Democratic Governance, State Society Relations and National Security in Nigeria

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Abstract: **Over the last two decades Nigeria has been suffering from serious political, economic and social dislocation in spite of high hope and expectation from the transition to democratic government. Many factors were attributed to the failure to live up to expectation in governance. Manifest challenges were largely rooted in its recent history, partly colonial and largely military long stay in power and corruption added to the toll. Since 1999, with the successful transition to democratic system, so much hope was raised among Nigerians to transform the country through achieving good governance, national unity, economic growth and development. Unfortunately this hope was not realized due to consistent degeneration of the political elites which largely affect the political system and its operation. Manifest in the operation of the state has been political recklessness, lawlessness, lack of transparency, accountability and failure to deliver the benefits of democracy. This trend breads lost of hope in governance, rising rate of crime, corruption and poverty as well as insecurity across the nation. This article interrogates the operation of democratic system over the last two decades with specific focus on state society relations and its effect on national security in Nigeria. In the light of the above the study uses both primary and secondary sources of data and content analysis in the investigation. Findings were that, poor governance, and corruption featured prominent in the nature of state society relations, and has been a major contributing factor fueling poverty and break down of social institutions leading to other social problems, including child abuse, prostitution, armed robbery, family breakdown, divorce, school dropouts, homelessness/vagrancy, malnutrition and deadly disease; these realities of societal vulnerability provide breeding ground for conflict and insecurity in the country. The study concludes that, unless and until governance issues are address upholding transparency and accountability and corruption tackled and reposition state society relations, no measures put in place can resolve security challenges.**

*Key words***: Authoritarian Democracy, State-Society Relations, Good Governance, Insecurity, Development,**

I. INTRODUCTION

Democracy has been identified as the most cherished form of governance worldwide. Nations aspire to perfect the system in their respective countries. It has been accepted as the most proper and legitimate way through which a society can be administered. Theoretically, Democracy was adjudged as the best system of government, Partly because of its principles that ensures good governance, these principles include those of justice, equity, freedom, liberty, accountability, openness and transparency in government. Its beauty is also in relying on public participation, accountability and transparency

In spite of the beauty of democracy, and almost three decades of Nigeria's democratic experience there was very little progress made**.** Democratic values and principles are still lacking in practical terms. State- society relations consistently keep on degenerating with widening gap between the rich and poor and lack of effective and efficient service delivery. The political system lacks capability for organizing well-articulated institutions, inclusive, sustainable and people oriented democracy.

Besides colonial experience which characterized the nature and operation of political parties and behaviour of politicians, the later long military experience, and corruption added manifest orientation that negatively affect state-society relations and the overall democratization outcome. The political experience produced elites that are by orientation in governance self-centered and not passionate and lacking concern for the needs of society.

A careful look at events revealed a serious degeneration of governance issues, although the country is claiming practicing democratic system, however, Democratic governance which is synonymous with good governance is lacking. Good governance goes beyond democratic ideals but rather concerned with how to make it sustainable through providing benefits of democracy through economic development and political leadership. These manifest challenges especially of corruption and lack of good governance largely traced its roots in colonialism as well as military long stay in power constitute a serious obstacle to attainment of people orientate democratic system.

The return to democratic system in 1999 after almost three decades of Military authoritarian rule raises so much hope not only for political transformation and freedom but also for economic growth , development, national unity, peace and security. Unfortunately, not much seems to have been realized in most of these areas, worth still, the country systematically degenerate into authoritarian democracy. The democratic institutions are largely weak, lacking in focus, transparency and sense of direction and above all totally not accountable to the electorate.

Although there has been remarkable progress in Nigeria's electoral system which resulted in having elected representatives largely the choices of the electorate, yet

