NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN NIGERIA: A SHIFT IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM FROM 1999-2023

M.A. THESIS

Edirinverere Gift Utoro

Nicosia

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Approval

We certify that we have read the thesis submitted by **Edirinverere Gift Utoro** titled **" Democratization Process A Shift in the Political System from 1999-2023"** and that in our combined opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of International Relations.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that all information, documents, analysis, and results in this thesis have been collected and presented according to the academic rules and ethical guidelines of the Institute of Graduate Studies, Near East University. I also declare that as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced information and data that are not original to this study.

Edirinverere Gift Utoro

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Acknowledgments

Abstract

Democratization Process in Nigeria: A Shift in The
Political System from 1999-2023

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The democratization process in Africa has always drawn the attention of scholars because of the colonial legacy and socioeconomic disparities embedded in the continent. The Republic of Nigeria which is one of the African countries that is facing a lot of challenges in the democratization process, a shift in the political system from 1999 - 2023 has made democracy ineffective in the Nigeria system. The factors that hinder the progress of democratization in the country are so numerous. In this regard, this study aimed to examine Nigeria's democratization process from 1999 to 2023 and highlight the challenges associated with democratization in the country. This study is important in that it provides an understanding of the democratization process in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023 and the changes that have taken place in the political system accordingly. This study highlights how Nigeria, once a resource-rich country, is now struggling with financial constraints and problems in almost every sector, with no sector free from the 'plague' of corruption, ethnic prejudice/bias and poverty; yet, despite all the challenges and difficulties, Nigeria has made some small progress in terms of democratization between 1999 and 2023.

Keywords: Democratization, Nigeria, corruption, political System, godfatherism.

Öz

Nijerya'da Demokratikleşme Süreci:
1999-2023 Yılları Arasında Siyasi Sistemde Yaşanan Değişim

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Afrika'daki demokratikleşme süreci, Afrika kıtasındaki sömürge mirası ve sosyoekonomik eşitsizlikler nedeniyle her zaman akademisyenlerin ve araştırmacıların ilgisini çekmiştir. Demokratikleşme sürecinde pek çok zorlukla karşı karşıya olan Afrika ülkelerinden bir tanesi olan Nijerya Cumhuriyeti'nde 1999-2023 yılları arasında siyasi sistemde yaşanan değişim, ülkedeki demokrasiyi etkisiz hale getirmiştir. Ülkede demokratikleşmenin ilerlemesini engelleyen çok sayıda faktör bulunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, Nijerya'nın 1999'dan 2023'e kadar olan demokratikleşme sürecini incelemeyi ve ülkede demokratikleşme ile ilgili yaşanan zorlukları analiz ederek vurgulamayı amaçlamıştır. Bu çalışma, 1999-2023 yılları arasında, Nijerya'daki demokratikleşme sürecini ve bu doğrultuda siyasi sistemde gerçekleşen değişimi anlamamızı sağlaması açısından önemlidir. Bu araştırma, önceleri kaynaklar açısından oldukça zengin olan Nijerya'nın bugün nasıl türlü finansal sıkıntılar ve hemen hemen her sektörde mevcut olan sorunlarla mücadele ettiğini, hiçbir sektörün yolsuzluk, etnik önyargı ve yoksulluk gibi 'vebalardan' azade olmadığının altını çizerken; yine de tüm zorluklar ve sıkıntılara rağmen, Nijerya'nın 1999-2023 yılları arasında demokratikleşme açısından küçük de olsa bir ilerleme sağlandığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demokratikleşme, Nijerya, yolsuzluk, siyasi sistem, hamilik

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List of Abbreviations

AG: Action Group

APP: All People's Party

APC: All Progressive Congress

AD: Alliance for Democracy

AD: Alliance Democracy

Civilian JTF: Civilian Joint Military Task Force

CPI: Corruption Perception Index

EFCC: Economic and Financial Crime Commission

ICPC: Independence Corrupt Practices Commission

INEC: Independence National Electoral Commission

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IR: International Relations

LP: Labor Party

LEEDS: Local Economic Empowerment Development Strategies

LICUS: Low-Income Country under Stress

NCNC: National Congress of Nigerian Citizens

NADECO: National Democratic Coalition

NEEDS: National Economic Empowerment Development Strategies

NGOs: Non -Governmental Organizations

NPN: National Party of Nigeria

NAPEP: National Poverty Eradication Program

NRDCS: Natural Resources Development and Conservation Scheme

NLC: Nigeria Labor Congress

NPC: Northern People's Congress

PDP: People's Democratic Party

PAP: Poverty Alleviation Program

PRC: Provisional Ruling Council

RIDS: Rural Infrastructure Development Schemes

SEEDS: State Economic Empowerment Development Strategies

SOWESS: Social Welfare Service Scheme

TI: Transparency International

UN: United Nations

WB: World Bank

YES: Youth Empowerment Scheme

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Democracy has gained worldwide recognition, crossing boundaries and impacting every part of the globe, establishing its status as a universal and pervasive concept in modern society. The term democracy has gained prominence mainly because it is seen and believed to be a *sine-qua-non* for the development, sustainability, and growth of polities as opposed to military autocracy. Moreover, this term connects with the interests of people as well as collective desires for improvement, change, and aspirations (Erunke, 2012).

Following the attainment of independence from colonial rule in the 1960s, states such as the United States, France, Britain, Australia, Argentina and Italy initiated the first wave of democratization. Motivated by the ideals of self-determination and the establishment of inclusive governance, these countries embarked on a journey towards democratization. This period witnessed the implementation of new and relatively more civic constitutions, the emergence of multi-party systems as well as the conduction of multi-party elections. Regrettably, the initial wave of democratization proved to be short-lived due to several factors, including the presences of feeble institutions, economic difficulties, ethnic divisions, and the ascent of authoritarian leaders. Consequently, numerous countries encountered military coups or descended into one-party rule, resulting in the regression of democratic practices (Erunke, 2012).

However, the second wave of democratization in Africa commenced, and continues to exert a profound influence on the political arena of the continent. This wave was instigated by diverse catalysts, including the end of the Cold War, international insistence on democratic reforms, and internal calls for transformation. Consequently, states such as Germany, Japan, Austria-Hungary undertook the process of democratic transition enacting political and economic changes to embrace democratic principles (Baltimore, 1999).

In the 1990s the continent of Africa experienced the third wave of global democratization. This wave was broadly named in Africa as "the second liberation" - emphasizing the hopes around the liberation from the rule of colonial masters in the 1960s. Baltimore (1999) states that the third wave was what actually launched democracy in Africa. It started with two events that took place in February 1990

which are beyond doubt momentous. The first one was the popular protests that occurred in Benin City against the 17 years of corrupt and bankrupt rule of Mathieu Kerekou. These protests accelerated to a 'National Conference of Active Forces of the Nation' that successfully took power from the dictator and ushered in the transition to democracy, a method that was later borrowed by other Francophone African countries which were looking for a way out of autocracy. The second event was the infamous apartheid regime in South Africa which brought about the understanding that the time to negotiate a peaceful transition to a better, viable, and non-racial political order was running out. This understanding coincided with the release of Nelson Mandela from nearly three decades in jail and the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, the primary political organization signifying the aspiration for the liberation of the vast black majority in the country. In South Africa, this was the starting point of moving away from repression toward negotiation and transition (Baltimore, 1999). Also, The Namibian Constituent Assembly, previously ruled by South Africa for decades, adopted a liberal constitution. This event inspired other African countries, despite past failed attempts at democracy, to consider alternatives like military and one-party regimes.

In Nigeria, the institutionalization of democracy entails the process of democratization aimed at the realization of the political and economic growth of the country. The present experience stems from the 1999 election when Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was elected under the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). The country had faced different military dictatorships. The expectations for the newborn democracy were rising, people were believing that it would save and deliver the country from a long decade of oppression and savagery (Erunke, 2012). Nigerians sought for a better mode of operation in governance. They had hopes for better living standards as well as the provision of basic amenities, such as good roads, better hospital services, infrastructural development, and unemployment; components that initiate the essence of the meaningful existence of humans.

Evidently, building or maintaining democratic governance frameworks is difficult because the democratization process can be challenging. One of the major challenges to the democratization process of Nigeria is ethnic and religious tensions as well as tribal rivalries, as the nation has about 250 ethnic groups (Onapajo and Babalola, 2020). These diversities had been a source of conflict earlier on, resulting in violence and political instability. Promoting inter-ethnic and inter-religious

dialogue is essential to foster a peaceful and inclusive political environment. Corruption is another challenge to Nigeria's democratization process. Corruption erodes public trust in democratic institutions, undermines the rule of law, and impedes economic growth. Transparency and accountability measures must be put in place to combat corruption, and perpetrators must be held accountable. Insecurity is yet another challenge that Nigeria faces in its democratization process. The country has been grappling with internal conflicts, ranging from Boko Haram insurgency to clashes between farmers and herders. These conflicts have resulted in the loss of many lives and the displacement of people especially in the northern part of the country. The Nigerian government must prioritize security and explore peaceful means of resolving conflicts.

In conclusion, the democratization journey of Nigeria has some ups and downs. Although it has resulted in numerous positive impacts in various sectors, challenges like ethnic and religious tensions, corruption, and insecurity threaten to derail the progress made. It is essential to take urgent measures to address these challenges to ensure sustainable democratization in Nigeria.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Nigeria gained independence from the British colony in 1960, and in 1963, Nigeria forged ahead to become a republic, with Nnamdi Azikiwe becoming the first President under a parliamentary democracy where he held the title of Governor-General and served as the symbolic President of Nigeria. However, the actual executive authority resided with the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Nigeria had already conducted its inaugural general elections in 1960, marking its independence from British colonial rule. Although Nigeria is full of other minority groups, having different cultural backgrounds and identities, there are three major ethnic groups: the Yoruba in the western part, the Hausa in the northern part, and the Igbo in the eastern part of Nigeria, all having huge roles in Nigerian politics. The Yoruba, representing 21% of the population and concentrated in the West, exert influence through prominent organizations like Afenifere and the Alliance for Democracy. The Hausa, comprising 29% and primarily located in the North, possess political leverage due to their population size, historical ties, and the Northern People's Congress. The Igbo, accounting for 18% and residing in the East, actively participate in politics through various parties and movements, advocating for their

rights and aspirations. Their impact is demonstrated through political activism, economic contributions, and the engagement in governance (Asegiemhe, 2019). With a population of over 200 million (Onapajo and Babalola, 2020). Nigeria has earned the title 'Giant of Africa', as it is the country with the largest population in the continent. Ever since Nigeria became a Republican state, it had been undergoing a series of political regimes, mostly going through a military order. This took a new turn when Olusegun Obasanjo became 'the first Nigerian elected President' in the presidential elections, as he defeated the representative of Democracy All People's Party (AD-APP) OluFalae, in the year 1999.

Since the rule of President Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria has been experiencing a downgrade in the economy, education, health, security, and infrastructure both within the country and internationally (Heaton, 2011). This Thesis tends to explore the different democratic systems of government from 1999 to 2023. As of June 2023, the prevailing political landscape has remained democratic, void of coups; instead power remains vested in elected civilian leaders. The Thesis will be exploring different political eras that occurred in Nigeria between 1999 to 2023, focusing on critical sectors such as the economy, education, security, and health. Regrettably, these sectors have experienced severe neglect during this period, resulting in severe damage to the economy of the country.

1.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study delves into the democratization process of Nigeria spanning from 1999 to 2023. Its primary objective is to thoroughly examine the evolution of democracy in Nigeria during this period. Moreover, the study aims to shed light on the multifaceted challenges that have accompanied the country's democratization journey. Through an in-depth analysis, this study seeks to explore the intricacies of Nigeria's transition from military rule to a democratic system of governance. It delves into the various political, social, and institutional changes that have shaped the democratization process, offering insights into the key milestones and significant events that have unfolded over the years.

