed performance linked to the vision of the organization. They contend that whether discussed or written, there are standard ways of measuring performance and philosophy behind the standard is to accept or reflect on the job performed by an employee. It is the outcomes of individuals' or team's action or behavior. Akingbagbe (2000) assert that, performance indicators are ways in which current performance are assess in order to improve processes, make comparison and set standard. Ameen, Ifatimehin and Alabi (2014) identifies the indicators of measuring performance of civil servants in Kwara State to include promptness/punctuality, job specification/responsibility/duties, discipline, loyalty, accountability, training and development, orderliness and cooperation. An individual's

performance can be assessed in terms of effort either day to day, when there extraordinary circumstance; this factor reflects the degree to which people commit themselves to job tasks.

Concept of Compliance

Compliance is either a state of being in accordance with the established guidelines or speculations, or the process of becoming so. It is also encompass efforts to ensure that organizations are abiding by both industry regulations and government legislation (Jacqueline, 2015). Johnson (2015) posit that compliance is the certification or confirmation that the doer of an action meets the requirements of accepted practices, legislation, prescribed rules and regulations, specified standards or the terms of a contract. It is the act or process of complying to a desire, demand, proposal, or regimen or with coercion (Robert, 2014). Therefore, compliance is the act of conformity in fulfilling official requirements.

Management should have a standard which should be strictly adhered to in carrying out promotion exercises, since it serves as incentive for superior managerial performance and invariably higher productivity (Fulmer, 1978). It is therefore imperative for each organization to provide an objective job description for promotional positions if only to avoid the problem that might follow a subjective promotion exercise. Reasons for every promotion should be documented and job opportunities and qualifications required for promotion should also be made known so that those affected in a promotion exercise will know why they are not elevated.

Promotion in the civil service according to Orire (2007) is never a right but a privilege and therefore not mandatory. Promotion therefore requires commitment and serious dedication to work in order to justify being elevated. In Civil Service, an officer does not ordinary require to request or apply to be promoted. Decision on whoever is to be promoted regardless of status and position, rests on the authority or Management within the ministry's setup.

The following procedure applies in promoting staff in any ministry/department:

- (i) Junior and Senior Staff Management Committees compile and scrutinize the names of staff due for promotion within the year;
- (ii) A junior staff is considered for promotion after having spent at least two (2) years on a particular post and subject to vacancy that is

- GL01 to 06. This falls within delegated powers of the ministry and extra-ministerial departments.
- (iii) Senior staff from GL 07 to 14 could be presented for promotion after serving for at least three (3) years on a particular post, subject to vacancy situation and passing competitive examination.
 - (iv) Staff on promotion to grade levels 15 and above must normally sit for a competitive examination to be conducted by the Federal Civil Service Commission after having served for at least four (4) years on a particular post.

The office of the Head of Civil Service of the Federation (OHSF) takes responsibility for conducting promotion examinations for pool cadre officers up to grade level 13, Assistant Chief Administrative Officer, while the Federal Civil Service Commission handles that of grade level 14 and above.

Criteria for promotion in the Federal Civil Service are as follows:

Interview	- 70%
APPER	- 20%
Seniority	- 10% (2marks for each year after maturity)
Overall pass marks	- 60%

When an officer in the civil service is being promoted, it should be ensured that he/she meets the specified requirements for the promotion. In compliance with criteria in promotion in Lagos State, Yonwuren (2012) expressed that about 3500 eligible civil servants who sought promotion, only those that met the requirements and passes both written and interview exams were promoted (the Punch 6th may 2012). Dalton (1964), in his research into the question of promotion concluded that other factors are considered in the promotion process. Unofficial and internal informal influence are powerful determinants e.g. religion, national origin, membership in the right social club, family connections, personal friendships, sex etc. It is on this assertion Strauss and Sayles (1980), posit that in picking those to be promoted, there is the tendency for the top executive to choose those who feel and think as he does. He often appreciates the employee's loyalty to him and to the organization has been more important than ability. More often than not, he tends to favor those who have a similar social, political, economic and religious interest to his own. Echu (2010) added that most promotions, appointments and job placements are based on political affiliation, ethnicity, religious inclination or the connection and reference of the appointee to the people that matter.

The criteria for promotion vary from one organization to the other, but in general it is usually based on official criteria such as merit, length of service (seniority), ability, performance and educational qualification. While trade unionists argue for the use of seniority as an important criterion for promotion, students of management usually feel that it should be discarded, because it is anathema to private enterprise, since length of service rather than performance is rewarded (Haiman and Scott, 1978). According to Philips (1992) in Aminu (1995), Promotion Scheme in Civil Service has also been revamped to ensure that greater emphasis is given to performance as a criterion of promotion that seniority does not weigh as in the past and the prime of 'Federal Character' does not feature as a criterion. This is to say work done by civil servants should be the criterion for promotion than seniority. Aighewi (2010) states that one of the problems of performance rating is when appraisal is done periodically instead of continuously by which assessors are quite often influenced by recent incidents because they have forgotten certain significant effective or ineffective behaviour in the past which was not recorded. Gilbert (2006) also notes that one of the causes of abuse of the appraisal system was the desire to give close friends and relations advantage over others in competitive promotion exercise thereby making the system lose its usefulness and cannot be depended upon for assessment of performance. He observes that people assessing subordinates by the use of APER Form award marks so generously that no one in a given group of officers being considered for any reward or promotion, were found to have scored lower than 95 percent and in some cases, with candidates scoring 100 percent. Gilbert (2006) then argues that such scores are practically impossible in an objective assessment; and, there is even no evidence anywhere to show for high performance and excellence in the public service.

In order to curtail the excesses of assessors, the Federal Civil Service Commission (FCSC) in 1996 introduced examination to be done in order to evaluate officers to be considered for promotion. Consequently, promotion became based on examination, APER and seniority which carry 70 percent, 20 percent and 10 percent respectively. However, the FCSC itself was accused of sacrificing the otherwise promising career of competent and high-performing officers on the altar of corruption which makes people lose confidence on the FCSC leading to low morale, lack of commitment, frustration and low productivity (Gilbert, 2010). If the standard set by the organization (private or public) is followed to the letter, promotion tends to motivate workers to perform better than they have been doing before.

Kircher and Mason (1975) see promotion as the reassignment of an employee to a job of higher rank and pay. Fulmer (1978) viewed promotion as advancement to a higher position. Beach (1980) says promotion involves reassignment of the employee to a job of higher rank, which involves the movement from a job to another vertically, which must be upward and invariably necessitating more responsibilities and (in most cases) higher pay. Usman (2005) in his work while discussing job performance asserted that promotion usually enhance performance, he started further that promotion does not only bring money to the employee but also a mark of recognition to him.

Robbins (2001) expressed that promotion create the opportunity for personal growth, increased levels of responsibility and increase on social standing. Promotion brings along with it not just more money but also a mark of recognition of the individual's performance. The employee promoted puts in more effort in his work (Cole, 2005). Denyer (1992) says promotion involves a change of status and usually means appointment to a higher grade post with greater responsibilities. It is an important aspect of personnel management because it is one of the means by which workers obtain satisfaction which keeps their morale at a high level. An employee condemned to routine work without the chance of promotion inevitably becomes frustrated and this can lead high staff turnover, low productivity and general dissatisfaction. Most of people view promotions positively, as they indicate that the individual being promoted is successful, valuable and useful.