previously existing culture of corruption and lack of transparency and accountability still become a major problem. Over the years state society relations was such that the electorate are relevant only when it comes to election, after which, the behaviour of the leadership is as if the electorate doesn't matter. The political elites largely become self-centered and the institutions they control personalized, these realities are manifest in the policies formulated and as well as in policy implementation. The lack of concern for the needs of society, corruption and lack of accountability and erosion of the principle of rule of law, put together to consolidate loss of confidence in the leadership. Society become seriously impoverish with rising rate of unemployment, collapse of education and health care, high cost of living all put together seriously threatened the social institutions especially religious and family institutions. These two institutions play an important role in safeguarding the society, the first institution that guides a child is the family institution, it is shouldered with the responsibility of introducing a child to the values of society the do's and don'ts. Face with economic hardship, abject poverty, and lack of basic necessities of life seriously affect the institution failing to meet up with its moral responsibilities and so much negative issues manifest due to that. The religious institutions on the other hand become heavily politicized and systematically degenerate failing to live up to its expectation to guide right society. When there is too much disconnect between the state and the society there is bound to be consequences. The rising rate of crime, insurgencies, in the North-eastern Nigeria, militancy and kidnapping in the South and recently in the North, Herdsmen versus farmers' conflicts in the North central and armed banditry in the North Western States are some of the clear manifestations of failing on the part of leadership and the State disconnect with the society. This study chronologically examines the trend of governance under democratic system, its impact in society and connection to deepening challenges of insecurity. However, the study put much emphasis on the state society relations and its implications in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria.

II. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The article is mainly set out to examine Nigeria's democratic experience specifically on state society relation and how this relationship affects national security in Nigeria. Overall, It is aimed at achieving the following four objectives: to examine Nigeria's Democratic experience over the years; To determine the consequence of colonial, post colonial and Military rule on Nigeria's democracy and governance; To determine the effects of state Society relations (governance) on national security in Nigeria; find out ways in the direction of people oriented democracy and good governance as an instrument for national security.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method adopted in the course of this research is content analysis using author's personal observation, and the secondary sources of data including existing literature on the topic such as books, journals, official documents, conference papers, dissertation, newspapers and internet sources.

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW

Democracy

Ever since the inception of the "third wave of democratization" in the late 1970s, there has been intellectual preoccupation with the concept and institutions of democracy in the third world countries. African countries had a very long history of authoritarian regimes especially military rule which characterized its operation long after the military rule step out of power.

Democracy as a system is defined as an institutional arrangement that involves open political competition, multi-party participation, legally endorsed political rights, a mechanism for ensuring the transparent conduct of public affairs, all mediated by periodic elections where citizens elect, re-elect or depose their representatives. By extension, 'democratic expansion' refers to institutional and attitudinal transformations aimed at providing maximum democratic rights and institutions for the people. It depends largely on dialogue and negotiation as well as actions and reactions (protests, policies, programmes) of citizens aimed at influencing the choices and behaviour of state institutions and actors (Tarr, 2009:8).

Origin and Development of Democracy

Democracy first emerged in Athens during the times of Kleisthenes (in 508/507 BC), it was regarded as a simple yet powerful and appealing idea. The power and appeal of the idea according to Dunn, as reported Jega, (2005), come from its promise to render the life of a political community something willed to choose… to turn the social and political existences that human beings share into a texture of consciously intended common action. In a democracy, the people (*the demos*), its human members, decide what is to be done, and in so deciding they take their destiny firmly into their own hands. The power and appeal of democracy comes from the idea of autonomy…of choosing freely for oneself.

Kleisthenes initiated "an orderly and amazingly rapid sequence of reforms", which gave rise to "a system of participatory democracy" in which the demos participated actively in conducting the affairs of the Polis. (*Ibid, 3*) With this establishment the system undergoes rapid transformation over time. The modern notions of democracy evolved from attempts to address the question of absolutism and the assumptions of sovereign power of Monarchs over their people and their societies. The 17th century popular rebellion against the Monarchy in England, led by Oliver Cromwell (1642), gave birth to a political movement, which questioned and challenged absolutist monarchical rule, and created the atmosphere within which the notion of popular sovereignty and representative government in the context of the English Civil war in the mid 17th century (ibid, 8).

Moore, (1966), observed that the development of a democracy is a long and certainly in complete struggle to do three closely related things: to check arbitrary rules; to replace arbitrary rules with just and rational ones and; to obtain share for the underlying population in making of rules. In its classical formulation, democracy means broad-based and active participation of all those defined as citizens in the conduct of their public affairs in the polis. In the context of relatively large popular participation of citizens was possible, although governance still required some form of delegation of authority and representation. However, modern day formulation of democracy places less emphasis on direct popular participation, which was the major attribute of the classical notion. Instead, they place greater emphasis on personal liberty, popular sovereignty and representative government, with entrenched checks and balances to reduce or eliminate arbitrariness and abuses of power (Jega, 2005:8)

