



Research Paper

## Democratic Deficit, Insecurity And Development In Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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### Abstract

National governments are established to provide peace, order, and security, and work for the well-being of the human population. Regrettably, Nigeria is faced with a high level of insecurity and a deep developmental impasse. This paper examined the way democratic deficit in Nigeria resulted in insecurity and developmental problems in the Fourth Republic. The paper is qualitative and descriptive. It employed the documentary method of data collection and Claude Ake's theory of democracy and development in Africa to explain how democratic deficit undermined national security and development. The paper argued that, though colonial administrations in Nigeria were guilty of arbitrary use of state power, such character has remained with post-colonial regimes to date. In the Fourth Republic, the government's high-handedness and arbitrary use of power have left citizens in agonizing living conditions leading to the insecurity that presented itself in forms of agitations for the Sovereign State of Biafra, Boko Haram Insurgency, Amotekun, Niger Delta crisis, Herdsmen attacks, cybercrime, armed robbery, kidnapping etcetera. The government's violent responses to the above agitations escalated them and now requires huge resources to tackle. Thus, development is relegated to the background, while national resources meant for development are misappropriated in the name of security budget in a bid to provide for private accumulation of wealth, power and prestige. Findings traced this behaviour of government to colonial administrations. It got worse in post-independence regimes and the present situation is worrisome.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Democratic Deficit, Insecurity, Development, Fourth Republic

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### I. Introduction

People's unending desire to determine their socio-economic and political destinies is the zeal that triggers demand for majority rule. Democracy is thus, the system that allows the people to rule themselves in whatever form they consider most appropriate. Yet, practical democratic processes often become daunted with suffocating obstacles resulting in failures of democratic success. Jega cited in Olutunji and Jibade (2017) observed that Nigeria's, democracy has been an issue in discourse that has not been achieved. Democracy is widely accepted as a system of popular leadership and people-oriented programmes. Unfortunately, the situation in Nigeria presents democracy with endemic deficits. Colonialism and the nature of politics in Nigeria have been fingered as factors that undermined the common good and aggravated many democratic problems (Oladipo, 2016). In the former, the motive and character of governments were blamed. In the latter, the absence of the people in government or the absence of appropriate state institutions was held culpable. On the contrary, the people need not be in government so long as government efficiently and effectively provides public goods to all (Bellamy, 2012). Notably, Nigeria's anti-democratic forces were traced back to colonial and post-colonial quests to force Nigerians to adopt new socio-economic, political and cultural ways of life (Nnoli, 2011). Colonialism describes this assault that began with military conquests, forceful unity and imposition of alien leadership upon kingdoms and communities that existed from different ancestral backgrounds. The root of this terror and dictatorship is traced to capitalist interests of the European businesses, which resulted in excruciating competitive conflicts and the need to find relief beyond the continental boundary. Struggle for profit among

major European corporations was visible in their craving for raw materials and markets for the finished product to achieve industrial success.

Thus, colonial scramble for Africa, and pre-colonial Nigeria in particular, was never built upon the democratic, security or developmental agenda of the indigenous people. Ake (1996) captured this well by arguing that the development of indigenous societies in Africa was never part of the colonial agenda. Having realized that democracy is acceptable among nations, the above exploit hid under the democratic veil to unleash economic and political manipulation on nascent Third World democracies that emerged following the ends of World and Cold Wars and the resultant wave of democratic rule across nations. International literature reveals that the victory of the western capitalist states over the communist-oriented East in the Cold War and the resultant formation of new states triggered the establishment and consolidation of democracy (Huntington, 1991; & Fukuyama, 1992). Yet, the pregnancy of Nigerian democracy was not delivered by the mother that supported the existence of its kind (Olatunji, 2017; & Ajibade, 2017). Still, the struggle for Nigeria's independence was a noble movement that intended to establish a republic. However, the post-independence state of the nation degenerated into confusion due to arbitrary and absolute use of state power by political elites. Each political dispensation, from independence to date, presents ugly and new conditions of life and feature elite conspiracy and cabalistic politics as the high points. This resulted in ethnic crises, electoral malpractice and violence, insurgency and official corruption, kidnapping and human trafficking, manipulation of the Judiciary and abuse of court processes, to mention a few. Colonial and military tendencies combined to deprive Nigeria of democratic characters. Prolonged military rule in the country entrenched command and obey mentality at the expense of democratic culture. The situation did not change in the Fourth Republic because, though Nigerians were aware that the republic was not established on a democratic foundation, they considered a civilian regime better than a full military dictatorship. In addition, the republic has a good number of former military leaders as major political actors that retain their inherent military character despite their retirement and involvement in the civilian rule. The elongated military rule also caused over-centralization and concentration of power at the federal level which resulted in the personalization of state power (Oke 2010).

