

**THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA:
A Study of the 8th National Assembly (2015-2019)**

BY

ENOBONG SUNDAY AMOS

PG/NLS/1714036

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CERTIFICATION

The dissertation titled, ‘The National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: A Study of the 8th National Assembly(2015-2019)’, presented by Enobong Sunday Amos **PG/NLS/1714036** has met the partial requirements for the award of degree of Masters in Parliamentary Administration(MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/ University of Benin, Edo State.

.....

Supervisor

Dr. Sam Amadi

.....

Date

.....

Dr. Asimiyu Gbolagade Abiola

PG Coordinator

.....

Date

APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation “The National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: A Study of the 8th National Assembly” has been read and approved as having met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Parliamentary Administration of the University of Benin/National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies is approved for contribution in knowledge.

.....
Dr. Sam Amadi
Supervisor
Date

.....
Internal Examiner
Professor Mojeed Alabi
Date

.....
Dr. Asimiyu Gbolagade Abiola
Coordinator
Date

.....

External Examiner

.....

Date

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my own research efforts undertaken under the supervision of Dr. Sam Amadi. It is an original work and no part of it has been presented for the award of any degree anywhere. All sources of information used have been duly acknowledged through the references.

Enobong Sunday Amos
PG/NLS/1714036

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Almighty God who gave me the knowledge and strength to embark on my academic programme successfully.

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ABSTRACT

Despite 20 years of democratic experience, Nigeria's democracy is bequeathed with challenges with the tendency to recede just like in many African countries. The problems stem from lack of free and fair elections, insecurity, corruption and negative socio-economic factors which have permeated the geographical landscape of the country. Therefore, the specific objectives of the study were to examine the role of National Assembly on the consolidation of free and fair election, security, economic development and social rights. This is done with a view to moving beyond the 'fallacy of electoralism' to full democracy where dividends of democracy are provided for the citizens.

The study adopted a case and correlational survey designs, using research questions to guide the investigation on each objectives. It studied the opinions of citizens on the dependent variable (democratic consolidation) and the independent variables (free and fair election, security, economic and social rights, and corruption) in the FCT, Abuja.

The study, as indicated by participants in their opinions, as the mean of the responses was 2.88 which is higher than the cut-off point of 2.50 mean, agreed that the performance of 8th National Assembly had effect on free and fair election. The same thing applied to the consolidation of security. The study equally revealed that the Assembly also made positive contributions to aid economic and social rights sector. It was also indicated that the 8th Assembly made positive impacts through their interventions against corruption as the mean of the responses was 2.88, which is higher than the cut-off point of 2.50 as well.

Arising from the findings above, the paper recommended that the National Assembly should use its legislative powers as enshrined in the constitution to pressure on the executive arm of government to sign and implement bills and motions on free and fair election as passed by the

National Assembly. The same should apply to insecurity variable so that securities agencies are compelled to implement laws and resolution of the National Assembly. All the bills and motions passed to fight corruption must be fully implemented as well in order to give bite to anti-corruption fight. Economic and social rights require enforcement and legislative pressure in order make positive changes in the economy and social rights of citizens. This is the only way to check these problems challenging our democracy, laws made must be implemented in order to effect positive changes in our economy, security, elections and socio-economic sectors of the country and consolidate democracy in Nigeria.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

- 1. A - Agree
- 2. SA - Strongly Agree
- 3. D - Disagree
- 4. SD - Strongly Disagree
- 5. DCQ - Democratic Consolidation Questionnaire
- 6. BI - Biodata Information
- 7. NASS - National Assembly
- 8. FCT - Federal Capital Territory

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with Background of Study, Statement of the Research Problem, Research Objectives, Research Questions, Scope of the Study and Significance of the Study.

1.1 Background to the Study

The mention of democratic consolidation in any context proposes that there is already in place a democracy in that country. With the necessary democratic underpinnings that sustain it.

Democratic consolidation seeks to strengthen, maintain and solidify democracy in a manner that prevents it from collapsing even in the face of threats. Scheduler (1998), explained that the essence of consolidation is to secure the new democracies and protect them against regression to authoritarian governance and, build of the basic tenets to make it the norm of the society.

Analysts and scholars have pointed out that a working democracy should undertake four key critical factors which include: - free and fair elections, active participation by citizens, protection of human rights of the citizens and freedom of speech. It is also pertinent to mention that democracy provides for functional economy that provides prosperity of the people as well as improved standard of living of the citizenry. However, these key ingredients of democracy may become a mirage if the basic component that make democracy work fail to perform its constitutional functions effectively, and those basic components among others, is the Parliament (the word, 'parliament', 'legislature', is used interchangeably).

Parliament is key and central to any democratic setting. It is the bastion of democracy and fulcrum on which democracy revolves. The Parliament provides the platform where all shades of opinions, ideas and interests of the people are galvanized and harmonized into laws. A functional Parliament provides for an active democracy and rubber stamp Parliament provides for a weak

democracy (Yusuf, 2018). This is exemplified in the Malian Parliament when it lost its validity because it failed to discharge its constitutional functions of checks and oversight of the Executive giving room for failed economy and general insecurity in the country (Vliet, 2014).

Yusuf (2018), points out that the National Assembly of Nigeria at the beginning of the Fourth Republic was largely premature and inexperienced because it has been a victim of military incursion in the political history of Nigeria and this created room for the Executive arm of government at the beginning of the Fourth Republic to be at the helms of affairs through undue influence on the political leadership of the Legislature thus putting itself at the centre of Government in terms of functions and responsibilities thus, the Legislature struggles through to emerge and take its constitutional provided responsibilities. Series of dramatic events in the country reveals how precarious and contested state authorities had gradually been and has threatened Nigeria's democracy.

Despite the fact that Parliament has existed in the last 20 years since re-emergence of democracy in 1999, citizens are not satisfied with its activities given vent to litany of agitations and demands from citizens which have led to fears in some quarters that the system could be overwhelmed and eventually result in democratic reversal if these expectations are not met. The situation has made democracy in Nigeria to continuously become fragile as encapsulated in weak institutions without capabilities to discharge their functions.

Specifically, the major problems of consolidating Nigeria's democracy are how to consolidate free and fair elections, security, anti-corruption and economic and social rights. The first problem stems from the institutions billed with the responsibility of conducting elections in Nigeria directly or indirectly. Consolidating Nigeria's democracy through the conduct of credible elections has remained an albatross. The history of Nigeria's democratic experiments demonstrates that elections and electoral politics have generated so much animosity which has, in some cases

threatened the corporate existence of the country. At the heart of electoral crisis in Nigeria is the lack of credibility for the official results of elections leading to the rejection of such results by a sizeable portion of the Nigerian voting public. Since the 1964 general election, the first to be conducted by the post-colonial Nigerian government, elections in Nigeria have consistently been characterized by the contestation of results and organized violence. While there is a plethora of factors that account for electoral crisis in Nigeria, the institutional factor (designing a credible electoral system) appears to be the most salient. In addition, the process of implementing such an efficient electoral regime is challenged by sociological variables such as the pluralist character of the Nigerian nation, underdeveloped political culture and irrational elite behavior. The importance of political institutions in democratic consolidation cannot be overstated because they provide the structural foundations of a democracy and are central to the persistence and stability of democracy.

A second problem relates to economic and social rights. Democracy introduces freedoms and rights which were suppressed under authoritarian systems and if the pursuit of these freedoms and rights are not to degenerate into extremism and violence, it is important to cultivate mechanisms to contain such tendencies. Similarly, one of the most important means of supporting and sustaining democratic way of life is through economic empowerment. It is common knowledge that countries with high poverty rate tend to reverse in quality and nature of democracy while countries whose citizens are empowered economically consolidate or strengthens democracy. Poverty ratings by the World Poverty Clock (2019) places Nigeria as the home of the poorest people on planet earth. Social and economic rights involve right of citizens to be provided with equal economic opportunities through profitable businesses in their country. The advancement in socio-economic development tends to strengthen belief in democracy which in turn helps to consolidate it. Socio-economic development leads to greater economic security and more widespread education, a lowering of socio-economic inequality and a reduction in feelings

of deprivation and injustice on the part of the lower class as well as groups that may feel marginalised. This, in turn may lead to a reduction in the high premium and stakes that politicians attach to the acquisition of government office as well as a movement away from extremist politics.

The third problem area is the persistence of corruption. Corruption is a monster and a barrier that is capable of derailing the fulfilment of our common destiny as country. The monumental heights to which corruption is carried out and the corrosive effects that it has had on the polity, economy and society is well known and does not need to be over-emphasized. Despite the much-publicized intention of government to combat corruption which led to the establishment of the anti-corruption agencies such as Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), corruption and financial mismanagement still occur at the apex of government. This has questioned the quality of democracy that Nigeria is providing and how it can be consolidated.

The final major problem area has been the maintenance of security and the management of internal conflict. Democracy has been described as the best political mechanism for the management of conflicts. This is principally because unlike authoritarian and centralized systems of government, democracy is broadly inclusive in theory; however, the Nigerian experience up to now leaves much to be desired. The above constitute a major problem of governance that Nigeria's current democracy is faced with and represent the primary impediments to the entrenchment of good governance and cultivation of behavioral, attitudinal and constitutional underpinnings that are required for democratic consolidation.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Great hope and expectations greeted Nigeria's return to democracy and civil rule in 1999 but despite the conduct of six consecutive general elections (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019), the hope expressed by the people in the democratization process is gradually faltering while

the expectations are becoming dashed. As argued by Linz, Stephan & Gunther (1995), democratization process has three phases viz: the fall of authoritarian regime, consolidation, and enduring democracy. The process in Nigeria has only so far witnessed the collapse of authoritarian military regimes while consolidation has become a serious problem. Parliament is key and central to any democratic setting; it is the bastion of democracy and fulcrum on which democracy revolves. The Parliament provides the platform where all shades of opinions, ideas and interests of the people are galvanized and harmonized into laws. Yusuf (2018), stated that a functional Parliament provides for an active democracy and a rubber stamp Parliament provides for a weak Parliament. Disturbingly, 20 years after the inception of the present democratic dispensation, the political landscape in Nigeria is yet to show clear evidence of good governance, elections and electoral processes are subverted and there are no free and fair elections. The security situation in Nigeria is worrisome and the economic and social rights position of Nigerians is appalling. The level of corruption in Nigeria is alarming, coupled with the fact that there is no independence of the media (press freedom). The problems question again arises as whether Nigeria's democracy is actually being consolidated with the way things are going and being done. The Legislature is one arm of government which came about as a result of the democratic project, not only in Nigeria but around the globe, in countries practicing democracy. In Nigeria, the constitutional powers as provided for the Parliament is in section 4 of the 1999 constitution (as amended). The provision reads thus:

The Legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in a National Assembly for the Federation, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.2. the National Assembly shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part 1 of the

Second Schedule to this constitution (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

These powers provide for the National Assembly to check and balance state powers hence any faltering of the democratic process is laid at the doorstep of the National Assembly. Perhaps this is why the National Assembly has more democratic activities unfolding within it that others and the laws made by the National Assembly are enforced and interpreted by the Executive and Judiciary organs. Thus, many Nigerians and scholars have questioned the performance of the National Assembly over the years considering the enormous powers it parades and the huge resources channeled to it to perform such functions. For instance, many Nigerians are not aware of the significant number of Bills passed by the 8th National Assembly and executed by other organs that have consolidated and entrenched free and fair elections particularly during the period (2015-2019). Nigerians are not aware of the number of corrupt practices exposed by the National Assembly Acts and how effectively the lawmakers have represented their various constituencies. This research work investigates the role of the National Assembly in democratic consolidation by documenting the activities of Parliamentarians as a Legislative House and as Parliamentarians with focus on lawmaking and specific focus on the 8th National Assembly (2015-2019). The Analysis is to contribute to the expanding body of academic literature examining the Nigeria National Assembly and African Legislatures and broaden the role of the Legislature in democratic consolidation. Previous researches on the National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation were focused not on the 8th Assembly and were sparsely investigated.

1.3 Research Objectives

The general objective of the study were to assess the performance of 8th National Assembly on Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- i. Examine the role of National Assembly on the consolidation of free and fair election in Nigeria.
- ii. Determine the performance of National Assembly on the consolidation of security in Nigeria,
- iii. Examine the role of National Assembly on the consolidation of economic development and social rights in Nigeria and,
- iv. Assess the level of performance National Assembly on the consolidation efforts to reduce corruption in Nigeria.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study.

- i. To what extent does the performance of National Assembly has effect on the consolidation of free and fair election in Nigeria?
- ii. In what ways do the performance of National Assembly have effect on the consolidation of security in Nigeria?
- iii. To what extent do the performance of National Assembly on democratic consolidation have effect on the consolidation of economic development and social rights in Nigeria?
- iv. To what extent does the role of National Assembly on democratic consolidation have effect on reduction of corruption in Nigeria?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The focus of this study is to assess the effect of democratic consolidation on free and fair elections, security, economic and social rights and, corruption. Even though there are previous researches on the role of the National Assembly in consolidating and strengthening democracy, they were not focused on the 8th Assembly and were not on the focused on these critical hence this would only add and expand the body of academic literature already available.

The reason for choosing these democratic variables among others is because they constitute the bedrock of most democracies and several bills have been passed on these areas but it seems that there are no remarkable improvement in the country. The lawmakers have also carried out several oversight functions on these areas but no reasonable changes are noticed to justify the huge resources expended on the legislative arm of the government. The 8th National Assembly was made as a focus for this study because it passed bills more than previous Assemblies within the same measure of time (4 years).

The study was conducted in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) because it is the center of unity and harbors all classes and categories of Nigerians.

Descriptive statistics was used to analyse the data collected on the opinions of respondents because it is a case study of the opinions of the members of the public, political stakeholders and the media.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will be useful to Members of the National Assembly of Nigeria, comprising the Nigerian Senate and House of Representative. It will also be of benefit to the Members the 8th National Assembly of Nigeria because they initiate and pass bills that will consolidate democracy and so would assess their performances when in office.

This study will specifically be useful to Non - Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, and the State Legislatures in terms of helping them to review their legislative guidelines and agenda

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

This section deals with the review of relevant literature on the topic under study, Conceptual clarifications and Theoretical Framework. Conceptual clarifications include the Concept of Democracy and Concept of Democratic Consolidation. It also consists National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation, Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, Lack of Economic Development and Social Rights, Conditions for consolidating Democracy, Comparative Analysis and Theoretical Framework including Liberal Theory of Democracy as propounded by John Locke, Elite Theory as popularized by Gaetano Mosca(1858-1941) Wilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Robert Michels(1876-19360

2.1 Concept of Democracy.

Democracy has won for itself a household name globally and many authors believe that democracy is a relative concept and its application depends on the prism from which one is standing hence it has been described as a fluid concept (Olojede, 2006; Erunke, 2012). However, they are in agreement that, in spite of the differences in conceptualization and application, all its versions whether liberal or capitalist, socialist and African brand, share fundamental objective of how to govern the society in a manner that power belongs to the people.

(Chafe, 1994); (Garretton, 1995); (Ajibowa, 2006), however described democracy as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire powers by struggle for people's vote. The word, 'struggle' for vote suggests competition and contest among the citizens for public office or power. They stated that in a true democracy liberty, equality, openness, inclusiveness, etc, are the watchword. And that these processes involve the people in the running of political, socio economic and cultural affairs of the society. They added that democracy entails not only contestation or struggle for power but establishment and strengthening

of these political and democratic institutions to ensure accountability, popular expression, collective action and wide range of civil and political freedom.

Pradhan (2000), argued that while the idea of formal democracy is related more to the process of regime transition, the shift in democratization studies to concentrating on regime consolidation has moved to discussion that goes well into areas of substantive democracy. This is in agreement to (Chafe, 1994; Garreton, 1995; Ajibowa, 2006) who categorized democracy into substantive and procedural democracy. They stated that while procedural democracy refers to the establishment of rules and procedures and institution for arriving at political decisions, substantive conception of democracy questions the sufficiency of formal democracy and asks for greater opportunities for the people to effect debates and discussions about their society. These arguments have given rise to further classifications of notions of democracy as either Minimalist (Procedural) or Maximalist (substantive). The Minimalist believe a certain 'process' must be followed from beginning to the end for the emergence of political leaders. That democracy is anchored on elections so long as there is a free and fair elections and proper handover to another regime, and to the point that an incumbent should be able to lose election hence, it is assumed that there is a democracy in that country. However, some scholars have criticized that belief claiming that having just period election does not connote democracy, but the sustenance of such process within the constitution periods (say, 5 years terms, or 4 years term as is the case in Nigeria). They argued that apart from just having elections, the election must reflect as follows :- (a) the choice of the people (b) sustenance and consistency of the process and democracy (c) wins by the opposition.

The Maximalist believe that should not just take place but should never reversed and that democracy is not just about election rather, they say democracy is actually to meet the needs of the people and not just about successes of the "process" or sustenance of the "process". They insist that democracy must transform the lives of the people and even took out some parameters to

measure democracy. Such parameters include the following: - (a) Is there rule of law? (b) Is there freedom of the press? (c) Do public policies reflect the aspiration of the people (d) is there freedom of the civil society Associations in that country? This chapter agrees and adopt all the definitions and views of democracy as stated above.

2.2. Concept of Democratic Consolidation

Democratic consolidation is one concept that has attracted the attention of scholars and policy makers since the advent of the third wave of democratization. Schedler (1998), described democratic consolidation is “an omnibus concept, a garbage-can concept, a catch-all concept, lacking a core meaning that would unite all modes of usage”. In the literature, there are two ways of viewing the concept of consolidation and they include consolidation as avoiding democratic break down (Linz and Stephan, 1996) and, consolidation as transformation from a diminished sub-type of democracy to a consolidated liberal democracy (Valenzuela, 1992).The former has to do with the process of stabilizing and maintaining the new democracies while the latter focused on the process of deepening, completing or organizing democracies (Shedler, 1998). Despite the nebulous nature of the concept, most scholars accept the original understanding of the concept as being associated with the challenge of securing and extending the life expectancy of new democracies, of building immunity against the threat of regression to authoritarianism and reverse waves (Schedler, 1998).

According to Diamond (1997), democratic consolidation represents a state whereby institutions, rules and constraints of democracy becomes the sole legitimate means for the acquisition and exercise of political power. For Jega (2006) cited in Erunke (2012), democratic consolidation is a term which describes the vital political goal for a transiting democracy with intermittent flop by authoritarian rule. It consists of overlapping behavioural, attitudinal and

constitutional dimensions through which democracy becomes routinised and deeply internalised in social, institutional and even psychological life as well as political calculation for achieving success.

Ademola (2011), conceives democratic consolidation as an identifiable phase in the process of transition from authoritarian to democratic system that are critical to the establishment of a stable, institutional and lasting democracy For Frimpong-Mansoh(2012), democratic consolidation refers to a firm establishment and successful completion of the process of political democratization.

Ogundiya (2009), maintains that democratic consolidation is about 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. Linz and Stephan (1999) contend that in a consolidated democracy, democracy becomes the “only game in town” and offer a framework encompassing behavior and attitudinal and constitutional means of determining democratic consolidation. Behaviorally, there are no significant socio-economic, political, institutional or national actors trying to achieve their aims through unconstitutional means, violence or in attempt to secede from the state. Attitudinally, they argue that consolidation is achieved when a strong public opinions, privileges, democratic procedures and institution as the only appropriate means of governing. Constitutionally, in consolidated democracies, both government and non-state actors and social forces in the state become subjected to and abide by laws, procedure and sanctioned institutions for conflict resolution. Hence, although there may be severe problems of governance and widespread dissatisfaction of the ruling government, the public and the elites uphold the belief and commitment to constitutional means as the only legitimate way to change a government. Huntington (1991), on his part, postulates a “two- turnover” thesis as an

indicator of democratic consolidation. He argues that democracy becomes consolidated when an entrenched regime delivers free, fair and competitive election by which the party that wins power at the initial elections during the transition phase loses in subsequent elections and hands over power to the winning party and when the winning party also in turn hands over power peacefully to another party at subsequent elections. Literally, the concept means an identifiable phase in the transition from authoritarian rule to civil rule and by extension, democratic systems that are germane and fundamental to the establishment and enthronelement of a stable, institutional and enduring democracy. Achieving democratic consolidation therefore calls for the enthronelement of democracy as a system of organizing both the society and government and thereafter creates concomitant institutions, culture, ethics, support system and the 'will' that are crucial in making it stable, efficient and responsive. Essentially, arriving at a consolidated democracy requires nurturing democratic values and ethos, principles and institutions in a matured sense that prevents a reversal to a hitherto authoritarian regime. It also rests upon a strong and dynamic civil society whose responsibility it is to check repeated abuses of power hold public officials accountable for their actions and inactions in the management of public resources and also serves to mitigate political conflicts (Diamond 1994).