Democracy is a system of elected representation in which the representatives are supposed to be responsible and accountable to the people who elected them to represent them. They are delegates elected with mandate, which can be given or withdrawn during election; representatives or delegates so mandated, chosen through periodic election, which are supposed to be free and fair, and elections based on affiliations to political parties on whose platform candidates canvass for support for election into public office. (ibid,11)

As argued Jega, (2005), as democracy evolved and spread worldwide over time and as a dominant system of political organization in modern nation-state, it experience different interpretation and theorization as well as operation we have Peoples Democracy; Guided Democracy, People's Democratic Dictatorship" (Chinese). Stressing further, he identified three main models of Democracy, along one of which many modern nation-states predicate their political systems and which have dominated intellectual discuses and theorizing on democracy. These according to him are: liberal democracy; socialist democracy; and direct democracy. Our focus in this study is on the dominant model, the liberal democracy which is largely in practice world wide.

Some of the features and principles of liberal democracy are as follows: Individual freedom, equality before the law, Universal suffrage (voting right), Election and Representation, Additional features include: Popular sovereignty, popular Representation, Majority Government, Guarantee of freedom (basic), Consensus and accommodation, Peaceful resolution of disputes, Capitalism/free enterprise; and free market.

Liberal democracy is also variously referred to as Bourgeoisie democracy, Elitist democracy, etc. in conceptualizing liberal democracy, three categories of definitions can be identified in the literature as follows:

   i.   Formal (procedural): define democracy according to rules and meaning of politics (minimalist)

   ii.   Substantive or "Real" define democracy in terms of outcome of politics (maximalist)

   iii.   Middle-Range: define democracy as a balance of rules and outcomes.

According to Mainwaring (1992), formal or procedural definitions of democracy are derived from Schumpeter's early formulation as follows:

The democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggle for the people's vote (943:50)

Most subsequent definitions modified Schumpeter's by adding for example, universal adult suffrage, which he neglected (Maiwaring, 1992:297), Robert Dhal conception of Polyarchy (1997), illustrates this. Another example of a formal definition of democracy by Holden is that it is:

"A political system in which the whole people, positively or negatively, make, and are entitled to make, the basic determining decisions on important matters of public policy" (Holden, 1992:273-4).

Formal democracy obtains where the following, considered being the minimal requirements exist:

   i.   Basic freedoms are guaranteed

   ii.   Universal suffrage exist

   iii.   Multiparty system operates

   iv.   Periodic, free and fair' elections are held

   v.   Governance is based on the rule of Law

It does not matter who is elected, how narrow the electoral base is or how poorly government meets basic needs and aspirations once it can be said that these conditions exist, for the minimalist, democracy exists.

On the other hand, substantive democracy, according to Martin: Goes beyond the formal trappings of democratic political systems (such as multipartism and elections) to include such elements as accountability and genuine popular participation in the nation's political and economic decision – making processes (1993:7). In this conceptualization, a political system can be considered to be substantively democratic if it ensures socio-economic empowerment of the masses; if it is popularly-driven; if the leaders have a mass popular support and electoral base; and if it properly invests power with popular legitimacy; in addition to having formal/procedural attributes.

In between formal and substantive conceptions of democracy falls what has been dubbed as middle of the range definitions of democracy. An example of these is Karl's definition of democracy as:

"A set of institutions that permits the entire adult population to act as citizens by choosing their leading decision-makers in competitive, fair and regularly scheduled elections which are

held in the context of the rule of law, guarantees for political freedom, and limited military prerogatives" (1990:2).

The middle of the range definitions have several dimensions, such as

i.   Contestation over policy and political competition for office
ii.   Participation of the citizenry through partisan, associational and other forms of collective action.
iii.   Accountability of rulers to the ruled through mechanisms of representations and the rule of law; and
iv.   Civilian control over the military. (Ibid:14-17)

State and Good Governance

The state is a set of institutions that organize power and order in society in line with its set goals. It is defined by its monopolization of certain powers and central roles as: The making and execution of binding rules; The control and utilization of institutions of organized violence; The legitimate use of physical force; The extraction of resources including taxation of citizens; The right to political allegiance of citizens; The right of adjudication and mediation in disputes between citizens and; The right of representation in the international community (Ikelegbe 2010:12). The state performs critical functions as the control of territory and population; the guarantee of safety, security, public and social order and justice; the provision of public goods, social services, infrastructure and the promotion of economic progress, citizen welfare and wellbeing. The ability, competence and potential to perform these critical roles and match attributes are dependent on state power and capacity. Capacity is technical, administrative, regulatory, extractive, political and institutional.