Orire (2007) in his study on effect of promotion on the performance of NAPEP observes that promotion remained a sine qua non for effectiveness and efficiency in the public service. He concluded that outright stagnation of promotion often demoralizes performance and consequently brings backwardness to any organization. French (1983) in his research conducted posits that the moment promotion is denied an employee, frustration, aggression, fixation among others set in and these invariably lead to decline in productivity especially if he or she perceives his or her effort as deserving elevation. Beach (1990) rehearsed that bypassing an aspiring person (civil servant) for promotion can undermine his morale and since such employee will become a disappointed candidate. Daniel (1992) in the study conducted on the factors responsible for poor performance among staff in federal ministry of agriculture, Maiduguri observed that given promotion to deserving staff at suitable intervals makes workers to be motivated to improve on their performance. He further stressed that

prospects to get promoted motivate staff to work harder and put his best to achieve the organizational objectives. In another view, Abejirinde (2009) used two motivational indicators, namely growth and promotion to determine the level of staff motivation in Nigerian public and private sector, he established high rate of growth and promotion opportunities for the employees in both public and private organization, he equally established high rate of job performance among staff.

Promotion is important to both the organization and the employee because it creates increasing challenges, employee growth and on-the-job-learning i.e. it offers the individual an opportunity to develop fully his or her potentials. Nguyen, Taylor and Bradley (2003) asserts that job satisfaction is the result of promotion opportunities in the organization. Teseema and Soeter (2006) concluded that there is positive relationship between promotion practices and perceived performance of employee. If organizations want to accelerate performance of employees in the organization, fair promotional opportunities should be given to employee (Park, Mitsuhashi, Fey and Bjorkman 2003). Strauss and Sayles (1980) says that promotion is an important source of employee motivation and one of the most highly visible rewards for fine performance and the best means for most organizations to meet their affirmative goals. It should be noted that promotion is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. As such organizations must set targets in the form of productivity/efficiency and whoever meets these targets should be rewarded with promotion because productivity and morale are facilitated if based on objective assessment of present and potential capability of workers (Flippo, 1980). Promotion is likely to have satisfying effect on the promoted individual's needs for esteem, belongingness and security and it gives opportunity for greater self-actualization through more varied and challenging assignments. If the standard set by the organization (private or public) is followed to the letter, promotion tends to motivate workers to perform better than they have been doing before.

Just as promotion can positively affect performance, there are negative impacts it can have on organizations. If promotion is based on extraneous factors not directly related to the job, the effect can be severe on the achievement of the organizational goals. To those who feel they have met all the required standards needed for promotion, they may cut down on their efforts, while those who might have been unduly promoted either through connections or other substandard consideration, may not want to

reciprocate the good gesture of the organization because they know whether they perform or not, promotion will come.

Promotions are meant to induce the beneficiaries to put in extra effort to their performance thereby improving productivity, efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery. If promotion is properly administered, it can be a good source of improved performance and subsequently profit for the organization (private or public). Among other things, an individual so promoted will want to justify the confidence of the organization in him by putting in extra effort.

However, it is important to note that Promotion and Performance are both essential requirements in realizing the efficacy of Service Delivery. In this respect, Promotion in Civil Service connotes an elevation to a more important office. Performance on the other hand deals with an event of attending to duties with a sense of meticulousness and time management. Considering the above explanation, one could note as earlier stated that Promotion and Performance in the civil service are indispensable otherwise put as intertwined. This is because the former (Promotion) brings about the realization of the later (Performance). For instance, a civil servant who is elevated from his present status will definitely with commitment performs his designated assignment with the spirit of efficiency; thus brings to fore the achievement of a good result of what he does.

In another way round, one could come to the conclusion that promotion in the civil service for the civil servants is necessary as at the time so as to strengthen the efficiency of performance as regards what he does in his office. The essence of promotion of civil servants is efficiency and effective discharge of their statutory responsibilities.

Expectancy Theory

This study adopted the Expectancy theory of Victor H. Vroom (1964) as a tool for its analysis of the extent to which promotion affect the performance of civil servants in Kwara State. The Theory as it implies identifies that people are in the position to exhibit within their ability high level of effort when understood that there are reasons within the effort they bring to fore, the performance they achieve and basically the outcome/reward they receive after all. This could be better explained that people by their nature invariably do better if the performance of their effort is acknowledged by a specific way of appreciating it. Vroom sticks to the basis that people will be encouraged to do things to pursue their respective goals if they believe in

the worth of that goal; and if they also see that what they do will help them achieve their target.

Notably, this can be clearly interpreted to an organization set up that an employee will first of all consider how his effort could improve his performance and how his performance on the other hand would bring about reward. By expansion, this relates the apprehension of the basis in the Civil Service that a Civil Servant brings his effort to bear in the discharge of his duty and thereafter expects his input in the Service Delivery to be recognized as he anticipates being elevated (promoted) as at the due. Vroom in the bid to analytically explain his Theory of Expectancy went ahead to give an illustration of the theory through below diagram.

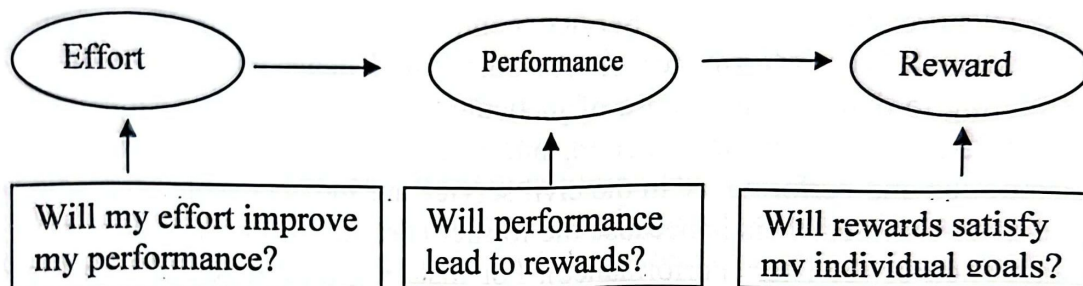


Diagram 1: Diagram Showing the Expectancy Theory

Source: Victor H. Vroom (1964)

He relates his theory thus: people are motivated to perform at work (1) if they believe their efforts will be rewarded (Expectancies) and (2) if the rewards they expect to receive are important to them (Valences). Vroom emphatically expresses that his theory of expectancy is premised on what to be rewarded with as motivation of their efforts.

Thus, the key constructs in the theory of Expectancy of motivation are:

Valence: this refers to the importance an individual places on the reward to be earned.

Expectancy: it refers to the degree to which individual believes that he has the necessary skills and abilities to work at this level.

Instrumentality: by instrumentality, Vroom means the belief (force) that the employee holds that his hard work will lead to reward.

The relevance of this theory in its interpretation in the Civil Service buttresses the notion that promotion remains a useful means toward motivating Civil Servants to perform optimally in their respective assignments. This could be understood from the key constructs of the theory earlier explained. For instance, a Civil Servant would be convinced as regards working harder when he sees something worthy to be achieved in return of his hard work. This is in practical translation of what Vroom refers to as valence in his theory of Expectancy. On the contrary, the civil servants on a very unfair note are always quick to respond and seek redress whenever they see they are perhaps denied certain reward or the civil service is not taking due cognizance to the supposed acknowledgement of their performance while they disregard their own fair play of performance so expected of them. By a way of expansion, the civil servants have to be adequately informed that promotion though a *sine qua non* for effectiveness and efficiency in public service is never a right, rather a privilege. It therefore entails commitment and dedication to work of a civil servant to justify being elevated. On this note, the civil servants by a manner of determination of purpose demonstrate a deep sense of commitment to their offices.