An essential aspect of this study involves the identification and exploration of the challenges that Nigeria has encountered during its democratization journey. These challenges may encompass a wide range of issues, including political tensions, ethnic and religious conflicts, governance inefficiencies, corruption, socio-economic

disparities, and the struggle to ensure inclusivity and equal representation. By thoroughly examining the challenges associated with democratization in Nigeria, this study aims to show the obstacles that the country has faced and continues to face in its quest for democratic consolidation. It explores the complexities and nuances of these challenges, highlighting their impact on the democratic process and the overall development of the nation.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Democratization entails the transfer of power from a non-democratic regime to a democratic one. It refers to the collective actions aimed at promoting the political empowerment and freedom of the general public. In a more specific sense, democratization is commonly understood as the transition from an authoritarian system to a stable democratic one. Ideally, this process should bring about positive changes across various aspects of a nation's existence (Omotola, 2015). It is important to recognize that true democracy requires the adherence to key democratic principles such as respect for human rights, active participation of citizens in the policies that impact their lives as well as freedom of expression which entails the liberty for citizens to express their opinions about their government. This research also shows how Nigeria, which was rich in resources in the past is now struggling with economic problems such as debt, facing insecurity problems, health, education, and also political challenges as a result of corruption.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

One limitation to performing this research was the inability to access several relevant books and articles since accessing them required payment. As a result, the study has used a sum number of articles from academic databases including Google Scholar. In addition, the study is achieved using secondary data of qualitative analysis, limiting the study from raw findings and quantitative data.

To address the challenge of limited access to certain scholarly resources, a multifaceted approach was adopted. Firstly, extensive utilization of open-access scholarly articles, books, and research papers was undertaken. While these sources might not have been as comprehensive as paid resources, they still provided valuable insights and perspectives on the democratization process in Nigeria. Moreover,

government publications, policy documents, and academic repositories were tapped into to acquire primary information whenever possible.

To bolster the study's credibility and thoroughness, the study employed a meticulous process of cross-referencing and triangulation. This involved verifying information from open-access sources by cross-referencing it. This practice not only heightened the reliability of the information but also ensured consistency in the study's narrative.

Acknowledging the limitations posed by the absence of raw findings and quantitative data, the study mitigated this concern by embracing an in-depth qualitative analysis approach. While quantitative data offers numerical precision, qualitative analysis delved into the intricate dynamics of the democratization process, yielding a deeper comprehension of the subject. It's crucial to highlight that despite encountering limitations, the study's methodology and approach were intentionally devised to maximize the validity and robustness of findings given the constraints. The use of a diverse range of open-access sources, combined with rigorous cross-referencing and qualitative analysis, enabled the study to comprehensively and meticulously explore Nigeria's democratization process.

In conclusion, although restricted access to paid resources presented a challenge, strategic selection of alternative sources and meticulous research methodology helped surmount this hurdle. The study's emphasis on qualitative analysis, complemented by thorough cross-referencing and triangulation, ensured the reliability and credibility of findings. Through these strategic measures, we are confident that the study successfully delivers valuable insights into Nigeria's democratization process from 1999 to 2023, despite the limitations faced.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What is the association between the political system of the Nigerian state and democracy between 1999 and 2023?
2. What are the challenges faced in the process of democratization in Nigeria between 1999 and 2023?

1.6 Scope of the Study

Between 1999 and 2023, Nigeria underwent a significant process of democratization, signifying a profound transformation in its political system. The era began with the shift from decades of military rule to a multi-party democratic framework, resulting in the establishment of the Fourth Republic. The inauguration of Olusegun Obasanjo as President in 1999 marked the commencement of civilian governance. Throughout this period, Nigeria faced challenges such as electoral irregularities, political violence, and corruption. Nevertheless, endeavors were made to fortify democratic institutions, notably the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The emergence of diverse political parties, including the predominant People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the opposition All Progressives Congress (APC), contributed to the complexity of the political landscape. However, apprehensions about democratic regression surfaced amid rising insecurity and political violence, underscoring the necessity for persistent efforts to consolidate democracy in Nigeria (Omotola, 2015).

1.7 Methodology

This thesis uses an interpretive research design and draws on secondary data from books, newspapers, journal articles, and internet publications. Secondary data from publications like academic journals, government papers, and other existing databases can be included in this (Joaquim, 2017). Secondary data is the only source of information used to generate the necessary data for use during the writing process. This thesis chose secondary data since it requires little or no economic funding. Because the data has already been obtained, the researcher does not have to invest money. Sometimes a secondary data set must be obtained, but the cost is nearly always minimal. The cost of gathering a similar data set from scratch, which normally includes salary, travel/transportation, for this reason, it is not possible to conduct a field study or a series of interviews. There is also a significant time savings. Because the data has already been collected, cleaned, and stored in electronic format, the researcher can spend the majority of his or her time analyzing the data rather than collecting and preparing the data for analysis. Therefore, this Thesis uses qualitative research methods to understand social phenomena.

Qualitative research methods include collecting and analyzing non-numerical data such as writings, photographs, observations, and textual analysis to gain deeper understanding (Oghuvbu, 2023). This approach allows for a thorough knowledge of the intricate political, social, and cultural elements that influence Nigeria's democratization process, a shift in the political system from 1999 to 2023. In-depth information on the viewpoints, experiences, and attitudes of significant stakeholders and actors involved in the democratization process can be obtained from articles, journals, and internet sources using qualitative research techniques. The approach makes it possible to explore the subtleties, inconsistencies, and complexity of the democratization process, which is crucial for figuring out the opportunities and difficulties that may either impede or facilitate the process (Dode, 2010).

Furthermore, qualitative research methods can help to uncover the hidden power dynamics, interests, and agendas that shape the democratization process in Nigeria. By analyzing the narratives, discourses, and practices of various actors, qualitative research can provide insights into the strategies and tactics used to influence the democratization process, focusing on subjective experiences, social interactions, and contextual factors.

In this regard, Document Analysis is a research method used to examine and interpret various types of documents to gain insights into specific topics or research questions. It involves systematically reviewing and analyzing written, printed, or electronic materials, such as texts, newspapers, speeches, letters, policy documents, historical records, and even social media content.

This Thesis uses the case study of Nigeria to show the democratization process in the region. A case study is an appropriate research design to gain contextual, in-depth knowledge about a specific real-world area. It allows researchers to examine the key features, meanings, and implications of the case. In the context of studying democratization, it enables a detailed exploration of the political, historical, and socio-cultural factors shaping Nigeria's democratization process. Additionally, a case study approach facilitates the collection of rich qualitative data bases on other existing articles, allowing for a nuanced understanding of the complexities and dynamics of the democratization process. However, the case study design is well-suited to provide a comprehensive and insightful analysis of the democratization process in Nigeria (Gafuri, 2021).

1.8 Thesis Structure

Chapter One of this Thesis provides a little overview of the topic, it also discusses the third wave of global democratization in Africa, which started in the 1990s, and the specific events in Benin, South Africa, and Namibia that marked the transition to democracy. Chapter One also includes the state of the problem, the significance of the study, research questions and objectives and aim of the Thesis, and also the Methodology of the thesis.

Chapter Two contains the theoretical framework in which this thesis is structured, the democratization theory, it defines the meaning of democracy and the democratic transition paradigm and also the constitution and democratic process.

Chapter Three contains the literature review defining the meaning of the Democratization process and what it is all about including the benefit, and challenges in the world and in Africa, as well as the consolidation of democracy and how political parties are the heart of democracy, thus this chapter also provides a short history of Nigeria and the emergence of the current Republic, the obstacles and the things that hinder democratization process in the country.

Finally, the last Chapter contains the conclusion and recommendations that present advancing progress and betterment of the concept of democratization in Nigeria. The recommendations put forth herein outline the way forward, suggesting concrete steps and measures that should be taken to enhance the democratic process in the country. These recommendations are aimed at addressing the identified challenges and gaps in Nigeria's democratization journey, with the ultimate goal of fostering an environment conducive to sustainable democratic development. By implementing these recommendations, Nigeria can aspire to further strengthen its democratic institutions, uphold democratic principles, and ensure the inclusive participation of its citizens in the decision-making processes of the nation.

CHAPTER II

Democracy and Democratization: A Theoretical Framework

2.1 Democracy

Democracy can be defined as a country where opposition parties can participate in elections under equal conditions, at least 10% of adults have the right to vote, and the legislature has control over or shares power with the executive branch. In addition, democracy requires the existence of liberal regimes characterized by self-governing policies, legal rights, market or private property economics, and representative governments (Talo, 2022). For instance, Talo (2022) argues that democratic regimes have all these four features, either allowing 30% of adult men to vote or allowing any man with enough property to vote. Meanwhile, democracy needs at least half the population of adults in the country to have voting rights and witness at least one peaceful transfer of executive power from one independent political party to another. Moreover, liberal democracy is defined by secret voting, a broad franchise, the existence of freedoms of expression, religion, and association, and an equal constitutional legal framework subordinate to the government.

2.2 Democratic Transition Paradigm

Since the late 1980s, there have been political changes in many countries across the world, including Africa, Eastern part of Europe, the former Soviet Union, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. These countries were put into the 'transition paradigm' This paradigm has four core assumptions to define a transition. The first assumption is that the shift is from a dictatorial regime to a democratic one. The second is that democratization must engage in a set sequence of stages, starting with an 'opening' stage in which a split appears in the ruling dictatorial regime (Busari, 2023). This is accompanied by a 'breakthrough' stage marked by the regime's downfall and the beginning of a new, democratic system. The third stage is 'consolidation', in which democratic forms are implemented, and the society is habituated to new democratic rules. The fourth stage is the establishment of important conditions for transition, such as economic level and socio-cultural traditions, which will not impact the onset or outcome of the process. The final stage

is the strengthening of state coherence, which includes restructuring the institutional systems of the transitional state (Talo, 2022).

2.3 Good Governance

Governance, which involves decision-making and its implementation, has been present throughout human civilization and is increasingly emphasized in development and democratization discussions. While good governance is viewed as key to societal progress and prosperity, poor governance is considered responsible for societal ills. In today's interconnected world, governance is becoming even more challenging, and it is no longer solely the responsibility of governments to ensure good governance (Gafuri, 2021). Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have an essential role to play in promoting good governance, which involves characteristics such as participation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness, equity, and inclusivity. Good governance also involves checks and balances, human rights protection, and democracy. Donor agencies and researchers concur that governance is vital for development, and development cooperation is more effective with good governance (Sang, 2013).

2.3.1 The Nexus between Good Governance, Democracy and Development

The strong link between democracy, good governance, and a country's development is contingent upon the presence and consolidation of democratic characteristics, encompassing the protection of human rights, adherence to the rule of law, and transparent government practices. The importance of good governance and efficient public administration is achieving sustainable development (Gberevbie, 2016).

Thus, good governance, rather than mere governance, is a key factor in a nation's pursuit of sustainable development. This is more likely to be accomplished through a democratic system, where people can freely participate in electing their leaders without hindrance. Democracy provides a platform for good governance and stability, provided that legitimate power access is ensured through elections and the institutionalization of people's participation. While some scholars argue that democracy is effective in promoting good governance and development, democracy's significance lies in securing economic and social rights. A former Nigerian Federal Minister of Information Jerry Gana, emphasizes that democracy must deliver

tangible benefits to the people, such as clean water, infrastructure, and industrial development, to maintain its credibility (Busari, 2023).

In the case of the democratization process of Nigeria from 1999 to 2023, the connections between the discussed theory and the case are evident. The shift in Nigeria's political system towards democracy during this period has significant implications for the establishment of democratic institutions, good governance, and development.

1. Democratic Institutions and Legitimate Elections: The theory emphasizes that for democracy to foster good governance and development, it's crucial to have established democratic institutions that facilitate legitimate political leadership through free and fair elections. In Nigeria's case the transition from military rule to democratic governance in 1999 marked the establishment of democratic institutions, including multi-party elections and constitutional mechanisms for power transition. This shift allowed the people to participate in the political process and choose their leaders through democratic means.

2. Interplay between Democracy, Good Governance, and Development: As the theory highlights, there is an interplay between democracy aimed to enhance good governance by promoting transparency, accountability, and the rule of law. This in turn, was expected to contribute to overall development. The establishment of democratic institutions allows for the formulation of policies and programs that could address developmental challenges more effectively (Sang, 2013).

3. Challenges and Progress: Just as the theory acknowledges that the establishment of democratic institutions is a mechanism, the Nigerian case also experiences challenges during its democratization process. Issues such as corruption, electoral manipulation, and governance inefficiencies posed obstacles to the desired outcomes. However, over the years, Nigeria has made progress in strengthening its democratic institutions, learning from its challenges, and working towards more genuine democratic practices, which in turn influences the nation's development trajectory.