The competence and strength of the state is particularly critical to the performance of developmental roles. The modern state effectively, responsibly and responsively delivers on stability, security, peace, prosperity, welfare and progress of the nation state. States can be characterized as weak, fragile, failing or collapsing, depending on the capacity and actual performance of roles and responsibilities. Fragile states are weak, have failed or are failing in providing development, economic progress and prosperity, poverty alleviation and effective performance of state extractive, allocative, regulatory, social service and security functions (Ibid, 13). They are characterized by:

i) Fractious and factionalized elites; Unequal, discriminatory and contested citizenship; Conflict ridden and violent contestations for power; Challenges to the validity and viability of state power; Decline of state authority and coercive powers; Failing capacity to enforce law, order and security; Decline in the strength, discipline and coverage of coercive agencies; Difficulty in the maintenance of authority over territory, people and border regions; Collapsing public services and infrastructure; Declining economies, food scarcity, huge unemployment, poverty and low income, low literacy rates, poor access to critical services; Corruption; Prevalence of violent and armed politics; Tendency towards violent conflicts and crisis, civil strife and instability; Proliferation of non-state institutions of violence and small arms (Ikelegbe 2010).

Post colonial states in Africa are not just weak and fragile but have been plagued by huge state and governance crises indicated by the following:

i.   Weak attributes and performance of the substantive and empirical attributes of statehood
ii.   Concentrated and centralized power and monopolization of the political process
iii.   Massive hegemony, bureaucratization and politicization of the political process
iv.   Inclusion of favoured primordial segments and exclusive of rival claimants and groups
v.   Tenuous and weak hold on power
vi.   Little authority with many groups and areas outside its control
vii.   Irrelevant in many ways to the existential and survival needs of citizens
viii. Weak and ineffective state institutions;
ix.   Coercive, abusive, repressive and authoritarian public institutions
x.   Poor management and unaccountability
xi.   Ethnicization and regionalization of power
xii.   Weak legitimacy
xiii. Poor, arbitrary and conflict ridden governance systems (ibid,page 12)

Governance can be defined as the process that is employed to achieve the noble end of the state. Thus, governance simply implies the art of governing a people within a given territory or a state. It consists of two essential elements of the state, namely the structure of the state and the procedures of the legislative, judicial and those of the executive and administrative bodies at all the tiers of government. In one word, governance remains a state in action. (Ogundiya, 2010). Governance can either be good or bad, depending on whether or not it has the basic ingredients of what makes a system acceptable to the generality of the people (Odo, 2015).

Good governance, on the other hand, has been define differently, by different scholars and institutions alike as the exercise of authority in the name of the people, while doing so in ways that respect the integrity and needs of everyone within the State (World Bank, 2003; Odo, 2015). It has also been viewed as resting on two important core values, namely: inclusiveness and accountability. To Okpaga (2007), sees governance as entailing how people are ruled and how the affairs of the State are administered and regulated. To him, public authority is expected to play an important role in creating conducive environment to enhance development. The ingredients of good governance include freedom, accountability, and participation (Sen, 1990). The basic

features of good governance include the conduct of an inclusive management wherein all the critical stakeholders are allowed to have a say in the decision-making process (Philip and Innocent, 2017).

Some of the ingredients of good governance that enable wider acceptability of the liberal democracy worldwide are : (i) Periodic free and fair elections (ii) Openness and transparency(iii) Accountability(iv) Administrative responsibility and political responsiveness(v) Rule of law (vi) Legal equality of citizens (vii) Human rights and fundamental freedoms (viii) Checks and balances and (ix) Popular sovereignty. In the context of Administrative Law and practice, some of these ingredients will be subjected to a brief analysis as pillars of good governance.

Reading from the above elements it is indicative that the mention of good governance impliedly means Democratic governance vice-versa. Political power flows from the consents of the people who become political kingmakers through the institution of popular elections at least in every four years, and in whose interest and on whose behalf that power is exercised. While it is one thing to claim practice of democratic governance, it is altogether something else when closely examine in practical terms of what obtains on ground, this is especially in third world countries. As observed Akindele (2005), "that, from the experience well-polished outer shell of democratic substance not necessarily creates and assures the operational existence of good governance. That sometimes, leaders openly and surreptitiously inject streaks of authoritarianism into the operation of democratic political enterprise ostensibly in the name of national security. Stressing further that, good governance demands from the political elites a preparedness to live within both the law and spirit of democratic constitutionalism. And from the citizenry a determination to build and keep alive a virile and active civil society as a fortification against dictatorship and misgovernment. A democratically elected government may outwardly exhibit the trappings of democratic governance but very little practice of good governance (Akindele, 2005:36).