Democratic consolidation, it should be emphasized, begins with the enthronelement of democracy after a free and fair election, and spans through the period when its probability of breakdown is very low or on the other way around, when its probability of survival is very high. There must then be the optimism expressed by major political actors, all relevant observers and the entire citizenry that the democratic regime can last into a foreseeable future, thereby having the capacity to build dams against what Huntington (1991) would describe as a 'reverse wave'. The question that should at this juncture occupy one's mind is how do we identify a democracy

that is consolidated? Different criteria are proposed in extant literature to identify a consolidated democratic system (Schedler, 1998) but, two are discernible in this context. First, there is the ‘two election test’ or put differently the ‘transfer of power test’. This criterion reckons with the ‘behavioral’ aspects of democratic consolidation as it questions the attitude of political actors when defeated in an electoral contest. Clearly stated the probability of democratic survival is not high until and unless democratically elected regimes loose elections in subsequent contests and accept the verdict. Democracy is therefore consolidated when a ruling political party or class hands over power to an opposition party after losing the contest. This speaks volume of the readiness of major political players and their supporters to respect the rules that govern the game of electoral contest and their readiness to sacrifice their personal and/or sectional interest for the good of the democratic system. The second is the “simple longevity” or “generation test”. The import of this criterion is that 20 years of regular competitive elections should be sufficient enough to adjudge a democracy consolidated irrespective of the fact that power is not transferred to another political party or class. The criterion argues that continuous and regular elections would have created in people a mind-set that develops apathy for any near alternative to democracy. It is therefore unthinkable for the electorates to explore another method of appointing their leaders. However, the foregoing discussion has evidently demonstrated that no one criterion or condition is a ‘pure type’ on its own and that democratic sustainability is a product of a combination of factors or conditions operating together. An accumulation of these facilitating conditions therefore offers the prospects of democratic survival and deepening to be enhanced.

2.3 The National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation

Democracy in Nigeria was first operated in the first republic (1960-1966), under a parliamentary system of government (Godwin, 2003). The collapse of civil democratic rule after

independence in January 1966 was followed by 13 years of military rule. Civil rule resumed for four years (1979-1983) after hand-over in 1979, only to prove another brief civil interregnum, to be followed by 16 straight years of harsh military rule. According to (Okongwu, 2006:87), that period, the second bout of military rule (1983-1999) was home to the most traumatic period of our country, since the tragic civil war. It witnessed three military coups (1983, 1985, 1993), three attempted coups (1985, 1990, 1997), an annulled presidential election (1993) and the death in office of a sitting military head of state (1998). After all these tumultuous events, the Nigerian military had sapped itself and burnt its goodwill over a costly political adventure. Accordingly, there was again another civil rule that came up, following political elections conducted in 1999 by Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar's Government, in which Olusegun Obasanjo was elected the president. The Obasanjo's government operated with the full swing of a two-chamber legislature that superintended over fundamental issues of national importance. The legislature being the institutional pillar of democracy is well recognized in any democratic setting. This is as a result of the critical role it plays within the framework of separation of powers. While its primary responsibility is of law-making, the executive implements and the judiciary plays the role of the adjudicator in disputes between the other branches of government, so critical is the role of the legislature, that emphasis can be made without fear of contradiction that the history, growth and consolidation of democracy anywhere is intricately tied with the role of the parliament and how legislative assemblies attempt to give meaning to peoples' political power.

Also, the Legislature has an important responsibility in the creation of people-oriented public policy, and in the monitoring of the implementation of such by the Executive, because it is only when it works in unison, devoid of rancour, that it can actualize the greatest possible good for the greatest number of people, within the shortest period of time. The immediate responsibility

of the Legislature, if it is to play its expected role in consolidation of democracy, is to strengthen and build its own internal capacity in several domains. These include building its capacity especially the key legislative committees to effectively engage in policy analysis, budget analysis and monitoring, and in the oversight functions of the Executive, etc.

Further, legislators are constitutionally charged with the responsibility of appraising themselves in the area of law-making, representation and oversight functions, aimed at ensuring a virile democracy on ground. More essentially, the Legislature plays the role of deepening democracy by ensuring that citizens and the civil society are brought into the mainstream of public policy and are given the fair hands to execute such policies (as and when due). Consolidation of democracy requires the strengthening of democratic infrastructure, subordination of the polity to the rule of law, strengthening of party politics and political education, supporting electoral institutions, encouraging debate and dialogue in the resolution of disputes, Provision of some social services and liberalized economy.

However, in Nigeria, as democratic forms of politics were re-introduced on the back of the collapse of military and single party rule in 1999, greater political premium was placed on the National Assembly placing tremendous consent on its role, in the building and consolidation of democracy in the country's politics and governance. Implicit in this was the position, broadly, shared by Olufemi (2010), that the legislature is the embodiment of the sovereignty of the people in any democratic setting, such as Nigeria. In this respect, it constitutionally makes laws for the welfare of the generality of the populace and also serves both as a democratically empowered agency of restraint on the executive arm of government and a forum for the mobilization of popular participation in the broad governmental process.

The National Assembly should be willing to make sacrifices at any point in time and not just allocating a huge percentage of the nation's overhead cost to themselves. Government should

address key reform issues in order to advance infrastructure development and broaden the economic base through enhanced private sector participation. Members of the National Assembly should make the right policies that will enhance the welfare of the electorate.

Legislative engagement and partnerships with the civil society provide the keys to ensuring that citizens become part of the process of change that is envisaged for them, they can be initiators and executioners of the development in which they are the principal beneficiaries. Democratic gains and consolidation will then be the overall outcome. What would guarantee democratic consolidation in Nigeria will be a confluence of three things; first is re-examining the idea of a true federation, as presently practiced in Nigeria, in terms of political and administrative management, Nigeria currently tends towards a unitary state. The federal idea should be reclaimed with considerable degree of political and economic decentralization to sub-national units. The second dimension is to begin to rebuild institutions and strengthen them. The two foregoing issues will have to be accomplished through a process of constitutionalism. The third dimension of democratic consolidation has to do with the economic bases of society. The triple cord of economic growth, distribution and social welfare must go hand in hand. Extreme and pervasive poverty constitutes a threat to democracy. It is when this socio-economic context is re-engineered, can the politics of constitutional democracy begin to germinate and take firm root in Nigeria.

Members of the National Assembly seem to have forgotten or deliberately refused to admit that we have so many problems that need their attention as lawmakers. For instance, we have an educational system essentially elitist but advertised as popular and mass oriented, which guarantees that most Nigerian young people cannot practically hope to have more education that is required for them to join labour reserve in the rural and urban countries. We must be able to ask our elected representatives the kind of policies they are formulating for us in terms of education,

health care and infrastructural development as well as the integrity of elections and legitimacy of authority in all the three tiers of governance.

2.4. Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

2.4.1 Long History of Authoritarian Rule

The challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria cannot be dissociated from the country's long history of authoritarian rule. This entrenched a political culture and molded a political class that has succeeded in outliving that era. Long years of military rule after 1966 civil war evolved under a political leadership which neither shared a common vision nor was able to articulate a substantive political agenda for its development. This allowed the individual interests and aspirations of the ruling class to define the political game, while corruption opportunism and materialism flourished. The character of the ruling elites are core to the failure of democratic governance of Nigeria to produce great dividends of democracy to the majority of Nigerians. Nigerian by virtue of its historical, socio-economic and political conditions is fashioned to perpetuate elite exploitation of the socio-economic and political space and resources, protect foreign interests, promote ethno-regional and religious antagonism and undermine popular participation in the development and governance processes' (Aliu, 2014: 7). Moreover, most of the ruling elites of Nigeria are 'corrupt, self-centered, incompetent, kleptocratic, ideologically and morally bankrupt, visionless, intolerant, autocratic, dishonest, naive, opportunistic, and parochial' (Aliu, 2014: 7).

2.4.2 Corruption

Corruption constitutes one of the greatest challenges and threats to the democrat consolidation in Nigeria. Democratic governance in the Nigeria at the moment to a large extent has failed to guarantee minimum conditions of governance, deliver democratic dividends and

development (Omodia and Aliu, 2013). The failure of democratic governance is evident in the persistent problems of food shortages, unemployment, insecurity, lack of potable water, inaccessible health care, bad roads, lack of qualitative education that plague most Nigerians. Political corruption has assumed an unprecedented dimension in the polity since the return to democratic governance in 1999. The weak and defective nature of institutions of accountability and transparency partly explains the widespread nature of corruption in the polity (Aliu, 2013). Given the revelation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) that billions of dollars of public funds have been stolen by politicians and government officials since the return of democratic governance, it is safe to argue that corruption, to a large extent is supervised mostly by people entrusted with public office and institutions in Nigeria. For example, some former State Governors in persons of Chief Lucky Igbinedion, an ex-governor of Edo State was convicted in 2008 for stealing more than \$25 million of public fund (Human Right Watch, 2011), while James Ibori, a former governor of Delta State was convicted in Britain in 2012 for defrauding the state of nearly £50 million (BBC, April, 2012), Senator, Orji Uzor Kalu is convicted for 12 years for corruption(Premium Times, March,(2020), Senator Josuha Dariye is convicted for corruption and serving 10 year jail term(Premium Times, March, 2018) and many more just to mention but a few. The impact of political corruption evident in the Nigeria on socio-economic and political development is devastating. Corruption in its various forms have, in part, restrained economic development, increase poverty and unemployment, weaken public trust in government and democratic institutions and weakened accountability and the rule of law (Ogundiya, 2010). The failure of democratic governance to meet the yearnings of most Nigerians has degenerated into crisis of legitimacy. The problem of mutual distrusts among Nigerians is aggravated by the decline in public trust in the ability of government to provide security and improve their wellbeing. Some Nigerians willingly extend loyalty, obedience and allegiance to ethno-religious and communal

