Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic

S.M. OMODIA Ph.D., FCIM[1]   MONDAY ALIU [1]

1.   Department of Political Science Kogi State University, Anyigba, Kogi State Nigeria, West Africa.
E-mail of the corresponding author: ostephenm@yahoo.com

Abstract

This paper discusses threats to national security in emerging democracies with specific focus on the democratic experiment of the Nigerian fourth republic. The paper through the use of system theory unfolds the hyphen and buckle between governance and national security. The paper argues that poor political governance as manifested in lack of people centred political leadership, poor institutionalisation of democratic governance, widespread unemployment, poverty, infrastructural decay among others have led to crude contestation of political power which threatens the survival of the Nigerian state. The conception of the paper is that poor governance or lack of people centred governance has propelled a scenario where the people especially the primary groups have resulted to militancy as a means of getting the attention of government as regard the allocation and effective implementation of state resources. This scenario no doubt has negatively impacted on the security of the Nigerian state. Thus, in order to enhance good governance and national security in the Nigerian fourth republic the paper recommended a functional political leadership that is people centred as a mechanism for deepening democracy and checking against militancy among others.

Key Words: Democratic governance. Identity politics. Militancy. Political leadership. Poverty. System theory.

Introduction

The notion of democratic governance gained greater prominence in Africa in the 1990s. The realisation by the World Bank that its support for authoritarian regimes in Africa did not yield the expected development outcomes provoked a fundamental shift by the Bank towards more accountability, transparency and democracy in government (Egwu, 2006). Governance entails the proper management of state institutions and structures to enhance socio-economic and political transformation of society. It is the expectation that the state will practice and promote the core values of constitutionalism, respect for the rule of law and human rights, popular participation, accountability and transparency, and probity in the management of people and resources. The governance process embodies the social bond existing between the government and the governed, and its capacity to enhance popular trust and galvanise popular participation in the political system is strong (Egwu, 2006; Adejumobi, 2005). It is important to stress that while the governance framework consolidates the values of liberal democracy, it nevertheless reinforces the neoliberal agenda of reducing the role of the state in socio-economic development (Adejumobi, 2005).

The concept of National Security goes beyond safeguarding the state from external and internal threats. It also involves improving the socio-economic, health, environmental, physical, food and political security of the people, protecting the dominant values, ideology, and way of life of the state from threats and forestalling any form of socio-economic, political, environmental assault on the state. Therefore, the combination of high level military intervention and improvement in the standard of living of the citizens are required to enhance national security (Bello, 2011). Essentially, there is a strong correlation between governance and national security. Governance that enhances the delivery of public goods and improved standard of living for the people has the capacity to guarantee improved security of lives and properties and minimise potential risks to national security (Akpan, 2010). The catastrophic episodes of poor governance evident in the perversion of the constitution and constitutionalism, subversion of the rule of law and institutions of probity and accountability, and the abuse of political power for personal aggrandisement by the political leadership in Africa; and the attendant devastating challenges of development, poverty, insecurity and conflict underscore the import of governance on development and security (Egwu, 2006).

The failure of governance is core to the socio-economic and political development challenges confronting Nigeria and the spate of violence that threatens national security (Omodia, 2012). The evolution of democracy and democratic governance in Nigeria has been a turbulent one. Since independence, democratic governance in Nigeria has been devoid of what Egwu (2006) describes as the key elements of governance: accountability, transparency, openness, answerability, enforcement and responsiveness. Consequently, political corruption, perversion of the rule of law and due process, subversion of the institutions of accountability and transparency, reckless and rudderless

political leadership, violation of human rights, authoritarianism, criminalisation of dissent, widespread impunity and personalisation of political power have become significant attributes of democratic governance in Nigeria. These governance deficits have profoundly affected development and security in Nigeria.

The interplay of colonialism, military rule and poor leadership are central to the poor institutionalisation of democratic governance and the attendant security challenges in Nigeria (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007). It is within this milieu that the winner takes all nature of politics, the contradictions inherent in the character of the Nigerian state and its power to generate social tensions and violence, and entrenched economic inequality and poverty crucial to understanding the impact of governance on national security and instability in Nigeria are founded (Lewis, 2011). Moreover, democratic governance can minimise the capacity of the socio-economic divisions and tensions in the country to undermine national security and stability. However, the problems of widespread unemployment, poverty, infrastructural decay, political corruption, ethno-religious conflicts, politically motivated violence and general insecurity of lives and property constantly plaguing the country underscore the problematic nature of governance in Nigeria. The thrust of this paper therefore is to unfold the nexus between governance and national security in Nigeria with specific focus on the fourth republic. Thus, in order to effectively execute this project this paper in addition to the introductory parts encompasses theoretical framework of analysis, governance and security in Nigeria before the fourth republic, governance and security in Nigeria in the fourth republic, towards functional governance and effective national security as well as concluding remarks.