4. Socio-Political Values and Institutions: The theory suggests that institutions reflect the socio-political valves of their environment. In Nigeria, the democratization process reflects the desire for greater political representation,

accountability, and inclusivity. This transition represented a response to the socio-political values of the Nigerian society, where people sought to move away from authoritarian rule towards a system that respects their rights and voices.

In a nutshell, the democratization process of Nigeria 1999 to 2023 aligns with the theory's emphasis on the role of democratic institutions in fostering good governance and development. The establishment of these institutions, reflecting the socio-political valves of the society, has shaped the interplay between democracy, good governance, and development in Nigeria's evolving political landscape (Gberevbie, 2016).

Consequently, the nexus between democracy, good governance, and development is also apparent among the people. However, for democracy to effectively foster good governance and development, democratic institutions must be established as mechanisms to legitimately elect political leaders through free and fair elections. Institutions such as the INEC play a crucial role as instruments of action, reflecting the socio-political values of their surroundings. They respond to and shape the environment in which they operate, further reinforcing the interplay between democracy, good governance, and development (Gberevbie, 2016).

2.4 Democratization

Democratization refers to the transfer of state power to citizens within a democratic system. It involves shifting from a single dominant institution to a society with multiple centers of power. Democratization also encompasses the establishment, strengthening, or expansion of democratic principles, mechanisms, and institutions. This process aims to create a democratic regime characterized by pluralism, a multiparty system, popular participation, the rule of law, human rights, equal access to power and resources, and constitutionalism. Successful democratic transitions require not only formal aspects like constitutional rule and multiparty systems but also significant socio-political transformations (Omoleke and Olaiya, 2015). These transformations enable freely elected leaders and the majority of the population to assert their authority over ruling elites, whether military, ethno-regional, or bureaucratic. Transitions thus become transformative processes where the majority exercises their power over entrenched ruling elites, whose excessive

politicization and zero-sum struggles often hinder the progress of democracy and nation-building in Nigeria (Fasakin, 2015).

Democratization theory is a field of study that seeks to understand the processes and dynamics of democratization, which involves the transition from non-democratic to democratic forms of governance. This theory examines the conditions and factors that promote or hinder democratization, including political institutions, social and economic development, civil society, and international influences. This work adopted the democratization theory in explaining the democratization process in Nigeria, a shift in the political system from 1999 to 2023, this study explained in detail the obstacle to democratization in Nigeria.

Various factors have influenced Nigeria's progress towards democracy, and democratization theory provides a framework to comprehensively analyze and understand the complexities of the country's political transformation. One crucial aspect of democratization theory pertains to the examination of political institutions, including electoral systems, political parties, and the rule of law. Understanding the evolution of these institutions since Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1999 is essential. The study aims to explore the challenges and achievements in establishing robust and inclusive political institutions that foster democratic governance. Additionally, it investigates the role of political parties in Nigeria's democratization process, considering their internal dynamics and their ability to represent diverse interests and ensure accountability (Gberevbie, 2016).

Social and economic development is another significant factor within democratization theory. This encompasses analyzing the relationship between economic growth, education, and democratization. Nigeria's path towards democracy has been influenced by its economic trajectory, with considerations regarding the impact of wealth distribution, poverty alleviation, and social welfare programs on the democratic process. Furthermore, the study explores how education and access to information have shaped political awareness and citizen participation, thereby affecting democratization in Nigeria. Civil society's role is also critical in the democratization process. The study delves into the emergence and activities of civil society organizations, advocacy groups, and social movements in Nigeria. It examines their contributions to promoting democratic values, demanding transparency, and holding the government accountable. Analyzing the interaction

between civil society and state institutions provides insights into the dynamics of democratization in Nigeria (Omoleke and Olaiya, 2015)

Finally, democratization theory recognizes the influence of international factors. This involves examining the roles of international organizations, foreign aid, and global norms in supporting or impeding democratic transitions. The study investigates Nigeria's engagement with international actors such as the United Nations, the African Union, and donor countries, assessing the impact of their interventions on the country's democratization trajectory. By adopting democratization theory, this study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the democratization process in Nigeria. It explores the challenges and obstacles encountered in building democratic institutions, promoting social and economic development, engaging civil society, and navigating international influences. Through its examination of these factors, the study contributes to a broader understanding of democratization theory and offers valuable insights into the complexities of Nigeria's democratic journey from 1999 to 2023. However, this system collapsed in January 1966, due to a lack of adherence to democratic rules and regulations such as the fundamental rights, and the Electoral Act, which governs elections, campaign financing, and political party conduct. Additionally, there are laws that protect human rights, promote transparency through the Freedom of Information Act, and combat corruption through agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC).This led to a period of military rule that lasted from January 15 to September 30, 1979. The political crisis experienced in Nigeria between 1964 and 1966 can be attributed, in part, to a failure to comply with democratization processes (Gberevbie, 2016).

The democratization process is guided by two fundamental instruments: the Constitution and the Electoral Act. It is important to question and address whether these instruments are effectively enforced by political functionaries. The lack of compliance with the law by political functionaries, political parties, and potential candidates has contributed to followers' difficulty in respecting it. These individuals often breach the two legal instruments without facing consequences, setting a poor example for their constituents. The International IDEA's research network, known as 'Democracy in Nigeria,' highlighted that the democratization process in Nigeria

remains at a low point. It primarily revolves around periodic elections, treating them as mere rituals while neglecting crucial aspects of democracy. Consequently, Nigeria faces challenges in advancing democracy in a dynamic and sustainable manner (Omoleke and Olaiya, 2015).

2.5 Constitution and Democratic Process

African states must first regain the fundamental values such as freedom to expression, right to right equal participation in political activities and also periodic free and fair elections. These values form the basis of every human society in order to achieve economic recovery and political stability. These values provide the bedrock for democratic governance and social creativity, which must be established through political and constitutional orders that are stable and prioritize improvement and the eradication of poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance. Constitutional democracy should be the goal, with multiple or concurrent constitutional orders being necessary for large, multi-ethnic African countries (Gberevbie, 2016). The international community can assist in this process by promoting economic growth and consolidation of democratization. Constitutional democracy principles include regulation and limitation of government powers, the regular establishment of government legitimacy through free and fair elections, protection of fundamental rights, impartial dispute resolution, adherence to internationally accepted norms, accountability of political leaders, and promotion of social and economic growth in an equitable manner, the ideals of right to expression and association, as well as the protection of human rights, become vital. Freedom of speech is especially crucial for a democratic society to thrive as individuals need to be honest and brave in sharing their thoughts and observations. Democratic institutions require dedicated care and attention from individuals who are willing to learn from their mistakes and take responsibility for their actions (Jibrin, 2016).

Democratization is not limited to implementing a multi-party system. The implementation of a multilateral system is not harder than the complex establishment of democracy, which provides individuals with the freedom to determine their destiny concerning cultural institutions, residences, schools, and building organizations. Democracy is an approach to governing that incorporates rules and balances that the government cannot undermine. Democracy is not a formalistic

system; it is an attitude that allows citizens to take control of their lives. If citizens are unwilling or unable to enforce democratic principles, the ideas of freedom of association, and expression, and the protection of human rights become all the more crucial (Ndulo, 2003).

CHAPTER III

Literature Review

3.1 Democratization: Meaning, Benefits, Disadvantages, and Challenges

The concept of democracy, as a governance system where power is vested in the hands of the people, has a profound and continuously evolving history shaped by social, political, and philosophical developments over time. This overview investigates the emergence and progression of democracy, as well as its contemporary merits and demerits, drawing on scholarly sources for a comprehensive comprehension. The roots of democracy can be traced back to ancient civilizations, particularly in ancient Athens, where direct democracy enabled citizens to actively engage in decision-making processes. According to Ober (2008), Athens exemplified democratic practices, emphasizing civic engagement and political equality among its populace.

Throughout history, the concept of democratization has held immense significance as it encompasses the establishment and development of democratic systems of governance. Democracy, which is founded upon the principles such as political equality, popular participation, and the safeguarding of individual rights, has consistently been regarded as a fundamental pillar not only in modern societies. However, the process of democratization is not without its complexities and obstacles. It is imperative to comprehend the underlying principles of democracy and the intricate nature of democratization in order to navigate this transformative path successfully. This chapter aims to investigate the numerous benefits associated with democratization, including the promotion of inclusivity, the bolstering of political stability, and the advancement of human rights. This chapter explores the challenges that arise in the pursuit of democratization, encompassing societal divisions, institutional limitations, and external influences. By thoroughly examining these dynamics, the Thesis aims to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted aspects of democratization and its wide-ranging implications for the societies across the globe.

In the 1970s and 1980s, studies of Democratization defined it as the change of political system from a non-democracy to an accountable and representative form of government (Grugel, 2002). It also can be referred to as the developments

deepening and approaching democracy, formally defined by civil rights (mainly freedom of expression and association), periodical elections, and the responsibility of the government to an elected representative, with extensive suffrage (Rueschemeyer, 2012). However, Democratization has more extensive meaning today as the process through which a political regime becomes a democratic system. It simply is the transition to a democratic system (Tony and So-oriari, 2023). Examples can be given to such transitions, such as Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa.

The globe has witnessed various democratization waves that led to a position in which many countries are democracies and a high percentage of the world population lives in democracies. These waves have produced an effect in a chronological pattern, in Southern Europe (early-mid 1970s), in Latin America (late 1970s / early 1980s), in East Asia (late 1980s), in Central and Eastern Europe (late 1980s / 1990s) and part of Sub-Saharan Africa (early-mid 1990s) (Welzel, 2019). The Initial phase of democratization emerged in the early 1800s and extended until the 1920s. During this period, several democracies regressed into autocratic rule, marking the onset of the first backsliding wave was relatively brief due to a significant number of nations transitioning into autocracy during the 1950s. Nonetheless, the reminder of the second democratization wave regained momentum and persisted strongly throughout the 1990s (Scott, 2003).

When democracy was expanding in the early 1990s and when it looked unstoppable many hoped that democratization would bring a good and better prospect for development and a good government in countries that were poor, but as time went on the hopefulness disappeared for two reasons. Firstly, it became apparent quickly that a number of the new regimes were little more than 'authoritarian wolves in democratic sheep's clothing' (Kirkpatrick et al., 2002). It was a continuation of an autocratic regime underneath the layer of never-quite-assured press freedom and dubious elections. Secondly, some of the newly democratic countries openly reverted to authoritarianism usually by way of military coups in very short order. Countries like Gambia which had a longstanding democratic system fell victim to what looked like an authoritarian backlash in the mid-1990s (Kirkpatrick et al., 2002).

Although the impact of democratization on the prospects for development and in turn on the quality of governance. To some extent, democratization helped in some cases to boost the economic growth of the country and bring about good

governance, and security from the beginning when the transition took place. Also, there are studies that show that newly democratic states do produce some improvements in the quality of governance, but these developments are not always sustained and tend to be limited (Kirkpatrick et al., 2002). However, this is not to say that democracy itself is the cause of the institutional depreciation of these countries. There are other factors that are responsible for the decline in the system of democracy which is at work and these factors contribute to hindering the growth of democracy. The benefits of democracy itself are numerous and it also has disadvantages and some challenges.

In conclusion, the idea of democracy has evolved significantly since its ancient origins, influenced by historical, social, and philosophical factors. Although it offers numerous advantages, such as political stability and citizen participation, contemporary challenges must be addressed to ensure the sustained growth and continuity of democratic systems. Academic research provides valuable insights into understanding the complexities and potential solutions in the democratization journeys of diverse nations.

3.1.1 Benefits of Democratization

Democratization offers several benefits, including the promotion of individual freedoms, increased political participation, and the potential for more equitable resource distribution. It fosters transparency, accountability, and the rule of law, reducing corruption and enhancing governance overall. Additionally, democratic systems often provide a peaceful mechanism for resolving conflicts, thereby contributing to stability and reducing the likelihood of violence. Overall, democratization can empower citizens, lead to better decision-making, and create a more inclusive and just society, such as Life expectancy access to literacy rates, clean drinking water, and the quality of public- health services, agricultural yields, and democracies do better jobs in generating material benefits for their citizens, which can be measured by social indicators such as development, also the development advantages also come from the check and balance system that attribute self-governing political systems. Power is not resting in the hand of any arm/branch of government or individuals. The check and balance system also guide against over-concentration of authority at the state level giving room for amenability to deal with the priorities at the local level (Siegle and Weinstein, 2005).