Research Methodology

The study was carried out in Kwara State. Ilorin serves as the official capital of Kwara State in which major administrative operations are carried out and the conduct of promotion exercises take place in the area. The population for the study comprised of all the Four Thousand and Forty (4040) civil servants in selected ministries of Kwara State. The study employed the use of both primary and secondary sources of data. A multistage sampling technique was adopted utilizing purposive and simple random sampling techniques. The purposive sampling method was used to select seven ministries and one agency for the study. The sample size was obtained from the list of staff from each ministry using simple random sampling technique. The study used descriptive and inferential statistics for data analysis. The data gathered was statistically analyzed using Percentage and Pearson Product Moment Correlation statistic to answer the research question and test the hypothesis formulated respectively.

Results and Discussion

The research questions which states that: what are the criteria for promotion, what is the level of compliance with criteria of promotion and to what extent does promotion affect performance of civil servants in Kwara State, are analyzed by looking at all the relevant variables.

Criteria for Promotion and Compliance to the Criteria

The researcher sought to know the degree the civil servants are knowledgeable about the respective criteria for promotion. This is because for any civil servant to be promoted he must undergo the following criteria such as Examination and Interview, APER and Seniority. However, any civil servant who fails to meet up with these criteria will not be promoted.

Table 2:1 Criteria for Promotion

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	76	34.2	34.2	34.2
Agreed	112	50.5	50.5	84.7
Undecided	19	8.6	8.6	93.3
Disagreed	9	4.1	4.1	97.4
Strongly Disagreed	6	2.6	2.6	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

The table 2:1 reveals that 76(34.2%), 112(50.5) of the respondents were strongly agreed and agreed respectively knowledgeable about the criteria for promotion while 19 (8.6%), 9(4.1%) and 6 (2.6%) of the respondents undecided, disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively. This indicates that most of the respondents are knowledgeable about the respective criteria for promotion.

Adherence to Criteria for Promotion

The researcher sought to know the stand of the civil service towards strict maintenance of the criteria for promoting civil servants.

Table 2:2 Adherence to Criteria for Promotion

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	71	32.0	32.0	32.0
Agreed	115	51.8	51.8	83.8
Undecided	23	10.4	10.4	94.2
Disagreed	9	4.1	4.1	98.3
Strongly Disagreed	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:2 shows that out of 222 respondents 71(32.0%) strongly agreed and 115(51.8%) agreed that Civil Service maintains the criteria for promotion while 23(10.4%) undecided, 9 (4.1%) disagreed and 4 (1.7%) strongly disagreed respectively. This shows that civil service strictly maintains the criteria for promoting civil servants.

Political Neutrality in conducting promotion

The researcher sought to know how politics have been induced in the conduct of promotion, recruitment, transfer and training exercise in the civil service.

Table 2:3 Political Neutrality in conducting promotion

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	28	12.6	12.6	12.6
Agreed	72	32.4	32.4	45.0
Undecided	31	14.0	14.0	59.0
Disagreed	53	23.9	23.9	82.9
Strongly Disagreed	38	17.1	17.1	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:3 shows that 28 (12.6%) and 72 (32.4%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that there is absence of political neutrality in conducting promotion exercise while 31 (14.0%), 53 (23.9%) and 38 (17.1%) of the responses shows undecided, disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively. Analysis shows that there is absence of political neutrality in conducting promotion, transfer, and training exercise.

Assessment of the Extent to which Promotion affect Performance

This section dwells on the assessment of the extent to which promotion affects the performance of civil servants in Kwara State.

Level of commitment/determination/performance when promoted

The researcher sought to know the level of commitment and determination of civil servants when promoted.

Table 2:4 Level of commitment/determination when promoted

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	105	47.3	47.3	47.3
Agreed	85	38.3	38.3	85.6
Undecided	18	8.1	8.1	93.7
Disagreed	14	6.3	6.3	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:4 shows that most of the respondents strongly agreed 105 (47.3%) and agreed 85 (38.3%) that level of commitment and determination to work will increase when they are promoted while few of the respondents disagreed 14 (6.3%) and undecided 18 (8.1%) respectively. This shows that level of commitment/determination to work will increase when they are promoted.

Promotion as Yardstick for Performance`

The researcher sought to know from the respondents whether promotion remains a factor for enhancement of performance.

Table 2:5 Promotion as Yardstick for Performance

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	80	36.0	36.0	36.0
Agreed	100	45.0	45.0	81
Undecided	22	9.9	9.9	90.9
Disagreed	19	8.6	8.6	99.5
Strongly Disagreed	1	.5	.5	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:5 shows that out of 222 respondents 80 (36.0%) strongly agreed and 100 (45.0%) agreed that promotion still remains a yardstick for enhancement of performance, while 22(9.9%) undecided, 19(8.6%) disagreed and 1(0.5%) strongly disagreed respectively. This shows that promotion remains a yardstick/factor for enhancing/affecting performance.

Non Promotion Demoralizes Performance

The researcher sought to know from the respondents whether denial of promotion demoralizes their working sense.

Table 2:6 Non Promotion Demoralizes performance

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	105	47.3	47.3	47.3
Agreed	83	37.4	37.4	84.7
Undecided	23	10.4	10.4	95.0
Disagreed	10	4.5	4.5	99.5
Strongly Disagreed	1	.5	.5	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:6 reveals that 105 (47.3%) strongly agreed and 83(37.4%). agreed that denial of promotion demoralizes the working sense of civil servant while 1 (0.5%) strongly disagreed, 10 (4.5%) disagreed and 23(10.4%) undecided that denial of promotion does not demoralizes the working sense of a civil servant. This indicates that if a civil servant is denied of promotion, there is the possibility of an event of decline in his level of input.

Hard work for promotion

The researcher sought to know whether officers recognized to be hard working, diligent and loyal to the state after promoted are motivated to perform.

Table 2:7 Hard Work for Promotion

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	59	26.6	26.6	26.6
Agreed	82	36.9	36.9	63.5
Undecided	29	13.1	13.1	76.6
Disagreed	38	17.1	17.1	93.7
Strongly Disagreed	14	6.3	6.3	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:7 reveals that out of 222 respondents 82 (36.9%) agreed and 59 (26.6%) strongly agreed that government motivates its workers by promoting them as at when due any officer to be hardworking, diligent and loyal to the state while 38 (17.1%) disagreed and 14 (6.3%) strongly disagreed as well as 29 (13.1%) were undecided respectively. This analysis shows that government motivates its workers by promoting them as at when due.

Prompt Payment of Benefits.

The researcher enquires to know from the respondents whether they are paid their benefit immediately after promotion.

Table 2:8 Prompt payment of Benefits

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	27	12.2	12.2	12.2
Agreed	41	18.5	18.5	30.7
Undecided	17	7.7	7.7	38.4
Disagreed	83	37.4	37.4	75.8
Strongly Disagreed	51	24.2	24.2	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:8 shows that 27 (12.20%) strongly agreed and 41 (18.5%) agreed among the respondents that the expected necessary benefits are settled immediately after being promoted while 83 (37.4%) disagreed, 51 (24.2%) strongly disagreed and 17 (7.7%) undecided respectively. This reveals that the expected benefits (arrears) are not settled immediately.

Promotion Arrears

The researcher sought to know from the respondents (Civil Servants) whether their promotion arrears are paid.

