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Democracy and National Security Challenges in Nigeria, 1999-2017

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Abstract

The study focused on examining the possibilities of deepening democratic values in the face of current national security challenges in Nigeria between 1999 and 2017. Adopted methodology was both primary and secondary. Securitization theory was adopted as the basis of analysis. The findings of the study revealed that: Nigeria's national security is threatened by the manipulation of ethnicity; the porous nature of Nigeria's borders pose threats to national security; political crises and civil unrest in the neighboring African countries also affects Nigeria's national security; inability of the Nigerian government to provide jobs for the army of youth and infrastructural facilities for the entire populace; subversion, espionage, insurgency and sabotage affects Nigeria's national security and democratic sustainability; inability to provide comprehensive bio-metric data of Nigerians is a threat; intelligence gathering, sharing of information and synergy among the security agencies in Nigeria foster national security and engender democratic sustainability; education plays key role in the Nigeria's quest for an enduring national security and democratic sustainability; and proper management of elections will reduce some of the perennial violence associated with elections. The following recommendations were advanced by this study: Nigeria government should develop the culture of tolerance, equality and justice so that people will not take law into their hands; political players should embrace the principle of true democracy and allow open, free and fair competition; every effort should be made to ensure consent and cooperation of the diverse ethnic and religious group in Nigeria; Nigeria borders should be made more tight to be able to screen the influx of people; the Nigerian government should endeavor to provide job or create an enabling atmosphere for the army of youth; Nigeria government should be more involve mediating in the political crises and civil unrest in some neighboring African countries; and credible people should be put in place to manage elections.

Keywords: Democracy, National Security, Challenges

Introduction

The last quarter of 20th century saw successive waves of democratization that affected various regions of Iberian Europe, Latin America, South-East Asia, and Africa. The end of the Cold War appeared to initiate a new wave of democracy. However, despite the progress made, the global success of democratization cannot be taken for granted. In some regions, non-democratic regimes still exist. In others, a number of successful attempts has yet to become stable democracies resulting in falling turnout at elections, dissatisfaction with politics and politicians. The strength

of new worldwide democratic movements demonstrates that democracy is never permanently anchored anywhere, but requires constant nurturing and development.

A large number of countries in different regions of the world are affected by violent conflicts, in which the United Nations is making efforts to restore peace. Subsequent peace agreements will invariably involve attempts at setting up new democratic institutions, power-sharing arrangements, and at entrenching a culture of democracy through human rights. In this new dispensation, United Nations agencies are often called in to contribute to the reconstruction and reconciliation processes. Institutionalising democracy in Nigeria has been challenged by the current state of insecurity.

National Security relates to the exigencies of ensuring the survival of the nation-state through the use of economic, military, and political power as well as exercise of diplomacy. Previously, it focused on military might, but now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which depend largely on the military or economic security of the nation and the values embraced by that society. Attempts at enthroneing and sustaining democratic political system in Nigeria have just lasted for short periods of time. Close to the end of the 1990s, internal dynamics and international pressure and persuasion combined to push Nigeria again towards a political system that is based on the global principle of democracy.

In addressing the matter pertaining to the survival of Nigeria as a democratic state, it is pertinent to consider security issues and problems that are capable of affecting the attitude, confidence and cooperation of all groups and segments that make up the Nigerian federation. It is also necessary to explore the gaps and gray areas in the Nigeria's constitution that are responsible for various problems and crises. Therefore, the focus of this study is the assessment of national security challenges and its implication on democratic sustainability in Nigeria. The following questions were provided as guide: What is the relationship between national security and democracy in Nigeria? How does national security affect the existence of Nigeria as a state among the community of nations? How do insurgency, subversion, espionage, and sabotage across the globe affect the Nigeria's national security? And what are the perceived threats to the Nigeria's national security and democratic sustainability? Methodology adopted was both primary and secondary. Also there are four sets of hypotheses which were tested against empirical evidence. These hypotheses were presented in null form to allow the researcher obtain some more objective responses, these include:

- H₁ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security challenges and the entrenchment of the culture of democracy and age.
- H₂ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of culture of democracy and religion.
- H₃ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of culture of democracy and ethnicity.

H₄ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of culture of democracy and education.

Conceptual Issues

Some of the key concepts in this work were conceptualized: national security and democracy.

National Security

National security as a concept is often misconceived. For example, it does not refer merely to the defence and survival of the state (Imobighe, 1981:66-71). The danger of looking at national security from this narrow angle is twofold. First is the tendency to equate defence with 'Security' and to bestow undue responsibility to the military as if the armed forces alone are the guardians of national security (Babangida, 1984:311-324; Vogt & Ukpabi, 1986:213-246 & 247-266). This tendency in turn creates in the minds of the armed forces that security, stability and progress can be achieved (Nweke, 1988:1). Second is that national security has been used by civilian state-men as a political rhetoric or slogan for rallying the citizens in the face of perceived internal or external threats to the governments in power and for bolstering their local influence and political base Adebayo, (1986). Undoubtedly, national security embodies the sovereignty of the state, the inviolability of its territorial boundaries and the right to individual and collective self-defence against internal and external threats Dyke, (1966:29-39). But the state is secure only when the aggregate of people organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities and when the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy.