groups for protection. The unhealthy rivalry among ethno-religious social groups has sometimes snowballed into violent conflicts in the country. The spates of insecurity and communal conflicts that have ravaged Plateau, Kaduna, Kano and Nassarawa, Kastina, Niger, Adamawa and many other states since the return of democratic governance in Nigeria. Boko Haram insurgency, cattle rustling, militia gangs, kidnappings for ransom are good examples in this regard (Omodia and Aliu, 2013). This extends to elections as well. The failure of the INEC to conduct free and fair election since the dawn of civil rule in 1999 represent a major setback to democratic governance in the Nigerian. Some of the failings of INEC according to (Aderomu and Aliu, 2011) include the inability to provide a credible voter's registration exercise, failure to adequately enlighten the electorates on the electoral process, collusion of its officials with politicians to subvert the electoral process, insufficient electoral materials, ineptitude, and lack of capacity building, refusal to adopt electronic voting. These problems of the Commission are linked to the issues of constitutional framework like the amendment of INEC Act to accommodate voter card registration and voting, financial autonomy, structure, logistic and security of job for officials. The implications for the polity are far reaching. Evidently, the economic wellbeing of most Nigerians has continued to worsen since the return to democratic governance. Corruption and waste by the political leadership have contributed to the problems of poverty, unemployment, and inadequate access to services. Over 70 *per cent* of Nigerians continue to live below the poverty line, the supply of electricity is epileptic, infrastructure is bad, the rate of crime is on the increase, illiteracy and disease are prevalent and life is generally tough for the masses(Aderomu and Aliu, 2011); (Aliu, 2014). The massive level of corruption evident in Nigeria is a major challenge to democratic governance. The nature and character of Nigerian politics is core to understanding the problem of corruption in the country. Most politicians in Nigeria do not regard politics as a means to offer public service but as a vehicle to capture state power, access and accumulate state resources for personal benefits.

Evidently, ‘the overwhelming allegations against and in some instances conviction of political leaders and legislators in the Nigeria for bribery, nepotism, cronyism, award of illicit contracts, inflation of contract sums, embezzlement, electoral fraud and abuse of office are indicative of the ruling elites consideration of politics as the means to capture state power and offices for economic benefits’ (Aliu, 2014). The cost of financing the huge ministerial portfolios and special advisers appointed by the executive as well as servicing the huge numbers of Senators and Honorable members of the House of Representatives makes the democratic process in Nigeria to be an expensive venture. Presently, Nigeria spends most its national budget on the recurrent expenditure, which includes the cost of financing the large numbers of political appointees, with less percentage of the budget going for capital expenditure. Besides, the legislature and judiciary are considered to be ineffective and in most cases, do the bidding of the executive; which defeats the essence of checks and balances.

2.4.3 Lack of Free and Fair Election

One of the tenets of democracy is orderly change of government through credible, free, fair and periodic elections. Since restoration of democratic rule in the country, change of government has been orderly while elections have been periodic. Between 1999 and 2019 three different civilian administrations have emerged and there have been three successive transitions from civilian government to another (Obasanjo Administration, 1999-2007, Yar’adua/Jonathan Administration, 2007-2011; Jonathan Administration, 2011 to President Muhammadu Buhari, the current President). This also applicable to the legislature, since 1999 the country has successfully passed through three Legislative Houses both at the centre and the component units (states). However elections in the Nigeria have been characterized by monumental irregularities and malpractices which magnitude increases with every election. Institutions of state such as the police,

the military and the electoral body are alleged to collude to manipulate the electoral process in favour of certain candidates. Apart of election being one of the cardinal principles of democracy or democratic process, free, fair and credible elections are central to the consolidation of democracy because it defines the degree of freedom exercised by the people in selecting who represent them in government. But this has not been the case in Nigeria as the system is manipulated in favour of certain individuals and political parties (Ogbonnaya, Omoju and Udefuna, 2012). The reality is that everywhere in politics sitting governments or ruling parties do not lose elections easily (Amuwo, 2009) by reason of the level of manipulation of the Government in power. For the politicians, leaving office by losing election is like a death sentence or losing a means of livelihood and so misgivings abound in the political atmosphere. When the contexts of the misgivings are detached and the national interest placed above primordial, personal and party interests in a democratic setting it leads to the smoothening of the process of Democratic consolidation. The history of Nigerian elections has been a history of electoral fiasco in which the outcome of such elections are usually subject to disputations and litigations. Disputations and litigations are even the minimal ways of describing the hostilities that characterize the outcome of Nigerian elections. However, a new leaf was turned with the outcome of the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria when the immediate acceptance of the outcome by the then sitting President, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan who was defeated in the election and some credibility and positive dimension was added to the culture of elections in Nigeria.

In summative terms, this development was described by political pundits as the upholding of the sanctity of an electoral outcome. It has to be further noted that inherent in this characterization of sanctity for an electoral outcome is the imperative that the said election, in its conduct and outcome have been free and fair. When the sanctity of an electoral outcome is usually

upheld in a polity, it is indicative of democratic consolidation. Consequently, it can be safely assumed that in the Nigerian state there is currently a sign of the beginning of such indications. On the contrary, in the 2019 elections these gains appeared to have been eroded with the hues and cries from the opposition political parties that elections were not free and fair. Coupled with the EU and UK elections observer mission reports that the 2019 elections were characterized by systematic failure, leading to violence, ballot box snatching and direct involvement of security agencies in the conduct of the 2019 elections. This is a setback I our democratic experience and need to be checked in future elections.

2.4.4 Insecurity

One of the daunting challenges confronting the present democratic dispensation in Nigeria is insecurity. Studies have consistently shown that local insecurity has direct bearing on democratization. Insecurity here is defined according to Piccone (*n.d*) as a state of being in which a person's survival, livelihood, and/or dignity is violated. Not only a person but also a state as a whole. How can you vote in an election if your personal security is not guaranteed? Citizens who are afraid of their lives will likely stay at home and this will affect participation rate at the end of the day. In Nigeria there are varying rate of insecurity ranging from kidnappings to armed robbery thus affecting the security of an average Nigerian. Piccone (*n.d*) went further to enumerate insecurity to comprise political security (freedom from political persecution and violence) and citizen security (freedom from violent crime)—encompassing freedom from fear. Another factor that concerns survival and livelihood is a general state of well-being in which an individual's basic material needs are met—that is, the freedom from want. It is all encompassing but the underlying factor here is that whenever there is insecurity of any kind democratization suffers setback. Since the return of democracy, the country has experienced ethno-religious crises, sectarian mayhem,

etc., questioning and shaking the survival of the democracy in the country. Some of these crises include:- Yoruba/Hausa-Fulani disturbance in Shagamu, Ogun State; Aguleri, Umuleri and Umuoba Anam of Anambra State; Ijaw/Itsekiri crisis over the location of local government headquarter; the Jukun, Chamba and Kuteb power struggle over who control Takum; the Niger Delta oil infrastructural vandalism and kidnappings of foreign nationals; incessant turbulence in Jos; the 2011 post-election violence in the northern part of the country as well as the constant sectarian crisis exemplified by the activities of the Boko Haram, cattle rustling, kidnaping for ransom, political assassination, armed robbery, etc. The analysis of the above upheaval will reveal that our democracy is under siege prompting Dauda and Avidime (2007), to argue that the security situation in the country is a major obstacle to the consolidation of democracy. It is important to note that despite these challenges there is a light at the end of the tunnel, after twenty years of uninterrupted democracy, the longest in the history of the country.

2.4.5 Lack of Economic Development and Social Rights

The great hope and expectations that greeted the return to civil rule in May 1999 may not be unconnected with the desire for an improved economy which in turn will guarantee a change in the quality of lives of the populace. The long military rule and the attendant poverty, hardship and an unprecedented level of corruption have brought Nigerians to a hopeless and helpless situation such that the mistakes of the Abdulsalam transition programme were never sources of concern. It was expected that in the Fourth Republic Nigerians *per capita* income would increase tremendously, production diversified away from oil, poverty reduced to the barest minimum, economic opportunities provided for self-development while at the same time ensure environmental sustainability. Available statistics showed that these expectations were mere wishful thinking given the way and manner Nigerian economy is managed. Given the abundance

of both human and material resources, it is incontrovertible that Nigeria is the toast of many nations and a business haven for many investors, but sustained poor political governance has hindered any meaningful economic development. A perceptive observer notes thus no doubt, Nigeria is potentially Africa's largest economy. Every year, the country produces over 500,000 graduates of tertiary institutions, has the 6th largest gas reserves in the world, tenth largest oil producer; with abundant but largely untapped natural resources- gold, limestone, among others and with 60 percent of its arable land lying fallow (Ojo,2009). With this staggering revelation Nigeria indeed has no business being poor. Despite the abundance of human and material deposits in the most populous black nation of the world, the country and its people still wallop in abject poverty manifesting greatly in high levels of unemployment, falling health and educational standards and poor economic financing. The lingering poverty problem cannot be dissociated from poor economic management and absence of transparency and accountability in government. The number of poor Nigerians could be put at an estimated figure of 70 million as at 1993. In 1980, the figure was 28.1 million; 1985, 46.3 million; 1992, 42.7 million; 1996, 65.6 million and 1999, 70.0 million; 2004, 54.4 million (Ojo, 2009). Today, Nigeria is described as home to the poorest people in the world with over 90 million people in extreme poverty (World Poverty Clock, 2019). He continues, undoubtedly, something must be wrong somewhere, for a critical official poverty statistic which revealed that over half of Nigeria's 150 million population are poor is unexplainable going by the abundant – human and material resources in the country. Currently, Nigeria's HDI value for 2018 is 0.534 – which put the country in the low human development category positioning it at 158 out of the 189 countries and territories (Human Development Report, 2019). Nigeria harbours 8 *per cent* of extreme poor people in the world (World Poverty Clock, 2019). No doubt, democracy is endangered in Nigeria more than ever before. Poverty, want and squalor are anti-democratic forces in the polity". Poverty has translated into many social misdemeanors and

high-crime rate by both graduate and non-graduate unemployed youths. This act, more than anything else threatened the survival of democracy in the Fourth Republic. It also re-affirms Przeworski's position that once a country has a democratic system, its level of economic development has a very strong effect on the probability that democracy will survive Przeworski(1996), is indeed pitiable that Nigeria's economy shows an abysmal growth despite tremendous increase in oil revenue and an over bloated foreign reserve, which serves no good for the domestic economy.