Another benefit or advantage of democracy is that it is open in nature. It encourages the free information passage, an organization in and out of government frequently educating the public, reporting findings, and pushing leaders in the political arena to review a full range of options, spreading ideas that are good from one quarter to another and all these promote efficient, effective, and customized policies. Openness on its own reduces the scope of corruption, although transparency does a lot better than cutting bribes cost which technically ordinarily carry money from one citizen to another and doesn't decrease the average income yearly the total value of the global economy costs about five percent or 1.5 trillion yearly and this estimation was given by the World Bank (WB), that corruption, which acts as a tax on legal commerce and makes returns (Kirkpatrick et al., 2002).

Another beneficial aspect of democracy is its adaptability. Democracies possess a distinct mechanism for progression, which allows them to effectively navigate leadership transitions, whether due to elections or the unfortunate event of a leader's demise. This characteristic reduces the potential for coercive or extralegal tactics to seize power, promoting stability within the political system. The transparent and regulated nature of democratic processes facilitates a smoother transition of power, ensuring the continuity of governance and minimizing the potential for disruptive strategies aimed at consolidating power unlawfully (Gberevbie, 2016).

The incentive of development is maintained although distinct changes in policies from one administration to another, the establishment of the means to adherence for transmitting power shows an allegiance to the rule of law under this system. The one way through which leaders can gain legitimacy in people's eyes is only if they are able to attain power via the democratic process. However, the structures of democracy adapt and adjust to changing circumstances well, when there is a flow of policy and ideas regularly there will be pressure to amend, replace or drop ideas/initiatives that do not work, the area where these adjustments occur more is at the junctures of elections. The reason why democracy is so distinct is not that they always find the best policy rather they institutionalize the right to change policies whenever things go poorly or badly (Gafuri, 2021).

In a nutshell, the more accountable and transparent representative of those processes are governmental, like policies and practices will offer an enormously powerful set of institutions that foster growth (Dodo, 2010).

3.1.2 Challenges of Democratization in the World

Democracy has evolved as a prominent system of governance, with its origins in ancient Greece and subsequent adaptations across different civilizations throughout history (Sultana, 2012). The Age of Enlightenment further bolstered the ideals of democracy, leading to the establishment of constitutional republics during the American and French Revolutions. These events sparked global movements for democratic reforms, driven by aspirations for self-determination, political equality, and popular participation. The spread of democracy in the modern era has been influenced by factors like decolonization, the collapse of authoritarian regimes, and advocacy for human rights. Nevertheless, democracies continue to evolve and serve as platforms for political participation, individual rights protection, and peaceful power transfers. Understanding the historical development and current challenges of democracies is crucial for sustaining and strengthening these systems worldwide.

The issues with solving problems are one of the challenges of democracy, before now people don't like to state their opinions and one may never know what the problem is exactly because these traditional societies are governed differently for many years and people are not actually ready for democracy. The decision-making process can be prolonged as a result of rallies which may disrupt peace.

Undermining decision-making requirements is another challenge of democracy. Decision making in the political sphere needs a level of people that knows about policies to safeguard the needs of the population, state democracy gives every member of the country an equal right to vote and influence the decision-making process. For instance, a diagnostician licensed and a market seller have the same right in political decisions regarding abortion. (Lintott, 2009).

Another challenge of democratization is the cost of democracy. The system of government is called democracy though it's one of the least cost-efficient administrations that presently exists, finance and time that are necessary to conduct an election can cost billions of dollars. Regarding the advantages like liberty, equality, and autonomy can lead to various disadvantages, the liberty from the system of democracy enables corruption to develop in certain democratic norms. Problems can result in the identification and solution of the issues, and the participation and influence of citizens in political decision-making can undermine the views of experts. However, the benefits and challenges of democracy show the

ambiguities of the system and its positive effects and the challenges to the development of the state.

3.1.3 Challenges of Democratization in Africa

Africa's democratic development has had a complicated historical trajectory that has been influenced by both internal and external causes. The colonial past of the continent and the ensuing war for independence have had an impact on the continent's experience with democratization. African colonialism created authoritarian organizations and dismantled native political structures, leaving a legacy that hampered the growth of democratic institutions. Following their independence, several African countries began the process of becoming democratic, but they encountered many obstacles along the way, including political unpredictability, economic inequality, and racial conflicts. While some nations have successfully accomplished the transition to democratic administration, others have encountered obstacles. Nevertheless, Africa continues to work toward the consolidation of democracy, making a variety of measures to advance political equality, accountable government and human rights (Ibrahim and Farouk, 2021).

African countries are more heterogeneous also at the mercy of Western imperialism. In respect to political culture, the continent of Africa is a product of colonialism to have strong ties with its past colonial rulers (France, Britain, Spain, Italy) and is coming to terms with post-colonial challenges ranging from contested corruption, boundaries, nepotism to client-patron relations, not to mention ethnicity (Tar, 2010). In Africa, there are some factors that distort the process of accepting the veritable changing instrument of democratization which remains a great challenge to this system of government as follows:

A key tenet of democratic governance is the division of powers among the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial departments of government. This system of checks and balances protects individual rights while preventing the consolidation of power. As an unbiased and independent branch, the Judiciary is essential to the rule of law's interpretation, dispute resolution, and enforcement. The Judiciary ensures that legislation and government acts comply with constitutional principles through judicial review, defending citizens' rights and advancing equality and due process. An independent court upholds justice and defends the democratic principles of

fairness and stability by being committed to transparency and accountability. This preserves the democratic underpinnings of a society.

The Judiciary is needed in democracies but in Africa, the independence of the Judiciary simply means when the judiciary arm of government is free from the intimidating shadows of other arms of government like the Legislative and the Executive arm of government, it gives power to the judicial arm and institution to decide cases before it without the favor of fear and cohesion. In African countries, the Judiciary has not been given the freedom they need to carry out its constitutionally mandated function by the so-called executive arm, specifically in Nigeria. President Muhammed Buhari's decision to suspend the chief justice of Nigeria was a violation of human rights standards and this incident took place January 25, 2019. Ibrahim stated that the President is in contravention of the global human rights standards on the independence of the judiciary and separation of power by replacing or suspending the chief justice of Nigeria he added that the removal of the judge without using the procedures stipulated down by the law and without judicial protection being available effectively to contest the removal is conflicting with the independence of the judiciary. This illustration was made by the UN Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers (Ibrahim and Farouk, 2021).

Another challenge is human rights violations that persist in Africa, with widespread abuse and a lack of effective mechanisms for their monitoring and enforcement. The rule of law is what makes democracy absolutely democratic, which makes all the citizens respect the laws of the land and the Constitution. In Nigeria, democracy is not practical because the governing elites failed to deliver on their promises of political participation, economic progress, and personal loyalty to expectant populations.

Another challenge to democracy is the lack of credibility. Free and fair elections in Africa have been a problem because even though elections are carried out the vote of the population doesn't count in most African countries due to the manipulation of election results. A credible, free, and fair election is where the independent and impartial commission/umpire conduct elections that are used to manipulate election results where the vote of the citizen counts and where the constituencies are not manipulated (Tar, 2010).

3.2 The Consolidation of Democracy

Democratic consolidation is all about deepening and strengthening the roots of democratic tenets (Idowu, 2017). Democratic consolidation can mean any of the following; Avoiding erosion or breakdown democratically, completing democracy, institutionalizing democracy, and strengthening democracy. Also, Schedler (1997) stated that any discussion regarding democratic consolidation implies that the system of government called democracy exists from the beginning to the end without any breakdown of the process. It is, however, avoiding a quick death to democracy and also authoritarian regression (Idowu, 2017).

Democratic Consolidation can also be referred to as a political process of making democratic practice successful continuously in a country without any breakdown by an undemocratic incident such as a coup d'état occasionally. Democratic consolidation is maintaining a viable, sustainable, and stable democracy. At this point, the level of trust and confidence placed in the representatives, government, political parties, institutions, and more especially politicians are very high (Adewale, 2011).

This Thesis defines democratic consolidation as when there is a free flow of democratic process in a state from the beginning to the end without interruption of any other regime such as; authoritarian or totalitarian regimes. Also, in order to successfully consolidate democracy, strong and vibrant political parties are needed to consolidate the democratic system or keep its vitality. In a situation where there is the absence of political parties or where it is not strong or vibrant, poor political performance, weak political institutions, and the consequent cynicism about politicians and parties risk undermining the vitality and obstructing the consolidation of democracy (Idowu, 2017).

Furthermore, political parties are very inevitable in creating a vital link(s) between state, civil society, and democratic consolidation, are the measuring political barometer, and the gatekeeper for pointing out the effectiveness and degree to which democracy is being practiced (Umoru, 2019).

3.3 Political Parties

Although political parties have different definitions, "it can be said to be a group of individuals who share a common concept of why and how state power

ought to be used and organized" (Umoru, 2019, p. 89).Political parties can also be defined as a structured assembly of individuals bearing a unique designation, often represented by an abbreviation, which primarily focuses on the recruitment, education, and nomination of candidates who aspire to be elected to public positions that are periodically filled through constitutional voting processes. It can also be perceived as any association, regardless of its level of organization, which aims to secure government authority by endorsing candidates under a specific banner. In essence, a political party represents an organized endeavor to gain governance control (Ogunnoiki, 2018).

They are more than organizations for controlling and seeking political power. It is an organization for harmonizing and expressing interests, and that is in between the political society and the citizens, state, and government. Political parties have various types such as elite-based parties, ethnic-based parties, and movement parties. Also, it can be defined as a body of organized people whose goal and objective are to contest governmental power via the means of elections. A few roles/functions of political parties are; Policy making and execution, governance, representation, articulation and interest aggregation, making government effective and responsive, peaceful change of government, social and integration functions, and accountability. In summary, wherever there is an existence of political parties there tend to carry out general functions at various phases of political, social, judicial, and economic development (Umoru, 2019). They help establish stable systems for the transfer of power, as parties that lose elections accept defeat and peacefully hand over power to the winning party. This peaceful transfer of power is crucial for sustaining democracy.

3.4 History of Nigeria

Nigeria's democratization process offers valuable insights into the dynamics, achievements, and challenges of democratization in a complex and diverse context. The country's transition from military rule to democracy in 1999 provides noteworthy case studies and lessons for understanding the processes and obstacles involved. Nigeria's democratization journey involves various experiences, including ethno-religious conflicts, governance inefficiencies, corruption, and socioeconomic disparities, which contribute to a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by transitioning nations. As a significant economic player, Nigeria, as one of the largest

economies in Africa, has gone through the process of political stability and democratic progress. This serves as a model for neighboring nations, inspiring them to adopt similar governance practices and reforms. In addition, Nigeria diplomatic initiative and regional collaborations fostered through its democratization journey contribute to stabilizing the broader region and promoting shared democratic valves among neighboring countries. Lastly, Nigeria's active civil society, vibrant media landscape, and citizen engagement in the democratization process provide opportunities to examine the roles of different actors in driving democratic change and promoting citizen participation. In conclusion, studying Nigeria's democratization process allows for a comprehensive exploration of a critical case in Africa's democratic development, offering valuable insights and lessons regarding the complexities and challenges inherent in democratization within diverse societies.

Prehistoric findings have revealed that human societies have been in existence throughout the region currently referred to as Nigeria (Majekodunmi, 2015) for thousands of years (Heaton, 2008). Prior to the arrival of the British colonialists, Nigeria was inhabited by people who belonged to different societies, empires, and kingdoms that were traditionally governed. The interactions between these immensely diverse societies were characterized by numerous conflicts and minimal cooperation. Additionally, vices such as cannibalism, ritual murder, and murdering twins were prevalent in some parts of the country (Majekodunmi, 2015). The early states and societies of Nigeria originally operated independently as decentralized states. During the first millennium or the Common Era, some of these societies established loosely constructed decentralized state systems. The political structure in these societies was highly fragmented such that previous generations of scholars named them "stateless societies". However, it may be more accurate to refer to their political system as "decentralized" mainly because political hierarchy never exceeded the village or village-group level, even though the overall cultural identity could include various village groups (Heaton, 2008).