Nweke (1988) held that, national security conceived in terms of national survival is an illusion. It is an illusion because it is an erroneous perception of the Nigerian reality. It is used by the ruling class as a fine transparent concept for deluding the masses into thinking that government policies in this regard represent actions designed actually to protect them from hunger, disease, unequal treatment, and violations of human dignity and life. Hence, he conceived that the concept of national security in Nigeria has given rise to two dangerous doctrines of illusionism and militarism.

As this assortment of views demonstrate, to be useful, any definition of the domain of national security must be broad, multidimensional and comprising both military and civilian components. Bearing this in mind, Stephanie (1984), view, stipulating that national security policy articulates both the general national interests and objectives of the state and the means (military, economic, social and political) the state will use to further and protect them. For him, civilian aspects include policies on immigration, agriculture, international trade, taxation, and education, in so far as means and resources are concerned. Also he stressed the importance of socio-political

attributes, such as types of regimes, as well as socio-psychological ones, including the dominant religion.

Democracy and Security

National Security and Democracy often co-exist in what can only be described as an uneasy partnership. Avner (1993) observed that as the British experience in WWII demonstrated, nothing spurs morale and induces dogged determination more effectively than the intense of legitimacy that democracies alone can claim. Yet beyond this level of absolute fundamentals, democracy and security invoke different and very often incompatible values. The term democracy puts the individual human being at the center of everything. It connotes privacy, human dignity, compassion, pluralism, variety, divergence and competition moderated by equitable rules. By contrast, security is a state-centered concept. Its rationale may be the preservation of a democratic way of life or making the world safe for democracy. But whatever its ultimate justification, it puts the state at center stage, evoking grim images of hierarchy, division of labor, regimentation, mobilization, efficiency, concentration of efforts, dedication, valor, and sacrifice.

These inherently problematic relations between democracy and national security are entirely context-dependent. Democracies in a stable international environment, such as Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, have no problem reconciling the requirement of the rule of law with the imperatives of national security. In most of the countries a sizable national security establishment has existed for decades. Yet the absence of a clear and present danger has had a relaxing and civilianizing impact on the security-related sectors of their social and political systems. By the same token, however, any rise in the threat barometer of a democracy leads inescapably to tensions between the requirement of democracy and those of security. This was the case in wartime democracies from fifth-century Attends to the twenty-first century United State. Yet once the winds of war calm down; well-established republics are very quick to get back their democratic senses Avner (1993).

Given the geo-ethnic origin of Nigeria's population and the manner in which it came into existence, Niger is classified as type four (a fragile democracy in a protracted conflict). But in five decades of statehood it has earned the right to be identified as type two (a robust democracy in a protracted conflict). When it officially came into existence as an independent state it was clearly a democratic structure, whose institutions were duly endorsed by an electorate in which every citizen aged eighteen and above was free to exercise the right to vote. Its declaration of independence was an articulate statement of intent for a liberal democracy. Its institutions were functioning representative bodies in a parliamentary democracy of the pluralistic, western European type.

The orientation of this democracy is to empower the people to use the political system to improve their lives. It involves a structure interaction in which the rulers influence the people and the people in turn influence the rulers. The latter work with and through organization of the people, respect and trust the people, listen to

them, have faith in their ability to understand the political process, relate with them on the basis of justice, equality and mutual benefit and collaborate with them in their daily struggles to improve their lives. In this relationship with the people the rulers go beyond having consent taken to having the people actually give it, beyond voting without choosing to the people actually exercising electoral influences. Such a system will ameliorate ethnic and religious strife Nnoli, (2006).

Scholars do not agree with regards to the role of democracy in peace and violent conflict. Democratic theory as enunciated by Russett (2007:2) hinges on the fact that democracy leads to and engender peace as peace cannot be achieved in the absence of democracy. Thus, it can be deduced from democratic peace theory that the more democratic countries are the more peace we have in the world. In fact, Moaz and Russett (1993), Remmer (1998) argued that the probability of two democratised countries engaging in militarised conflict is extremely low. Domestic norms and institutions prevalent in democratic politics have been advanced to be responsible for peaceful relationship among democratic countries. There seem to be no such constraints when they engage in dispute with non-democratic countries.

Rummel (undated) added that while about 36 million people have been killed in battle in all foreign and domestic wars in the last century, at least not less than 119 million have died through government genocide, massacres and other mass killings. And that about 115 million of these figures were killed by totalitarian governments (not less than 95 million of these 115 million mentioned above were in communist countries), and that there are no such records of democracy killing en masses their own citizens. He concluded that democratic freedom promotes non-violence.

However, democracy has dark side that sups with the devils of political violence; or it is claimed that democracy kills (Keane, 2010:2). Violence is inherent in every effort to establish and maintain democracy. The practice of democracy everywhere rests with foundational acts of violence (Keane, 2010). Reynal – Querol (2004) argued that partly democratic countries are more prone to civil war than full democracies, and full autocracies. Therefore, it appears that violence prevention or reduction does not rest solely on democratic status of a country alone. It has equally been observed that although democratic countries may not go into war with other democratic countries, however, they are often embroiled with internal conflict which is often precipitated by electoral contest.