Theoretical Framework

The Eastonian system analysis of the political system popularised by David Easton is adopted as a theoretical approach underpinning the study. The focus of the approach on the analysis of factors and forces that engender stability and instability in the political system strengthens its relevance to explaining the deep linkage between the dysfunctionality in governance and the challenges of poverty, inequality and insecurity in Nigeria's fourth republic. The political system within the Eastonian framework is an input and out-put mechanism which deals with political decisions and activities and performs integrative and adaptive functions relevant to the transformation of the society (Johari, 2011; Almond, 1960). Moreover, the mix of the environment, citizens' demand and support (inputs), and the policy output from the system are core factors that affect the structures and processes involve in the authoritative allocation of values and are thus fundamental to the stability and survival of the political system (Johari, 2011; Easton, 1965).

The centrality of citizens' demand and support (inputs) and policy output to the failure of democratic governance in Nigeria and the attending social tensions and security threats it provokes is the major concern of the study. The inputs in the political system according to Easton consist of citizens' demands on the polity and the support they extend to the system. Supposedly, inputs in this context refer to those demand made by the masses. Demands made upon the political system by the political elites and leadership is with-in inputs. Meanwhile, supports entail the structures that enable the political system to manage demands put on it, while outputs relate to those demands that are converted into authoritative policies and decisions. Importantly, obtaining a balance among these critical variables of the political system is germane to its capacity to overcome inevitable challenges pose by the various forces from within, as well as the maintenance of stability and survival of the polity. Conversely, the inability of the political system to address critical demands from the masses or respond positively to important feedback from its policy outputs have the capacity to undermine support for it. Moreover, intra-elite conflicts regarding policy articulation or allocation of scarce resources, preference for elites demands and inability of the structures and institutions of the system to manage citizens' demands equitably can engender popular distrust, instability and stresses of the political system (Johari, 2011).

Given that democratic governance reinforces the social bond that exists between the government and the governed, the expectation is that public policies and programmes should reflect majorly appropriate citizens' demands and aspirations made upon the political system. In Nigeria, the extent to which government policies have their origin in the people is minimal. The political leadership is characterised by blatant personalisation of power, predatory, parochial, prebendal and patrimonial dispositions (Jega, 2007). These ills no doubt undermine popular participation and the critical role of the masses in setting the agenda of governance. The dominant role of the political elites in setting, shaping and articulating governmental policies at the expense of the general interests of the populace erodes public support in democratic governance and policies as the masses perceive and equate democratic governance with representing the interest of the ruling elites (Olaniyi, 2001). The fact that in most cases the outcome of the elitist imposed policies consist of widespread unemployment, corruption and poverty tend to worsen the

peoples' sense of alienation and frustration in the political system, which often translate into disobedience of the state and the resort to violence as a means to challenge the legitimacy of the state. This explains in part the Niger Delta insurgency in the South-South and Boko Haram militancy in the North (Omodia, 2012).

The struggle to acquire and access power usually takes dangerous and deadly dimensions among the ruling elites in Nigeria. This is attributed to the dominant role of the state in socio-economic development which invariably is core to the existence and wealth of the ruling elites (Jega, 2007). Therefore, the demands the elites make upon the political system as well as the subsequent processes of policy formulation and implementation is overwhelmed by intra-elites contradictions and conflicts. The fourth republic is replete with cases of elite conflicts manifested in intra and inter-party squabbles, animosity and tensions between some governors and their deputies, and political godsons and godfathers which often snow ball into high level violence (Njoku, 2009).

More often than not, identity politics are mobilized and deployed in the zero sum contests. The storm surrounding the zoning arrangement in the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) is a notable case in this regard. Consequently, public policies are given ethno-religious and communal colourations; provoking mutual distrust among the people, heightened sense of political marginalization, violence and instability of the polity (Jega, 2007). The monopolisation of the public policy formulation and implementation processes by the ruling elites, the fractious elite brinkmanship that precedes the making of public policy and the deployment of public policy to promote group interests creates an elite-mass divide with dire implications for national security. It is within this context that the worsening social tensions, economic inequality, poverty and increased spate of insecurity in the country since the return of democracy in 1999 is better appreciated.