The third dilemma is that the Nigerian political class is foreign-infested and has soft spot for foreign businesses and so became victims of a steal-and-dump spell - syphoning Nigerian treasury to feed western economies in the name of savings and foreign investment. The majority of the population wallow in hunger and poverty while a few dwells in illicit riches and affluence. Terrorism, freedom fighting and agitation for restructuring the polity set in as reactions. This resulted in insecurity, and development is, thus relegated to the background in the course of fighting insecurity. So, the paper analyzed the root causes and nature of the democratic deficit in Nigeria's Fourth Republic and how it has led to insecurity and undermined development in this era.

## **II. Methodology**

The paper is a study of Nigeria's Fourth Republic on the democratic deficit, security and development. The fourth Republic covered 1999 to date, representing civilian administrations since the military handover of state power in 1999. It is qualitative and descriptive and dwelled on textual analysis and description of available data. In doing this, it relied on published online and hardcopy literature to source and collect data. Data was presented textually and subjected to qualitative analysis. Claude Ake's theory of Democracy and Development in Africa served as a useful framework for explanation. Ake examined the state of democracy and development in Africa and traced the problem of development in Africa to a hostile political condition in the continent and failure to capture the development in the national agenda. Ake revealed that colonial administrations in Africa were absolute and arbitrary in the use of state power and those characters transcended to the post-colonial era. Hostile political condition, Ake observed, was the outcome of the power struggle among political elites to accumulate private wealth and consolidate grip on state power. The scenario presented a typical case of democratic deficit - a situation where hostile political conditions, namely executive recklessness, politics of exclusion, destruction and calumny, political violence and murder, money politics and fraudulent manipulation of state institutions bred insecurity and relegated development to the background.

The case is worrisome; economic and political elites use state power to accumulate private wealth and use public wealth to acquire and retain state power. These fraudulent practices bred varying corrupt practices through the institutions of the state, thereby making corruption official in the polity. Insecurity presented itself in the forms of Boko Haram, Herdsmen attacks, and other political agitations that demand restructuring of Nigerian federation or self-government. The elite class influences elections, appointments and recruitments into public positions to achieve undue adherence to private interests. The situation led to suffocating and tight economic and political spaces for Nigerians outside the elitist class.

### **III. The Fourth Republic**

The installation of democratic governance brought high expectations for the people (Maier 2000). Nigeria emerged as a republic in 1963 and that marked the beginning of the First Republic, terminated three years later by the 1966 First Military Coup in Nigeria. The country remained under military rule until the 1979 Constitution established a civilian government led by Shehu Shagari. The second republic thus began in 1979 and came to an end with yet another military coup in 1983 led by General Muhamadu Buhari. He was overthrown by General Ibrahim Babangida. Babangida implemented an unsuccessful transition to civil rule programme and succumbed to pressure to step aside in 1993. Scholars often asked if dictators could deliberately nurse a transition to genuine democratic rule (Fasoro, Haastrup & Otubanjo, 2017). He established an interim government headed by Mr Ernest Shonekan. With the disengagement of the military, Shonekan started the journey of the unsuccessful Third Republic that was to establish a democratically elected government. The journey came to an abrupt end with the forced resignation of Shonekan and the emergence of General Sani Abacha as Head of State. Abacha started a transition programme that was in progress at the time he died in 1998. His government was resisted by civil society groups, international organizations and foreign governments. The United States was at the forefront of the opposition. Nigeria was sanctioned and declared a pariah nation due to Abacha's failure to return the country to democratic rule. Yet, Abacha remained adamant; abandoned Euro-American trade relations and embraced Asia, particularly China. At his death, General Abdul Salami Abubakar took over and conducted a general election that brought in the Fourth Republic, with General Olusegun Obasanjo, (Retired) as President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1999. With the establishment of another democratic government, 1999 marked the beginning of the Fourth Republic. This democratic dispensation, despite all odds, has continued to date. Yet, despite expectations, there was no clear sign of continuous good governance. Rule of law is merely pronounced, electoral processes are sabotaged and political institutions influenced to serve a few (Yagboyaju, D. A 2011).