Table 2:9 Promotion Arrears

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agreed	18	8.1	8.1	8.1
Agreed	38	17.1	17.1	25.2
Undecided	46	20.7	20.7	45.9
Disagreed	72	32.4	32.4	78.3
Strongly Disagreed	48	21.7	21.7	100.0
Total	222	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Table 2:9 reveals that out of 222 respondents 48 (21.6%) strongly disagreed and 72 (32.4%) disagreed that promotion arrears of Civil Servants are paid while 46 (20.7%) undecided, 38 (17.1%) agreed, and 18(8.1%) strongly agreed respectively. Analysis of table 4.26 shows that promotion arrears of civil servants are not paid.

Testing of Hypothesis

The study used Pearson correlation method to test the hypothesis. The Pearson correlation coefficient or simply the Pearson r examines the significance or otherwise of the association between two variables both of which must have been measured on at least an interval scale.

HO₁: There is no significant correlation between promotion and performance in service delivery of civil servants in Kwara State.

Table 2:10 Pearson (r) summary

Source of Correlation	Sums of Square	Df	r	P
ΣX	180	n-1	0.43	<0.05(0.666)
ΣY	20	8-1=7		
ΣX^2	4996			
ΣY^2	64			
ΣXY	499			

Source: Field survey, 2014.

Decision: the calculated value (0.43) is less than the critical (i.e. table) value (0.666), so we accept the null hypothesis and conclude that there is no significant correlation between promotion and performance of civil servants in Kwara State. The hypothesis corroborates the finding in table 2:5 that promotion still remains a yardstick for enhancement of performance.

Discussion of Major Findings

The result from table 2:1 revealed that most of the respondents are knowledgeable about the respective criteria for promotion. This finding corroborated with earlier study of Federal Civil Service Commission (1996) that introduced examination to be done in order to evaluate officer to be considered for promotion. Promotion became based on examination, APER and seniority which carry 70 percent, 20 percent and percent respectively. The respondents are knowledgeable about the criteria of promotion due to the fact that for any civil servant to be promoted he/she must undergo through these criteria.

The finding from table 2:2 showed that civil service strictly complied with the criteria for promoting civil servants in Kwara State. This corroborated with earlier study carried out by Yonwuren (2012) that about 3500 eligible civil servants who sought for promotion, only those that met requirements and passes both written and interview exams were promoted.

The finding from figure 2:3 revealed that there is absence of political neutrality in conducting promotion, transfer, and training exercise. This finding corroborated with the earlier study done by Echu (2010) that most promotions, appointments and job placement are based on political affiliation, ethnicity, religious inclination or the connection and reference of the appointee to the people that matter.

The result from table 2:4 shows that level of commitment/determination to work will increase when they are promoted. The finding from table 2:5 revealed that promotion remains a yardstick/factor for enhancing (affecting) performance. This finding corroborated with earlier studies carried out by Strauss and Sayles (1980) and Arowolo (2012) that revealed that promotion is a source of performance enhancement and is an important source of employee motivation and one of the most highly visible rewards for fine performance and the best means for most organizations to meet their affirmative goals. This finding also corroborates with the earlier work of Usman (2005) that promotion usually enhance performance, he started

further that promotion does not only bring money to the employee but also a mark of recognition to him.

The finding from table 2:6 revealed that if a civil servant is denied promotion, there is the possibility of an event of decline in his level of input. This corroborated with earlier studies carried out by Orire (2007) and French (1983) that the outright stagnation of promotion often demoralizes performance and consequently brings backwardness to any organization. The moment promotion is denied frustration, aggression, fixation among others set in and these invariably lead to decline in productivity.

The finding from table 2:7 reveals that government motivates its workers by promoting them as at when due. The result from table 2:8 reveals that the expected benefits of civil servants are not settled immediately after promotion. The finding from table 2:9 shows that promotion arrears of civil servants are not paid.

5.2 Conclusions

From the result of the findings the following conclusion is drawn:

The criteria for promoting civil servants in Kwara state are examination and interview (70%), APPER (20%) and seniority (10%). The Civil Service strictly complies with the criteria for promoting civil servants. However, promotion remains a yardstick for enhancing/affecting performance, but if promotion is denied it demoralizes the working sense of civil servants.

5.3 Recommendations

Based from the conclusions stated above the following recommendations are proffered:

- i. Assessment criteria such as examination and interview, APER and seniority should not be compromised while dealing with general assessment of the civil servants so as to maintain integrity of the civil service.
- ii. The Civil Service rules and regulation should not be bent to either suit oneself as the boss or in favour of any civil servant as the case may be. This would in this regard assure the dignity of the system.
- iii. Since promotion remains the major yardstick for enhancement of performance, civil servants should be promoted at due course while the expected remuneration be paid without much delay in order to encourage and put them in their respective toes.

- iv. Entitlements and other benefits should always be extended to civil servants that are promoted, by so doing, the essentiality of the civil service is re-assured.
- v. The idea of promoting civil servants without financial remuneration should be stopped which common to most of the state.

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CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA FROM 2010 – 2014

By

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ABSTRACT

The current democratic dispensation in Nigeria was launched again in 1999 leading to the emergency of the fourth republic. This came after a long time of despotic military rule in the country. Democracy was highly embraced by all with expected hope that it will deliver good dividends and socio economic development. Democracy was equally welcomed in Nigeria with high expectation and enthusiasm since it has the capacity of ensuring political stability and socio-economic development. But this was soon dashed as the political landscape of the nation was turn to a "battle ground" not for national survival but for extending self centric and elitist agenda. The system today lacks an agenda for the masses and their rights terribly suppressed. Instead of peace, stability, development and an egalitarian society, the nation is now characterized and marred by insecurity and political instability. In other words, not far into the fourth republic, the body polity became overheated by lots of challenges ranging from electoral malpractice, inter and intra-ethnic rivalry, religious crises and insecurity (Boko Haram) and weak democratic institutions in Nigeria. The objective of this paper is to examine the various challenges and prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria from 2010 – 2014. The paper uses secondary sources of data gathering and qualitative mode of analysis. The paper find out that ethno-religion factor, absence of a true federalism, poverty, insecurity, corruptions among others were the major challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper conclude that democratic consolidation can only be achieved in Nigeria when citizens freely and fairly elect their leaders such that those so elected owe their election to the people and not a cabal who stays in hidden place to write election results. Not only that, Citizens will be willing and perhaps eager to support democracy if the political elites rise above class self-seeking, corruption and give primacy to citizens needs. The paper recommended that only by discipline and subduing the dictatorial tendencies of Nigerian leaders and the encouragement of uninterested, skeptical and unconvinced, politically apathetic citizens to embrace constitutional democracy. In other words, the nation will be able to consolidate her democracy.

Introduction

Democracy was welcomed in Nigeria with high expectation and enthusiasm since it has the capacity of ensuring political stability and socio-economic development. But this was soon dashed as the political landscape of the nation was turn to a “battle ground” not for national survival but for extending self centric and elitist agenda. The system today lacks an agenda for the masses and their rights terrible suppressed. Instead of peace, stability, development and an egalitarian society, the nation is now characterized and marred by political instability. A democratic system is one where rulers are held accountable to the ruled by means of a variety of political arrangements. Such arrangements include but are not necessarily conterminous with competitive multi-party elections held at regular intervals (Oransanye, 1995:1). Democracy is a collective system which tries to maximize the welfare of the people (Amao, 2007:1).