2.5 Conditions for Consolidating Democracy

Democracy is one of the strongest pillars of actualizing a lasting development in the postcolonial state Africa. Hence, Ogunjobi (2007), postulates that it does not exist nor vibrantly operate in a vacuum; there are certain conditions that copiously embellish its operational mechanism and attendant stability in expected areas of human development. These conditions however are sharply different from the basic characteristic features of a true democracy. The implication of this however, is that these conditions, if taking into considerations, enhance the harmonious stability of democracy, viz-a viz the socio-economic and political platform upon which it operates. Such conditions as postulated by Bankole (2009), are as follows:

2.5.1 Facilitating Economic Growth:

Consolidation of fundamental democratic infrastructure is largely dependent on the ability of the government to improve the economic condition through economic growth, investment in the productive sector, provide equal opportunities to its citizens, and provide employment opportunities within a globalizing world. In this regard, the government is committed to fostering a new economic order that will provide the necessary support for consolidation of democracy in the country.

2.5.2 Globalization:

Any discussion of economic growth today and investment drive has to take into account the phenomenon of globalization. Globalization, as observed by some scholars, is the intensification of the integration of the world economy, accentuated by the growth of global financial market; the cessation of the cold war; the growth of corporate activities of multinational companies, information, communication and transportation technology revolutions; internationalization of environmental problems; increasing intervention of the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organization (WTO) in national and regional economic and trade crises; and the assertiveness of the UN in resolving world political, social and economic problems. The world economy is completely integrated. With globalization, national economic policies are largely determined by outside institutions, namely IMF, World Bank and WTO that are taking keen interest in national policies and are very forceful in their prescriptions. In most cases, agenda of these institutions or their focus on micro and macroeconomic policies does not take into account residual social policies, which might have serious political consequences for the body politic. For instance, is the withdrawal of oil subsidy by Nigerian government on 1st January, 2012. This policy generated a tumultuous scenario such as general mass protests across the country, nationwide strike by the Nigerian Labour Congress, Arson, looting, to mention but a few. However, Nigeria, which is the least beneficiary of globalization, can, with entrenched democratic values and improved investment climate, participate fruitfully in the globalization process.

2.5.3 Guaranteeing Peace, Security and Containing Conflict:

Peace and security are fundamental for consolidating democracy. These two pillars of any development process have been of serious concern to any government of the day. Soon after the establishment of democracy in the country, religious and ethnic crises began to re-emerge with intensity. Religious and sectarian crises emerged in Kaduna, Jos, Kano, Adamawa, Niger, Kebbi,

Gombe, Jigawa, Bauchi, Yobe, Borno and Benin. Ethnic crises in Lagos, Benue and Taraba while restiveness continued in Niger Delta. The magnitude and intensity of the clashes were unprecedented. Although the clashes are seen to be either ethnic or religious, they are in reality political, promoted by various forces and interests. So far approaches to containing ethnic crises have been using either the military or the traditional and community rulers to intervene - another approach which seems to be promising is investing in democracy. It has been observed that the situation of conflict in Nigeria can only be contained with entrenchment of democracy in the country.

2.5.4 Professionalizing the Military:

By this, the military is expected to limit itself to its constitutional role of defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. The officers and men of the military need to pay absolute loyalty to the constitution and not to the man in power. This will make a stronger military that will protect the territorial integrity of Nigeria and secure the country for all citizens. The military would have to respect democratic institutions like the legislature, judiciary, and other constituted authorities in the discharge of its duties.

The Nigerian military has been known for its professionalism when it invited to conduct operations outside the shores of this country yet that same military is been accused by Transparency International of not doing so in their own soil. And when you consider the level of successes the insurgents have destroyed lives and properties of recent in the North East part of the Nigeria you believe less of that reports of the Transparency International.

2.5.5 Capacity building for Bureaucratic Development:

One disturbing observation is the seemingly weak performance of civil service in new democracies in advancing the fight against poverty, this has implications for consolidating democracy. To this extent, Efficient and effective civil service, guided by professionalism and ethical conduct, is

necessary for consolidation of democracy. They implement all government policies, including the process of liberalization of the economy and privatization of government parastatals. A weak, corrupt and demoralized civil service cannot cope with the challenges of development. In order to boost the morale of the civil servants and to enhance their financial status to face the challenge of democracy, a democratic government would always deem it necessary to enhance the socio-economic well-being of the working class in Nigeria polity. Hence, the withdrawal of oil subsidy on Jan 1st, 2012, was a sharp misrepresentation of the interest of the working class by government and a total situation of welfarist insensitivity by the so-called democratic administration of Goodluck Jonathan.

2.6 Democracy and the Nigeria Economy

Democracy is generally defined as a form of government in which the masses have equal say in decisions that affect their affairs. These include equal participation in the proposal, development and passage of legislation into law, likewise social, economic and cultural conditions that enable free and equal practice of political self-determination. Democracy must have as one of its basic attributes a free and responsible press. The press in a democracy must be free in the sense that it must not be the organ for the articulation of the interest of only those in power, but shall be advocated of higher national interest that retard, undermine or decree the social well and the unifying bond that holds society together and guaranteed its solidarity integrity and sovereignty. Previously hindered by years of mismanagement, economic reforms of the past decade have put Nigeria back on track towards achieving its full economic potential. Lewis (2011:32), states that Nigeria's GDP doubled from \$170.7 billion in 2005 to \$374.3 billion in 2010, although estimate of the size of the informal sector put the actual numbers closer to 520 billion. Correspondingly, the GDP per capita doubled from \$1200 per person in 2005 to an estimated \$2,500 per person in 2009 (again, with the inclusion of the sector, it is estimated that GDP per capita hovers

around\$3,500 per person). It is the largest economy in the West Africa Region, 3rd largest economy in Africa (behind South Africa and Egypt) and on track to becoming one of the top 30 economics in the world in the early part of 2011.

Nigeria is making progress with economic reforms that are delivering strong economic fundamentals. The government has maintained prudent macroeconomic policies, strengthened financial institutions and, albeit slowly and unevenly, is undertaking reforms to transform the economy structurally. The reform effort aided by revenue from high oil prices, in the views of Ake, (2007), has led to significantly improved macroeconomic outcomes, including weaker inflation and strong GDP growth. Real GDP growth rose from 7.0% in 2009 to an estimated8.1% in 2010. The robust growth in 2010, the aftermath of the global financial and economic crisis, underscored the resilience of the Nigerian economy and to some extent, the prudence of its economic policies. Medium-term prospects are also bright, with real GDP growth projected to remain strong and stable at 6.9% in 2011 and 6.7% in 2012.

The oil revenues and the ensuing resource problem have also profoundly affected the economy of Nigeria, both in economic and political terms. Excessive dependence on oil revenue has led to deteriorating social services, increased poverty, weak institutions, military coup and mal-administration. Although a wide range of economic and political reforms have been formulated and implemented, most of them with donor support, the deep structural problems of the resource curse have hindered their efficient implementation and production for tangible outcomes.

In post-independence, output in oil rose slowly to a modest source of income for the government. Soares (2007) affirms that during the oil boom years of the 1970s, Nigeria joined OPEC and billions of dollars generated by production in the oil-rich Niger-Delta flowed into the coffer of the Nigerian State. The 1980s were, however, a bleaker period for Nigeria in economic

terms. Nigeria's manufacturing sector declined sharply in the 1980s and the country, which was once a large net exporter of food, became importer of many of its food products. From 1973 to 1987 employment in all sectors were contracted, the only exception being the service sector, which includes government employment (Robinson et al. 2005). When the oil prices soared again in the early 1990s due to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, Nigeria's oil production reached its peak. Today, petroleum still plays a large role in the Nigerian economy, accounting for 40 percent of GDP, 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings, and about 65 percent of government revenues. However, despite the billions in oil profits generated for the country over the years, there are few signs of multiplier effects from the oil industry. Instead, the growth in poverty level has been catastrophic. The proportion of households living below the United Nation's absolute poverty line of USD1 per day has grown from 27 percent in 1980 to 71 percent by 2011. Among those who live below the 1USD per day poverty line, over 65 percent are women (Humphreys et al. 2011).

Further, Nigeria has some of the poorest Human Development Indicators (HDI) in the world. Adejunmobi(2010), affirms that one in five children dies before the age of five and almost 40 percent- or 8million- of primary school-aged children are not in school. Almost 3million people are living with HIV/AIDS- the second largest number in any country in the world. Some States in Northern Nigeria have among the worst maternal mortality and girls' primary school enrolment rates in the world. The prevailing economic conditions are characterized by a rural economy in extreme poverty and the absence of basic infrastructure and services (power, water and sanitation, roads, rails, primary health care).

Again, there are no tangible signs that Nigeria's economic growth and development are moving beyond petroleum exports (and the oil-dependent state administration) into manufacturing and industrial production, trade, and services. Nevertheless, about 75% of Nigerians are still wallowing in abject poverty, despite several palliative measures adopted by various administration

to cushion the effects of poverty in the country for instance; a well-designed poverty alleviation programme was introduced in 2003 but was met with disdain and discord. This was no success, however, and the strategy lost momentum. Okonkwo(2011), opines that more symbolic action was taken in 2008 with the so-called Nigeria vision 20-20-20, which is a magnificent vision (or rather delusion) envisaging that by 2020 Nigeria will be among twenty(20) most industrialized country in the world, thereby establishing itself as a significant player in the global economic and political arena.

Further, on 1st January, 2012, the federal government of Nigeria announced the withdrawal of oil subsidy, arguing that the country loses about 1.3 trillion naira annually to that effect. The question is who is fooling who? Is it the government or the citizens? These question generated industrial actions by the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and protests of all kinds in various quarters of the country and ultimately culminated in the removal of that Government in 2015 general elections. Now, the current government is claiming to have removed petroleum subsidy yet, billions of Naira is being paid as subsidy and Nigerians are worried whether Nigeria is really democratic as it claims amidst the deplorable state of its economy which is hitting the citizenry very badly.

2.7 Comparative Analysis

2.7.1 Malian Parliament

According to Vliet(2014), like the Nigerian Parliament, the Malian Parliament has been less successful in strengthening democracy. The author described the Malian Parliament as a dysfunctional political system that played important role in the undermining of legitimacy of multi-party politics. While examining the performance of Members of Parliament who play a unique, double, role in shaping accountability within democratic system and was expected to hold the executive accountable on behalf of all citizens and are, at the same time accountable to the

constituents they represent, the author described the Malian Parliament as not just weak but failure and that the Parliament was responsible for democratic recession in Mali in 2012. He pointed out the failure of the Malian Parliament to stop the executive arm of government from dominating state political affairs which significantly restrained the parliamentarians to engage in their legislative tasks and collective scrutiny of executive actions.