Governance and National Security before the Fourth Republic

The overwhelming role of colonialism in shaping the character of the Nigerian state and the nature of its politics evidently affected the actions of the political leadership and by extension the quality of democratic governance during the first republic. The politicisation of ethnicity and religion, prevalence of political corruption and kleptocracy, coupled with the alienated, unaccountable and violent tendencies of the Nigerian state can be understood within this context (Ekeh, 1975; Ogundiya, 2009; Egwu, 2001). The first republic politicians preoccupied with 'ethno-regionist politics' (Omelle, 2005:79) consciously mobilised ethnicity as the means to acquire and consolidate political leadership and economic control (Setolu, 2005; Dudley, 1973). The trend has subsequently assumed frightening dimensions since then, with alarming security implications for the country.

The sacrifice of governance and nation building on the altar of ethnic, parochial and personal interests during the county's experience with parliamentary democracy in the first republic did undermine national security. The resulting ruthless contestations among the major ethnic nationalities for political and economic domination aggravated the existing divisions and mutual distrust among Nigerians. The census crisis of 1962 and 1963, the Action Group crisis of 1962, the 1964 General Election crisis are cases of political conflicts with ethno-regional imprint. The absence of astute political leadership and popular participation contributed to widespread electoral violence during the Western region elections in 1965 (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007); and the subsequent blight to democratic governance in the country; the military coup and counter coup of 1966. The militarisation of the politics and worsening ethnic tension culminated in the outbreak of the 1967 – 1970 civil war with devastating impact on the physical, economic, social and psychological security of the nation. However, issues bordering on fiscal federalism, political marginalisation, and minority question, economic development, secularity of the state and citizenship question core to the civil war remain unresolved and have continued to undermine democratic governance in Nigeria (Omodia, 2012).

Therefore, the second republic which marked the termination of the military supervised transition to civilian rule in 1979 had to grapple with the problems of structural imbalance in the polity, corruption, ethno-religious tension and politically motivated violence. Specifically, widespread electoral fraud, violence and corruption contributed to the collapse of the republic following the military overthrow of the civilian government on December 31, 1983 (Olaitan, 2005; Ogundiya, 2009; Lewis, 2011). The third republic democratic architecture terminated with the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential elections by the Babangida military administration. The action of the military government almost led to the country sliding into anarchy and Nigeria considered a pariah in the comity of nations. Basically, governance during the second republic failed to deliver public goods and services and enhance peace and stability (Moru, 2005). Besides, the military administrations that came to power after the second and third republics, particularly the autocratic regime of Abacha which came to power following the failure of the third republic was characterised by widespread violence, criminalisation of dissent, corruption and suppression of political

opposition (Lewis, 2011). These events contributed to the loss of faith in the state by most citizens, the attendant seeking of alternative platforms especially those rooted in identity politics by some Nigerians to project and promote their interests, the militarisation of the society and emergence of ethnic based groups and militias which endangered national security and stability in the fourth republic (Aliu and Egwemi, 2011, Abdullahi and Saka, 2007).

Governance and National Security in the Fourth Republic

With the commencement of the fourth republic on May 29, 1999, most Nigerians were full of great hope that the democratic experiment would enhance and entrench constitutionalism, respect for human rights, the rule of law, accountability, transparency, popular participation, and improve the economic wellbeing of the people (Bello-Imam, 2004; Inokoba and Kumokor, 2011). Implicit in the expectations is the recognition that the country's previous experience with democratic governance failed to respond to the yearnings of majority of Nigerians. However, the fourth republic appears to be a replica of the previous republics in terms of the failure of the state to guarantee minimum conditions of governance, deliver democratic dividends, and development. The inability of democratic governance to meet the challenges of food, employment, security, potable water, accessible health care, roads, qualitative education and other basic needs of the masses are glaring and well documented (Ogundiya, 2010; Inokoba and Kumokor, 2011; Yagboyaju, 2011). Therefore, given the existing state of poverty and deprivation, the emergence and prevalence of diverse security threats like armed robbery, kidnappings and abductions, and crude oil theft in the country can be well appreciated (Yagboyaju, 2011). Moreover, high level unemployment among the youths coupled with the proliferation of small arms in the fourth republic appear to have contributed to the terrible state of violence and insecurity in the country (Lewis, 2011).