Cervellati and Sunde (2011) contend that democratization process may trigger political violence because the scenario under which democratization takes place especially during democratic transitions provides convenient platforms for violent conflicts, especially among groups within a polity. Keane (2010) christened this democratization of violence. He added that the idea of democratic countries engaging undemocratic countries in war on some issues like that of America war in Afghanistan and in other countries only to introduce democratic governance after subjugating them is tantamount to democratization of violence.

There is a convergence in views by Hoglund, (2006) and Horowitz (1985) that competitive elections result in ethnicization of electorate. Instead of bringing their similar virtue to the table, political parties rather emphasize their differences to

win votes (Weinberg 2001 cited in Hoglund, 2006). Thus, in plural societies, voters tend to vote according to their ethnic identity and thus the election results become almost identical to that of the ethnic census. This could cause trouble for post electoral politics in such a country and thus become a cause of ethnic conflict (Taleski, 2011).

Rapoport and Weinberg (2001) stated that the situation immediately after elections is often very sensitive as the acceptance or otherwise of the outcome of elections by contenders can produce outbreaks of violence as it was the case in East Timor after the 1999 referendum of independence. From the above, it can be inferred that although the universal position is that democracy midwives peace, however, democracy alone cannot bring about peace as evidenced in some countries undergoing democratization such as Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, and old Sudan among others. This is because elections which are cardinal features of democratization often generate conflicts in partially democratic countries.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The central thesis of the study is that there is relationship between national security challenges and democracy consolidation in Nigeria, that is, democracy needs a secured atmosphere to thrive. Nonetheless, this theoretical assumption has not been borne out by the structures on ground in Nigeria as shown above. The need still exists to test this notion empirically by soliciting the opinion of the people using the survey method, through the administration of questionnaire. This is to ensure that the opinion surveyed brought to the fore certain issues of national security in relation to democratic sustainability which may not have occurred to the researcher. The sample size of the study was four hundred (400) respondents, out of which three hundred and fifty (350) were retrieved and this represents a response rate of 87.5%. Below are the data presentation and analysis:

Age Distribution of Respondents

Table 1.1: Age Distribution

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
Youths (25-45 years)	220	62.9
Matured (46-55 years)	70	20.0
Aged (56 and above)	60	17.1
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.1 above shows that 62.9 percent, 20.0 percent and 17.1 percent respondents fall within the age brackets of less than 25 and 25 - 45 years representing the youth, and 46-55 years representing matured respectively. The respondents who were 56 years and above representing the aged constitute 17.1 percent of the total respondents. This implies that a very good number of Nigerian youth population and middle age and the aged people are in knowing about the challenges of national security and its implication on the sustainability of democracy in relation to hypothesis one (H_1).

Sex Distribution of Respondents

Table 1.2: Sex Distribution

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
Male	278	79.4
Female	72	20.6
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.2 above showed that 79.4 percent of the respondents were males while 20.6 percent were females. In carrying out this research the researcher was determined to as much as possible obtain response from both male and female citizens of Nigeria. The reason is to check if there were levels of awareness and to see if there were significant differences in the opinions expressed between both sexes.

Religion Distribution of Respondents

Table 1.3: Religion Distribution

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
Christianity	180	51.4
Islam	165	47.1
Others	5	1.5
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.3 above shows that 51.4 percent of the respondents were Christians, 47.1 percent were Muslims while 1.5 percent represents people of other religion. The researcher ensured that all followers of available religions were given opportunities to express their views.

Ethnic Distribution of Respondents

Table 1.4: Ethnic Distribution

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
Hausa/Fulani	100	28.5
Igbo	80	22.9
Yoruba	80	22.9
Others	90	25.7
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

From the above Table 1.4 it could be seen that the major ethnic groups in Nigeria were represented. The table indicated that Hausa/Fulani represents 28.5 percent of the respondents, Igbo 22.9 percent, were also Yoruba 22.9 percent while other ethnic group represents 25.7 percent of the entire respondents.

Occupation Distribution of Respondents

Table 1.5: Occupation Distribution

Occupation of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
clergy/ religion leader	46	13.1
Politician	50	14.3
Diplomat	48	13.7
Academia	48	13.7
Intelligent officer	46	13.1
Security Agent	48	13.7
Others	64	18.4
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.5 shown that 13.1 percent of the respondents were religion leaders, 14.3 percent were politician, 13.7 percent were diplomat, 13.7 percent from the academia, intelligent officer 13.1 percent, 13.7 percent were security agent and 18.4 percent who were others constitute the artisan, market men and women, the youth, and the farmers. This implies that the level of awareness about the effect of national security on democratic sustainability in Nigeria is very encouraging and it is evident from the table that the margin within different occupational group is very close.

Educational qualifications of Respondents

Table 1.6 Educational qualification

Education of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
No formal education	10	2.9
FSLC	12	3.4
SSCE	55	15.7
OND/ NCE	44	12.6
HND / BSc	129	36.8
Master and above	100	28.6
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.6 shows that 2.9 percent of the respondents were people who had not gone to school, respondents with FSLC constitutes 3.4 percent, SSCE 15.7 percent, OND / NCE 12.6 percent, HND/BSc 36.8 percent and master degree and above 28.6 percent. The table equally shows that there is more awareness about the Nigeria's national security issues, challenges and its effect on democracy among the educated ones than the less educated and the uneducated. Therefore, the issues of education have to be taken more seriously by both the government and stake holders in the sector.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The focus of this section is to analyze respondents' opinions particularly their awareness on the national security challenges in relation to the Nigeria's quest for a sustainable democracy. This is to ensure that opinion survey on awareness will bring to the fore some salient issues which may not have been apparent to the researcher during the field work.