Good governance therefore, is the process through which a State's affairs are managed effectively in the areas of public accountability, financial accountability, administrative and political accountability, responsiveness and transparency, all of which must show in the interest of the governed and the leaders. It, thus, means that good governance and democracy are symmetrical, and good governance thrives in a democratic setting; hence to achieve good governance, there must be a democratic system in place. While there is no universal definition of good governance, there is little disagreement over its defining elements, which include inclusiveness, accountability, transparency, predictability, the rule of law and participation. Good governance therefore ensures high-level institutional effectiveness and socio-economic development, complemented by a politically stable environment for the formulation and implementation of government policies (Philip and Innocent, 2017:3).

Reflection on Nigeria's political experience

Post-independence Africa has presented itself and the international community with three major challenges observed (Adeniji, 2000), first is the challenge of peace, security and stability. This arose in part from the legacy of colonialism, which created states out of nations rather than nation states. By lumping together ethnic groups that had lived independently, and often in adversarial relationship with one another, the imperial powers unintentionally sawed the seed of post-independence conflicts especially when no conscious efforts were made to develop institutions for managing communal conflicts. The result has been the explosion of intra-state conflicts mainly provoked by ethnic differences. The intensification of these conflicts in the post-cold war period has seen the phenomenon of "failed state"

The second challenge has been that of governance. Post-independence African states, because of their inherently weak foundations have had to experiment with various forms of government which though aimed at promoting political cohesion, led instead to instability. By the end of 1980s, most of the sub-Saharan African states were under either one party or military regimes. In either of the case, governance was marked by arbitrariness, lack of accountability, and exclusiveness.

The third challenge has been that of sustainable development. Most of sub-Saharan African countries are today in worse economic situations than they were thirty years ago. This is in spites of the many internal development plans, and the continental strategies.

Nigeria over the years of its existence as a democratic nation suffered a serious challenges that has become major hindrance to its success in institutionalizing true democratic system that can provide meaningful development.

This paper while assessing Nigeria's democratic experience identified some of the factors that were believed by many scholars to be responsible for its present predicament and it argued that making any meaningful progress in Democracy requires serious effort at tackling these challenges. These outstanding factors are majorly weak democratic foundation; prolong military rule, corruption as well as pining too much on Neo-liberal principles without striking a balance to enable social security among others.

Historically, Nigeria was a conglomeration of empires and kingdoms, which was brought together by the then colonial power, the focus and objective of the British then was largely economic exploitation, the entities brought together and control politically have nothing in common, they had distinct belief system, values, customs, organization, and social functioning. Throughout colonial period no effort whatsoever, was put in place to ensure unity among this divers entities. Therefore, the Nigeria's historical trajectory has significantly influenced the country that Nigeria has become today.

In the first place as a democratic nation Nigeria had a very poor foundation of democratic institutions. The democratic institutions are largely weak; Parties took regional and ethnic coloration rather than national outlook. They are mere tribal associations. Political parties are important component in democratic system. Unfortunately in Nigeria they are nothing more than instruments of selection to power through unethical and fraudulent ways. Moreover, as observed Jalingo, (2005) Political elites are not committed to any ideology, or any national orientation, they have nothing to offer to their followers except religious jingoism and tribal bigotry.

Colonial legacy exacerbate ethnic rivalry, in the absence of nationalism, and the competition for power among dominant ethnic groups with federal arrangement in place and federalist form of democratic government around ethnic territorial divisions, as the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group was dominant in the North, while the Igbo inhabited in the East, and the Yoruba resided in the West these realities were factors that encourage military into power.