In 1900, during the British colonial rule, Nigeria had been partitioned into three independent colonial regions each of which was controlled by the British government. These colonial regions namely the Protectorates of North and Southern Nigeria and the Lagos Colony were amalgamated to become the Protectorates and the Colony of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914. The formal establishment of the three regions was done by the 1946 Richard Constitution. However, in 1947,

there was an upsurge of nationalism in southern Nigeria which led to criticisms of the Richard Constitution by emerging political elites (Yusuf, 2022). Moreover, political leaders in the 1950s made efforts to answer the national question of whether Nigerians should maintain their amalgamation or annul it. During the 1950s, political leaders in Nigeria grappled with a crucial dilemma known as the "national question". This question rolled around the decision of whether Nigerians should uphold the amalgamation of the country or reverse it by splitting into separate entities. The amalgamation referred to the merging of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by the British colonial administration in 1914, which formed the modern entity of Nigeria (Heaton, 2008). The Constitution (Lyttleton Constitution) of 1954 was established with constitutional changes in favor of federalism. This further amounted to the establishment of regional administrations and a central government in 1957 of which Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was Prime Minister (Yusuf, 2022). Essentially, the political leaders, having considered the differences in the histories of the era preceding colonialism as well as the colonial era, adopted federalism as a means to allow different regions to govern themselves in their unique ways (Heaton, 2008).

Federalism can be established either through a foreign power's imposition or through a voluntary agreement between the constituent units. The former is referred to as Institute Federalism, while the latter is called Constitute Federalism. Nigeria's federation is an example of Institute Federalism because the British imperialists imposed a federal structure on the state. The country became a fully self-governing state with the adoption of a Republican Constitution. In 1993, making the beginning of its first republic, however, this republic was short-lived due to tension and agitations among the diverse ethnic groups that started soon after independence. These tensions reached a climax in January 1966, leading to a military coup and the truncation of the first republic (Adepoju, 2017). 1st of October 1960, the country Nigeria gained her independence from British colonial rule, and aspirations for the future of the nation were high. Being the most populous African nation, Nigeria possessed a great deal of potential for economic growth primarily due to the fact that large amounts of oil were discovered in the Niger Delta area in 1958. Not only was Nigeria hailed as the "Giant of Africa" but multitudes within and outside of the nation also harbored the belief that the ascension of the country to a dominant position both in African and global affairs was imminent.

3.4.1 The First Republic

Military rule and democratic governance are interwoven into the history of Nigeria politically. The period between October 1960 to January 1966 is known as the First Republic and it was led by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa the Prime Minister alongside the Ceremonial President Nnamdi Azikiwe. The administration was characterized by an assertive emphasis on ethnic or tribal identities and interests, regionalism, diminishing revenues, and acrimonious struggles for power. Essentially, corruption defined the First Republic. Public coffers were plundered by government officials with impunity and there was an indiscriminate display of wealth by ministers and federal representatives. The political ideology held by the leadership class of the first Republic was the utilization of politics as a means to advance financial interests; in other words, to make money and lead comfortable lives. These issues along with several other factors motivated young middle-ranking army officers to overthrow the leaders of the first Republic through a coup d'état on the 15 January 1966.

3.4.2 The Second Republic

The Second Republic started with Alhaji Aliyu Usman Shagari elected as the President of Nigeria. This new system is characterized by a deliberate departure from the traditional American model. This departure encompasses various aspects such as governance, economic structure, social policies, and cultural norms. The shift signifies a fundamental change in the principles and strategies that once defined the American system, suggesting a distinct trajectory guided by alternative ideologies and goals. This abandonment may stem from perceived limitations or shortcomings in the previous system or an aspiration to forge a unique path tailored to current challenges and opportunities (Genova, 2009). Shagari launched an operation 'Feed the Nation' in December 1979, which was part of his Green Revolution program, he incited Nigerians to pay attention to Agricultural productivity with the intention to decrease the importation of basic foodstuffs. In Nigeria, the political institutions responsible for creating a conducive environment for economic growth have proven ineffective. It has been observed that the political elite prioritize resource extraction and actively suppress any independent economic endeavors that might challenge their interests or those of the economic elites. Consequently, this situation has led to

a range of adverse consequences, including economic stagnation, civil conflicts, mass displacement, famines, and epidemics, all of which have left many countries economically worse off today than they were in the 1960s. Therefore, the absence of political determination and economic foresight among Nigerian political leaders is accountable for the dominant role of the extractive industry in the Nigerian economy. This has resulted in Nigeria having a one-dimensional economy centered on the production and export of primary commodities, making it import-dependent and thereby obstructing Nigeria's economic development (Williams & Bridget, 2017).

Shagari's administration operated with financial mismanagement, ineptitude, and corruption. It was very obvious to the citizens of Nigeria that this republic was less than perfect after a year or two. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) was criticized for paying more attention to building a patronage network within the party during the administration of Shagari and the NPN was known to dominate politics during the Second Republic. State and Federal resources were channeled to the development project of their own districts to booster tier political positions. The regime turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to support Nigeria's first structural adjustment program. The fourth coup d'état occurred in December 1983, disposing of Shagari and positioning Major General Muhammadu Buhari as the military head of state (Shimada, 2009; Genova, 2009).

3.4.3 Military Rule (1983-1998)

The Buhari administration underwent a different reform to solve problems created by the former Republic. The key program of the Buhari administration was 'War against Indiscipline', he asked people to be organized while standing in queues waiting for the bus and to ban the throwing of trash on the ground and this action encouraged Nigerians to personally invest in making their daily life better. The administration of Buhari also promises to promote ethical politicians and remove the corrupt ones like the previous military rule. The Buhari administration failed to improve the economy of Nigeria and didn't have a plan to hand over power to the elected head of state (Tony and So-oriari, 2023).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Nigeria underwent a series of military administrations characterized by authoritarian governance. This era was defined by the consolidation of power in the hands of military leaders, resulting in the suppression of civil liberties, curtailment of freedom of speech and the press, and the

deployment of force to stifle dissent. Substantiation for this assertion can be gleaned from historical archives and reports, which extensively document numerous human rights violations, media censorship, and a dearth of political freedoms during the military's rule. The prolonged prevalence of military rule during these decades further ingrained authoritarian tendencies within Nigeria's political milieu, presenting substantial obstacles to the establishment of a stable and participatory democratic system in the country. The notion of civil rights and accountability did not register. The leaders of the Nigerian military pay more attention to personal job security and economic reform by any means necessary.

General Ibrahim Babangida launched the fifth coup d'état in August 1985. He turned to the IMF for financial support seeing an economy that is already collapsed. His plans for reconstruction are economic recovery program and social justice, the creation of several new states and privatization of public corporations, and mass mobilization for self-reliance. Babangida agrees to stick to the recommended structural adjustment program of the IMF but not to accept the loan that is attracted to it. Babangida's administration exhibited greater adaptability as it introduced political parties, notably the National Republican Convention and the Social Democratic Party, which were largely established under his influence. In 1989 October, Babangida made Nigeria a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in the fear of losing support from the North, and this incensed Christians Southerners. He sustained a strict hold on the press and stifled any public disapproval of his leadership (Ogunnoiki, 2018).

The 12June 1993 elections strongly demonstrated a lack of trustworthiness and responsibility on the part of the person conducting them, which was evident to the entire world when the preliminary result suggested that Chief Abiola might win the election, Babangida annulled the election and imprisoned Abiola. Babangida created the interim National government to take power and guide Nigeria toward democratic rule, assuming the election was successful. The third republic would have started under severe pressure (Genova, 2009). General Sani Abacha launched a coup on November 17, 1993, with his impatience with the interim government. The country slid down into chaos as a result of this coup and this regime was said to be the worst in Nigeria's History. Abacha promised to return power back to civilians and refused to disclose the timetable until 1995. He forced Chief Earnest Shone Kan to resign who was leading the National government that was established by General

Babangida and Abacha also dissolved all constitutional institutions and swapped all elected governors with military officers. Some countries in the West imposed sanctions on Nigeria because of the annulment of the Presidential elections that was held on 12th June including the United States, these sanctions imposed on Nigeria include; travel restrictions on government officials and military assistance, suspension of arms sales, and also more sanctions were further imposed as a result of the failure to gain full certification for its counter-narcotics work (Muhummed, 2014). With time disenchantment grew speedily despite the fact that many Nigerians accepted the Abacha regime. He appointed radical prominent politicians like Muhammadu Abubakar, and Ebenezer Babatope among others who left to form an opposition that led to them being imprisoned, and those actions gave legitimacy and credence to his administration. The opposition that was organized was huge under the auspices of the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO). Mosjhood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola openly declared himself president on 11[th]June, 1994, and went into hiding before his arrest and the NADECO pushed for the reconvention of the dissolved democratic institutions (Muhummed, 2014).

When it comes to economy the regime of Abacha was not in stable state and this was stated by the United Nations, and IMF. The education system was operated inadequately and its external debt crossed over 100 million dollars. The oil workers called for industrial action, requesting Abacha to release Abiola and hand over power to him, and this was their reaction to the annulment. Other unions took part in the strike and there was a stop in economic activities that were brought in Lagos. The strike ended in July 1994 and in Nigeria, the Nigeria Labor Congress (NLC) became the covering body of all Nigeria Labor unions. They were against the release of Abiola; they threatened to go on a general strike after the imposing condition of the government to release Abiola. He announced a timetable of 8 years of transition to democratic rule in October 1995. Like his predecessors, he deceived Nigerians with his programs of transition that never took place until he successfully championed the course of self-succession.

Though his regime allowed five political parties during the local election that was held in December 1997, the outcome of the electorate was very low on December 21, 1997. The second in command to the Nigeria Head of State, General Oladipo Diya along with ten other army officers were arrested on alleged coup plotting. The second in command was sentenced to death with eight others after they

were tried before the military tribunal. Abacha was accused of high-handedness and human rights abuses such as violation of assembly, association to enforced authority, and Freedom of speech. Abacha launched the National Human Rights Commission in a weak attempt to improve his and the country's reputation. However, when he died it prompted the beginning of the fourth republic. General Abdulsalami Abubakar who has allegedly been retired by Abacha alongside the other senior military officers emerged as the new head of state in 1998 (Umoru, 2019).

While he was trying to re-enact a collaborative foreign policy with states that saw Nigeria as a Patriarch state, he was also organizing another transition to civil rule. He got to the conclusion of dissolving all five political parties. In stating the premises upon which he said 'Democratization was marred by manipulating and maneuvering political institutions, actors, and structures' (Egbe, 2014, p. 99). However, a defective foundation was established upon which a solid democratic structure can neither be sustained nor constructed. Also, he didn't believe that parties would be a strong instrument and pillars through which democracy can be entrenched, maintained, and cultivated. These qualities were sorely lacking in the political sphere of Nigeria. The transition program of Abdulsalami threw up three major political parties: Alliance for Democracy (AD), the People's Democratic Party (PDP), and the All-People's Party (APP). the one key assignment of the transition program, for instance, the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) draft the constitution it was considered and approved by the military-populated (PRC), In 1998, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was a march toward establishing the fourth republic, which granted provisional registration for nine political parties (Umoru, 2019).

3.4.4 The Fourth Republic

In 1999, Nigeria saw a transition from military to civilian leadership, with the enactment of the 1999 constitution and the conduct of an election by the military. This change in governance was met with relief by many Nigerians who hoped for a shift away from undemocratic and repressive practices towards a more democratic and just form of government. However, twenty-three years later, as Nigeria's transitions of power continue, there are concerns about whether the country is really moving forward in the spirit of democracy or not (Egbe, 2014). The 1999 General election launched the fourth republic and the three major political parties contested

the election, which are the Alliance for Democracy (AD), the People's Democratic Party (PDP), and the All-People's Party (APP). Because the INEC assumes the status of political parties, with the condition that after the local level government elections of the year, those that were able to get an electorate vote of 10% and above in at least 24 states of the country are qualified to participate in the subsequent state and Federal elections. This act was intended to surmount the constitutional hurdles of exhibiting that they were not a religious, ethnic, or sectional party and that their support and membership bases were sufficiently reflective of the diversity of the country. Although the AD didn't pass the test however, they resisted because the government felt that this is the only means that the southwest which had sustained from 1993, or pre-democracy agitation will be able to contest in the programmers of transition by that means giving it credibility.