Question: Do you have idea of what national security is all about?

Table 1.7 Opinion survey on awareness about national security

Respondents' awareness	Responses	Percentage %
Yes	305	87.1
No	45	12.9
Undecided	0	0
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

The data from table 1.7 above indicate that 87.1 percent of the respondents are aware of the issue of national security in Nigeria while 12.9 percent indicate that they are not aware and 0 percent was undecided. Nigeria is a state that has existed for over 50 years and the matter of national security had being with us ever since.

Statement: there relationship between national security and democratic sustainability in Nigeria

Table 1.8 Opinion survey on relationship between national security and democracy

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	210	60.0
No	80	22.9
Undecided	60	17.1
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.8 shows that 60.0 percent of the respondents agreed that there is relationship between national security and democratic sustainability in Nigeria, 22.9 percent declined that there is no relationship, while 17.1 percent were undecided. From the data therefore it is established that there is a connection between the variables, they simply complement one another. This response is in tandem with the central thesis of this study.

Statement: is religion a threat to the Nigeria's national security and democratic consolidation?

Table 1.9 Opinion survey on religion as a threat to national security

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	97	27.7
No	210	60.0

Undecided	43	12.3
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

The data from table 1.9 indicate that 27.7 percent of the respondents agreed that religion is a threat to the Nigeria's national security and it hinder democratic sustainability, 60.0 percent disagreed while 12.3 were undecided. The response to this question reflects how germane religion is to sustaining democracy in Nigeria and maintaining her national security. When the researcher was on the field some said no and some were undecided because they argued that no religion is bad in itself for none preach violence, that it is the followers that manipulate religion to suit their selfish interest. From this stand point therefore, it could be said that manipulation of religion poses a serious threat to the Nigeria's national security and democratic sustainability.

Question: Is there any relationship between political and socio-economic inequality and national security which affects democratic sustainability in Nigeria?

Table 1.10: Opinion survey on the relationship between political and socio-economic inequality and democracy

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	260	74.2
No	45	12.9
Undecided	45	12.9
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

From table 1.10 above, 74.2 percent of the respondents agreed that there is a connection between national security, Political and socio-economic inequality and affects democratic sustainability in Nigeria, while 12.9 percent declined and 12.9 percent were undecided. The response to this question reflects the importance that the Nigerian citizens attach to their welfare and the inequality in the sharing of public wealth that supposed to be a common wealth for all but only very few individuals enjoy it. This response also suggests that the solution to the security threat is not far from us, it is just for the responsible authority to providing this to be more democratic and do away with injustices that has persisted over the years.

Question: Do you think ethnicity affects national security and consequently endangers democratic sustainability in Nigeria?

Table 1.11 Opinion survey on ethnicity as a threat to national security

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	272	77.7
No	54	15.4
Undecided	24	6.9
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

The analysis from table 1.11 above shows that 77.7 percent of the respondents agreed that ethnicity affects national security and consequently endangers democratic sustainability in Nigeria, while 15.4 percent disagreed and 6.9 percent were undecided. The essence of this question is to palpate the mind of Nigerians to know their view about what they think of other ethnic outside theirs. The researcher also found out that it is not ethnicity in itself that is bad but the manipulation of ethnicity by the politician to serve their own selfish interest. Therefore, the way out of this is for the politicians to stop manipulating ethnic diversity of Nigerians and stand for position base on what they can offer.

Statement: The porous nature of Nigeria's borders is a threat to national security which in turn affects democratic sustainability.

Table 1.12 Opinion survey on porous border as threat to Nigeria's national security and democracy

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	262	74.9
No	68	19.4
Undecided	20	5.7
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

The result from table 1.12 shows that 74.9 percent of the respondents indicated that the porous nature of Nigeria's borders is a threat to national security, which in turn affects her democratic sustainability while 19.4 percent indicated it is not and 5.7 percent were undecided. The result of the data analysis is consistent with the expectations of the study, because the Nigerian security agents have been clamoring that Nigeria's borders should be tighter than it is presently to be able to monitor the inflow of person or persons.

Question: Has religious leaders play any significant role in maintaining national security and the sustenance of democratic values in Nigeria?

Table 1.13 Opinion survey on solution to national security challenges

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	250	71.4
No	70	20.0
Undecided	30	8.6
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

From table 1.13 above is could be seen that respondents who were of the opinion that religious leaders play have significant role in maintaining national security and the sustenance of democratic values in Nigeria constitute 71.4 percent of

the entire respondents, while those believed that religious leaders have not play any meaningful role in maintaining national security and the sustenance of democratic values in Nigeria constitute 20.0 percent and those who were undecided constitute 8.6 percent. Possibly, some of those who have negative opinion may have seen certain failure on the part of the religious leaders in Nigeria.

Statement: The inability of the Nigerian government to provide job for the army of youth and infrastructural facilities for the entire populace poses threat to national security and has negative impact on democratic sustainability.