At independence so much hope was raised for economic growth and development, in fact the there was desperation for achieving development; this was the reason for strict adherence to state driven economic development. Ikelegbe,(2001), accounted for these development thus:

"There was a post independent preoccupation with economic development. The political leaders had no option as the independence pact with citizens was hinged on economic progress and social welfare. Thus efforts were early on a state driven development and modernization project. Though some initial progress was recorded indicated by economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s, this began to fail in the late 1970s and 1980s as economic decline set in, that wiped off initial progress. The African states began to suffer poor economic performance, indebtedness, collapsing industrial capacity utilization, deterioration in infrastructure, collapsing social services and decline in social welfare. The state driven development project was thus faulted, and immersed in the crises of inefficiency, failed delivery, abandoned projects and huge costs. The states were held responsible for failing economies and unsustainable development. The states were demonized on account of corruption, mismanagement, ineffective administration and control, poor accountability and transparency, poor natural resource management, poor system of oversight and public scrutiny, high cost of governance, poor citizen participation, inefficient bureaucracies, poor un-credible elections and leadership perpetuation."(2001:21)

Ikelegbe (2001), stressed that, it was the attempts to resolve the economic crisis, which was externally induced, brought in the Bretton Woods Institutions of IMF and the World Bank as dominant actors, with policies and conditionalities that altered the face of the developmental, welfare and extensive state in Africa. Structural Adjustment Programme, the main programmatic anchor of economic reforms, brought the (i)

the contraction or retrenchment of the welfare, social service and developmental state; (ii) erosion or elimination of subsidies and social welfare; iii) massive loss of jobs through retrenchment or rationalization.

The economic crisis and the repressive, authoritarian and dictatorial military and civil rule, created an environment in which ordinary people, and their groupings began to question, challenge, oppose and protest their conditions and began to mobilize for change. Thus began the new flowering of citizen groups that became the arrowhead of the struggle for change – political liberalization and economic reforms.

The state was a major victim of the economic and development crises. Apart from being plagued by contraction and roll back, there was rupture of the state-citizens compact, declining legitimacy and relevance. The vacuum created by the retrenched state was thus somewhat occupied by the emergence of diverse groups, some identity based, partisan, welfare, developmental and cultist, and others militant and armed groups.

Overall and flowing from the aforementioned, the planning, implementation and delivery of development projects, infrastructures, social services, human progress and welfare by governments in Nigeria have been terribly poor and failing. Many reasons have been adduced including the following:

i. Poor concerns, responsiveness, sensitivity and commitment to citizen needs and problems.

ii. Weak efforts in social service and infrastructure provision that lag behind population growth and urbanization.

iii. Inefficient, shoddy and erratic social services and substandard infrastructures

iv. High cost of governance, infrastructure provision and social service delivery

v. Inequality, unfairness and discriminations in the distribution of public goods and services

vi. Poor social worth for public expenditures and programmes and negligible impact of investments

vii. Poor contract management and poor project implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

viii. Weak systems of accountability and transparency, extensive corruption and poor integrity of state officials

ix. Weak technical, executive and administrative capacity to design and implement projects

x. Weak, non-standardized and non-formalized administrative processes, rules, regulations and guidelines

xi. Politicisation of governance apparatus, and privatization and personalization of public institutions, resources, goods and services

xii. Lack of information and poor communication between governments and citizens

xiii.   Lack of consultation and participation of citizens and lack of opportunities for citizen influence on projects

xiv.   Absence of effective machinery to hold state officials accountable to citizens (Ikelegbe, 2001:21-22),

Effect of Colonial and military legacies on Democracy

Nigeria's democratic system was loaded with a lot of challenges right from its inception, most of the political attitude of Nigerian politicians lacks national outlook, and this was especially in the post-independence Nigeria. Regional and ethnic sentiments featured prominent in the Nigeria politics, the factors that contributed to the military coups that followed. For example, in 1964 Nigeria held its first federal elections since independence. The elections were perceived as rigged and boycotted by the major alliance of Southern parties (Anglin 1965). The existing Prime Minister (appointed in 1960), Abubakar Balewa, was nevertheless elected. Balewa, from Bauchi State was assassinated only two years later during the country's first military coup. Political parties were then disbanded by governmental decree (Joseph 1987). General Aguiyi JT Ironsi from the Southeastern region became Head of State for the next six months, until his own assassination by opposition elements from the North. General Yakubu Gowon, a Northerner from Plateau State, became the next military Head of State and "the commitment to rid the nation of corrupt use of public office by Gowon gave way...to corruption on a grand scale in Nigeria" (Joseph 1987, 72). Gowon's "unwillingness to discipline his subordinates, to shuffle his cabinet,...and to respond positively to the charges and information with which he was flooded concerning the wrong doing and arbitrary conduct of his chief subalterns, the military governors in twelve states" signifies the weakness of leadership that allowed corruption to flourish during Gowon's nine year rule (Ibid,72).