Another reason given for failure of the Parliament and as is obtainable in Nigeria, was the disconnection between the people and MPs themselves due to the low number of citizens who participated in electoral processes in the country, this he attributed to the selfish interest of MPs who prioritize narrow interest constituency needs and the interests of a small network of strategic clients over the public good. The MPs concentrated on the needs of their constituencies and support bases and relied heavily in forming and maintaining networks within the executive branch of government which further restricted their potential to perform collectively as a Legislative House to scrutinize, oversight and make laws in the interest of the nation no matter whose ox is gored. The author concluded that the performance of the legislature will require much more than institutional tweaking, that the Malian case reveals the importance of examining the factors that shape the legislature's representational function and the impact this has on the overall parliamentary performance.

2.8 The Legislature in Nigeria (1999 – 2016)

Report from the Senate Committee on Rules and Business reveals that from 199 to June, 2016, a total of two thousand and sixty-eight(2,068) bills were considered out of which 452(21.86%) were Executive Bills. 1,616(78.14%) were sponsored by members. Four hundred and one (401) were passed, which accounted for 19.39% of Bills considered. Out of the 401 bills passed, Executive Bills were 177(8.56%) of Bills, and members Bills were 224(10.83%) (National Assembly Statistical Information, 2017). According to the Report, out of these numbers of Bills

passed over the years in review, by classification, a total number of 120 bills were Economic Development Bills, 117 Bills were Social Development, 67 Bills were Governance and political Development, 94 Bills were Regulatory and 3 Bills were culture making a total of 401 Bills passed by the Senate.

In same vein, the Report from the House of Representatives Committee on Rules and Business indicates that from June 1999 to June, 2016, a total of two thousand six hundred and fifty-eight (2,658) Bills were received and considered in the House of Representatives. Out of these, seven hundred (700) Bills were passed, representing 31.3% of the total number of Bills received, Executive Bills received accounted for 523(19.7%) while members bills accounted for 2,135(80.3 %) of the total bills received and considered during the period under review. According to the Report, out of these numbers of Bills passed over the years in review, by classification in the House of Representatives, a total number of 246 bills were Economic Development, 192 bills for social development, 129 bills for Governance and political Development, 119 for Regulatory and 14 bills for culture, totaling 700. Therefore, from above, the Senate and House passed a total number of 1,101 bills in the various sectorial classifications above.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

This project adopts liberal theory of democracy in analyzing democracy and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The liberal theory of democracy is common among capitalist countries such as United States of America, Britain, France, etc, as well as peripheral capitalist countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, etc. Put differently, Liberal democracy describes the form of democracy prevalent in western politics and gaining adherents throughout the globe. This idea of democracy emerged when capitalism became the dominant mode of production in Europe and North America. The major exponents of this theory are: John Locke, J.J. Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, Baron De Montesquieu, etc. The essential features of this theory are listed below:

1. Acceptance of capitalism

2. Competitive party system as opposed to one party system
3. Rule of law
4. Pressure groups
5. Separation of powers and checks and balances
6. Emphasis on civil liberties or individual rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, press and religion
7. Free, fair and periodic elections based on universal franchise
8. Abhorrence of revolutionary approach to change of government (Mohammed, 2013; Kwasau, 2013)

Essentially, liberal theory of democracy sets-out to design a political system which encourages individual participation and enhances moral development of the citizens. It grants all adult citizens the right to vote and be voted for regardless of race, gender or property ownership. The utility of this theory as a framework of analysis is that it helps to examine analytically democracy and democratic consolidation in Nigerian Fourth Republic, as it designs the systematic structure through which a democratic political system can function effectively and efficiently. Besides, it exposes and explains the expectation of any political system, especially as it relates to the conduct of credible election which is one of the factors responsible for consolidating democracy. The liberal theory of democracy has come under fire from critics. It has been criticized on the grounds that it does not respect absolute majority rule (except when electing representatives). The liberty of majority rule is restricted by the constitution or precedent decided by previous generations. Also, the real power is held by a relatively small groups or representative in the society. It has also been criticized on the grounds that it is merely a decoration over an oligarchy. For Marxist, Socialist and left-wing Anarchists, liberal democracy is an integral part of capitalism. Therefore, it is a class based and not democratic or participatory. For non-democratic socialist, it is an honest force used to keep the masses from realizing that their will is relevant in the political process. Besides, liberal democracy is an expensive form of government. Democracy means organisation of opinion, propaganda and frequent elections. All this involves huge

expenditure. Money which should be used for productive purposes is spent on electioneering and nursing the constituencies. Although other theories such as elitist theory of democracy, the pluralist theory of democracy, classical theory of democracy, political-economic theory and Marxist theory of democracy could have been used to explain these studies, none is sufficient enough to analyse democratic consolidation better than the liberal theory of democracy.

The elite theory as popularized by Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), and Robert Michels (1876-1936) is also adopted for the study. The elite theory succinctly explains the power dynamics and social relations surrounding the acquisition and preservation of state power within the democratic framework. Elites according to Higley (2009) are “persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organizations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially”. Moreover, the elite theory reveals one of the fundamental characters and realities of representative democracy, the balkanization of society into powerful minority, who manipulates and controls the levers of state power and powerless majority governed by the elites.

Although, elites are largely considered as possessing the requisite organizational competence and political knowledge core to steering the political statecraft within the democratic perspective (Omodia, 2011); yet, elitism represents a negation of the key democratic principle of mass ownership of the governance process. Nevertheless, the capacity of the masses to possess the necessary and proper knowledge, values and skills for democratic political leadership is contested. More so, while the classical theory of elitism seems to presume elites as a homogenous group, however the eclectic character of elites as manifested in their diverse social, economic, professional, traditional, bureaucratic and political divisions tend to undermine the cohesive status attached to elites. The diversities invariably underscore the somehow contending and conflicting

ideologies, interests, pursuits and orientations and inconsistencies among elites on the one hand and the political elites on the other (Omodia, 2011).

The manipulative and self-centered attributes of elites largely underscore the prevailing focus on control of political and state power for protecting and promoting the interests of members at the expense of the masses. In the Nigerian context, the perpetuation of political violence, ethnicisation of electoral politics, political corruption, hijack of the public policy process and deinstitutionalization of governance institutions are some of the ways elites are known to manipulate the masses so as to sustain their political rule and hegemony (Okoh, 2010; Omodia, 2011). However, these *modus operandi* of the Nigerian elites do not only lack sophistication and civility, but contrasts fundamentally with elites in developed democracies who accommodates the interests of the masses within the framework of party politics and free and fair elections (Omodia, 2011).

The elite theory largely explains deeply the role of the Nigerian political leadership and ruling elites in the failure of the state to improve the socio-economic and political conditions of the citizens since the return to democratic governance on May 29, 1999. The issues of godfatherism as well as inter party and intra party violent manifestations in the fourth republic are evidence of elite dangerous contestations for state power (Omodia and Aliu, 2013). Besides, the public character of the public policy making process has been hijacked by the ruling elites to promote their interests. It is curious that while political leaders of the fourth republic have been able to initiate and implement policies that allocate huge sums of money to themselves as allowances and retirement pensions, yet most of these leaders find it difficult to pay pensioners their meager pension and also pay workers the paltry monthly minimum wage of thirty thousand naira

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study is a case study design. In this research, what is being studied is the opinions of citizens on the dependent variable (democratic consolidation) and the independent variables (free and fair election, security, economic and social rights, and corruption).

3.2 Population and Sample

Multi-stage sampling technique was used to arrive at the selection of sample size for the study. In Federal Capital Territory, Abuja there are six (6) Area Councils (see Table 1). In the second stage, 10% sampling as recommended by Roscoe (1975) was used to select the Respondents (see Table 2). With this process, bias was eliminated in the sampling process. In the third stage, the sample size of 500 was selected purposively (see table 3)

3.2.1 Population

From the available records in Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), the FCT is divided into six Area Councils with a population of approximately 3,564,600 million people. Because of the researcher's knowledge of the population only fewer number in the selected groups (civil society, media and Area council Stakeholders) were purposively sampled for this study

Table 1: Distribution of Population of the Study

S/N	Local Council	Population
1	Amac	1,967,500
2	Kuje	240,400
3	Bwari	581,100
4	Gwagwalada	402,000
5	Kwali	218,400
6	Abaji	148,600
Total		3,564,600

Source: Researcher

Table 2: Distribution of Sampled Population of the Study

S/N	Local Council	Population
1	Amac	196,750
2	Kuje	24,040
3	Bwari	58,110
4	Gwagwalada	40,200
5	Kwali	21,840
6	Abaji	14,860
Total		355,800

Table 3: Purposive Sampling

S/N	Local Council	Purposive Population	Civil Societies	Media	Area Council Stakeholders	Total
1	Amac	123	41	41	41	123
2	Kuje	57	19	19	19	57
3	Bwari	100	34	33	33	100
4	Gwagwalada	80	27	26	27	80
5	Kwali	70	24	23	23	70
6	Abaji	70	24	23	23	70
Total		500	167	166	166	500

3.3 Instruments for Data Collection

One instrument is used for this study, the self-designed questionnaire called Democratic Consolidation Questionnaire (DCQ) because it is a Case study, the self-designed questionnaire was used. According to Babbie (2008), the questionnaire provides a method of collecting data by asking people questions or asking them to agree or disagree with statements representing different points of view.

3.4.1 Description of the Instrument(s)

Based on the 4-point modified Likert scale, respondents will be asked to circle each response in each item that best suits their choice: - either Strongly Agree (SA); Agree (A); Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD).

Section A. Bio-data Information (B)

Local Government Area and Respondent categories (See Appendix A2)

Unit 1 – Democratic Consolidation on Free and Fair Election

This unit contains five items that measure democratic consolidation on Free and Fair Election.

Unit 2 -Democratic Consolidation on Security

This segment has five items that measure democratic consolidation on Security.

Unit 3 -Democratic Consolidation on Economic and Social Rights

This section contains five items that measure Democratic Consolidation on Economic and Social Rights

Unit 4 - Democratic Consolidation on Corruption

This unit contains five items to measure Democratic Consolidation on Corruption

3.4.2 Procedure for Instrument Development

The instrument used for data collection is developed by the researcher.