The Republic started with the election of General Olusegun Obasanjo in April 1999 and swearing-in-ceremony on 29 May 1999. Obasanjo served for two terms and handed over government to Umaru Musa Yar'Adua following his victory in the April 2007 General election and the resultant swearing on 29 May 2007. Dr Goodluck Ebere Jonathan succeeded Yar'Adua after his death in May 2010. Jonathan served as President from 5 May 2010 – 29 May 2015. Resulting from Alliance for Progressive Change (APC)'s presidential victory, General Muhammadu Buhari, (Retired) took over the mantle of leadership of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29 May 2015 and remains in power to date.

### **IV. Democratic Deficit in Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

The democratic deficit represents the practice in political institutions of the state that falls short of known theoretical principles, processes and procedures of a democratic government, particularly in contrast to the provisions of the laws of the land. It is an insufficient level of democracy in political institutions and procedures in comparison with theoretical ideals of a democratic government (Letki 2007). Abraham Lincoln had described democracy as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Judging from Lincoln's perception, two major contentions on democratic deficit hold sway. Earlier tradition sought to understand whether democratic deficit resulted from the absence of 'the people' in government with their shared identities and interests to rule themselves or the absence of appropriate institutions with suitable powers through or by which people rule themselves (Ballamy 2012). The second level of the debate alleged that high technical and limited policy areas need not involve 'government of the people' so long as government delivers efficient, effective and equitable policies beneficial to all (Bellamy, 2012) Plato preferred aristocracy to democracy on this basis pointing at people's incompetence to make important state decisions. On a wider observation, Oladipo (2016) understood Nigeria's democratic predicament transcended from colonial character to the nature of post-independence politics. Prolonged military exploits infiltrated Nigerian government politics and, consequently, those entrusted with governance find it difficult to adhere to the basic tenets of democracy (Oke 2010). Based on the above premises, we can now analyze democratic deficits in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

#### **4a. Weak Political Institutions and Processes**

Despite the return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria's harsh economic and political conditions persisted. The structural process of Nigerian democracy was already militarized such that popular democracy seems almost unattainable, and this made the military-turn-politicians 'godfathers' upset democratic growth (Olatunji & Ajibade, 2017). Political and economic elites monopolized public institutions and processes to their interest. Lack of institutionalization, personalization of political parties, godfatherism, absence of internal democracy and party violence constitute major challenges to Nigeria's Fourth Republic (Aduku & Umoru 2014). As a result, a reasonable number of Nigerians abandoned politics to politicians and this undermined the government-citizen relationship, public policy efficiency; elevated self-interest and resulted in a democratic deficit. Democratic institutions demonstrated inadequate ability to reduce opportunities for corruption and so institutions remain

trapped in fraud and corruption has been prevalent (Basiru A. S. 2018). The ugly situation brought decay in the practice of basic principles of democratic rule. Ogbonna (2012) observed that money politics infiltrated political parties, the electoral umpire and the electorate. Party executives, electoral officials, security agents and electorates, at different levels, became machinery for rigging elections. Money became the determining factor for winning elections. Where victory is challenged in the court of law, the judgement became a commodity sellable to the highest bidder, especially because the law has two edges between which the judge has a choice. The implications are lack of internal party democracy, lack of confidence in the electoral umpire, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the judiciary, particularly the courts. Such institutional weaknesses constituted major bottlenecks to democracy. They led to the election of political quacks, lack of vision, incompetence, and bad governance. The democratic practise was regarded as electoral democracy because attention shifted from the substance of democracy to conducting elections only as means of power transition and/or legitimization (Oni, Erameh, & Oladejo, 2017). Reactions to the unacceptable situation attracted the government's violence and counter-violence from different ethnic groups in form of resistance. Fight against insurgency became the order of the day – draining resources required for the development. Thus, development is relegated to the background. From Obasanjo to Yar'adua, and Goodluck to Buhari administrations, the situation failed to change for the better. This opinion is true particularly as they failed to move the nation to the next level in terms of productive and general economic capacity. Nigeria's rentier status has not changed. Even some companies that produced in Nigeria relocated to other African countries due to hostile productive environments.