Table 1.14 Opinion survey on solution to national security challenges

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	310	88.5
No	30	8.6
Undecided	10	29.9
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

From table 1.14 above it is crystal clear that those respondents who were of the opinion that the inability of the Nigerian government to provide job for the army of youth and infrastructural facilities for the entire populace possess threat to national security and has negative impact on her democratic sustainability constitute 88.5 percent, while who believed it is not constitute 8.6 percent and those who were undecided constitute 29.9 percent. The result of the data analysis is consistent with the expectations of this study, because on daily bases when one sees the angry youth on the street looking for what to do, and as touching the provision of infrastructural facilities, it is evident, no access to good water, no access to good road, no stable power supply, health care facility is a no go area, just to mention a few.

As a result, Nigerians do not feel belong; they believe that they have to fend for themselves. This analysis suggest that failure of the Nigerian government to provide the basic things that is expected of them for the citizenry as enshrined in the Nigeria's 1999 constitution poses a very serious threat to the Nigeria' national security and endanger her democratic sustainability.

Question: Do you think subversion, espionage, insurgency and sabotage across the globe affects the Nigeria's national security and democratic sustainability?

Table 1.15 Opinion survey on threat to national security

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	294	84.0
No	30	8.6
Undecided	26	7.4
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.15 indicates that those respondents who agreed that subversion, espionage, insurgence and sabotage across the globe affects the Nigeria's national security and democratic sustainability constitute 84.0 percent of the entire respondents, while those who believed that Nigeria's national security has nothing to do with that constitute 8.6 percent and those who were undecided constitute 7.4 percent. The result of the table showed that the greater percentage of the respondents alluded to the assertion that what happen around the world is connected to the Nigeria's national security and equally affects her democratic sustainability. The study is in agreement with a known fact that no state in the world isolated from the other, as long as there is interaction among that states and non- state actors.

Question: Do political crises and civil unrest in the neighboring African countries have any implication on Nigeria's national security and democratic consolidation?

Table 1.16 Opinion survey on political crises and civil unrest in the neighboring African as a threat to national security

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	270	77.2
No	54	15.4
Undecided	26	7.4
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.16 above shows that 77.2 percent of the respondents agreed that political crises and civil unrest in the neighboring African countries affect national security of Nigeria and threaten her democratic sustainability, while 15.4 percent disagreed with this opinion that there is nothing of such and 7.4 percent of the total respondents were undecided. The result of this study suggests that, there is the possibility of transferring some of the used weapon to Nigeria from belligerent African countries, not only the transfer of small and light arms but also, the influx of their nationals.

Statement: Comprehensive bio-metric data of Nigerians, better welfare, proper political culture and sincerity on the part of leaders and followers at all levels are measures that promote national security and encourages a sustainable democracy.

Table 1.17 Opinion survey on solution to national security challenges

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	320	91.5
No	12	3.4
Undecided	18	5.1
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

From Table 1.17 above, it could be seen that respondents who were of the opinion that Comprehensive bio-metric data of Nigerians, better welfare, proper political culture and sincerity on the part of leaders and followers at all levels are measures that promote national security and encourages a sustainable democracy constitute 91.5 percent of the entire respondents, while those who disagree constitute 3.4 percent and those who were undecided constitute 5.1 percent. It is commonly known that the Nigerian government does not have comprehensive data of all Nigerians which would have included detail information about every individual both citizens and non – citizens. This information could also be used for proper planning and provision of basic amenities that citizen ought to have enjoyed.

Statement: Intelligence gathering, sharing of information and synergy among the security agencies foster national security and engender democratic sustainability in Nigeria.

Table 1.18 Opinion survey on Intelligence gathering, sharing of information and synergy among the security agencies as a solution to national security challenges

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	286	81.7
No	44	12.6
Undecided	20	5.7
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.18 shown that respondents who agreed that intelligence gathering, sharing of information and synergy among the security agencies foster national security and engender democratic sustainability in Nigeria represent 81.7 percent of the total respondents, while those who declined add up to 12.6 percent and 5.7 percent were undecided. This is another known fact that the Nigerian security agencies don't share information and there is no cooperation among them, each of them operate independent of the other, they usually give different report on the same security mishaps. There is therefore very urgent need for them to be re-orientated about information management. More so, there should be a central data base that any of them can log on to whenever and wherever it is needed.

Statement: Education has a vital role to play in maintaining national security and democratic sustainability in Nigeria.

Table 1.19 Opinion survey on education as a solution to national security challenges

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	320	91.4
No	15	4.3
Undecided	15	4.3
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.19 above shown that a sizeable number of respondents subscribe to the opinion that education has a vital role to play in maintaining national security and democratic sustainability in Nigeria this group of respondents represent 91.4 percent, which is in consonant with the assertion that education is the life wire of any society, it is in fact the bedrock of any meaningful and sustainable development, while those who disagreed represent 4.3 percent and those who were undecided also constitute 4.3 percent. The result of this study has proved that for Nigeria to have a stable polity and an enduring democracy, education must be given a top priority, and regardless of one's status or class education will be accessible by all.

Statement: Proper management of election will curtail violence and by implication sustain democracy in Nigeria.

Table 1.20 Opinion survey on proper management of election as a solution to national security challenges

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	334	95.4
No	12	3.4
Undecided	4	1.2
Total	350	100

Source: Field Survey, August 2017.