3.5.1 Validity

The research supervisor validated the instrument to ensure that the issues raised are relevant to the topic.

3.6 Procedure for Data Collection

Approval letter from the researcher's supervisor introducing the researcher to administer the questionnaire (Appendix A), and another letter (Appendix B) by the researcher seeking cooperation of respondents in responding to the questionnaire items will be collected.

3.6.2 Instrument Administration Procedure

The researcher personally travelled to the field to administer the questionnaire. Respondents will be asked to circle the option that best satisfy their opinion on the issues provided in the questionnaire. In scoring the questionnaire, the following values have been attached to the opinions. The instrument is the 4-point modified Likert scale, and is as follows:

Strongly Agree (SA)	=	4
Agree (A)	=	3
Disagree	=	2
Strongly Disagree (SD)	=	1

The statistic used in answering the research question is the Mean and Standard deviation.

Decision Rule for Research Question

Any Mean from 1 to 2.49 is disagree and any Mean from 2.50 to 4.0 is agree and, 4.50 to 5 is strongly disagree.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter explains the data presentation and analysis under the following headings: -

Result of Data from the Democratic Consolidation Questions, Answer to Research Questions and Discussions.

4.1 Results of Data from the DCQ

Four research questions were postulated to assess the level of performance of National Assembly on democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Participants were 500, drawn from the Media, Civil Society groups and six Area Councils (Amac, Kuje, Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kwali and Abaji) in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

4.1.1 Answer to Research Questions

Research Question One (1): **To what level do the performance of 8th National Assembly have effect on the democratic consolidation of Free and Fair Election in Nigeria?**

The focus of this research question was to find out the opinions of Media, Civil Society and Area Councils during their participation in the elections in Nigeria. The data collected were analyzed and the result is presented in Table 6.

Table 4: Respondents opinion on the challenges of Free and Fair Election

S/No	Statement	RATING						X	SD
		N	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)			
1	Performance of National Assembly has effect on free and fair elections.	500	143 (28.6)	214 (42.8)	70 (14.0)	73 (14.6)		2.5	.995
2	National Assembly has not done enough to check irregularities in Nigerian election.	500	71 (14.2)	143 (28.6)	143 (28.6)	143 (28.6)		2.28	0.30
3	National Assembly has contributed positively on free and fair elections in Nigeria.	500	215 (43.0)	73 (14.6)	106 (21.2)	106 (21.2)		2.79	.20
4.	The election in Nigeria particularly 2019 was not free and fair	500	286 (43.0)	72 (14.6)	106 (21.2)	36 (7.2)		3.21	.01
5	Inability of National Assembly to Amend the electoral act 2010 affected the 2019 elections negatively.	500	214 (42.8)	109 (21.8)	106 (21.8)	71 (14.2)		2.93	.09
	Total Mean							2.81	

In Table 4, the total Mean score was 2.81 higher than the cut- off point of 2.50. This means that respondents have agreed that the performance of National Assembly on Democratic Consolidation has effect on Free and Fair Election in Nigeria.

Research Question 2: In what ways do the performance of 8th National Assembly have effect on democratic consolidation of Security?

Table 5: Respondents opinion on the challenges of 8th National Assembly on Democratic Consolidation on Security

S/No	Statement	RATING						
		N	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	X	SD
6	The 8 th National Assembly has performed well in terms of relevant laws made to enhance security in Nigeria.	500	5 (0%)	5 (1%)	450 (90%)	45	3.08	.031
7	The 8 th National Assembly is not responsive to the security challenge in Nigeria.	500	20 (0%)	20 (28.6)	430 (28.6)	50 (28.6)	3.06	0.38
8	The 8 th National Assembly has not actually taken necessary legislative steps to address security challenge in the country	500	200 (0%)	200 (28.6)	200 (28.6)	200 (28.6)	2.80	0.75
9.	Insecurity in Nigeria could have been checked if relevant laws are put in place.	500	150 (43.0)	180 (14.6)	100 (21.2)	70 (21.2)	2.18	1.02
10	The performance of 8 th National Assembly have effect on the consolidation of security in Nigeria.	500	20 (42.8)	100 (21.8)	100 (21.8)	280 (14.2)	3.28 .07	.092
Total Mean							2.88	0.84

In table 5, the total mean was 2.88 which is higher than the cut-off point of 2.50. This means that respondents agreed that National Assembly has done enough in the protection of life and property in Nigeria.

Research Question Three – To what extent do the performance of 8th National Assembly have effect on the democratic consolidation of Economic and Social Rights in Nigeria?

Table 6: Respondents Opinion on democratic consolidation on Economic and Social Rights

S/No	Statement	RATING						
		N	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	X	SD
11	Laws made by 8 th National Assembly of Nigeria are conducive to the formation and growth of economy and social right.	500	25 (5%)	25 (5%)	200 (40%)	250 (50%)	3.35	0.79
12	The performance of 8 th National Assembly has effect on the consolidation of economic and social right in Nigeria.	500	125 (0%)	275 (28.6)	50 (28.6)	50 (28.6)	2.05	0.87
13	The activities of 8 th National Assembly have helped to increase economic freedom and provision of basic rights in Nigeria.	500	100 (0%)	300 (28.6)	50 (28.6)	50 (28.6)	2.10	0.83
14.	The 8 th National Assembly actually contributed to poverty reduction through legislation in Nigeria	500	50 (10%)	300 (60%)	100 (20%)	50 (10%)	2.30	0.78
15	The 8 th NASS has taken necessary legislative initiative to promote equality and inclusiveness and ensure that the rights of women, youths and vulnerable persons in the society are addressed.	500	25 (42.8)	25 (21.8)	200 (21.8)	250 (14.2)	3.35 .07	8.79
	Total Mean						2.63	0.81

In table 6, the total mean was 2.63 which is higher than the cut-off point of 2.50. This means that respondents agreed that National Assembly has performed well in creating a conducive atmosphere for economic activities in Nigeria.

Research Question 4 – To what extent do the performance of 8th National Assembly on democratic consolidation have effect on reduction of corruption in Nigeria

Table 7: Respondents Opinion on the challenges of democratic consolidation on corruption in Nigeria.

S/No	Statement	RATING						
		N	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	X	SD
16	The performance of 8 th NASS have effect on reduction of corruption in Nigeria.	500	75 (15%)	275 (55%)	75 (15%)	75 (15%)	2.30	.90
17	The 8thNASS have taken necessary legislative steps to address national economic challenges, poverty, infrastructure decline, wastages in government, leakages in revenue and corruption.	500	175 (35%)	175 (35%)	55 (11%)	95 (19%)	2.14	1.10
18	The 8thNASS has supported the federal government in the fight against corruption.	500	238 (47.6%)	138 (27.6)	62 (12.4)	62 (12.4)	1.90	1.04
19	Corruption is the bane of Nigeria economic development and a threat to democracy.	500	100 (20%)	100 (20%)	250 (50%)	50 (10%)	2.50	0.92
20	The 8thNASS can use its legislative powers to checks corruption in order to consolidate democracy.	500	100 (20%)	200 (40%)	250 (20%)	50 (20%)	2.40	1.02
	Total Mean						2.34	

In table 7, the total mean was 2.34 which is lower than the cut-off point of 2.50. This means that respondents disagreed that National Assembly has not performed too well in the reduction of corruption in Nigeria.

4.2 Discussion

This study was to assess the Role of the 8th National Assembly on democratic consolidation especially on free and fair elections, security, economic and social rights, and corruption. The study adopted correlational survey design, using research questions to guide the investigation. The sample size for this study was 500, comprising of media, civil society and stakeholders of the Area Councils from the six area councils of FCT, Abuja. The instruments for data collection were the Democratic Consolidation Questionnaire. The data generated was treated with Mean, Standard deviation, and Percentage.

Regarding the role of the 8thNational Assembly as it affects free and fair elections, it was discovered in table 6 that the mean of the responses was 2.88 which is higher than the cut-off point of 2.50, indicating that participants in their opinions, agreed that the performance of 8thNational Assembly has effect on Free and Fair election.

Another issue that was investigated in this study was on security. The study investigated the role of the 8thNational Assembly on matters of security in Nigeria. It was discovered in table 7 that the mean of the responses was 2.88 which is higher than the cutoff point of 2.50, indicating that participants in their opinions, agreed that the performance of 8thNational Assembly has effect on security.

This research also focused on the role of the 8thNational Assembly to ensure economic and social rights of citizens in Nigeria. It was discovered in table 7 that the mean of the responses was

2.88 which is higher than the cutoff point of 2.50, indicating that participants in their opinions, agreed that the performance of 8th National Assembly has effect on economic and social rights.

This research also focused on the role of the 8th National Assembly to ensure economic and social rights of citizens in Nigeria. It was discovered in table 7 that the mean of the responses was 2.88 which is higher than the cutoff point of 2.50, indicating that participants in their opinions, agreed that the performance of 8th National Assembly has effect on economic and social rights.

The final and unending issue investigated in this study is the issue of Corruption. The study looked at the issue of the performance of 8th National Assembly to reduce Corruption. It was discovered in table 7 that the mean of the responses was 2.88 which is higher than the cutoff point of 2.50, indicating that participants in their opinions, agreed that the performance of 8th National Assembly has effect on corruption. The issues of Corruption has been a problematic issue both for discussion and prevention. The National Assembly has done a lot to prevent corruption in this country, and for the fact that it has not stopped, does not mean that it has not been minimized.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This Chapter deals with findings, conclusion and recommendations under the following headings:
- Legislative Activities of the 8th National Assembly (2016-2018),(Number of Bills passed), Bills passed by the 8th Assembly by Classification, Legislative Activities of the 8th Assembly (Number of Resolutions passed) Summary of findings, conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Legislative Activities of the 8th National Assembly – (2016-2018) (Number of Bills passed)

According to a publication by the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS), House of Representatives Bills and Motions (2018), the table below provides a summary of the number of Bills passed by the 8th National Assembly between June, 2015 and October, 2018. The data shows that a total of 111 Bills have been passed post concurrence. This significantly surpasses those previous assemblies and shows the high level of engagement in lawmaking by the 8th Assembly.