However, the main attribute of democracy is that, those holding political office do not have automatic security of tenure but can be challenged and even displaced in accordance with the will of the people through a wide range of institutional mechanism. Thus, the core ideas and ingredient defining democracy are participation and accountability, that those who govern give account of their stewardship through periodic-election is one of the most important mechanisms for the realization of the objectives of democratization. It is important to note that, elections are not only meant to ensure confirm or re-affirm the legitimacy of the governor through a regular consent, but also to provide a fertile ground for democracy to thrive (Ogundiya and Baba T.K. 2007:4). It has been observed that issues like corruption, mediocrity, thieving, election rigging, ill-preparedness, etc have become the major hallmarks of socio-economic transformation in Nigeria under the Goodluck Jonathan’s administration.

Today, our dream and struggle for democratization is fading away. Instead of free and fair election, we have sham elections and scientific rigging, instead of true federalism, we now have creeping unilateralism; Instead of an independent judiciary, we have executive impunity. Tambuwal, A. (The Nations, Tuesday, June 2013 vol. 7 No. 215431) Vintage, Lagos.

This paper addresses the challenges and prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria with key emphasis on the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan Administration from 2010 – 2014. This paper is divided into six sections; introduction, conceptual clarification; challenges of

democratic consolidation in Nigeria; prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria; recommendations and conclusion.

Conceptual Clarification

(A) Democracy

The term democracy connotes a global concern. The concept of democracy is particularly sensitive to the current socioeconomic and political circumstances of nations striving for international identity and development posture as well as liberality and good governance. As an over-flogged concept, the idea as enunciated by the ancient Greeks means “demoscratos” which is literally translates into “people’s power or rule” (Sarabjit, 2002:2). That goes to show that democracy has its root in Greek where individuals in a polis have an opportunity of taken part in decision making. The position explains democracy as a universal principle of governance that uphold high moral imperatives, accord the citizenry the rights to participate in decision making that adheres to their collective will and interest.

As opined by-Nzongola Ntalaja (2002:2) the concept can therefore, be regarded “as a governmental system that involves the widest spectrum of participation, either through elections or through the administration of the accepted policies”. It is a government founded on the principle of rule of law which is against arbitrariness, high handedness, dictatorship and also antithesis to military regime.

Democracy has been described as government by persons, freely chosen by the governed, who also hold them accountable and responsible for their actions, while in government. (Gana, 1996:12). A democratic system is one where rulers are held accountable to the ruled by means of a variety of political arrangements. Such arrangements includes: but are not necessarily conterminous with, competitive multi-party elections, held at regular intervals (Oransanye, 1995:1). However, the main attribute of democracy is that those holding political office do not have automatic security of tenure of office but can be challenged and even displaced in accordance with the will of the people through a wide range of institutional mechanisms (Honwell, 1991:3).

Thus, the two core ideas and ingredients defining democracy are participation and accountability, and that the people determine who governs them, and also that those who govern give account of their stewardship through periodic submission to the people to assess their performance.

Representative democracy is a legitimate government, freely and fairly elected on competitive political party platforms at a regular interval by the people, it is necessary to note that those saddled with power are supposed to be accountable and responsible (Shievely, 2001; Gana 1996, Oransanye, 1995). Thus democracy has been defined as:

Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) for all positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force, a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded and a level of civil and political liberties – freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form/join organizations sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competitions and participation. (emphasis in original) Diamond et'al, 1988: XVI).

Crowthers (2000:3), defines democracy as a system of government by all the people of a country, usually through representatives whom they elect. Democracy embodies fundamental human rights such as freedom of expressions, right to life, right to dignity of human person, right to personal liberty, right to fair hearing, right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, press, peaceful assembly and association, movement, political participation, etc.

In another sense, democracy is seen as the control of an organization by its members who take part in the making of decisions. In other words, democracy implies majority rule and respect for fundamental rights of the people. Similarly, Nwoye, (2001:3) maintains that democracy signifies political system dominated by representatives either directly or indirectly chosen by the people. Nzongola-Ntalaja (2000:14) succinctly explained democracy as

A continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental rights. According to him, democracy cannot be negotiated as a new bargain to developing nations, rather, it has to be richer than the liberal model, and should be capable of leading to a developing strategy that is homegrown, people-centered and oriented towards eradicating poverty.

Baker (1995:3) is of the view that democracy is a political system that operates based on popularly elected or appointed representative to run the affairs of the state. Yet, Appadorai (1975:137) as cited in Okafor (2003:4)

describes democracy as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them.

For Oddih (1996:6) democracy is a form of government as well as a way of life, goal, ideal and philosophy, which guarantees freedom of the majority and rights of the majority. The world book (200:5) maintains that democracy has certain tenants, which includes: free elections, majority rule, participation of political parties unimpeachable judiciary and parliament. Ake (1996:7) argued that the real democratic culture that can bring about real development in Africa, is the one sustained by economic and political development based on decentralization of power, and reliance on indigenous communities to provide some refuge from the centralized state.

Writing on consolidation democracy, Lijphant (1977:3) believes that a prerequisite for durable and stable democracy rests on the ability of elites in plural societies to cooperate and achieve social homogeneity and political consensus. By so doing, according to him, the centrifugal tendencies inherent in plural societies are mitigated and counteracted.

Gwinn and Peters (1992:7) give a lucid summary on definitions of democracy and what democracy entails along with the history of the concept. According to these scholars, the term democracy originated from Greek city states now (Greece). It was coined from a Greek word “demokratos” “Demos” means “people” and “kratos” means “rule” They posit that the term has several, different contemporary usages such as:

- i. A form of government in which the rights to make political decisions is exercised directly by the whole body of citizens, acting under procedures of majority rule, usually known as direct democracy.
- ii. A form of government in which the citizen exercise the same right nor in person but through representatives chosen by and responsible to them, known as representative democracy.
- iii. A form of government, usually a representative democracy, in which the powers of the majority are exercised within a framework of constitutional restraints designed to guarantee all citizens the enjoyment of certain individual or collective rights such as freedom of speech and religion known as liberal or constitutional democracy. Perhaps, the most insightful clarification on the concept of democracy was provided by Obasi (1988:3) posits that the ultimate goal of democracy is to minimize arbitrary and tyrannical rule and to maximize a pattern of

civility rooted in respect and justice for each man to achieve a human polity.

Generally, democracy is “a form of government in which citizens in a state has political investments of political participation and trust” (Ayoade, 1998:1). Democracy is “a collective system which attempt or tries to maximizes the welfare of the people (Amao, 2007:1). It is essentially has to do with the ability of the people to control decision making (Zack-Williams, 2001:213) this which explains why Osaghae (1994:6) asserts that the central thing about democracy is to ensure that power actually belong to the people. Democracy emphasizes freedom of the individuals in various aspect of political life, equality among citizens, justice in relations between the people and the government and the participation of the people in choosing those in government (Nnoli, 2003:143).

What these conceptions suggest is that democracy as a system of government, stresses the sovereignty of the people (see Zack-Williams, 2001:213 – 214, Oshagae, 1994:6). It is also reminiscent of Robert Dahls “two dimension of democracy” Dahl, 2006: 35-40). The first dimension sees democracy as “an ideal goal, aims, or standard, one that is perhaps unachievable but nonetheless highly relevant not only for classifying and judging political systems but also for fashioning strategies of democratization designing appropriate political institutions, and so on “An ideal democracy is therefore coterminous with” a political system that might be designed for members of an association who were willing to treat one another for political purpose, as “political equals (Dahl, 2000: 37) such a system require certain criteria for effective functioning. These criteria include a set of fundamental human right of citizen, democratic political institution to boost citizen’s participation in electing representatives, to freedom of expression, inquiry, discussion, and so on. One important thing is that those rights and opportunities must not just exist as merely abstract moral obligations but must be “enforceable and enforced by law and practice” (Dahl, 1989:106).