Table 1.20 shows that 95.4 percent of the respondents alluded to the fact that proper management of elections in Nigeria will help sustaining democracy while 3.4 percent of the respondents declined and only 1.2 percent were undecided. Base on the data gathered and processed, it seem to be a consensus that if election is properly manage by the electoral umpire in Nigeria without any undue interference from the politicians post-election violence will be minimal, we are going to have a stable polity and thereby have a peaceful transition programme. Not only that, but we will also enjoy peace and security which will in turn attract national from other state across the globe to be part of the Nigeria's development and on the final analysis Nigeria will stand tall among the community of nations in the world.

Test of Hypotheses

Hypothesis one:

H₁ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of culture of democracy and age.

To test this hypothesis Table 1.1 is employed

The contingency table below shows the results of table 1.1 above.

Figure 1.1 Observed and Expected Frequency for table 1.1- Age

Opinion	Youth	Matured	Aged	Total
Yes	70 (69.1)	20 (22)	20 (18.7)	110
No	140 (138.2)	45 (44)	35 (37.7)	220
Undecided	20 (12.6)	5 (4)	5 (3.4)	20
Total	220	70	60	350

Source: Field survey, August 2017.

In the above table, the figures without bracket represent the observed frequency (O), while those in bracket represent the expected frequency (E).

We shall apply the chi-square method to test the above hypothesis. The chi-square formula is written below:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Using the chi-square method, we arrive at the following

Figure 1.2 Application of chi-square method

O	E	O - E	(O-E) ²	X ² = (O - E) ² /E
70	69.1	0.9	0.8	0.01
140	138.2	1.8	3.2	0.02
10	12.6	-2.6	6.8	0.54
20	22.0	-2.0	4.0	0.18
45	44.0	1.0	1.0	0.02
5	4.0	1.0	1.0	0.25
20	18.7	1.3	1.7	0.09
35	37.7	-2.7	7.3	0.19
5	3.4	1.6	2.5	0.72
				X ² Cal = 2.02

To get chi-square table value (Xt²) we first calculate the degree of freedom (df), which is (c - 1) (r-1)

That is (Df) = (c - 1) (r-1)

Df (3-1) (3-1) = (2) (2) = 4 at a decision criterion of 5%

Level of significance 5% = 0.05

Chi-square table value = 9.49

Chi-square calculated = 2.02

Decision: the decision rule states that if Chi-square calculated is greater than Chi-square from table (X² cal. > Xt²) reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis and vis - vasa. The above test indicates that X² cal. < Xt² i.e chi square calculated is less than the table value, we therefore accept the hypothesis because the result suggests that there is no positive relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of the culture of democracy and age in Nigeria.

Hypothesis two:

Re - statement of hypothesis two

H₂ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of the culture of democracy and religion.

To test this hypothesis table 1.3 is employed

The contingency table below shows the results of table 1.3 above.

Figure 1.3 Observed and Expected Frequency for Table 1.3 - Religion

Opinion	Christianity	Islam	Others	Total
Yes	60 (57.2)	50 (52.8)	2 (1.6)	112
No	115 (117.3)	110 (107.5)	3 (3.25)	228
Undecided	5 (5.14)	5(4.71)	0 (0.14)	10
Total	180	165	5	350

Source: Field survey, August 2012.

In the above table, the figures without bracket represent the observed frequency (O), while those in bracket represent the expected frequency (E). We shall apply the chi-square method to test the above hypothesis. The chi-square formula is written below:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Using the chi-square method, we arrive at the following conclusion

Figure 1.4 Application of chi-square method

O	E	O - E	(O - E) ²	X ² = (O - E) ² /E
60	57.2	2.8	7.84	0.13
115	117.2	-2.2	4.84	0.04
5	5.14	-0.14	0.02	0.00
50	52.8	-2.8	7.84	0.15
110	107.5	2.5	6.25	0.06
5	4.71	0.29	0.08	0.02
2	1.6	0.4	0.16	0.10
3	3.25	-0.5	0.06	0.02
0	0.14	-0.14	0.02	0.14
				X ² Cal = 0.66

To get chi-square table value (X_t²) we first calculate the degree of freedom (df), which is (c - 1) (r-1)

That is (df) = (c - 1) (r-1)

$$(3-1) (3-1) = (2) (2) = 4 \text{ at a decision criterion of } 5\%$$

Level of significance 5% = 0.05

Chi-square from table = 9.49

Chi-square calculated = 0.66

Decision: the decision rule states that if Chi-square calculated is greater than Chi-square from table (X² cal. > X_t²) accept the alternative hypothesis and vis - vasa. The above test indicates that X² cal. < X_t² i.e chi square calculated is less than the table value, we therefore accept the hypothesis because the result suggests that

there is no positive relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of the internationally recognised culture of democracy and religion in Nigeria.

Hypothesis three (3):

Re – statement of hypothesis 3

H₃ There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of culture of democracy and ethnicity.

To test this hypothesis, Table 1.4 is employed

The contingency table below shows the results of the above questions.

Figure 1.5 Observed and Expected Frequency for Table 1.4 - Ethnicity

Opinion	Hausa/ Fulani	Igbo	Yoruba	Others	Total
Yes	30 (27.4)	20 (21.9)	21(21.9)	25 (24.7)	96
No	65(68.0)	57(54.4)	55 (54.4)	61(61.2)	238
Undecided	5 (4.6)	3(3.7)	4(3.7)	4 (4.1)	16
Total	100	80	80	90	350

Source: Field survey, August 2012.