#### **4b. Official Propaganda and Disregard for Public Outcry**

Democratic deficit became worse with the prevalent character of talking-without-listening that clouded the Nigerian political arena in the Fourth Republic. Political air was dented with noise emanating from uncontrolled struggles by those who manipulated the media to sell their deceitful rhetorics that often failed to offer positive democratic values to the public (Dobson 2012). It stemmed from failure to listen – mortgaging discussion and dialogue for propaganda. Governments denied the public the listening ear in politics and bombarded them with selected perceptions targeted at deceit and achievement of unpopular motives. Dobson (2012) exposed the situation further, identified a listening lacuna where good listening was ignored in political conversation known as democracy. Despite increased voices on the political air calling for restructuring and decentralization of Nigerian state power, meritocracy, transparency, accountability and revitalization of the university system, governments' poor attention to such calls persists. Institutions of government and educational systems continue to depreciate.

#### **4c. Erosion of Legislative Independence**

Nigerian legislative independence was sacrificed to party, group and government's undue loyalty, intensifying criticisms and calls to rescue the law-making institution from cabalistic influence. Though Jonathan's administration was more civil, every administration in the Fourth Republic adopted a measure of dictatorship in varying degrees to maintain executive control over the legislature. This stemmed from the characters of the President, the ruling party, major financiers of the party/campaign, and others who have undue influence on government policies – depending on the one that applied more at a particular time. Aucoin and Turnbull (2003) identified criticisms against governments and the need for parliamentary reform to eliminate the democratic deficit and guarantee the independence of members of the legislature in their duties. Nigerian Legislature received recurrent assaults from the executive in the Fourth Republic. Within this period, the National Assembly was invaded by the State Security Service (SSS) and members were prevented from carrying out their official responsibilities. Mr Yemi Osinbajo described the takeover of the National Assembly by the SSS as a violation of constitutional order (Odunsi, 2018). Legislators were arrested and detained by state security agents. Senator Dino Meleye, representing Kogi State West Senatorial District, was illegally arrested and detained by Nigerian Immigration officials, Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) operatives and the police (Umoru, 2018, Mudashi, 2018). Residence of the Senate and Deputy Senate Presidents, Olusala Saraki and Ike Ekweremmadu respectively were invaded. Former National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki (Rtd) was continuously detained against court order (EricMeya, 2017) and Senate Presidents were intimidated and impeached based on executive instigations.

#### **4d. Public Policies' Influence**

Ogbonna (2012) examined Marx Weber's theory of bureaucracy in Nigerian public institutions and findings showed public discontents over the lack of democracy in decision-making resulting in policy imposition. Democracy is designed to offer popular control over government policies and decisions. However, when regulatory agencies and the media fail in their oversight functions, companies can abuse their positions of power and unduly influence public policies (Rijken & Singh, 2009). Multinational corporations in Nigeria are unduly involved in financing political campaigns and as a result influence policymakers. As they grow, they

build immunity around themselves, acquire political clout and power, and their influence on public policy become pervasive (Osugwu & Ezie, 2013). Based on Nigeria's profile as a large mono-product oil-producing state, the political economy of oil and its contradictions have been a major factor shaping the character of the Nigerian state and its politics (Agbu, 2016). Multinational oil corporations are major participants in Nigeria's oil businesses. More often than not, in pursuit of the incumbent agenda, opposition groups are denied the opportunity to express alternative policies despite the existence of such rights in the constitution (Nwankwo 2018). Nigerian state retained the foundational character of not being a popular national state that represented the opinion of the people (Ibeanu 1997). It is not a neutral institution; rather, it is an instrument of domination, opposition, primitive accumulation and the defence of the elite interest (Eze 2009)