President Shagari was elected after a transition back to democracy in 1979 and re-elected in 1983, but the vote was alleged to have been rigged (Hart 1993). After unsuccessful contestation in court, the military overthrew Shagari, beginning another long period of military rule in Nigeria.

Elections since Nigeria transitioned to democracy have lacked credibility, until the 2015 elections, which was monitored by international observers and have been adjudge free and fair. Some of the successes were attributed to the leadership and changes put in place by the Independent National Electoral commission (INEC), that help checked the election rigging, and restored confidence in the electoral process generally.

As observed Heather, (2011), Although Nigeria is now a democracy, the presidential-style system is still imperialistic in that it lacks a system of checks and balances that leaves the president with the majority of power. A legislative and judicial branch both exist within the Nigerian Government, yet power checks against the executive branch rarely occur. The Nigerian Government still lacks full accountability at the highest levels. Thus, the colonization imposed on Nigeria resulted in a historical trajectory of ethnic rivalry, military rule, and political corruption that has implications for Nigeria's status today. In spite of the promise made by the Buhari government to fight corruption, yet the commitment to that promise and the method leave so much to ponder. There is still mass corruption taking place even within the executive arm of the government itself.

The ethno tribal disposition or competitive communalism has prevailed and is manifesting in contemporary Nigerian politics and governance. Political power or public office is first to the benefit of the holder and his ethnic nationals and cronies. It has also affected the clamour and struggle for state power, the process of appropriation and allocation of values, public policy formulation and implementation, and even the choice or recruitment of the managers of state. Corruption remains on the rise, nepotism tribalism, and regionalism very prevalent in governance at the expense of merit, socio-economic development continuous ashamedly crawling in the midst of enormous human and natural resources.

Besides the mention challenges above preceding economic policies has had an adverse impact on the economy, which seriously affect the state cum society relations, and reveals the potent threats to security in the country.

In the 1980s, there was a philosophy called Neo-liberalism or Neo-conservatism push forward by Margaret Hilda Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Regan in US which was accepted or rather imposed on the world, that come to play important role on the fate of many nations especially the developing societies. The system encourages the market to make decision, the forces of demand and supply to dictate the market. While with market working independent of state interference only the rich get richer and the poor become poorer, eliminating the middle class.

When market economy is operating without social brakes there is going to be a huge problem because market gives to those who have the inequality is bound to increase. with this development over the last four (4) decades the poor consistently keep on dropping downward the scale of market economy, more so, beyond blind operation of the market, it is the intervention of the IMF/World Bank which is assigned the task of imposing Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), on poor indebted countries forcing them to privatized everything, concentrate all resources on export to enable them payback their debt. Implication of this was that local people and their interest was neglected, interest rate was put on the high site making it difficult for the poor to borrow. In a general way it removes resources which would otherwise be better spread among people but now goes to the Western governments and its people. We are still in a very huge debt which is an endless circle trap.

For instance Susan George, in an interview in 2007, said, Sub-Saharan Africa is paying $25,000, every single minute to Northern creditors, adding that you can imagine how many schools, hospitals, job creation could have been made with

this resources could it have been use differently? This is one of the drain and obstacle to our national development besides corruption. Statistically, third world countries are financing the Western countries to the turn of $200, billion dollars every year, (George, 2007). Part of the demands by the IMF/World Bank as conditionalities was the increase in production of primary product, cotton, cocoa, groundnut etc, but with the production of almost similar primary product in the market price is always very low, the fact that we don't buy from each other we rather sell to the industrialized nations, the West sometimes at a lost. More so, public properties were encourage to e privitised in which it ends in the hands of the rich to further exploit the masses.

For instance, the impact of trade liberalization which has led to the closure of several industries in the country as a result of cheaper imports has led to the increasing privatization of the state and the alienation of the people from it. Understandably, it is this vacuum arising from the roll-back of the state, particularly out of the domain of social provisioning that is increasingly being filled by ethnic militias, religious fanatic (Boko Haram) and disgruntled state elites who feel marginalized or excluded from participating in the public or decision making arena. In fact, neither people nor investments or government can feel secured in such a conjuncture. The desperation for political power and by extension for unrestrained access to economic resources has also deepened the insecurity situation in the country. The primacy of political power as a spring board to economic resources and higher level of social status has led to the militarization of society in Nigeria. This signifies violence in the struggles of social forces as against peaceful political competition and conduct. (Good governance, undated, 2019).