In the above table, the figures without bracket represent the observed frequency (O), while those in bracket represent the expected frequency (E).

We shall apply the chi- square method to test the above hypothesis. The chi-square formula is written below:

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Using the chi-square method, we arrive at the following conclusion

Figure 1.6 Application of chi- square method

O	E	O - E	(O - E) ²	X ² = (O - E) ² /E
30	27.4	2.6	6.76	0.25
65	68.0	-3.0	9.0	0.13
5	4.6	-1.0	1.0	0.22
20	21.9	-1.9	3.61	0.16
57	54.4	2.6	6.76	0.12
3	3.7	-0.7	0.49	0.13
21	21.9	-0.9	0.81	0.04
55	54.4	0.6	0.36	0.01
4	3.7	0.3	0.09	0.02
25	24.7	0.3	0.09	0.00
61	61.2	-0.2	0.04	0.00
4	-0.1	-0.1	0.01	0.00
				X ² Cal = 1.08

To get chi-square table value (X_{t2}) we first calculate the degree of freedom (df), which is $(c - 1) (r-1)$

That is $(df) = (c - 1) (r-1)$

$$(4-1) (3-1) = (3) (2) = 6 \text{ at a decision criterion of } 5\%$$

Level of significance $5\% = 0.05$

Chi-square from table = 12.59

Chi-square calculated = 1.08

Decision: the decision rule states that if Chi-square calculated is greater than Chi-square from table ($X^2 \text{ cal.} > X_{t2}$) reject the null hypothesis (H_0) and accept the alternative hypothesis. Since the above test indicates that $X^2 \text{ cal.} < X_{t2}$ i.e chi square calculated is less than the table value, we therefore accept the hypothesis because the result suggests that there no positive relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of the internationally recognised culture of democracy and ethnicity in Nigeria.

Hypothesis Four:

Re – statement of hypothesis four

H_4 There is no relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of culture of democracy and education.

To test this hypothesis table 1.5 is employed

The contingency table below shows the results of table 1.5 above.

Figure 1.7 Observed and Expected Frequency for Table 1.5 - Education

Opinion	No Education	Primary & Secondary	OND/NCE	HND/BSc \geq	Total
Yes	3 (2.08)	20 (13.97)	10 (9.17)	40 (47.76)	73
No	7 (7.11)	42 (47.7)	30 (31.3)	170 (162.9)	249
Undecided	0 (0.8)	5 (5.36)	4 (3.52)	19 (18.32)	28
Total	10	67	44	229	350

Source: Field survey, August 2012.

In the above table, the figures without bracket represent the observed frequency (O), while those in bracket represent the expected frequency (E).

We shall apply the chi- square method to test the above hypothesis. The chi-square formula is written below:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Using the chi-square method, we arrive at the following conclusion

Figure 1.8 Application of chi- square method

O	E	O –E	(O–E) ²	X ² = (O– E) ² /E
3	2.08	0.92	0.84	0.40
7	7.1	-0.10	0.01	0.001
0	0.8	-0.8	0.64	0.8
20	14.0	6.0	36.0	2.6
42	47.7	-5.7	32.5	0.7
5	5.4	-0.4	1.0	0.2
10	9.2	0.8	0.64	0.07
30	31.3	-1.3	1.69	0.05
4	3.5	0.5	0.25	0.07
40	47.8	-7.8	60.8	1.27
170	162.9	7.1	50.41	0.30
19	18.3	0.7	0.49	0.02
				X ² Cal = 6.48

To get chi-square table value (X^2_t) we first calculate the degree of freedom (df), which is $(c - 1) (r-1)$

That is $(df) = (c - 1) (r-1)$

$$(4-1) (3-1) = (3) (2) = 6 \text{ at a decision criterion of } 5\%$$

Level of significance $5\% = 0.05$

Chi-square table value = 6 = 12.59

Chi-square calculated = 6.48

Decision: the decision rule states that if Chi-square calculated is greater than Chi-square table value ($X^2_{cal.} > X^2_t$) reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis and vis - vasa. Since the above test indicates that $X^2_{cal.} < X^2_t$ i.e chi square calculated is less than the table value, we therefore accept the hypothesis because the result suggests that there is no positive relationship between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of the internationally recognised culture of democracy and education in Nigeria.

Research Findings

The results of the tested Hypotheses were very clear. In all the cases no positive and significant relationships was recorded between the independent and dependent variables leading to the acceptance of the null hypotheses while the alternative hypotheses were rejected. The findings are discussed below thus:

1. That no significant relationship exists between the opinion about the linkage between national security and the entrenchment of the culture of democracy and age in Nigeria. This is in tandem with the central thesis of this study the relationship between national security and democracy in Nigeria is not associated with age. Therefore it is establish that there is no connection between the two variables. In this regard, irrespective of the age national security and democracy is every body's business.