#### **4e. Leadership Ineptitude and Failure to Deliver Public Goods.**

Expressing disappointment, Lewis (2002) regretted the failure of Nigeria's central authority to provide stable and effective legitimate rule and the associated public goods. Successive regimes, within this era, have been unable to build a socio-economic and political community from diverse ethnic nationalities that make up Nigeria. The fragility of democracy in post-colonial Africa, Nwangwu (2018) observed, was linked to irresponsible governance, insatiable political dispositions and ethnoreligious chauvinism, and this dragged democracy in the continent retrogressively. Leaderships in the Fourth Republic have been unable to lead Nigerian multi-ethnic nationalities into socio-economic and political unity for the security and development of the nation. As a result, governments and political parties enjoy loyalty based on the level of inclusion of members of ethnic groups instead of ideology, manifesto or performance in governance. In the economic sector, privatization of government businesses like NITEL and NEPA created the struggle for public wealth among captains of industries and politicians. Civil society groups were intimidated and their members detained for exercising and defending human rights against governments' dictatorship.

### **V. Insecurity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

The term "insecurity" refers to the absence of or threat to the safety of an individual, group, nation or group of nations. It also refers to a threat to lives and property or the absence of protection, security or structure for security. The concept is understood from different dimensions of human conditions, namely socio-economic, political and cultural aspects. The social aspect of insecurity exists where human groups are in danger, under attack or lack protection. The social dimension of insecurity can also manifest in forms of insecurity of expression, social organization, assembly and pursuance of group interests – a situation where these fundamental human rights are repressed. Societies that suffer from economic constraints like unemployment, the threat to property, poverty, hunger, over-indebtedness, bankruptcy and the absence of infrastructural facilities for a good life was economically insecure. Vulnerabilities and attacks that present themselves as political suppression, insurgency, terrorism, political instability, invasion and war are political insecurity. Also, the mode of involving security forces and how they carry out their duties while participating in the electoral process in Nigeria is part of the sources of violence and insecurity during the election (Gueye & Hounke, 2010). In the cultural sphere, insecurity exists when the people's culture is threatened by exogenous and endogenous forces, causing cultural erosion, bondage and threat of cultural extinction. What then is the nature of insecurity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic?

The rising surge of insecurity has taken a dangerous dimension, threatening the corporate existence of the country as a geographical entity (Dele, Oshinfowokan, & Ukeaja, 2018). There are speedy increases in intensity and spread of insecurity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic to the extent that the federal government is unable to put the menace in check. Current terrorism started as Boko Haram, later linked up with ISIS and has now covered wide geographical areas in the country. Incessant killings by herdsmen made terrorism in Nigeria worse and are spreading around the country. The government's nonchalant attitude to herdsmen attacks has kept the people in constant fear. Utterances from Miyetti Allah heighten the people's fear of uncertainty. The thirst for blood and preference for violence in expressing pent-up frustration and disenchantment with the state and its citizens may be a pointer to the need for revival of moral values and virtues (Onifade, Imhonopi, & Urin, 2013). In Nigeria, insecurity has constituted a serious threat to lives and property; undermined businesses and discouraged foreign investors (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). Corruption was said to have provoked insecurity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic and has posed a great danger to governance (Adagbabiri & Okolie, 2018). In a similar tone, Onoja (2014) observed that insecurity in Nigeria, powered by corruption, poor leadership and followership has seriously affected human beings. This is so because in developed countries people's upright checkmating of government is a major means of keeping the government to its fit. People can pressurize an erring government to keep to its responsibilities. In the Fourth Republic, people have not utilized this corrective instrument.