Drawing from the foregoing analysis, there is a strong link between the failure of governance in Nigeria's fourth republic to deliver democratic dividends and the raging state of instability and insecurity in the nation. Specifically, the absence of strong institutions of accountability and transparency and the penchant for the political leadership to undermine the existing ones has weakened the ability of the state to deliver public goods and services. This has deepened political corruption and the politics of prebendalism and patrimonalism (Lewis, 2011). The devastating impact of extensive political corruption evident in the fourth republic is well discussed in the literature. The high level profligacy, lawlessness, fraud, blatant looting of the national treasury and miscarriage of justice have constrained economic development, undermined popular trust in government and democratic institutions and subverted accountability and the rule of law (Ogundiya, 2010; Inokoba and Ibegu, 2011). The resulting economic inequality continues to deepen social tensions, violence, and legitimacy crisis, with grave danger to national stability and security (Lewis, 2011). The entrenched social and economic divisions in the country in addition to political rivalry among political parties are plausible explanations for the 2011 post election violence in the North (Lewis, 2011).

Furthermore, governance in Nigeria's fourth republic has been plagued by what Omatseye (2012) succinctly captures as 'the stormy waters of ethnic and sectarian malice'. The elevation of identity politics to the level of state craft by the political leadership and their inability to manage properly the diverse socio-economic cleavages has breed resentment and frustration among social groups in the country. The ensuing dangerous competition among various social groups and forces for scarce political and economic resources is crucial to the ethno-religious conflicts that have negatively affected the security, peace and stability of the country since 1999. Such conflicts which have become recurrent in states like Kaduna and Plateau have resulted in the death of about 18,000 Nigerians since 1999 (Lewis, 2011).

The problematic nature of governance in the fourth republic has contributed to the crisis of legitimacy pervasive in Nigeria. The decline in popular trust in government and widespread mutual distrust among Nigerians provides a favourable environment for 'communal groups to organise for their own security or political aims, creating dangerous competition that can easily erupt into violence' (Lewis, 2011: 10). The proliferation of ethnic militia movements, the problem of militancy and insurgency pervasive in the fourth republic can be located in this context. The emergence of ethno-regional groups like the O'odua People's Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Arewa People's Congress (APC), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), and Ohaneze Ndi Igbo among others beside undermining the legitimacy of the state in terms of its monopoly of the instrument of force, contest citizen's loyalty and obedience with the state and exacerbate social divisions and conflicts (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007, Aliu and Egwemi, 2011). The ethnic conflict between the Yorubas and Hausa/Fulani resident in Sagamu, Ogun State on July 22, 1999, and the Yelwan Shendam crisis of May 1, 2004 in Plateau state are among the

numerous spates of such violence and conflicts which have resulted in massive lost of lives and property (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007).

The Niger Delta crisis is another reference point in the exploration of the numerous security threats that are rooted in the failure of governance in the fourth republic. The persistent failure of the state to ensure equitable distribution of economic resources, coupled with political corruption, marginalisation and the sense of neglect and alienation on the part of Niger Delta people culminated into high level militancy in the fourth republic (Akpan, 2010). The Niger Delta provides most of the wealth of the country. However, the poverty and degradation among the people of the Niger Delta is cataclysmic. This is the major background to the militancy in the Niger Delta. The resort to violence by the Niger Delta Militants to seek redress from the state undermined security and development in the country.

The incessant religious conflicts situated in the North represented another major threat to national security and stability in Nigeria's fourth republic. The manipulation of religion by politicians in the North for their own political survival and the tendency for such actions to fuel social tensions and violence reflect the norm at the national level. This explains the agitation by politicians for the expansion of the Sharia legal codes in some Northern states after the return to democracy in 1999. Besides, the development fuelled by the desire to safeguard religious values, also bore the hallmark of 'populist frustration and regional assertion' (Lewis, 2011: 11). Despite the constitutional approach adopted by the politicians to the issue, the Sharia debacle resulted in pockets of violence and the mindless destruction of lives and properties in Kano, Kaduna and Plateau states. This only signifies how divided the country have become (Suberu, 2001; Aderonmu and Aliu, 2010).