(B) Democratic Consolidation

Diamond (1999:3) sees democratic consolidation as the process of achieving broad and deep legitimation such that all significant political actors at both the elite and masses level believe that popular rule is better for their society than any other realistic alternative they can imagine. It also connects the act of reducing the probability of the breakdown of the system to the point where democracy can be said that it will persist. Amao

(2013:9) view it as regime maintenance and about regarding the key political institution as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to the democratic rules of the game. It manifest under enhanced economic development developed democratic culture, stable party system,. Suffice to assert that this cannot be attained in Nigeria until stability is attained. This therefore shows that though under democratic regime Nigeria is striving for consolidation (Zayyan 2002:210). From a different but somewhat related perspective, Linz and Stephen (2002:210) provide a tri-dimensional perspective to the question of democratic consolidation: the behavioural, the attitudinal, and the constitutional perspectives. Let us quote them in extensor: Linz and Stephen (2002:210).

Behaviourally democracy become the only game in town when no significant political opposition seriously attempt to overthrows the democratic regime or to promote domestic or international violence in order to secede from the state.....Attitudinally, democracy become the only game in town when, even in the face of several political and economic crisis, the overwhelming majority of the people believe that any further political change must emerge from within the parameters of democratic procedures. Constitutionally, democracy become the only game in town when all the factors in the polity become habituated to the fact that political conflict within the state will be resolved according to established norms and that violation of these norms are likely to be both ineffective and costly.

Linz and Stephen (2002:210) concluded that with consolidation, democracy become regularized and deeply internalized in social, institutional and even psychological life as well as in political calculations for achieving goals. This suggests that consolidation on the one hand, emphasizes that democracy must “make sense” to the generality of the people, and on the other hand, it suggests the non-existence of delegitimizing challenges, e.g. endemic and persistence socio political crises. Scheduler, (1998:8) in a related argument, describe democratic consolidation as the challenges of making new “democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy of making them immune against the threat of authoritarian regression, of building dams against the eventual reverse waves”

Eziokivu (2004:17) in line with the report of the political bureau (1987), highlights some basic constituents and elements for sustaining democracy in Nigeria. These according to him, include:

(iii) Ethno-Religious Factors

These remain one of the forces that have contributed greatly to socio-political instability in the country. The latest sectarian turbulence in the country and the clamour for the presidency by the varied ethnic groups indicate that the society is still balkanized by tribal and religious sentiments, (Amao 2012:13, and Victor, 2002:33). Each ethnic nationality in Nigeria has its own faith, interest, culture, language and level of aspiration and these forces seems to affect the economic fate of each group. In addition, they made the creation of a common identity problematic; Thereby exacerbating the difficulty in attaining a true democracy in the society. The expression of these demands have resulted in the emergence of ethno-nationalist insurgencies such as the Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in the Niger Delta region, the renewed demand for Biafra spearheaded by the Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the increasing notoriety of the Odua People's Congress (OPC) in the South-West. This has also resulted in incessant ethnic clashes in the Middle Belt region and other parts of the country such as the Ijaw-Itshekiri ethnic clashes in 2009. There have also been frequent inter-religious clashes and sharia-instigated riots in the Northern part of Nigeria as well as the emergence of Boko Haram Islamic Jihadists with well known preferences in religious belief and social practices (Eso, 2011:50).

Currently, Nigeria lacks the necessary democratic values (civil and human right abuse was/is rampant, freedom of speech and expression is hampered, lack of special security and distributive justice) hence the rampant social unrest in the polity (Amao 2012:14, Victor 2002:30). The attack of Boko Harams in the various churches/mosques in the northern Nigeria is the recent ethno-religious problems facing democratic consolidation in Nigeria (Amao, 2013:18)

(iv) The Absence of a True Federalism

Lack of true federal structure in Nigeria is a stumbling block to the nation's ongoing democratic enterprise. The federal government is very overbearing as it controls about 80% of the country's resources leaving state and local government at its mercy. Where regions, states or geographical zones have the power to control their resources and to have access to the necessary funds for community development programmes, democracy strives. In fact, it is only true federalism that can guarantee fairness, equity and justice in the society. More importantly, it enables each locality to progress according to the aspiration of the people. A durable and enforceable people's

constitution is an indispensable tool to make this feasible as the constitution protects the people and determines socio-political activities in a society. As noted in the philosophy of Aristotle, “we can decide the identity of a state only by examining the form (and contents) of its constitution”. In Nigeria, we lack the reality of such a federal Constitution and true federal state. (Awuudu, 2012:16).

(v) Poverty

Continued poverty, reinforced by mass unemployment is a barrier to Nigeria’s quest for consolidating her democracy. A society of beggars, parasites and bandits cannot develop. It cannot know peace or stability and cannot be democratic (Ake, 1996:17). This shows that any individual deprived of the basic wherewithal cannot participate effectively in a democratic process. A poor person is therefore not a full pledge social individual, as he/she lacks the basic freedom to engage in the life he/she enjoys. One can safely argue that poverty is a hindrance to democratic consolidation since economic chaos can topple democratic institutions. The problem of poverty and injustice are good parts of Nigeria, and the citizens do not seem to understand what is in their culture preventing them from achieving a just, prosperous dignified life and true democracy. It is essential to note that about 70% of the Nigerian populations are estimated poor, is there any wonder why the society is chaotic? (Victor 2002:40, and Amao 2012:43). The consequence of the above estimation substantiates how the masses in Nigeria are easily brainwashed and their right of choice terribly manipulated making an objective choice seldom to consideration. And more often than not, various forms of inducements and gratification which provide very temporary relief from the scourge of poverty are given central attention in making democratic choices.

(vi) Disjointed Information

Mass media are watchdog of the public interest is very crucial to democratic consolidation. The media is democratically seen as vanguard for holding governments accountable and guarding against the abuse of power. This can be done by raising countervailing structures of surveillance to monitor government activities and stern an inherent disposition towards excess. But in Nigeria especially in this republic, there are constraints on press media resulting in suppression of information, provision of disjointed and haphazard information and thereby limiting the capacity of individuals to develop a reservoir of political knowledge to assist them in controlling authoritarian rule and participating adequately in political activities. Our media has been subsumed into the elite structure “the big man” syndrome

or upper body structure. This is actively inimical to the survival and deepening of democracy (Awuudu, 2012:16).

(vii) The Incumbency Factor

In political parlance, incumbency refers to holders of political office who enjoys certain privilege (such as wider media-coverage and security) which are not available to other contestants in the electoral contest. These privileges create some electoral margin for the incumbent running for re-election leading to an incumbency abuse factor. In Nigeria, this factor promotes appointment of corrupt and or compromised electoral officers, manipulation of the electoral law and the constitution, manipulation of the electoral tribunals to protest stolen mandates, use of state security forces and apparatus to intimidate opposition parties, denial of access to state owned media houses etc. to ensure they regain or elongate their tenure against popular will (Jega and Aumonal, 2011:125). This is purely anti-democracy.

(viii) The Politics of Godfatherism

Another great impediment to democratic consolidation in Nigeria is the phenomenon of godfatherism which has been dominating the political scene of the country. It is a game where political kingmakers and gladiator manipulate the political system to enthrone their crowned political stewards. Ogundiya (2010:237) asserts that godfatherism is both a symptom and a cause of the violence and corruption that together permeates the political process in Nigeria. Public officials who owe their positions to the efforts of a political god father incur a debt that they are expected to repay without end throughout their tenure in office. They control state resources and policies not minding the corporate existence of the state. In fact, their activities help to frustrate the basic democratic values in society and block the democratic process by obstructing selection of good and qualified candidates for elective posts thereby making the rise of true democracy a hard nut to crack.