## **VI. What is development and how do we measure development?**

Development entails a gamut of policies and programmes that improve people's well-being leading to happiness as the result. When policies and programmes improve existing socio-economic and political conditions and lead to a better living standard for the people and the attendant human happiness, development is said to have taken place. Though different schools of thought see development from different perspectives, the underlying motives for human struggle are the achievements of good living standard and the happiness of human beings. Development, therefore, is evidenced in the existence of this happiness occurring as a result of an improved standard of living of the society. Rodney (1972) explained development from individual, social, and economic levels. At the individual level, development is increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. The social group level involves an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships. The above explanations offer credence to human criteria as a better means for determining development. The problem of development in Africa has a typical manifestation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Rodney concluded that development suffered in Africa because its economy was integrated into the western capitalist system and exploited. Though this opinion is historically factual, current socio-economic and political realities in Africa's social formations, particularly Nigeria, attribute it to internal leadership ineptitude. Ake (1996) believed that development in Africa has never really been on the agenda and hostile political conditions constituted major impediments. Ake offered a better insight into the problem facing development in the continent because both colonial and postcolonial governments have never demonstrated sustained efforts towards development. This is so because even liberal ideas by W.W. Rostow and Goran Hyden proved retrogressive and subordination of Africa to Western Europe and North American economies. Rostow argued in his work "Stages of Economic Growth" that the development of society begins with the traditional stage of development and advised Africa to follow the western model/stages of development, namely: the traditional stage, the pre-condition to take-off, the take-off, drive for maturity, and stage of high mass consumption (Rostow, 1959). Even Goran Hyden's view in his "No Short Cut to Progress" is lacking. His central claim was that Africa was backward because of the economy of affection and communal solidarity; that in Africa, forces of demand and supply are not in force in the allocation of resources, and that was why Africa remained backwards (Hyden, 1984). This form of conception captured the internal element of the problem of development but lacks historical antecedents that gave birth to it and the prevailing neo-colonial structure and practices that gave rise to this present condition. Construction of development theories must first take cognizance of the economic and social history of such countries that suffer underdevelopment. Most development and underdevelopment studies failed to take account of the economic and other relations between the metropole and its economic colonies in the development and expansion of the capitalist mercantile system (Frank, 1966). Despite available natural and material endowments and attempts to advance development, Nigeria has not met citizen's expectations (Akande & Abasilim, 2015). In the 1960s, Nigeria was on a par in terms of attaining a high level of economic growth and development, with its fellow oil-producing countries like Malaysia and Indonesia but has since failed to keep pace with them (Uzoigwe, 2007). Nigeria has been battling with the problem of development despite huge human and material resources in its possession (Lawal & Oluwatoyin, 2011). The search for development in Nigeria requires the grasping of the conceptualized Right to Development and dealing with the barriers and legal challenges undermining the realization of Rights to Development (Olusegun, & Ajigboye, 2015).

The situation in the Fourth Republic graduated to worse - from poverty to hunger, unemployment to cybercrimes, corruption to bad governance, Boko Haram menace to Herdsmen killings and recession to fear of disintegration. Failure to cope with the prevailing conditions has made begging and extortion major professions, employing unthinkable tactics as methods of success. Yet, the current state of the nation is not showing any hope for a better tomorrow. The so-called largest economy in Africa has, in recent time, been debated as the world's capital of poverty (Ajeluorou, 2020). The situation is an outcome of the failure, in recent time, to build a strong internal productive base backed up with good governance and efficient institutional management. This led to reliance on oil wealth monopolized by those who seized state power while others struggle for survival in an open atmosphere of lack. This failure to invest and distribute oil wealth has compounded the problem of development to a great extent. An increase in oil wealth does not promote people's well-being. It is said that in Africa, there is a point of departure between economic growth and economic development (Anyiwe and Aigbokhaeybolo, 2006). The situation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic is a typical instance.

## **VII. Development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

Two major questions dominate discourses on development namely: What is a development and how do we measure development? The questions attract perspectives from different backgrounds informed by intellectual lineages and/or tangible or intangible value interests. The trigger is that despite western acclaimed formulas for development in Africa, persistent poverty and stringent socio-economic and political conditions in the continent remain highly unabated. Two major traditions, therefore, contend the outcome and reasons behind

the ugly situation. Modernization theory is a western-oriented tradition that believes that failure of development in Africa is due to internal factors: lack of vision, leadership ineptitude, laziness and failure to follow western developmental models. W. W. Rostow prescribed five western stages of developing African nations ought to have followed, namely traditional stage, pre-condition to take-off stage, take-off stage, stage of maturity and stage of high mass consumption (Egwu, 1998): On the other hand, Marxist, Dependency and Center-Periphery theories find the root causes of failure of development in class contradiction, class struggle, western integration of Third World economies into the western capitalist system; exploitation and dependent relations.