The April 1999 elections, which were closely observed, witnessed Olusegun Obasanjo's victory on the PDP platform. He was inaugurated as the President and Commander-in-chief of Nigeria on 28 May 1999. In another controversial general election on 21April 2007, Umaru Yar'adua from the PDP was elected president of the country. After his death on 5th May 2010, the Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan became the interim acting President and later won the subsequent elections which were widely considered to be free and fair than previous ones during the Fourth Republic. Furthermore, the General Elections that was held on 28 March 2015, after Muhammadu Buhari then won the General Elections, which ended the sixteen-year rule of the PDP. In the February 2023 Presidential elections, multiple political parties participated, but the leading contenders were the APC, PDP, and LP. The APC was represented by Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the PDP by Atiku Abubakar, and the LP by Peter Obi.

Bola Ahmed Tinubu won the February 2023 General Presidential Election and he is set to become Nigeria's next president. Although the clock's hand cannot be reversed, the same is true for the previous three republics that have been recorded in the country's political history. Although, these past republics were inadequate in meeting the needs and desires of the large population in terms of delivering social services and poverty alleviation programs. The fourth republic is also not performing much better. There is a widespread culture of impurity among government officials, corruption persists, poverty remains high, and crime is rampant throughout the country's nooks and crannies.

Undoubtedly, the Fourth Republic has beaten the most durable out of all the republics that the nation has gone through, setting a remarkable milestone in the nation's political history. Currently, the Fourth Republic has been in existence for about twenty-three years and is still ongoing. However, the oil boom between 2012 and 2015 significantly impacted other issues during this time, particularly the nation's revenue. Unfortunately, the administration under President Muhammadu Buhari has proposed to borrow even more money to finance the 2016 and 2017 budgets. Youth unemployment and underemployment rates were at an alarming rate of 42.24% in the first quarter of 2016, and approximately 110 million Nigerians (61%) still live in poverty. Despite Nigeria's natural resources, poverty is rampant and continues to plague its people, leaving many helpless and desperate (Adepoju, 2017).

3.5 The Obstacles to the Growth of Democracy in Nigeria

Political rights and liberties have advanced significantly as a result of Nigeria's democratic process, resulting in noticeable changes. A free and fair election is a cornerstone of democratic governance, and the nation has seen the creation of an Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) that plays a significant role in doing so. The power of media outlets and civil society organizations has increased as well, amplifying the voices of the public and encouraging accountability. Nigeria continues to face problems that prevent the consolidation of its democracy notwithstanding these encouraging achievements. As public trust is being eroded and effective administration is being hampered, corruption remains a serious problem. An additional barrier is the presence of racial and religious tensions, which could exacerbate divisions and weaken the sense of oneness within the country. The state also faces security challenges, such as terrorism and intercommunal violence, which affect the stability and efficiency of democratic institutions. For Nigeria to achieve a strong and inclusive democracy that preserves the values of transparency, equality, and justice, it is imperative to address these issues. Democracy has a positive impact in Nigeria. As time went by, democracy has turned into something else in the Nigeria, despite the fact that democracy increases the participation of the citizen in government because of the obstacle and a number of things that crept into the political sector it has really not been utilized because the people's votes don't count

because corruption, election rigging, and many other obstacles that hinder the progress of democracy in the country (Grugel, 2002).

Several transitions that aimed to maintain the nation's unity, has been witnessed in Nigeria who happened to be the largest democracy in Africa. However, the change was crafted within the political structure of a single system of government, resulting in various electoral malpractices and institutional weaknesses, indicating underdevelopment in Nigerian democracy. Democratization poses large-scale challenges that have hindered fifteen years of the country's democratic projects (Muhummed, 2014). Historically, the challenges are tied to internal politics, where greater political actions guiding the established design among political agents in Nigeria are characterized by the democratic governments. The study examines relevant issues that encompass representative governance in Nigeria, as explored by scholars in social sciences. It was perceived that the general challenges of democratization and political development were prevalent in the first, second, and third waves of democratization, particularly in countries that joined liberal democracy after 1990 (Saka, 2014).

The military's recurrent involvement in Nigeria's political sphere, often positioning itself close to the centers of authority, arises from a recurring pattern of political crises between contenders for power and incumbent leaders striving to acquire or hold onto power through electoral means. This cycle, marked by military interventions, coups, and transitional periods, has introduced instability and hindered the nation's progress toward democracy. Moreover, the dilemma of balancing majority rule against the safeguarding of minority rights constitutes a substantial obstacle to Nigeria's democratic endeavors. In Nigeria, a nation marked by diversity with multiple ethnic and religious groups coexisting, safeguarding the interests and rights of minority communities is pivotal for a well-functioning democracy. The apprehension among minorities about potential marginalization or neglect in a political landscape dominated by the majority can result in friction, discord, and a erosion of trust in the democratic process. This challenge underscores the significance of establishing an inclusive and fair governance framework that caters to the aspirations and needs of all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic or religious affiliations (Adepoju, 2017). The current democratic dispensation in Nigeria has created a considerable gap between the opposition and the ruling party, which reflects the population of every ethnic state in the federation. Power has traditionally

abided politically in the territory of the Northern group and has engendered ethnic conflicts in the North among the non-Hausa-Fulani communities and in Rivers State among the oil-producing communities.

The government's political arrangement under the Fourth Republic proposes the sharing of power within Nigeria's six geo-political zones, which is undemocratic and dangerous to the country's national unity. In recent past, violence politically turned into the struggle for withdrawal from the sovereign government of Nigeria and birthed ethnic militias like the Oodual People's Congress (OPC), Ijaw Youth Movement (IYM), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), and others. The Arewa People's Congress (APC) or Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) is the majority ethnic nationality that operates in the North. Despite this, sometimes each nationality disagrees with the central government over national issues, resulting in crises (Saka, 2014).

3.5.1 Corruption

Corruption is a significant obstacle to the development of any country, both politically and economically. In the case of Nigeria, corruption has always been a dilemma and has undeniably poses a formidable obstacle to Nigeria's development, substantiated by a wealth of data and statistics. According to Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, Nigeria consistently ranked poorly, with scores well below the global average, indicating widespread corruption in the country the country's score has dropped from 26 in 2019 to 25 in the 2020 assessment, and further to 24 in the latest 2021 record. (Grugel, 2002). This endemic issue has had dire economic consequences, as estimates suggest that Nigeria loses billions of dollars annually to corrupt practices, diverting resources away from vital sectors like healthcare, education, and infrastructure. Furthermore, corruption erodes public trust in government institutions, fuels inequality, and impedes foreign investment, hindering political stability and economic growth. The persistence of graft scandals involving public officials and misappropriation of public funds underscores the pervasive nature of corruption in Nigeria, making it a glaring and substantiated impediment to the nation's development (Adepoju, 2017).Despite discussions and attempts to combat it, corruption continues to thrive in the country. In 1985, during the military rule of General Ibrahim Babangida, corruption was institutionalized and treated lightly, undermining previous anti-corruption effects.

The civilian administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo aimed to eliminate corruption, which he created the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), in the year 2000 & 2003 and correspondingly signed the Anti-corruption Bill into law, these institutions that didn't stop corruption in the country. Nigeria's low ratings on Transparency International (TI); the watchdog against anti-corruption, Corruption Perception Index (CPI) (Mohammed, 2013).

Corruption can also be found in the electoral process of Nigeria, for instance the elections that were held in April 1999, were closely monitored, resulting in the victory of Olusegun Obasanjo from the PDP platform. He was inaugurated as the Commander-in-chief and President of Nigeria on 29 May, 1999. In a controversial general election held on 21 April 2007; Umaru Yar'adua from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) was elected president of the nation. After his death on the 5th May, 2010, the Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan became interim acting president who later won the succeeding election which was widely considered to be free and fair compared to the previous ones during the Fourth Republic. Furthermore, the General Election that was held on 28 March 2015, after Muhammadu Buhari won the General Elections, ending the sixteen-year rule of the PDP. Buhari was inaugurated as the Nigerian President on 29 May 2015, becoming the first opposition figure to win a Presidential election in February 2019. In February 2023 presidential elections, there were more Political parties who were registered for the General Presidential Elections, but there were three political parties that took the lead in this year's Presidential Elections which are the All-Progressive Congress (APC), the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the Labor Party (LP) with Peter Obi as their representative, APC's Bola Ahmed Tinubu and Atiku Abubakar representing the People's Democratic Party. Bola Ahmed Tinubu won the February 2023 General Presidential Elections and he is set to become Nigeria's next president. However, the opposing party has accused the election of being fraudulent and not free and fair (Dode, 2010).

The second aim was to address the issue of corruption of public officials by undertaking an extensive reform in the public sector, which would sternly include the Judiciary. The main aim was to reduce or eliminate incentives for corruption by pursuing various measures such as; Privatization, de-regulation, streamlining of functions, reinforcement of controls, and increasing transparency and accountability

in the collection and expenditure of revenue. The hope was that implementing these policies would limit the corruption among public officials while some basic reforms such as; Privatization, public finance management, and changes to employment and compensation policies were pursued with vigor (Grugel, 2002). Also, the anti-corruption objective that was schemed by Olusegun Obasanjo aimed to tackle the adverse effects of previous corruption on the economy and improve Nigeria's financial well-being. This involved identifying off-shore bank accounts and assets owned by corrupt Nigerians such as; Landed properties, companies, and shares, and ensuring their confiscation and repatriation of proceeds. This campaign was accompanied by a diplomatic offense targeting the Western governments whose financial institutions facilitate this type of fraud. Although the efforts of the administration of Obasanjo led to the recovery of less than 1 Billion Dollars out of an estimated 300-400 Billion Dollar assets that were stolen, it had some impact on the behavior of officeholders in Nigeria and resulted in several international anti-money laundering initiatives (Enweremadu, 2012).

Certainly, despite Nigeria's abundant natural wealth, there is clear evidence that it has not effectively addressed its socio-economic challenges. Data indicates that a substantial portion of its population, roughly 40%, still resides below the poverty line, despite the country's status as a prominent oil producer in Africa. Furthermore, the relatively low ranking of Nigeria on the Human Development Index (HDI) emphasizes that these valuable resources have not led to significant improvements in living standards and human development for a significant segment of its people. This is due to the level of corruption in Nigeria, which has resulted in poor economic growth, crippling public infrastructure, endemic poverty, and incessant political instability and violence. Also, as of 2019, Nigeria has a largely illiterate population with a national literacy level for men at 50.6% and even worse for women at 37.79% . The country is also classified as a low-income country under stress (LICUS) due to weak security, breakdown of the rule of law, corruption, fractured societal relations, and incompetent mechanisms for creating legitimate power and authority (Enweremadu, 2012).

3.5.2 Godfatherism and its Impact in Nigeria

In Nigeria today, another obstacle to the growth of democracy is the influence of political godfathers which is growing. The lack of trust and crises in Nigeria's

political system provides an opening for supporters of ideas that are new, the obstacles to genuine democratic involvement in political democracy works. In some instances, it benefits only a very small portion of the population, referred to as godfathers. In Nigeria, political godfathers are affluent individuals who see supporting political candidates as a way to attain social and economic progress. Godfathers in Nigeria possess distinct characteristics as influential figures within the political landscape, basically forging extensive networks of political connections, exercising control over party machinery and welding significant financial resources. They offer support in exchange for loyalty, and also thrive within a patronage system and often manipulate electoral processes through alliance, voter intimidation, and control of party structures. These individuals hold sway at the grassroots level, exploiting ethnic and regional dynamics, and maintain a lasting presence, thereby shaping governance and policy decisions in the country (Oghuvbu, 2023). While godfatherism refers to the process of building connections with an institutional hierarchy in anticipation of preferential treatment. Money and its gains become the primary means of political participation in Nigeria. A clique of affluent individuals popularly known as godfathers have taken control of our political administrations, resulting in a system of money-based politics and administration that leads to policies that favor those with money (Oviasuyi, 2009). Although the term godfatherism in Nigerian politics is not a recent occurrence, it has become more prevalent since the country returned to democratic governance. This phenomenon undermines the government's legitimacy and diminishes the citizen's electoral power. In particular, the   monetization of politics has intensified the dangerous nature of godfatherism. It is now considered as one of the most significant threats to democracy, and it ironically thrives with government backing, producing leaders who are unresponsive to the people's needs (Okolie, 2020).