2. That there is no significant connection among national security, Nigeria's democratic sustainability and Religion. This has shown how important religion is to entrenching and strengthening democracy in Nigeria and maintaining her national security. When the researcher was on the field some argued that no religion is bad in itself for none of their injunctions teach or preach violence, and that it is the followers that manipulate religion to suit their selfish interest. Therefore, from this stand point, it could be asserted that manipulation of religion poses a serious threat to the Nigeria's national security and democratic sustainability.
3. That there is no significant relationship between the opinion about the linkage among national security and democratic sustainability and ethnicity in Nigeria. The result of this finding revealed that the national security challenges Nigeria facing today is not necessarily resulting from ethnicity but also the manipulation of different ethnic groups by the ethnic leaders in order to achieve their selfish political interest. The very critical issue here is that, whenever they lose out of any national election they incite their particular ethnic group against the ruling ethnic group.
4. That there is no significant relationship between the opinion about the linkage among national security, entrenchment of the culture of democracy and education in Nigeria. The result of this finding suggest that education is not really the causal belly of national security challenges which may impede the entrenchment of democratic culture in Nigeria but wrong indoctrination by some of the unscrupulous religious and political leaders.
5. The result from table 1.12 showed that, the porous nature of Nigeria's borders is a threat to national security which in turn affects democratic sustainability. In support of this assertion, Table 1.16 above showed that political crises and civil unrest in the neighboring African countries also affects Nigeria's national security and threaten her democratic sustainability. Therefore it could be deduced that some of the resent insurgency in Nigeria that threatened her national security is not totally perpetuated by only Nigerians but also nationals from other surrounding African countries.
6. Table 1.14 above proved that the inability of the Nigerian government to provide job for the army of youth and infrastructural facilities for the entire populace; Table 1.15 indicates that a consensus among the respondents that subversion, espionage, insurgence and sabotage across the globe; posse threat to national security and has negative impact on her democratic sustainability in Nigeria.
7. Table 1.17 above indicated that Comprehensive bio-metric data of Nigerians, better welfare, proper political culture and sincerity on the part of leaders and followers at all levels; and Table 1.18 suggested that intelligence gathering, sharing of information and synergy among the security agencies in Nigeria foster national security and engenders democratic sustainability.

Conclusion

All said and done, in this present world order where the culture of democracy is the order of the day, states that are not inclined are fighting day and night to ensure the entrenchment of democratic culture. It is then imperative for Nigeria to put all hands on deck to ensure that the acquired democracy is well entrenched, strengthened and sustained. Nigeria must grow beyond the present democratic dispensation, with traits of intolerant and ruthless contest for political office have manifested. Not only that but also the use of illegal arms and weapons by political party contestants and their supporters has assumed very alarming dimension. Some states of the federation are presently experiencing various security breaches and violence involving groups that were allegedly armed by political party contestants during elections. Therefore, in order to grow and sustain democracy and national security in Nigeria, it is important that political players and institutions embrace the principles of true democracy and allow open, free and fair competition, which are essential in the process of aggregation of national opinions and development choices. The culture of tolerance and equity should also form part of political education targeted at political leaders as well as the entire citizenry.

Beyond the effects of security concerns on the economic fortunes of the country, the nature of the security challenges facing the country also have implications for the country's political system. As mentioned earlier, social cohesion among various groups and interests is important in the process of national political development. Therefore, the constituent parts of the country must be carried along in the process of national governance. Experience has shown that widespread discontent and loss of confidence in the system have ways of affecting national political stability. Invariably continuing escalation of violence and crises across the country will impinge on the national security and impede the entrenchment and sustaining democratic culture in Nigeria.

Recommendations

As a result of the problems identified by this study, which have the very damaging consequence and wrong signal to the rest of the international community that Nigeria is not a safe and secure place and as such not suitable for economic investment and activities. Therefore, the following recommendations are advanced to facilitate national security and ensure a sustainable democracy in Nigeria:

1. Nigeria borders should be made more tight to be able to screen the influx of people that come into the country and what he/she is in Nigeria to do, because the present state of the border has expose her to the infiltration of all kinds of element that never meant well for Nigeria and the citizens alike.
2. The Nigerian government should endeavor to provide job or create an enabling atmosphere for the army of youth such that they could be gainfully employed or do something productive with their lives. And infrastructural facilities for the entire populace. Because this is the only way the citizens fell belong and see the essence of having a government in place.

3. Nigeria government should be more involved mediating in the political crises and civil unrest in some neighboring African countries. If not, many of their citizens will come and seek refuge in Nigeria and in the course of their interaction and mingling with Nigerian they will be polluted. Not only that but also the weapons used in their crises may be gotten cheaply by Nigerians thereby infiltrate the country and those weapons gets to the hands of the criminal elements.
4. The government of Nigeria should endeavor to put in place a comprehensive bio-metric data of Nigerians, provide better welfare, instill positive and proper political culture in the minds of citizenry from infant to the grown up and also put in place measures that promote sincerity, probity, sense of honesty and responsibility on the part of leadership and followership at all levels.
5. A mechanism should be put in place by the responsible authorities to ensure that intelligence gathering is given due attention to be able to nip the crime that may degenerate into merger violence in the bud, sharing of information and synergy among the security agents should be encouraged in Nigeria.
6. Credible people should be put in place to manage Nigeria's elections so as to ensure widely acceptable results that is not contestable which will in turn help to prevent the perennial violence that erupt from feeling of being cheated by the opposition parties and by implication the escalation of violence will be curtailed which will in turn bring about peaceful transition process in Nigeria.

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