(ix) Corruption

The political and institutionalized corruption constitutes one of the greatest challenges and threats to democratic consolidation in Nigeria since the First Republic has long been established as evident in Joseph (1991:7), among other scholarly works. What is worrisome is the magnitude and degree of its manifestation in the fourth Republic. Specifically under the President Goodluck Jonathan administration 2010-2013. Tambuwal listed the oil subsidy and Security and Exchange Commission scandals, the Pension scam

as well as the Oduaghate, to buttress his allegation of Jonathan's perceived attitude of paying lip service to the war against graft. (Daily Independent 12th Dec., 2013) According to John Campbell, USA ambassador to Nigeria, corruption is a cog in the wheel of progress of any nation struggling for the enthronement and consolidation of democracy and good governance (Punch July, 7th 2005). This shows that democracy cannot be predicted on a fragile and unstable political base. Corruption as a devastator has greatly eroded the fundamental value of democracy and its essential principles (Amao 2013:2). Corruption in its popular conception is defined as the exploitation of public position, resources, and power for "private" selfish gain. For instance, Dobel (1978:7) defined corruption as "the betrayer of public trust for individual or group gain". In a similar vein, Obayelu (2007:6) identifies it as "efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expenses or a misuse of public power for private benefit".

According to Ogundiya (2010:71) events in Nigeria since 1999, have shown that the tidal waves of reversal have been contending with Nigeria's democratic project. Consequently, democracy remains grossly unstable and the future seems to be very bleak because of rampant bureaucratic and political corruption. Corruption has reached a high crescendo such that an average Nigerian now possibly associates democracy with it. The consequences of political corruption are potently manifest: Cyclical crisis of legitimacy, fragile party structure, institutional decay, chronic economic problem and unemployment, and above all general democratic volatility. Corruption in this country is generally characterized by looting of funds and wealth kept secretly i.e. capital flight, misappropriation and mismanagement of public fund, money laundering, (acquiring money through fraudulent ways) drug and child trafficking, illegal arms deal, gratification which involves monetary materials and physical favour as a condition or reward for performing official duty. Official abuse of office in which an official suppresses and violates an oath of office and nepotism which is granting underserved favour to one's relations. The recent corruption scandal in the oil sector totaling ₦1.7 trillion from 1999 – 2011, police pension fund of ₦18 billion as well as the James Ibori ₦450 billion corrupt case of money laundering in London is just the tip of an iceberg as far as corruption is concerned in Nigeria.

(x) Security Question or Insecurity

According to Duruji (2010:92 – 93) the return of Nigeria to democracy in 1999 opened up the space for expression of suppressed ethnic demands

bottled up by years of repressive military rule. The expression of these demands have resulted in the emergence of ethno-nationalist insurgencies such as the Movement For Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in the Niger Delta region, the renewed demand for Biafra spearheaded by Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the increasing notoriety of the Odua People's Congress (OPC) in the South West. This has also resulted in incessant ethnic clashes in the middle Belt region and other parts of the country such as the Ijaw – Itshekiri Ethnic clashes in 2009.

From 1999 to date, the country has been home with lots of ethnic – religions crisis, sectarian mayhem, electoral violence etc. questioning and shaking the survival of democracy. Notable among them are the Yoruba and Hausa Fulani disturbance in Shagamu Lagos state (1999-2000), the Urohbo, Ijaw, Itshekiri ethnic clashes in 2009, Ife/Modakeke crisis 2000 – 2001. The Junkun/TIV conflict (2000), incessant turbulent in Jos, the erstwhile home of peace and tourism, the post election violence in the Northern part of Nigeria 2011 and constant sectarian turmoil exemplified by the activities of BokoHarram, the x-ray of the above upheavals will indicate that our democracy is surely under great challenge making Dauda and Avidline (2007:71) he argue that the current security situation in the country is a major obstacle to the consolidation of democracy. According to them:

The tense security situation in all parts of the county makes nonsense of whatever efforts had been made to justify the sustenance of our democratic experiment since the environment is unconducive for foreign investments and endanger by bad governance and political instability.

(xi) Multiple Electoral Challenges

Credible periodic elections are a crucial factor in the survival of any political system and the conduct of free and fair election is the beauty of a democratic structure. This because it makes electoral activities meaningful and the interest of the electorates represented. But in Nigeria especially in this forth republic, elections have become a tool for promoting the interest of the aristocrat rather than the electorates. The philosophical basis and fundamental ethos of democracy are being swept under the carpet making the Nigeria electorates to lose faith in the electoral process and the government. The current example, was the local government election in Offa local government area of Kwara State, which was clearly iron by the

APC but KWASIEC declare the PDP winner of the said election. (Amao 2013:25).

Analytically, the 2003, 2007, 2011 general election were adjudged to be worst elections in the history of forth republic. This is because the elections were characterized by massive rigging, monetization factor assassination, political thurgery, sentiments, corrupt practices of electoral officers, judicial injustice, deliberate disfranchisement of the populace, discountenancing of the electorates vote outright disregard for the rule of law etc. what the above implies is that the legitimacy of democracy as the best form of governance has been corroded (Amao, 2013:25).

(xii) Weak Democratic Institutions

By democratic institutions, we refer to the Executive, Judiciary, the Legislative and electoral agency such as: Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). In principle, each of those institutions is constitutionally empowered to maintain a certain degree of independence and autonomy while serving as checks on one another. In practice however, the tendency for the Executive to dominate and employing all manner of advantages on its side including the control of budgetary allocations remains a formidable reality. This dominance and over bearing characteristics of the Executive is located in the pattern and practice of dictatorship in Nigeria especially during the military era and current regime of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. (Amao, 2013:25) this legacy has fundamentally impacted on the power relations between the executive and other democratic institutions such as INEC and going by the popular saying that “whoever pays the piper dictates the tune”. The consequences of this had been the existence of subdued judiciary, weak over sight capacity of the legislature and the dumbness of the electoral bodies both at the Federal and State levels. (Amao, 2013:18).

Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

The prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria largely depends on when individual vote counts, where electorate freely decide who will govern them, an emergence of a corrupt free leader, a purposeful followership, strong democratic institutions manned by corrupt free leaders to mention but a few. (Amao, 2014:18).

To entrench democracy some basic institutional reforms are needed as a matter of urgency. The state of the following institutional guards of democracy needs to be tinkered with:

- i. Election Management Organization
- ii. The Legislature
- iii. The Judiciary
- iv. The Police
- v. The Constitution
- vi. The Civil Society
- vii. The Mass Media (FOL)

Let examine each of these in turn:

The Election Management body:- Election organization supervision, and management is a crucial process in the quest to ensure a free, fair and credible election at any level in the national political process. Since this is readily accepted the world over, even the colonial administration in Nigeria established a commission; Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) to conduct the 1959 General elections subsequently, four other electoral commissions namely: National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) in 1995 Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) in 1979; National Electoral Commission (NECON), in 1993, and Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), in 1998 have been set up by various regimes to conduct elections in Nigeria since independence.

It is pertinent to note that the Chief Executive at the Federal level set up all these commissions. It is also interesting to note that up till 1999 the commissions conducted election at both Federal and State levels.