Analysis of the two contentions thus requires deep insights into what constitutes development and yardstick for measuring development to ascertain the validity of the evidence presented to support respective arguments. Marxist tradition finds lack of development as an outcome of exploitation of wage workers by owners of means of production captured, respectively as the *proletariat* and the *bourgeoisie*. This manifested in class struggle over the wealth of the nation which saw the bourgeoisie victorious (Marx and Engels, 1848). Dependency Theory sees dependent relations between developing and developed nations as the outcome of the integration of Third World economies into the western capitalist system and the attendant exploitation of the former by the latter as a basis for failure of development in Africa (Frank 1966). In the same vein, Center-Periphery identified unequal exchange between the two developmental blocs in favour of developed countries as the root of Africa's underdevelopment. This point was buttressed with the argument that activities that developed the centre (West) were the same activities that underdeveloped the periphery (Third world) - a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Scholarship in the contemporary time attempts to expand the understanding of the current conditions of development in the Third World. Modernization apostles, for instance, argued that Third world countries have been decolonized over the decades, yet they remain unable to develop. Supporters of underdevelopment theories pointed at neo-colonial practices that serve the same exploitative purposes as colonialism. Ake (1996) studied the problem of democracy and development in Africa from both colonial and post-colonial eras and revealed that arbitrary and absolute use of state power reigned in the colonial era and transcended to the post-colonial period. This was because the character of governments in both eras was not different. The study found hostile political conditions and failure to capture the development in agenda as impediments to development in the continent of Africa.

### **VIII. Conclusion/Recommendations**

Democratic deficit connotes little or overshadowed democracy, deficiency in the functioning of democracy or variation in "what is" and "what ought to be" in a democratic system. It can exist as a result of faulty structures/political setups, defective institutional procedures and functioning or non-participatory politics. The case in Nigeria's Fourth Republics combined structural, institutional and non-participatory deficits. It presented its adverse effects in the forms of insecurity and failure of development. It was the manifestation of government irresponsibility and ineptitude which developed from colonial to the neo-colonial character of governments and which was expanded and entrenched in national life by post-independence regimes. Power is concentrated in the federal government, leaving component states with little power. Local governments are subsumed into state governments in terms of the exercise of power. Institutions of government are filled with incompetent staff, related and loyal to individuals who put them there. Meritocracy suffers a heavy blow and weakness describes the character of state institutions. The majority of the population were suppressed and subjected to tight political space, making participation difficult. Insecurity thus became the product of bad governance and presented itself in forms of insurgencies, agitations for secession and restructuring, armed crimes, human trafficking, kidnapping, cybercrime and corruption. The situation undermined and relegated development to the background, sapping resources meant for development. Development and democratic theories made attempts to highlight aspects of the problem of the study. Ake's theory of democracy and development was more encompassing in addressing the problem from the root to the present Fourth Republic. Attempt to blame only colonialism for the failure of development in Nigeria, or Africa in general was historically factual but currently, inadequate. Socio-economic and political realities in Africa's social formations, particularly Nigeria, attribute it to internal leadership ineptitude. Thus, insecurity and the problem of development in the Fourth Republic are products of both historical, current, external and internal factors. This is both in terms of faulty structures, weak institutions and non-participatory politics. The paper, therefore, recommended that:

1. There is a need to strengthen democratic values and tackle weak institutional mechanisms and forces in the public service.
2. Since Nigeria was better during regional governments, power needs are decentralized to allow component federating units to compete positively and develop themselves.

3. Major constitutional review/amendment is needed to restructure the current constitutional structure to offer all the federating units equal rights in a united federation.

4. Political space need be truly widened for popular participation – no monopoly and use of political institution to suppress others, particularly in party politics.

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