The idea behind godfatherism is similar to mentoring, magnanimity, intermediary, sponsoring, and supporters in the context of politics. It refers to the belief that certain influential individuals have the power to decide who receives a political party nomination and who wins in an election. These individuals, such as Chris Uba, Olusegun Obasanjo, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, Tony Anenuh, have the ability to connect office seekers with the desired outcomes in the electoral contest. Godfathers can affect political support towards a candidate or political party. Individuals who play the role of a godfather are called godfathers, and those who

benefit from their support are known as godsons. The tradition of Godfather didn't start now. It can be traced to the first Republic when political leaders from the National Congress of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), the Action Group (AG) and the Northern People Congress (NPC) who were the three major groups carefully cultivated godsons who they believed would promote the well-being of citizens. Unlike modern-day political godfathers, who impose frivolous demands on their godsons, the first generation of godfathers were benevolent and progressive, promoting the developmental aspiration of the people. In Nigeria, godfathers are perceived as individuals who personally have the power to both decide who gets selected to run in elections and who emerges winner in a state (Rasak, 2017).

In Nigeria, political godfathers create a network of loyal supporters around them and often use their control, which is usually tied to monetary gains and considerations, to engineer the society. The various factors that contribute to the prevalence of godfathers, including political thugs, lack of political awareness, political influence, the use of money politics, selfishness, greed, lack of exposure, over-ambition, regional politics, nepotism, and favoritism. These corrupt tendencies, intensify the economic base of the godfathers, leading to a wide range of problems in politics and governance. Godfathers use their influence and money to place their godsons and allies in various positions of power, while those in power use their positions to determine who represents the interests of citizens, regardless of the cost (Okolie, 2020).

The prevalence of godfatherism in Nigerian politics has negative consequences for both the people and the political system. The right of citizens to choose their leaders is undermined by the influence of godfathers, they decide who can run for office, often imposing their preferred candidates on the population. This undermines the principles of democracy and creates an environment that facilitates electoral malpractice. They use their influence to secure success for their godsons in elections, rather than working in the interests of the people. This has contributed to widespread corruption and electoral fraud in Nigeria's recent elections, eroding the legitimacy of the democracy and causing citizens to lose faith in the government and the political process. The elections in 2003, 2007, 2019, and 2023 were marked by a series of troubling issues, as documented by Okolie in 2020. These problems included widespread allegations of bribery, where candidates or parties attempted to buy votes or influence voters through illicit means. Judicial injustices were prevalent, with

accusations of biased legal decisions favoring certain political interests. Political violence often erupted during these elections, leading to injuries and even loss of life. Rigging, through various means such as voter manipulation or tampering with election results, was another common malpractice. These issues collectively raised concerns about the integrity of the electoral process and highlighted the need for comprehensive reforms to ensure fair and transparent elections in the future (Okolie, 2020). These problems are caused by the actions of godfathers and their protégés who embezzle funds that are meant to be used for the development of the country's infrastructure (Oviasuyi, 2009). All these point to the principles and fundamental valve of democracy being undermined in Nigeria.

3.5.3 Leadership Style

The leadership in Nigeria lacks readiness for democratic principles, and their style of governance has had devastating consequences. Rather than prioritizing the welfare of the nation, Nigerian leaders primarily focus on personal enrichment. Despite having the potential to inspire, provide resources, fulfill the needs of the people, and educate citizens, the leaders of Nigeria have failed in their duty to set positive examples. Some may argue that the struggles of the nation should not solely be attributed to the leaders that the responsibility for Nigeria's underdevelopment lies with its leaders, not its impoverished rural inhabitants. The argument pointing to the responsibility of Nigeria's leaders for the nation's underdevelopment can be found in numerous factors. Firstly, decades of mismanagement, corruption, and embezzlement of public funds by political elites have hindered infrastructural development, education, and healthcare access. Secondly, the failure to address systemic issues like inadequate electricity supply and security challenges has impeded economic growth. Additionally, the lack of comprehensive social welfare programs has left many rural inhabitants in poverty. While individual responsibility certainly plays a role, the systemic problems and governance failures in Nigeria are well-documented indicators of the leadership's central role in the country's underdevelopment (Rasak, 2017).

The role of leadership in any country is to safeguard its people's political, social, and economic interests, create policies and solve problems, ensure political stability, and guide the nation towards prosperity. Unfortunately, many Nigerian political leaders do not have the necessary qualities to effectively govern the country

and address its struggling economy. Some leaders are insensitive to the sufferings of the citizens and fail to understand their duties and responsibilities. Nigerians are tired of complaining to leaders who refuse to listen to their concerns. Good leaders, on the other hand, listen to their constituents, respond well to criticism and crises, and increase the morale and loyalty of their followers. In advanced democracies, political leaders cannot function effectively with the citizen's support, to hear public opinion and use this information to make policies. The institutions and infrastructure are depreciating, leading to a poor economy, rising inflation, poverty, unemployment, and crime. One of the effective hindrances of democratic governance in Nigeria is the corrupt and non-participatory nature of the electoral process.

3.5.4 Civil Strife

Population growth rate refers to the growth in the number of individuals residing in a country, state, or city over a specific period. Between 1950 and 1995, the world population experienced a substantial increase, rising from 2.5 billion to 5.7 billion people. Currently, the population rate in the world has increase to about 8.1 billion people living in the world. Projections suggest that this figure is anticipated to further rise to 9.8 billion individuals by the year 2050 (Popoola, 2018). Nigeria has different cultural heritage, with different ethnic groups. After the dictatorship of military rule, Nigeria transitioned back to civil rule in 1999, which was met with mixed reactions. Some used it to express their grievances while others saw it as an opportunity for democracy to grow. The reason nation-building and managing this diversity is a central issue in the political process of the country. Since 1999, Nigeria's transition to democracy has been marred by conflicts driven by ethnic, religious, and political factors. These conflicts have created a challenging situation where distinguishing between acts of outright criminality and legitimate grievances has become increasingly difficult. Many movements are fighting to safeguard their political, religious, or ethnic interests, which led to conflicts and violence in the country. Reasons for these conflicts are weak state institutions, citizen apathy, military intervention in politics, poverty, elitist greed manipulation, jurisdictional disputes, cultural symbolism, and pollution (Oghuvbu, 2023).

3.5.5 Poverty

The widespread poverty among the population of Nigeria is influenced by several political, social, traditional, economic and ecological processes and policies that are interrelated. Jiboku (2010) defined poverty as not being able to afford basic necessities such as; shelter, clothing, and food which has adverse effects on social, psychological, and physical well-being. It can be defined as powerlessness, which affects individuals' political, social, and psychological aspects. The lack of understanding of the political system and resources causes people living in poverty to become submissive and passive, leading to an inability to evaluate and analyze issues and also a loss of self-esteem. Living below 1$/day is considered by the United Nations as a poverty-line. In Nigeria, over 50% of the citizens live under the poverty-line and the situation has worsened with over 53.7% of the citizens living under poverty-line according to the National Bureau of Statistic Compilation for the UNDP (Awojobi, 2014). The reasons for poverty include; high cost of living, high unemployment rate, inflation, illiteracy, poor health, and low education levels. Poverty deprives people of basic necessities leading to malnourishment, hunger, environmental degradation, illiteracy, and poor health. This economic and socio-political marginalization has direct consequences for democratization and development (Jiboku, 2010).

Although, with the transition to democracy in Nigeria in 1999 several plans to eliminate poverty from the country were carried out by the Poverty Alleviation Program (PAP) that was created as an alternative anti-poverty measure. This program was intended to correct the faults of the past efforts of alleviating poverty through the medium of making direct jobs available for people in the country. Despite the introduction of the PAP, the incidence of poverty in Nigeria remained the same. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) released the '2019 Poverty and Inequality in Nigeria' report, which highlights that 40 percent of the total population, or almost 83 million people, live below the country's poverty line of 137,430 naira ($381.75) per year.

The Poverty Alleviation Program was renamed later on as National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP) in 2001. These new programs were also structured to integrate sectored schemes which are Social Welfare Service Scheme (SOWESS), Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES), Natural Resources Development and

Conservation Scheme (NRDCS), and Rural Resources Development and Conservation Scheme (NRDCS), and Rural Infrastructure Development Scheme (RIDS). Much was never achieved by the NAPP though it was well crafted (Attah, 2021).

Another important development strategy in Nigeria for the elimination of poverty is the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS). This program was formed as a medium-term plan with four major goals. The first objective of this program was to reform institutions and government by ensuring transparency, promoting the rule of law, fighting against corruption, and enforcing contracts strictly (Popoola, 2018). Secondly, their aim was to promote the private sector as the driver of growth and wealth creation, poverty reduction, and job creation. The third aim was to implement a social charter that prioritized the well-being of the people, including their education, employment, health, security, empowerment, poverty eradication, and participation. The last aim was valve reorientation at the state and local levels, the strategy was known as the state Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (SEEDS) and Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (LEEDS) respectively (Busari, 2023).

The execution emphasized coordination and alliance between the federal and state government donor agencies, NGOs, civil Society, private sector, and other stakeholders. The government did not achieve all their professed objectives of NEEDS despite being hailed as a homegrown strategy and Nigerian version of the MDGs, and also its impact was not obvious on the well-being of Nigerians generally. A strategy that would eradicate poverty would make a meaningful impact on its beneficiaries and also should effectively develop the health care delivery system and initiate laws and programs that empower the vulnerable such as children, disabled, women, retirees/pensioners, and the elderly, should also improve the education system and implement projects such as reliable electricity and better-maintained road networks, to encourage expansion and growth of a business to the benefit of many based on this standard NEEDS didn't significantly impact the citizen of Nigeria most especially the ones that are vulnerable (Jiboku, 2010).

President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua made a big contribution to Nigeria's democracy effort from 2007 to 2010. He concentrated on tackling socio-economic issues, advancing the rule of law and initiated a development called the 'Seven-point Agenda'. This agenda eventually became the policy thrust of the administration the

major aim and principles of the agenda included betterment of the population well-being and transforming the country into one of the biggest economies in the globally by 2020 as the first major area of focus, the agenda had critical infrastructure followed by existing issues is the human capital development, national security land tenure reform, wealth creation, and poverty alleviation, in Niger Delta. Yar'Adua showed his dedication to constitutional procedures by starting judicial changes and giving electoral reforms first priority in order to improve the legitimacy of elections. Additionally, he advocated for measures to lessen poverty and enhance socioeconomic conditions. He initiated a development program called the 'Seven-point Agenda'. Yar'Adua's accomplishments provided a strong foundation for succeeding government, highlighting the significance of strong institutions, open procedures, and socioeconomic progress in building a durable democracy in Nigeria, despite the fact that his presidency was cut short by his untimely death (Dode, 2010).

From 2010 until 2015, Goodluck Jonathan presided over Nigeria. Political issues and important developments characterize his reign. He prioritized fostering stability, economic growth, and democratic changes. He started anti-corruption initiatives, put electoral changes into place, and worked to upgrade the nation's infrastructure and social services. However, security issues including the escalation of the Boko Haram insurgency and intergroup violence tarnished his administration as well. In general, the political, economic, and security environment of Nigeria saw both successes and challenges under Goodluck Jonathan's presidency.

From 2011-2015 during the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan, the transformation Agenda was popularized as a development plan aimed at transforming the entire economy of the nation by paying attention to three key aspects; Employment generation and poverty alleviation, strong inclusive and non-inflationary growth and value reorientation of the citizenry. The effective implementation of this agenda was made a difficult task due to several challenges such as the absence of accountability in government. Corruption, the incessant problem of insecurity, and lack of citizen involvement in the formation of the program, among others (Attah, 2021).