The Judiciary:- The pillar of democracy, the judiciary for it is has the power of adjustment of disputes, arising from the relationship among citizen and between citizens and government. It also adjudicates relationship amongst tiers of government in a Federal system typified by Nigeria. Of recent, the Nigerian judiciary seems to have wakened up from its slumber to assert its autonomy from the executive arm of government. During the early part of this administration, Nigerians were scandalized by the level of liability exhibited by the judiciary as exemplified by its dishonorable outing in most of the election tribunal cases with some openly showed bias for the ruling PDP. The same was the case with some judges who connived with the Federal government to master mind the illegal removal of state governors who were selfishly targeted by the latter. One critical area that crises for immediate amendment of the constitution is the power of the governor and the State House of Assembly over the ratification of the appointment of a state chief judge. As judicial matters are delicate and highly technical, matters of appointment and condition of

service of judges should be the prerogative of the Nigerian judicial council. This way the Chief Judge of the state should be in a position to dispense justice without fear of the face of the state governors. If this is obtained perhaps our state governors would have behaved less like emperors in the last fourteen years of civilian administration in Nigeria.

The Police:- Control of the coercive instrument of the state is one critical condition for sustaining the entity called a nation state. But for true democracy to exist, civilian security force like the police owes primary allegiance to the Nigerian state rather than to any regime. In the western hemisphere where democratic culture is already in the process of consolidation, the police exist to serve the state and not a regime or an individual for that matter. To be sure, for a Chief Executive to administer his territory effectively, he needs also to have overriding say in matters of security. Yet this privilege could be separated from the right to manipulate the force. If there are sufficient constitutional provisions which removes the power of appointment, supervision, condition of service, and financing from the private activities of the chief executive who is essentially partisan fellow when it comes to political contest.

The Constitution:- An urgent review of the present Nigerian constitution to change from a self serving document to a people's ground rule. The process should be truly bottom up. That from the grassroots, so that it could reflect truly the yearnings, aspirations and long term interest of all social, political and economic components of the federation. Constitutional review has been one outstanding feature of the enviable process of consolidating democracy in the United States of America. Therefore, Nigeria should not be an exemption, just as the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has agreed for a constitutional conference in Nigeria now.

The Civil Society:- There is already plethora of the literature on the subject matter of civil society, particularly since the decade of the 1990s. We would like to offer only a working definition in this paper. Liberal philosophers define civil society as a means of defence against potential abuse of power by political leaders, especially given the unprecedented concentration of power at the apex of modern polity (Ibeano cited in Nwachukwu, 2005:556). Therefore, the best way, according to them, to counter corruption influences of power and wealth and to revive a sense of public spirit was to encourage the creation and strengthening of citizens associations. This is what we called citizen's vigilance.

Nigeria was ousted from Commonwealth of Nations during Abacha regime, yet the present administration failed to learn from this. Most especially few months to the transition era, they use incumbency power to frustrate their opponents. Where does one start to expose violation of human right in Nigeria? Educationally, Socially, Physically, Materially, Emotionally, and Democratically Nigeria has a long way to go. But all hope is not lost. Change is constant. There may be change if some strategies and measures are adopted and implemented by all stakeholders. Essentially, the urgent need for political leaders to change the ways and manners state affairs are dispersed cannot be over emphasized.

The essence of democracy is that people will have the final say in who governs them and that those who govern express and execute the common will of the people. In any credible democracy, elections constitute the soul of the democratic process. It is therefore, a sad commentary on Nigeria's democratic development that voters no longer matter in the country's democracy. The activities of godfathers viz-a-viz vote buying, rigging and financial inducement have made a caricature of democracy in Nigeria.

Democratic consolidation can only be achieved in Nigeria when Nigerians freely and fairly elect their leaders such that those so elected owe their election to the people and not a cabal who stay in hidden place to write election results. That way those so elected will be the people's servant and not the other way around. There must be a break from previous derailment of the democratic system of governance resulting from electoral malpractice which have been catalyst to the emergence of corruption and kept political leaders. The Nigeria democratic system had no agenda for the poor and average Nigeria. Peoples right are not adequately protected neither are their wishes carried out by the governments.

Democracy was welcomed in Nigeria with high expectation and enthusiasm since it has the capacity of ensuring political stability and socio-economic development. But this was soon dashed as the political landscape of the nation was turn to a "battle ground" not for national survival but for extending self centric and elitist agenda. The system today lacks an agenda for the masses and their rights terribly suppressed. Instead of peace, stability, development and an egalitarian society, the nation is now characterized and marred by political instability. In a nutshell, if all the recommendations below are adopted, Nigeria as a democratic nation will be a better place to live in.

Recommendations

From the forgoing analysis, it is noted that citizens will be willing and perhaps eager to support democracy if the political elites rise above class self-seeking, corruption and give primacy to citizens needs, free, fair and credible election, a transparent and accountable government constrained by law that appreciate the doctrine of separation of powers among the three branches of government, respect for their rights and liberties, an end to corruption and abuse, security must be well observed.

Again, government should pursue a viable economic, social policies and programs that give citizens the opportunity to overcome the twin ills of unemployment and poverty.

We must make the practice of our constitution federal as conceived, rather than the unitary as it is currently practiced in Nigeria. Genuine excitement would be generated nationwide by Nigeria if the government demonstrates respect for the constitution and laws. State government officials at all levels must responsibly execute the duties of their offices, public institutions should make efficient use of funds provided, and political violence and corruption must be drastically reduced, the people's needs are dutifully addressed by public and private service, and the state once again become the collective property of its citizens. While none of these virtues are new in contemporary Nigeria context, they would revolutionized and promote popular democracy if they are holistically implemented as recommended therein.

Notably, there are basically key areas in which there should be policy concern in relations to the democratization exercise. The first has to do with the electoral body. How can Nigerians objectively select their representative via a public inspired electoral agency?

Furthermore, the electoral body should put its house in order to sufficiently address the issue of logistic that usually rears its head at every election.

The institutional safeguards for corruption control, premised on the framework of the enacted Anti corruption Act, are quite weak. There is for instance, no protection for those who expose corruption. There is the issue of oversight function that the National Assembly plays. Here, there is need for a well-articulation policy framework that will address the role of the Assembly in this regard. The Executive see it as contravening the principle

of separation of powers. This should not be attitude. The executive needs appropriate re-orientation.

In addition, there should be increased civil society initiative to monitor and ensure accountability in public service delivery. This will make civil society and politicians alike to be vigilant and alive to their respective responsibilities. In addition, the federal government should put adequate paraphernalia in place to address the current security threat ravaging the system. Democracy blossoms better under a peaceful environment. All political office holders, particularly the ruling party should imbibe the spirit of accepting opposing views. Opposition should also learn the spirit of giving constructive and objective criticism to the policies and programmes of the ruling party. The three arms of government, legislative, executive and judiciary should be fully independent. Financially and otherwise, these will enable proper execution of the principle of checks and balances. Thus, it will reduce to a large extent the discretionary use of executive power and abuse of the constitution.

It is further recommended that all politicians, the electoral commission, law enforcement agencies, all other government bodies and private individual should dispense their responsibilities within the societal laws and accepted traditions towards the achievement of a sustainably democracy.

Furthermore, there is need for a planned programme of reform, re-orientation and revitalization of the military to be primarily conscious of their traditional responsibility of territorial protection against external aggression and met incursion into state politics.

Finally, it is recommended that a strongly party system in a republic is essential for a strong consolidated democracy. Since a nation's party system gives shape to citizen participation through the electoral process.

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