The emergence of the Boko Haram insurgency in the North is a major setback for national security in the fourth republic. Although, the challenge of Islamic militancy in the North is not limited to the forth republic, however with the Boko Haram the trend attained a more sophisticated, deadly, dangerous and international dimension. Boko Haram which has continued a vicious and brutal attack against the Nigerian government since 2009 rejects the secularity of the state and its politics and the mainstream Muslim values of the North. The insurgency which reflects the 'deep current alienation from the government and religious authorities' (Lewis, 2011: 11) has led to the death of hundreds of people, destruction of properties, intensified the animosity between Muslims and Christians, and undermined socio-economic development and investment mostly in the North (Okpaga, Chijioke and Innocent, 2012; Lewis, 2011).

Towards a Functional Democratic Governance cum Effective National Security

The failure of democratic governance to improve the wellbeing of most Nigerians is one of the contributing factors to the emergence of numerous threats to national security in the fourth republic. Underlying the dysfunctionality in governance is the recklessness and insensitivity of the political elites and leadership in the management of the human, natural and material resources of the Nigerian state. Since functional and robust democratic governance is critical to an effective national security, ensuring that the governance process is productive becomes imperative. In this regard, the critical role of the ruling elites and political leadership to the success of democratic governance in Nigeria readily come to fore.

The ruling elites and political leadership as a critical vanguard of democratic governance will have to imbibe and practice the core values of democracy in government. Such regime of exemplary leadership from the political leadership has the capacity to inspire confidence and popular participation in governance. Popular trust in government in the present dispensation is in decline. Moreover, with focused and dedicated political leadership the deployment of identity politics as a weapon for political gain and the resulting socio-economic and political tensions and violence would be reduced. The bitter and sometimes bloody fights to acquire and access scarce economic and power resource among the elites diminish as such political brinkmanship is done within the ambit of the rule of law and with deference to regulatory and institutional mechanisms available for the management of societal conflicts.

Furthermore, with a purposeful and service oriented political elites and leadership, meeting the basic needs of Nigerians and improving their welfare should be a major priority of government. This is germane to improving the loyalty and obedience of Nigerians to the government, with great impact on the legitimacy and capacity of the state to guarantee security, stability and peace. Apparently, issues of elite insensitivity, public policy hijack and elite group preservation at the expense of the masses would be minimized. This has implications for poverty reduction, socio-economic inequality and the attendant widespread violence manifested in armed robbery, kidnapping and militancy in Nigeria.

www.iiste.org

IISTE

Effective citizenship and active followership is crucial to sustaining democratic governance. The critical mass, well informed and politically active can successfully challenge and contest the ownership of the democratic space with the elites. This can be in the area of agenda setting, electoral participation, de-emphasizing resort to ethnic, sectarian and religious politics and holding politicians to account for their stewardship. It must be noted that in Nigeria, the capacity of the masses to play a critical role in democratic governance and enhance national security has been undermined by years of misrule and poverty. Indeed, this scenario reinforces the essence of the ruling elites and political leadership in the success of democratic governance and effective national security.

Conclusion

The central thrust of the paper is to establish the deep linkage between democratic governance and national security in Nigeria's fourth republic. The paper contends that there is a strong association between the poor state of governance in Nigeria and the widespread threats to national security. This is in part connected to the colonial experience, decades of military rule, zero sum nature of state politics and the recklessness of political leadership. Importantly, the failure of the ruling elites to provide purposeful and responsible political leadership has affected the delivery of public goods and services and undermined popular trust in democracy and democratic institutions. Moreover, elite insensitivity, dominance of the public policy processes, and mobilisation of identity politics continue to constrain popular participation in governance, reinforce the sense of alienation and marginalisation, social tensions, inequality and violence. Therefore, the ruling elites are crucial to laying the foundation for democratic governance that is people and service oriented, and manages properly the numerous socio-economic and political challenges core to the endemic violence and militancy that have become the hallmark of the fourth republic.

References

Abdullahi, A. A. and Saka L (2007). Ethno-religious and political conflicts: threats to Nigeria nascent democracy, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 9(3):21- 36.

Adejumobi, S. (2004) Democracy, good governance and constitutionalism in Africa, In S. Odion-Akin ed. *Governance: Nigeria and the world*, (11 – 22) Lagos: Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarisation.

Aderonmu, J and Aliu, M. (2011). The dilemmas of democratic consolidation in Nigeria: the experience of the fourth republic, *Lapai International Journal of Management and Social Sciences* (LIJOMASS), Volume 4(1): 91- 107.

Akpan, S.N. (2010) Governance and communal conflicts in a post-democratic Nigeria: a case of the oil-producing Niger Delta Region. *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(3): 065-074.

Aliu, M. and Egwemi, V. (2011). Ethno-religious cleavages and the crisis of development In Nigeria. *Lapai International Journal of Management and Social Sciences* (LIJOMASS), Volume 4(2): 183- 202.

Almond, G. (1960). 'Introduction' in Almond, G. and Coleman eds, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bello, F. (2011) Public policy implication on national security, *Law and Security in Nigeria,* 55 – 68.

Bello-Imam, I. B. (2004). The legislature: its role, performance, problems and prospect in Nigeria, In I. B. Bello-Imam and M. Obadan (eds) *Democratic Governance and Development Management in Nigeria's* 4th *Republic, 1999-2003,* Ibadan: Centre for Local Government and Rural Development Studies.

Dudley, B. (1973). *Instability and political order; politics and crisis in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Easton, D. (1965). *A framework for political analysis*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Egwu, S.G. (2001). *Ethnic and religious violence in Nigeria*, Jos: African centre for democratic governance (AFRIGOV).

Egwu, S. G. (2006). *Promoting the social contract through the due process mechanism: the role of the legislature*, A lecture delivered at the Kogi State House of Assembly, Lokoja, May 18.

Ekeh, P. P. (1975). Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement, *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 17(1): 91-112.

Inokoba, P. K. and Kumokor, I. (2011). Electoral Crisis, Governance and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, *Journal of Social Sciences*, 27(2): 139 – 148.

Jega, A.M. (2007). *Democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Johari, J.C. (2011). *Comparative Politics*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

Moru, J. (2005). The Challenges of Democracy in Nation Building: Africa in the 21st century, In G. Onu and A. Momoh (eds) *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, (55 – 68) Lagos: Triad Associates.

Njoku, F.O.C (2009). 'Development, conflict and peace in Nigeria' in M. Ikejiani-Clark (ed) peace studies and conflict resolution in Nigeria: A reader, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Ogundiya, I. S. (2009). Political corruption in Nigeria: theoretical perspectives and some explanations, *Anthropologist,* 11(4): 281 – 292.

Ogundiya, I. S. (2010). Corruption: the bane of democratic stability in Nigeria, *Current Journalof Social Sciences*, 2(4): 233 – 241.

Olaitan, W.A. (2005). Elections: the making and unmaking of democracy, in G. Onu and A. Momoh (eds) *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, (43 – 54) Lagos: Triad Associates.

Olaniyi, J.O. (2001). *Foundations of Public Policy Analysis*, Ibadan: SUNAD Publishers Limited

Okpaga, A; Chijioke, S.C and Innocent, E.M (2012). Activities of boko haram and insecurity question in Nigeria. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter), 1(9): 77 – 99.*

Omatseye, S. (2012). Disappointed vultures, *The Nation*, December 31, 2012.

Omelle, Y.B.C. (2005). Democracy: Road blocks in Nigeria and the bane of Nigeria's electoral system, In G. Onu and A. Momoh (eds) *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria* (69 – 92). Lagos: Triad Associates.

Omodia, S.M. (2012). Political leadership and national security in the Nigerian fourth republic: a discourse, African Journal of Social Sciences, 2(4): 90-96.

Lewis, P.M. 2011. Nigeria: Assessing risks to stability, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), *A Report of the CSIS Africa Program*

Setolu, D. (2005). The Nigerian state, the political class and histography of elections in Nigeria, In G. Onu and A. Momoh (eds) *Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*, (34 – S42) Lagos: Triad Associates.

Suberu, T.R. 2001. Can Nigeria's new democracy survive? *Current History, A Journal of Contemporary World Affairs*, 100(646): 207 – 212.

Yagboyaju, D. A. (2011). Nigeria's fourth republic and the challenge of a faltering democratisation, *African Studies Quarterly*, 12(3): 94 – 106.

This academic article was published by The International Institute for Science, Technology and Education (IISTE). The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open Access Publishing service based in the U.S. and Europe. The aim of the institute is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the publisher can be found in the IISTE's homepage:
http://www.iiste.org

CALL FOR PAPERS

The IISTE is currently hosting more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals and collaborating with academic institutions around the world. There's no deadline for submission. **Prospective authors of IISTE journals can find the submission instruction on the following page:** http://www.iiste.org/Journals/

The IISTE editorial team promises to the review and publish all the qualified submissions in a **fast** manner. All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Printed version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digtial Library , NewJour, Google Scholar