One of the major legacies of the military rule in Nigeria has been the introduction of Structural Adjustment programme (SAP). The Nigerian economy today is a continuing legacy of IMF's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the mid-eighties and its entrenchment in vision 2010. This economic paradigm, which has varying complexions in different parts of the so-called third world is characterized by and pivoted on.

  i. Privatization of public enterprises and utilities;
  ii. Deregulation of social services i.e. the withdrawal or reduction of government support for education, health care, housing, agriculture etc;
  iii. Devaluation of national currency;
  iv. Trade liberalization
  v. Debt peonage and debt servicing;

The net effect of this IMF/World bank –inspired economic policy is the continuing pauperization of Nigerian masses. Privatization has meant the transfer of public wealth to a few individuals. Especially foreigners and their Local agents, in most instances, public enterprises are sold for less than their net worth –all inspired by the bogey of attracting foreign investment. Increased unemployment is an inescapable consequence of privatization. the IMF strategy of stipulates the withdrawal of "subsidies" on social services such as education, health care, housing, and public utilities. This economic paradigm also informs government policy on management of the currency and money market. Foreign loan from IMF, World Bank and similar multilateral agencies come with unwelcome conditionalities which facilitate and worsened the economy by controlling the social and economic policies, (ASUU, 2002).

This trend succeeded in robbing the Nigerian society of their social welfare, which is their constitutional right. Social welfare can be considered the well-being of a country's society as a whole, in addition to the sum of basic human rights of the citizens of a country. A society can be considered to have ample social welfare when the majority of its citizens consider themselves to have a decent quality of life, meaning that their basic rights are met. Nigerians are fully cognizant of their social welfare situation and hold government corruption and the entities that enable it liable. Political corruption substantially hinders social welfare in Nigeria, causing an array of social problems such as poverty, disease due to inadequate healthcare, lack of clean drinking water, inadequate sanitation, a high mortality rate, crime, ethnic violence and environmental degradation. This has resulted in a decrease in the standard of living for Nigerians, despite long-term surging oil wealth.

Political Elites and Poor Governance

Most Nigerian politicians lack political values, for them, political career is not motivated by service to people but for personal self-enrichment. Manifest in the operation of the state has been poor political representation, irresponsibility, lawlessness, lack of transparency, accountability and failure to deliver the benefits of democracy. Other problems such as lack of experienced administrators; lack of highly developed technocrats in specialised fields; corruption; lack of modern management techniques; Poor methods adopted in policy-making, planning and budgeting; lack of sufficient discipline and commitment to plans and programme implementation among others. And of all the factors mention corruption has been the most destructive of all, the most disturbing about corruption was that it has international backing, the international community has been complicit in Nigerian political corruption, first through colonial history and still today through multinational corporations that bribe Nigerian officials, international banking systems that house stolen funds, the exploitation of natural resources, and even donor assistance programs that are intended to help but end up being improperly managed. Corruption is cited as a factor preventing the reduction of poverty, creating a systemic reinforcement of poverty because inputs into the system from external sources that would have changed the cyclical nature of poverty are either blocked or diverted for personal use by government officials. More so, the over centralization of resources makes the public treasury a tempting source of private accumulation. This trend breads lost of hope in

governance, poverty, rising rate of crime, corruption as well as insecurity across the nation

V. CONCLUSION

Good governance is mandatory for the proper functioning of a society. Unless and until governance issues are address, corruption tackled, upholding transparency and accountability and reposition state society relations, no measures put in place can resolve security challenges. Unless Nigerian elite have commonly shared values and objectives, Nigerian people cannot have shared vision for country's polity, economy and society. A great deal of money and effort is needed to stabilize the economy through commitment to social security, while much needs to be expended on social development and well-being, the effort could be far more effective if not for the impediments of political corruption. It remains a fact that, any attempt to fix these global social problems while not first addressing the role of political corruption may be a terrible waste of resources.

As agued Anan (1998), Inherent ingredient of security will encompass areas such as education, health, democracy, human rights the protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons. Indeed there can hardly be security amidst starvation, peace building without poverty alleviation and no true freedom built on the foundation of injustice.

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