Table 8: Summary of Total Number of Bills passed by the 8th National Assembly (Post Concurrence)

	2016	2017	2018	total
Bills passed	28	40	43	111
Acts	18	18	15	51

Source: NILDS

According to the publication as shown above, in 2016, 28 Bills were passed by the National Assembly out of which 18 were actually assented to by the President. In 2017, 18 out of 40 of the Bills passed by the National Assembly were assented to by the President. In 2018, the number of Bills that the President could assent to was lower than in previous years as only 15 out of the 43 Bills passed were assented to.

It is also worthy to note here that the President on a number of occasions returned some Bills back to the National Assembly citing technical or constitutional reasons. The publication

indicated that 31 per cent of the total number of Bills passed by 8th National Assembly received Presidential assent.

5.2 Bills Passed by the 8th Assembly by Classification

According to NILDS (2018), Bills can be categorized into focus or objectives however, there is no fixed rule to it because the purpose of each Bill can transverse into various objectives. But for the purpose of this study, I will classify the Bills into four groups as follows: -free and fair elections, security, corruption, economic and development.

NILDS (2018) indicated that there were bulk of bills passed to establish one regulatory body or another but were rejected by the government because it does not want to replicate agonies. A good number of Bills relating to economic and social development were passed as the country was struggling to come out of recession between 2015 and 2017. There was also a number of bills passed by the 8th National Assembly to strengthen ease of doing business in Nigeria.

Table 9: Showing classification of Bills by the Senate by objectives, June 2015-june 2018.

Legislative years	Sectors					
	Economic Devt.	Social Devt.	Governance, political Devt.	Regulatory	Culture	Total
June 2015- June 2018	35	27	22	51	0	135

Source: NILDS, 2018

5.3 Legislative Activities of the 8th National Assembly (Number of Resolutions Passed)

Resolutions are prayers of a motion agreed to by a legislative House with or without amendment. NILDS (2018), explains that motion is nullity when its prayers are voted down. Available data

shows that in the first Session (2015-2016), a total of 150 Resolutions were passed in the Senate while in the second Session (2016-2017), a total of 192 Resolutions were passed. In same manner records available indicate that in the House of Representatives, a total number of 1458 motions were presented on the Floor, out of which 1330 have been referred to the Committees and 110 Motions were resolved (NILDS, 2018).

The results of the data analysis are presented and discussed in this chapter.

5.4 Summary of Findings

The problem that motivated this study is the ineffectiveness of 8th National Assembly to perform their legislative function to consolidate democracy in Nigeria. After inaugurating the 8th National Assembly in Nigeria in June 2015, there have not been any remarkable change in the management of the country. The study identified four key areas in democracy namely; Free and Fair election, Economic and Social Rights, Security and Corruption as essential variables to measure the effectiveness of 8th National Assembly Members in the management of their legislative functions. Several studies reviewed and presented in this thesis have revealed the substantial contributions to these key areas as having major effects in the improvement of democracy.

The study was a combination of case study and correlation study of six area councils in the FCT. A sample of 500 participants, comprising media, Area council stakeholders and civil society were used. There was one set of instruments; the Democratic Consolidation Questionnaire. The questionnaire contains 20 items measuring 8th National Assembly performance in Free and Fair Election, Security, Economic and Social Rights and Corruption. The items were rated on 4 point modified Likert scale. For the research questions, descriptive statistics; mean, standard deviation, percentages, frequency were used to answer them.

5.5 Conclusion

Basically, what the finding reveals is that though the 8th National Assembly did quite a lot particularly in the area of passing high volumes of Bills and Resolutions, some of critical those critical Bills and Motions did not receive Presidential assent and acceptance and so were not able to influence the respective sectors or democratic variables in question. For instance, the refusal of the President to assent to the 2010 Electoral Act (Amendment) Bill, 2019 manifested in the kind of election the country conducted in 2019.

The paper finds also that the performance of the 8th Assembly was less significant because the Assembly was not quite assertive. Legislative performance is not directly proportional to the high volumes of Bills passed by that Legislative House but how many of such Bills have directly affected the living standard of an average citizen of that country?

The study revealed that there was a slight low level of performance in the improvement of the democracy in Nigeria. Research confirms that although the activities of the legislature had influence on the four variables tested the influence was slightly low because the legislature did not go a step further in ensuring that the bills and motions they passed were actively executed and complied with by relevant authorities or agencies of Government. For instance, you passed the Ease of doing Business Act, 2019, was it fully complied with by the relevant agencies to the ease of doing business in Nigeria truly easy? The Not Too Young to Rule Act, 2019, how youths contested the 2019 general elections and what did the National Assembly do to ensure that that Act was complied to?

Generally, active performance of 8th National Assembly in the Nigeria was not noticed in the study, but high performance was noticed in Economic and Social Rights subsector. This means

that generally, even though the performance of the 8th Assembly was not high in other sectors under study the Economic and Social Rights sector gained the attention of the 8th Assembly going by not just the number of bills passed in that sector but in engaging the Government and relevant agencies to ensuring that such bills and motions passed were complied with. It is worthy to mention here also that under the watch of the 8th Assembly Nigeria became the fastest and cheapest country to register a business through the instrumentality of the Ease of Doing Business Act, 2019 and the Amendment of the Companies and Allied Matters Act, 2019 passed the 8th Assembly.

5.6 Recommendations

Arising from the findings of the study, the following recommendations which could be used to improve the performance and effectiveness in democracy were made:

1. In order to get closer to the people, constant scheduled meetings in the areas where community members are invited, and given functional responsibilities to perform.
2. In large area councils Security meetings should be encouraged between Members of the National Assembly and various stakeholders
3. The various Councils should constantly arrange town hall meeting and people should be given opportunity to talk on what they need in their various constituencies.
4. The 8th National Assembly needed to be more assertive in performing their constitutional functions as provided in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is laws made Legislature and duly signed by the President that provides the platform for economic recovery.
5. To have free and fair elections the National Assembly should facilitate a national discourse on how to curb election malpractices in order to entrench credible elections in subsequent elections. Same goes for security and corruption.

6. High level of training is required for both members of staff and Members of the National Assembly particularly in area of Bills drafting in order to reduce the number of Bills returned by the President on technical or constitutional ground as pointed out by the NILDS report.

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APPENDIX 1

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION OF THE RESEARCHER

Dear Sir/Chief/Madam,

QUESTIONNAIRE ON PERFORMANCE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION

Mr. Amos Enobong Sunday is my name, a student in the above-named Institute, pursuing a Masters Degree in Parliamentary Administration. The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain your opinion on National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria.

Your responses to the questionnaire will provide useful information for the study. The information provided will be used strictly for the purpose of this study. We assure you the confidentiality of the information you will provide.

We solicit your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Signed

Dr. Sam Amadi

Supervisor

APPENDIX 2

LETTER SEEKING APPROVAL TO ADMINISTER QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir,

This questionnaire is part of a Masters degree research project in Parliamentary Administration. The project is on National Assembly and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. As a professional you are in a privileged position to give useful information which will lead to better understanding of the issues being studied.

Your honest responses to the following questions will provide useful information that will help generate quality data for the study. We assure you that the information you will give will be treated in confidence and will be used strictly for the purpose of this study.

Thank you.

Amos Enobong Sunday

Student

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: BIODATA INVENTORY (BI)

Please fill in the blank space

a) Area Council _____

1) Respondent Categories

Please tick in the appropriate space

- a. Media ()
- b. Civil Society ()
- c. Political Stakeholders ()
- d. FCT Resident ()

Please Tick in the box as appropriate

- Note:
- SA = Strongly Agree
 - A = Agree
 - D = Disagree
 - SD = Strongly Disagree

S/N	Statement	SA	A	D	SD
UNIT 1					
Challenges of Democratic Consolidation on Free and Fair Election					
<i>Asa resident of the FCT, please how do you agree to the following as the roles and responsibilities the National Assembly performance to manage Free and Fair election.</i>					
1	The performance of 8th National Assembly have effect on the consolidation of free and fair election in Nigeria?				

2	The 8 th National Assembly has not done enough to check irregularities in Nigeria elections				
3	The 8 th National Assembly has contributed positively to the conduct of free and fair elections in Nigeria				
4	The elections in Nigeria particularly the 2019 election was not free and fair				
5	The inability of the 8 th National Assembly to amend the Electoral Act 2010 affected the 2019 elections processes negatively				
UNIT 2					
Challenges of Democratic Consolidation on Security					
<i>As a resident of the FCT, please how do you agree to the following as the roles and responsibilities the National Assembly performance to enhance security in Nigeria</i>					
6	The 8 th National Assembly has performed well in terms of relevant laws made to enhance security in Nigeria.				
7	The 8 th National Assembly is not responsive to the security challenges in Nigeria				
8	The National 8 th Assembly has not actually take necessary legislative steps to address security challenges in the country.				
9	Insecurity in Nigeria could have been checked if relevant laws are put in place				
10	The performance of 8 th National Assembly have effect on the consolidation of security in Nigeria?				
UNIT 3 Challenges of Democratic Consolidation on Economic and Social Rights					
<i>As a resident of the FCT, please how do you agree to the following as the roles and responsibilities the National Assembly performance to enhance Economic Development and social rights in Nigeria</i>					
11	Laws made by 8 th National Assembly of Nigeria are conducive to the formation and growth of economy and social rights				
12	The performance of 8 th National Assembly have effect on the consolidation of economic and social rights in Nigeria?				
13	The activities of 8 th National Assembly has helped to increase economic freedom and provision of basic rights in Nigeria.				

14	The 8th National Assembly actually contributed to Poverty Reduction through Legislation in Nigeria.				
15	The 8 th National Assembly has taken necessary legislative initiative to promote equality and inclusiveness and ensure that the rights of women, youths and vulnerable persons in the society are addressed.				

S/N	Statement	SA	A	D	SD
UNIT 4					
Challenges of Democratic Consolidation on Corruption					
As a resident of the FCT, please how do you agree to the following as the roles and responsibilities the National Assembly performance to enhance the fight against corruption in Nigeria					
16	The performance of 8 th National Assembly have effect on reduction of corruption in Nigeria?				
17	The National Assembly have taken necessary legislative steps to address national economic challenges, poverty, infrastructure decline, wastages in government, leakages in revenues, and corruption.				
18	The 8 th National Assembly has supported the Federal Government in the fight against corruption				
19	Corruption is the bane of Nigeria economic development and a threat to democracy				
20	The 8 th National Assembly can use its legislative powers to check corruption in order to consolidate democracy				