3.5.6 Insecurity

In accordance to the Cambridge dictionary security is the protection of a person, building, organization, or country against threats such as crime or attacks by foreign countries. On the other hand, insecurity encapsulates a condition wherein a prevailing sense of jeopardy and lack of adequate protection pervades, leading to an environment marked by feeling of vulnerability and uncertainty (Popoola, 2018). Insecurity denotes a state characterized by a lack of stability, confidence and assurance of one's well-being and safety. It can arise from real or perceived vulnerabilities, often resulting in anxiety, feeling of unease, and instability, which can adversely affect social, economic and psychological aspects of individuals and societies. It is the responsibility of the state to ensure the security of its citizens, and when it fails to do so, it is considered a failed state (Awojobi, 2014). The citizens of Nigeria had great hopes for democracy and Abudsalami Abubakar announced on 9 June, 1989, that power would be handed over to the civilians on 29 May, 1999. These promises were fulfilled when Chief Olusegun Obasanjo became the President of Nigeria which resulted in a significant increase in social ills such as ethnic and religious conflict, kidnapping, armed robbery, political violence, militancy, and the emergence of the extremist Boko Haram group.

Insecurity refers to the state of being exposed to attacks, which create anxiety and fear among the population. Insecurity has escalated in Nigeria since the attack in Bauchi state in 2009 by Boko Haram. The citizens of the region established a civilian joint military task force known as the Civilians. This youth movement aims to act as a counter-terrorism force to check the activities of Boko Haram. Also, this has been attributed to the failure of the government to deliver on its promises of a democratic dividend through development, leading to public frustration and violence (Awojobi, 2014).

Boko Haram is an extremist Islamic organization that has its base in the northern part of Nigeria. They were founded in 2002, and its main goal is to turn Nigeria into an Islamic nation under Sharia law. Due to its violent tactics, which included bombings, kidnappings, and assaults on citizens, schools, and security personnel, the group attracted notice on a global scale. Boko Haram rejects Western influences and education, as seen by the phrase "Western education is forbidden". Their actions resulted in several displaced people and fatalities, as

well as serious humanitarian and security issues. As they attempt to restore calm, safeguard civilians, and destroy the network of the group, Nigeria and its neighboring nations continue to place a high priority on combating the threat posed by Boko Haram (Fasakin, 2015).

Determining the precise count of individuals affiliated with the Boko Haram organization in Nigeria is a challenging task. Boko Haram, an extremist militant group, has been operational in Nigeria for an extended period, and its membership has experienced fluctuations over time. During its peak, it was estimated to have comprised several thousand fighters. Nevertheless, its numbers have likely been impacted by military operations and other influencing factors.

It is crucial to emphasize that Boko Haram is classified as a terrorist organization, and its actions have led to significant instability and suffering within the region. Nigerian authorities, in collaboration with international partners, have been actively engaged in efforts to counter the group and its insurgency. The strength of the organization may have undergone variations due to factors such as recruitment, defections, and military interventions against it (Agbiboa, 2014).

The activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria have garnered the attention of international bodies, particularly since the attack that was first made in 2009. This group has carried out attacks that are coordinated primarily in the northeast region of Nigeria, but even Abuja, the nation's capital, has not been immune to their attacks. Boko Haram has bombed several high-profile locations, including the United Nations Building and the Nigerian police authority headquarters. The group bombing of the Nyanya motor park in 2014, which claimed the lives of 73 Nigerians, and the subsequent adoption of over 300 girls who were students from Chibok prompted international support from countries like the USA, France, Britain, China, and Israel to combat Boko Haram. The 42nd President of the United States Bill Clinton has linked the insurgency in Northern Nigeria to the high level of poverty in the region, according to the Poverty Profile of Nigeria that was released by the National Bureau of Statistics in 2012 (Dare, 2012).

More poverty is seen in the Northern region compared to the Southern region in Nigeria. However, some security experts believe that Boko Haram's actions are not solely due to poverty but rather reflect their aim of Islamizing Nigeria. However, some scholars are a group of disconnected youth in urban areas fighting against economic injustices. Nigeria, despite being 63 years old, continues to

struggle in establishing a strong and effective political order. The factor that has hindered the development of democratic governance in Nigeria is the overwhelming influence of ethnicity. At the heart of the ethnic problem is ethnic nationalism, where individuals prioritize their affiliation to their ethnic group over their national identity. This has been evident in the way people show their loyalty to ethnic group they belong to instead of the country or state (Awojobi, 2014). As a result, Nigerians remain deeply attached to their ethnic identity, which has fueled primitive emotions among the population. The relations in Nigeria's inter-ethnicity have been characterized by conflict, primarily due to ethnic bias, which takes the form of ethnic nationalism. The implications of this for democracy in Nigeria are undeniable. It is widely recognized that Nigeria's mode of governance after gaining independence was civil democracy. However, since then, Nigeria has gone through three distinct forms of republican governments, with prolonged periods of military rule in between, and is now in its fourth attempt at democracy. The frequent interference by the military has made the cultivation of a democratic political culture in Nigeria a formidable challenge (Hassan, 2011).

Presently, in the 4th Republic, ethnic politics does not have much prominence as it had in the previous Republics. It might not be unrelated to the country's six geopolitical zones receiving the federation's primary political posts informally in turn. This was demonstrated by the compensation given to the South-West in the 1999 Presidential Election, in which both of the two candidates for the position came from the area, as restitution for the annulment of the presidential election held on 12thJune 1993, which was widely believed that Chief Abiola won from the South-West. After spending two terms in the South, the rotating system brought the presidency back to the North. The Vice President, the President and Vice President of the Senate, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, and other national elective posts are also included in the rotation system. The region in the nation simultaneously holds two of the offices; instead, each office is held by an elected representative from one of the six geopolitical zones. In the absence of effective government, the rotation and zoning system will, however, only be a temporary solution to the ethnic conflict. Ethnic nationalism has had several detrimental effects on the country's progress towards democratization, and it continues to pose a threat to the establishment of democracy in Nigeria. The emergence of ethnic militias across the nation, like the Oodua Peoples' Congress in

the southwest, the Arewa Peoples' Congress in the north, and the Egbesu in the east, is equally attributable to ethnic nationalism.

Nigeria's transition process is deemed incomplete because of lack of national unity among its diverse ethnic groups. Despite the government's efforts to promote unity, loyalty to ethnic and religious ties prevails, resulting in the emergence of ethnic militant groups posing a threat to the process. The weak institutions, particularly the judiciary's inability to control the executive's decisions, and the unaccountability of the political elite are also factors contributing to the incompleteness of the transition. Corruption, polarization, and inefficiency plague democratic institutions, compromising their credibility. Additionally, conducting free and fair elections remains a significant challenge to the transition process in Nigeria, and other factors as well (Obayomi, 2020)**.**

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

In Chapter One, the thesis introduced the topic outlining the background and research objectives. It also highlighted the significance of the study in understanding the democratization process in Nigeria and its implications for governance. The methodology section explains the research approach and data sources used. Chapter Two delved into the concept of democratization, discussing its meaning and exploring different perspectives on democratization globally. The chapter also examines the factors in Africa that influence the democratization process. Furthermore, it analyzes the benefits of democratization, such as increased political participation and protection of human rights, while also addressing the challenges and obstacles faced during the transition to democracy. Chapter Three focused on the theoretical framework utilized in the study. It explores various transition theories and models to understand the process of democratization in Nigeria. Additionally, the chapter examines concepts such as democratic consolidation, political participation, civil society, and institutional analysis, providing a theoretical lens through which the democratization process in Nigeria can be critically evaluated. Chapter Four presented the conclusion of the thesis, summarizing the findings from the previous chapters. It highlights the implications and contributions of the study to the field of democratization. Furthermore, the chapter offers recommendations for strengthening the democratic system in Nigeria based on the identified challenges and opportunities. It concludes by identifying areas for future research to enhance our understanding of the democratization process in Nigeria beyond the scope of this thesis.

In Africa, Nigeria is undoubtedly the most populous democracy, and has had some progress and setbacks in its democratization journey. The country's democratization process underwent some remarkable change from 1999-2023. It marked the transition from the several military regimes to a democratic system of government; some of the major developments during this period which included the establishment of a civilian government in 1999, the emergence of political parties, the conduct of multiple general elections, shift in power dynamics among different ethnic group and regions as well as ongoing challenges related to electoral transparency, the struggle to balance power between the central government and state. The transition from military rule to democratic system was initiated by General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who transferred

power to the newly elected civilian Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 which ushered in the Fourth Republic; this republic demonstrated significant development in comparison to previous Republics. A notable aspect of this progress is Nigeria's sustained exercise in democratic experimentation, having conducted general elections consistently since 1999, the presidency of Obasanjo paid attention to anti-corruption measures, improvement in government and the economic reforms, during this period, efforts were made to consolidate democratic institutions in the country; the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was created to oversee Elections, and also the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was formed to oppose corruption in Nigeria. The several consecutive elections that were held without interruption in the country were a significant milestone in the nation's Democratic and Electoral history, notwithstanding the issues that characterized the management and conduct of these elections.

In addition, the formation of the APC party and its successful bid for power at the federal level in the 2015 general elections, was a historic occurrence in the Nigeria's transition of power when the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan was defeated by Muhammadu Buhari in the election that was conducted and his administration promise to also address corruption and improving security and diversifying the economy of the country. Despite challenges, it is also an encouraging achievement in Nigeria's quest for democratization. Nigeria faced lots of challenges during this period, which include the religious tensions and ethnic, political violence, the insurgencies of Boko Haram in the northeastern region. These challenges posed a significant threat to the stability and the democratic process in Nigeria. Despite all these challenges the country made progress a little in its democratization process, during this period, the emergence of a more pluralistic political landscape with multiple political parties, increase in the citizen participation in politics especially the 2023 election the participation of the citizen that turn up in the voting process was very high which has not occurred before in the country.

The Democratization process of Nigeria from 1999-2023 marked a significant shift from military rule to a democratic political system. While the country was struggling with the different challenges including in electoral issues and others, Nigeria as a country made a little progress in trying to strengthen and consolidate democratic institutions and also enhancing the citizens' participation in governmental activities. Nigeria is full with natural resources and for the nation to fully come to its potentials, there are some restructuring that needs to be done in the country's political, economic educational and like in every other sector including health sectors, first and foremost in

regards to the electoral process the need for electoral reform in Nigeria to ensure meaningful citizen participation, combat electoral fraud, and promote political stability. Implementing reforms would address issues like political violence, corruption, and incompetence, while fostering good governance based on meritocracy. Strengthening the judiciary and holding perpetrators of political violence accountable is important for deterring such behavior. A minimum six-month litigation period is proposed to resolve electoral grievances before forming a new government. Strict sanctions should be imposed on those involved in electoral malpractices. Nigeria's progress requires strong institutions and responsible leadership. The Uwais report, with recommendations from the Electoral Reforms Committee, should be fully implemented. Ensuring the independence of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) involves a broad-based composition, including representatives from major parties, civil society organizations, and labor unions, with funding from the consolidated revenue account (Hassan, 2011).

The government should broaden its focus beyond oil and explore the production of other essential commodities to foster economic growth in the future. Efforts should be made by the government to address the power generation problem in Nigeria. All agencies responsible for budget implementation should ensure the timely execution of the national budget. Agriculture should be a primary focus for the government as a means of diversifying the economy and creating employment opportunities, especially for young people interested in the agricultural sector.

Finally, the federal government needs to develop a robust economic policy to reverse the ongoing economic decline and alleviate the current hardships faced by the nation. Nigeria should consider lifting the ban on the importation of certain essential commodities. Importing goods that are not readily available domestically is a common practice in international trade, and Nigeria can benefit from focusing on the production of goods in which it has a competitive advantage based on theories like Adam Smith's absolute advantage and Ricardo's comparative advantage. Collaboration among all security agencies is essential to create a safer and more secure Nigeria. Corruption must be completely eradicated. By working together, corruption can be defeated. Citizens must unite to demand an end to the abuse of power, bribery, and secret deals by their governments (Awojobi, 2014).

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Appendices

Appendix A

Turnitin Simmilarity Report

DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN NIGERIA: A SHIFT IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM FROM 1999-2023

ORIGINALITY REPORT

10%	8%	3%	4%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

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3	oidaijsd.com Internet Source	1%
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6	core.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
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Appendix B

Ethics Committee Approval

NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

05.06.2023

Dear Edırınverere Gıft Utoro

Your project **"Democratization Process in Nigeria: A Shift in The Political System from 1999-2023"** has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Prof. Dr. Aşkın KİRAZ

The Coordinator of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee