

**THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC  
CONSOLIDATION IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC**

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**NOVEMBER, 2025**

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**AN ORIGINAL RESEARCH ESSAY (PROJECT) SUBMITTED TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,  
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS OF THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE  
(B.SC) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**NOVEMBER, 2025.**

## **CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that this project was written and completed by Omogbhemhe Osivwe Moses with the matriculation number:SSC2105738, student of the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Benin. The project represents an original piece of research carried out by the student under my supervision. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) Degree in Political Science.

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## **DEDICATION**

This project is dedicated to Almighty God for His grace, wisdom, and strength throughout my academic journey. I sincerely dedicate this work to my parents, siblings and friends.

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It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude and appreciation to God Almighty for His endless mercies.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates the role of the military in Nigeria's democratic consolidation during the Fourth Republic (1999–2024), focusing on three key dimensions: internal security and stability maintenance, support for democratic transitions, and the reinforcement of civil-military relations. Despite over two decades of uninterrupted civilian rule, Nigeria's democracy continues to face challenges from insecurity, weak institutions, and residual authoritarian influences, making the military a pivotal actor in democratic sustenance. Guided by a quantitative descriptive survey design, data were collected from 400 respondents, including military personnel, civil servants, political scientists, and civilians across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones, using a structured questionnaire. Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and Chi-Square tests to examine the relationships between military roles and democratic consolidation. The findings reveal that the military's engagement in internal security, its support for peaceful democratic transitions, and improved civil-military relations all have significant positive effects on democratic consolidation. The study concludes that a professional, constitutionally guided, and democratically accountable military is crucial to sustaining Nigeria's democracy. Recommendations include strengthening civilian oversight, integrating democratic values into military training, and fostering inter-agency cooperation to maintain stability without undermining democratic norms. The study contributes to knowledge by providing empirical evidence on the multidimensional influence of the military in enhancing democratic governance in Nigeria.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic refers to the progressive strengthening of democratic institutions, practices, and norms following the country's transition from prolonged military rule in 1999. This process involves the institutionalization of civilian supremacy, rule of law, credible elections, and an active civil society. Despite over two decades of uninterrupted civilian rule, the consolidation of democracy remains fragile and inconsistent, often undermined by insecurity, weak institutions, and lingering authoritarian legacies. Scholars have noted that Nigeria's democracy still oscillates between consolidation and regression, with periodic improvements offset by setbacks in governance and institutional performance (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022).

A critical factor influencing democratic consolidation in Nigeria has been the role of the military, especially in the area of internal security and stability maintenance. With the Nigerian Police Force often poorly equipped and overwhelmed by rising threats such as insurgency, communal violence, and electoral crises, the military has been frequently deployed to manage internal conflicts. These interventions, though often criticized for overreach and rights violations, have played a stabilizing role by preventing state collapse

during crises that could otherwise derail democratic governance (Momodu, 2019). This paradoxical role of the military as both a potential threat and a necessary security guarantor underscores its relevance in Nigeria's democratic evolution. In addition to its security role, the military has also supported democratic transitions by refraining from direct political intervention during election cycles. The peaceful transfer of power in 2015, particularly the concession of defeat by an incumbent president, was a landmark moment in Nigerian democracy and marked a significant shift in civil-military dynamics. The military's non-interference during this and subsequent elections has helped to normalize electoral competition and affirm the legitimacy of civilian governance (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022).

The reinforcement of civil-military relations has contributed meaningfully to democratic consolidation. Since 1999, Nigeria has taken steps to professionalize its armed forces and promote democratic civilian oversight. Although challenges remain including instances of political misuse of the military and accountability gaps there is evidence that the military's institutional culture is gradually aligning with democratic principles. The effectiveness of these reforms in restraining military opportunism and enhancing democratic stability has been emphasized as a key determinant of Nigeria's democratic future (Unumen, 2019). While historically a destabilizing force, the Nigerian military has, in the Fourth Republic, assumed critical roles that both directly and indirectly support democratic consolidation,

particularly through its involvement in security management, electoral non-interference, and gradual institutional reform.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

More than two decades after Nigeria's return to democratic governance in 1999, democratic consolidation remains a pressing challenge. Despite successive electoral cycles, peaceful transitions of power, and ongoing institutional reforms, Nigeria's democracy continues to be undermined by insecurity, weak governance structures, and the residual influence of its militarized past. One of the most significant but complex actors in this process is the military, whose role oscillates between protector of the democratic order and potential disruptor of civilian supremacy. The frequent deployment of the military for internal security operations, particularly in the face of terrorism, ethnic clashes, and electoral violence, highlights its continuing relevance but also raises questions about the balance between democratic principles and militarized governance. Efforts have been made to professionalize the military and improve civil-military relations. However, human rights abuses, politicization, and militarization of civil governance continue to provoke public concern and democratic strain. Reforms and oversight structures exist, but implementation gaps and weak civilian control often undermine their effectiveness. These contradictions suggest that while the military plays a vital role in preventing democratic collapse, its increasing presence in internal affairs may also inhibit long-term democratic consolidation.

Momodu (2019) analyzed the military's involvement in internal security operations, highlighting both its necessity and the associated dangers of militarizing civic spaces (Momodu, 2019). However, his study focused primarily on the operational aspects of security, without linking these actions explicitly to the broader question of democratic consolidation. Similarly, Ashindorbe and Danjibo (2022) evaluated two decades of Nigerian democracy, emphasizing political transitions and party competition, but their study gave limited attention to the military's direct support for these transitions or how such support shapes democratic stability (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022). Meanwhile, Unumen (2019) explored institutional weaknesses in Nigerian democracy and advocated for strong institutions, noting the importance of civil-military relations. However, his work largely generalized institutional reform without detailing how evolving civil-military dynamics impact democratic consolidation directly (Unumen, 2019). These studies provide valuable insights but leave critical gaps. They do not offer an integrated analysis of how internal security management, democratic transitions, and civil-military relations each involving the military collectively influence democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic. This study addresses that gap by examining each of these elements in direct connection with Nigeria's democratic trajectory. It also seeks to understand not just what the military does, but how these actions affect the broader goal of sustaining a democratic political system in Nigeria.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

Based on the problem statement and research gaps, the study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What role does internal security and stability maintenance by the military play in Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic?
2. How does military support for democratic transitions influence Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic?
3. What effect does the reinforcement of civil-military relations have on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic?

### **1.4 Aim and objective of the study**

The main objective of the study is to assess the Role of the Military in Nigeria's Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic, specifically the study aims to;

1. examine the role of internal security and stability maintenance by the military in Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.
2. investigate the influence of military support for democratic transitions on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.
3. analyze the effect of the reinforcement of civil-military relations on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

## **1.5 Research Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses were raised in null form to guide this study;

H<sub>01</sub>: Internal security and stability maintenance by the military has no significant role in Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

H<sub>02</sub> : Military support for democratic transitions has no significant influence on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

H<sub>03</sub> :The reinforcement of civil-military relations has no significant effect on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study focuses on the conceptual and empirical examination of the role of the military in Nigeria's democratic consolidation during the Fourth Republic. It specifically investigates three core components of military involvement: internal security and stability maintenance, support for democratic transitions, and the reinforcement of civil-military relations. The study analyzes how these dimensions have shaped, supported, or impeded the growth and sustainability of democratic governance in Nigeria since the return to civilian rule in 1999. Geographically, the study covers the Nigerian state broadly, with references to key regions and events where military involvement has had a visible impact on democratic processes. The temporal scope spans from 1999 to 2024, allowing for a

comprehensive review of military-democracy relations over a 25-year period of Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This study holds considerable relevance for multiple stakeholders, including policymakers, civil society actors, academic researchers, military reform advocates, and democratic governance institutions.

**Policymakers:** For public officials and lawmakers, the findings of this study provide evidence-based insights into how military involvement when not properly managed can both support and threaten democratic consolidation. Understanding these dynamics will aid in crafting policies that promote democratic norms while ensuring national security.

**Civil Society and Governance Institutions:** The research is valuable for non-governmental organizations, election monitoring bodies, and democratic advocacy groups. It offers a nuanced understanding of military behavior during transitions and elections, helping stakeholders design interventions that safeguard civilian oversight and prevent authoritarian backsliding.

**Academic Community:** This study contributes to the academic discourse on civil-military relations and democratization in sub-Saharan Africa. By addressing the specific roles of the military in internal security, political transitions, and institutional reform, it fills an

important gap in existing literature and provides a foundation for further scholarly exploration.

**Military and Defense Reform Advocates:** The research is also beneficial to professionals engaged in military training, ethics, and strategic planning. By identifying areas where military actions align or conflict with democratic principles, the study can support the development of training curricula and institutional reforms aimed at deepening democratic values within the armed forces.

### **1.8 Limitation of the Study**

Several limitations may affect the generalizability and interpretation of this study's findings:

**Data Access and Transparency:** Gaining access to accurate and detailed data on military operations, internal protocols, and government-military interactions can be challenging due to national security restrictions. This may limit the depth of empirical data available for analysis.

**Reliance on Secondary Sources:** The study depends largely on existing literature, public records, and expert commentary. While this offers broad perspectives, it may not capture recent or undisclosed developments within military or political institutions.

**Complexity of Causation:** Establishing direct causal relationships between military actions and democratic consolidation is inherently complex. Many variables influence

democratic outcomes, and isolating the military's specific contribution may involve a degree of interpretive limitation.

**Scope of Study Period:** Although the study spans the Fourth Republic (1999–present), evolving political contexts may lead to findings that are more reflective of certain administrations or periods, thus affecting longitudinal applicability. To mitigate these limitations, the study triangulates findings from multiple credible sources and remains transparent about interpretive boundaries in its analysis.

## **1.9 Definition of Terms**

**Democratic Consolidation:** The process through which a new democracy matures and becomes stable, institutionalized, and less susceptible to authoritarian reversal.

**Internal Security and Stability Maintenance:** Military involvement in ensuring peace, preventing violence, and managing crises within national borders, particularly where civilian agencies are inadequate.

**Support for Democratic Transitions:** The non-interference or active facilitation by the military in processes such as elections, peaceful transfer of power, and political succession within a democratic framework.

**Civil-Military Relations:** The interactions, power dynamics, and institutional boundaries between civilian political authorities and the armed forces in a democratic setting.

**Fourth Republic:** The current era of democratic governance in Nigeria, which began on May 29, 1999, following decades of military rule.

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## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

Conceptual framework is a structured representation of the key concepts, variables, and presumed relationships that guide a research study. It provides a lens through which the research problem can be understood and analyzed, illustrating how different factors interact to influence the phenomenon under investigation. By clearly outlining the main concepts and their connections, a conceptual framework helps to focus the study, clarify assumptions, and provide a basis for interpreting findings. In essence, it serves as a roadmap that links theory to empirical inquiry, guiding both the design of the study and the analysis of data.

##### **2.1.1 Concept of Democracy and Democratic Consolidation**

Democracy remains one of the most complex and widely debated concepts in political science and governance studies. The term originates from the Greek words *demos* (people) and *kratos* (rule), meaning “rule by the people.” Fundamentally, democracy implies a system of governance where citizens participate directly or indirectly in decision-making processes and where government authority derives from the consent of the governed (Dahl, 1989). In modern terms, democracy encompasses institutional mechanisms such as free and fair elections, the rule of law, separation of powers, protection of civil liberties, and

accountability of public officials (Ojo, 2022). As societies have evolved, so too has the understanding of democracy, expanding beyond periodic elections to include the effective functioning of democratic institutions and the respect for individual rights, inclusivity, and social justice (Omilusi, 2021).

In Africa, and particularly in Nigeria, the concept of democracy is intertwined with the legacies of colonialism, military rule, and the struggle for national integration. Nigeria's democratic journey has been characterized by cycles of civilian rule interrupted by military interventions. The return to democratic governance in 1999 marked the beginning of what is known as the Fourth Republic a period that promised civilian supremacy, institutional reforms, and participatory governance. However, democracy in Nigeria continues to face structural and procedural challenges, including electoral malpractice, corruption, ethnic polarization, and institutional weakness (Akinbobola, 2024). These challenges underscore the distinction between the existence of democracy and its consolidation a distinction critical for understanding the role of the military in sustaining or undermining Nigeria's democratic project.

Democratic consolidation refers to the process through which a nascent democracy matures and becomes resilient enough to withstand crises without reverting to authoritarianism. Linz and Stepan (1996) describe consolidation as the phase when democracy becomes "the only game in town," meaning political actors, institutions, and citizens accept democratic procedures as the legitimate way to access and exercise power.

In consolidated democracies, the military remains subordinate to civilian authority, institutions are strong and independent, and citizens enjoy stable rights and freedoms. For emerging democracies like Nigeria, consolidation involves building the rule of law, promoting accountability, strengthening institutions, and ensuring that the political process is inclusive and credible (Mbah, 2021).

The consolidation of democracy can be examined through several dimensions. First is institutional consolidation, which involves the entrenchment of democratic institutions such as the judiciary, legislature, and electoral bodies. Second is behavioral consolidation, where political actors both elites and the masses commit to democratic norms and reject unconstitutional power grabs. Third is attitudinal consolidation, which refers to the general acceptance of democratic values such as tolerance, pluralism, and civic responsibility (Ugwueze et al., 2020). In Nigeria's Fourth Republic, institutional consolidation has been uneven. While the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has introduced technological innovations to enhance transparency, political interference, vote-buying, and violence continue to undermine credibility (Ojo, 2022). Similarly, the judiciary, though constitutionally independent, often faces challenges related to corruption and executive manipulation.

The military's role in democratic consolidation is particularly significant in Nigeria because of its historical dominance in governance. Between 1966 and 1999, Nigeria experienced several military coups and over 28 years of military rule. These regimes

entrenched authoritarian practices, curtailed civil liberties, and weakened democratic institutions. The transition in 1999 thus represented not just a political shift but also a redefinition of civil-military relations. Democratic consolidation in Nigeria therefore requires not only the institutionalization of civilian governance but also the reorientation of the military's political role and its subordination to democratic authority (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022). This reorientation remains a core challenge, as the military continues to play an extensive role in internal security operations due to the weakness of civil security institutions.

Scholars such as Kalu (2021) and Akinbobola (2024) argue that the persistence of military involvement in civil governance reflects the incomplete nature of Nigeria's democratic consolidation. While the military has largely refrained from direct political intervention since 1999, its pervasive presence in internal security management and electoral processes blurs the line between military professionalism and political engagement. For instance, the deployment of soldiers during elections, ostensibly to maintain peace, has raised concerns about intimidation and the militarization of democratic spaces. These tensions highlight the paradox of the Nigerian state where the very institution tasked with protecting democracy can simultaneously undermine it through overreach or politicization.

Another dimension of democratic consolidation is governance quality. Effective governance involves transparency, accountability, and responsiveness to citizens' needs. According to Ugwueze et al. (2020), Nigeria's democratic consolidation has been

constrained by pervasive corruption, elite dominance, and weak political institutions. The failure to deliver socio-economic dividends erodes public trust and creates apathy among citizens, particularly the youth, who view politics as a corrupt and elitist enterprise. This disillusionment weakens democratic participation and allows undemocratic practices to persist under the guise of civilian rule.

Civil society also plays a crucial role in democratic consolidation by providing a check on government excesses, promoting civic education, and mobilizing citizens for participation. In Nigeria, civil society organizations (CSOs) and the media have been instrumental in demanding electoral transparency and accountability, as witnessed during the #EndSARS movement in 2020 a youth-led protest that challenged police brutality and called for institutional reform. Such civic engagement reflects the vibrancy of Nigeria's democratic culture but also exposes state fragility when responses to dissent are repressive or militarized (Akindutire & Oluwatosin, 2023).

From a broader theoretical perspective, scholars emphasize that democratic consolidation is not linear but contingent upon the interplay between internal and external factors. Internally, factors such as political culture, elite consensus, and institutional strength shape the trajectory of democracy. Externally, globalization, regional norms, and international pressure influence democratic practices (Ogunnoiki, 2023). Nigeria's participation in regional peacekeeping operations and its commitment to democratic norms within

ECOWAS have reinforced its image as a regional democratic leader, yet domestic realities often fall short of this reputation.

The question of civil-military relations remains central to Nigeria's democratic consolidation. A stable democracy requires a professional, apolitical military that operates strictly under civilian control. Huntington's (1957) classical theory of civil-military relations posits that "objective civilian control" ensures military professionalism by insulating it from political interference. In contrast, Nigeria's experience reflects a hybrid pattern where the military's involvement in politics during decades of coups blurred the boundaries of professional autonomy. Since 1999, efforts to reform the military through constitutional provisions, defense policies, and training have aimed to restore professionalism and ensure accountability (Unumen, 2019). However, sporadic incidents of human rights violations, politicization of command appointments, and uneven oversight indicate that democratic consolidation remains a work in progress.

Ultimately, democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic cannot be fully achieved without addressing the structural legacies of militarism and authoritarianism. The consolidation process depends not only on holding elections but also on nurturing a democratic political culture, ensuring justice, and maintaining civilian control over coercive institutions. As Akinbobola (2024) notes, the resilience of Nigeria's democracy lies in the capacity of its institutions particularly the military to adapt to democratic norms while balancing security imperatives with civil liberties. The military, therefore, occupies a

dual position: as a guarantor of stability and a potential threat if left unchecked. This delicate balance defines the essence of Nigeria's democratic consolidation project.

### **2.1.2 Concept of the Military and Civil-Military Relations**

The military is one of the most significant institutions within any state, serving as the primary instrument for defending national sovereignty, ensuring territorial integrity, and maintaining internal stability. In the context of governance and politics, the military occupies a complex and often paradoxical position it is both a protector of the state and, potentially, a threat to democratic order. The term military generally refers to the organized armed forces of a nation, structured into branches such as the army, navy, and air force, and tasked with the use of legitimate coercive force in the interest of the state (Huntington, 1957). However, in many developing countries, including Nigeria, the military's role extends beyond defense functions into political, economic, and social spheres, reflecting the institutional legacy of colonialism, postcolonial state weakness, and prolonged military interventions in governance (Kalu, 2021).

The military's relationship with the state is rooted in the doctrine of civil-military relations (CMR), which explores the balance of power and interaction between civilian authorities and military institutions. Huntington's (1957) seminal work, *The Soldier and the State*, provides the foundational framework for understanding this relationship, emphasizing "objective civilian control," which seeks to professionalize the military and insulate it from political interference. By contrast, "subjective control" occurs when political actors seek to

dominate or manipulate the military for partisan ends, thereby eroding professionalism and fostering politicization (Finer, 1962). The stability of any democratic system depends largely on achieving a delicate equilibrium between civilian authority and military professionalism ensuring that the armed forces remain loyal to constitutional order rather than personal or political interests (Feaver, 1999).

### **The Military in the Nigerian Context**

Nigeria's military has historically played a central role in shaping the country's political trajectory. Following independence in 1960, the Nigerian armed forces, initially trained for colonial defense purposes, rapidly evolved into a dominant political actor. Between 1966 and 1999, Nigeria experienced a series of military coups that disrupted democratic governance and entrenched authoritarian rule. During this period, the military not only governed directly but also influenced political appointments, economic policies, and institutional structures, leaving a deep imprint on the nation's political culture (Ugwueze et al., 2020). Consequently, when Nigeria transitioned to democracy in 1999, the civilian government inherited a state apparatus heavily militarized in orientation, organization, and mentality.

The return to civilian rule therefore marked the beginning of a new era of civil-military redefinition. The Nigerian Constitution of 1999 clearly vests civilian authority over the armed forces in the President, who serves as the Commander-in-Chief. This constitutional arrangement reflects the democratic principle of civilian supremacy, which seeks to ensure

that the military operates strictly within its professional mandate (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022). However, despite this formal framework, the relationship between the military and the civilian political class remains complex and occasionally contentious. On one hand, the military continues to play indispensable roles in maintaining national security, combating insurgency, and supporting internal stability. On the other, its recurring involvement in domestic affairs raises concerns about the militarization of civic space and the potential erosion of democratic norms (Akinbobola, 2024).

The Nigerian military's institutional culture has undergone significant transformation since 1999. Efforts at professionalization have been undertaken through defense reforms, enhanced training, and collaboration with international partners such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and ECOWAS (Unumen, 2019). The Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA) and other training institutions have also integrated courses on civil-military relations, human rights, and democratic values to promote a culture of accountability. Nonetheless, persistent issues such as political interference, corruption, inadequate funding, and human rights violations continue to undermine these reforms (Kalu, 2021). The challenge, therefore, lies not only in reorienting the military's institutional behavior but also in cultivating a democratic environment that respects professional autonomy while enforcing strict civilian oversight.

## **Civil-Military Relations: Theoretical Perspectives**

Civil-military relations theory provides multiple analytical lenses for understanding the role of the armed forces in democratic societies. Huntington's (1957) objective control model argues that maximizing professionalism minimizes the likelihood of military intervention in politics. Conversely, Janowitz (1960) proposed a constabulary concept of the military, suggesting that modern militaries should engage cooperatively with civilian authorities to maintain internal and international peace. In developing democracies, however, this relationship often deviates from these ideal models due to weak institutions and overlapping civil and military functions.

Feaver's (1999) agency theory offers a more contemporary understanding, portraying civil-military relations as a principal-agent relationship in which the civilian (principal) delegates authority to the military (agent). This relationship is inherently fraught with tensions, as the military may act autonomously or contrary to civilian directives if oversight mechanisms are weak. Nigeria's experience exemplifies this dilemma: while the constitution mandates civilian control, the practical realities of insecurity, corruption, and political instability have often required the government to depend heavily on military intervention, thereby blurring the boundaries of control (Ojo, 2022).

## **Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

Since the onset of the Fourth Republic in 1999, Nigeria has witnessed a notable reduction in direct military coups, a major indicator of improved civil-military relations. The

military's withdrawal from overt political power has allowed democratic institutions to gradually assert authority. Nevertheless, the persistence of insecurity ranging from Boko Haram insurgency and banditry to ethnic and communal conflicts has compelled successive governments to deploy the military in internal security roles traditionally reserved for the police (Mbah, 2021). This has generated debate among scholars and policymakers about whether such deployments strengthen or weaken democratic consolidation.

According to Akinbobola (2024), the military's involvement in internal security is a double-edged sword. On one hand, it provides stability in moments of crisis and prevents state collapse, thus indirectly supporting democracy. On the other hand, the militarization of civilian governance spaces such as elections and protests erodes public trust and normalizes military presence in political life. Instances of human rights violations, such as during the 2020 #EndSARS protests and counterinsurgency operations in the North-East, have raised concerns about accountability and respect for civilian authority (Akindutire & Oluwatosin, 2023). These incidents underscore the tension between maintaining security and upholding democratic freedoms.

In response to these challenges, the Nigerian government has pursued several policy and institutional reforms aimed at strengthening civil-military relations. The establishment of the Ministry of Defence's Civil-Military Affairs Department and the adoption of the National Defence Policy are examples of efforts to institutionalize dialogue, transparency,

and cooperation between the military and civilians. Additionally, public engagement programs, such as community outreach initiatives in conflict-prone areas, seek to humanize the military's image and rebuild trust with local populations (Ogunnoiki, 2023). However, as scholars like Mbah (2021) and Ugwueze et al. (2020) argue, these measures remain insufficient without comprehensive judicial and legislative oversight mechanisms to ensure accountability for misconduct.

### **The Nigerian Military and Political Neutrality**

A crucial test of civil-military relations in any democracy is the degree of the military's neutrality in electoral politics. In Nigeria, while the military has refrained from staging coups since 1999, there have been allegations of partisanship during elections, particularly in the deployment of troops for security purposes. For example, reports of military interference in elections in states such as Rivers, Ekiti, and Osun have raised questions about the boundaries between security provision and political manipulation (Ojo, 2022). Maintaining neutrality is therefore essential not only for the credibility of elections but also for sustaining public confidence in democratic institutions.

The professionalization of the Nigerian military is further complicated by socioeconomic and institutional challenges. Low morale, inadequate welfare, and corruption within the defense sector can foster discontent, making the military susceptible to politicization (Kalu, 2021). Moreover, the absence of robust civilian expertise in defense and security matters often results in overdependence on military advice, further skewing the civil-military

balance. As such, Nigeria's democratic consolidation hinges on developing strong civilian institutions capable of exercising informed and independent oversight of the armed forces.

### **Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Consolidation**

Civil-military relations are intrinsically linked to democratic consolidation. A stable democracy requires not only functional institutions but also the internalization of democratic norms within all sectors of governance, including the military. As Akinbobola (2024) notes, the military's adherence to constitutional authority serves as both a barometer and a guarantor of democratic stability. When the military respects its constitutional boundaries, it reinforces the legitimacy of civilian governance. Conversely, when it assumes political functions, it undermines democratic legitimacy and risks reversing consolidation gains.

In Nigeria's Fourth Republic, the consolidation of civil-military relations has been gradual but significant. Successive administrations have prioritized defense reforms, enhanced parliamentary oversight, and promoted regional cooperation through ECOWAS peacekeeping missions. These steps have improved the military's professional image and reduced the likelihood of coups. However, the persistence of insecurity, weak accountability, and political patronage networks remain obstacles to achieving fully institutionalized civilian supremacy (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022).

The Nigerian military's transformation from a political actor to a professional institution remains a work in progress. While there have been remarkable strides toward civilian

control, enduring structural weaknesses continue to blur the boundaries between defense and governance. Effective civil-military relations, therefore, require not only institutional reforms but also a deep-seated cultural shift that embeds democratic principles within military ethos and operations.

### **2.1.3 Concept of the Role of the Military in Democratic Consolidation**

The role of the military in democratic consolidation is a critical and paradoxical issue in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Since the transition from prolonged military rule in 1999, the Nigerian Armed Forces have occupied a dual position as both guarantors of national stability and potential threats to democratic governance. Democratic consolidation refers to the process through which a democracy matures, becomes resilient against authoritarian reversal, and embeds democratic norms within its political institutions and civic culture (Diamond, 2020). In this process, the military's role is central because of its historical dominance in governance and its continued involvement in internal security operations. As a former ruling institution with deep structural influence, the Nigerian military's relationship with democratic institutions has significantly shaped the pace and quality of democratic consolidation (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022).

In democratic theory, the military's primary responsibility within a democracy is the defense of national sovereignty and territorial integrity under civilian oversight. The military must remain politically neutral, professional, and subordinate to civilian authority (Huntington, 1957; Croissant et al., 2022). However, in transitional democracies such as

Nigeria, the boundaries between security imperatives and political involvement often blur. The persistence of internal insecurity from insurgency and terrorism to communal violence and electoral unrest has compelled successive civilian governments to rely heavily on the military for domestic security management (Momodu, 2019; Ugwueze et al., 2020). While such interventions are often justified on grounds of necessity, they have sometimes raised concerns about the militarization of civic space and the weakening of civilian institutions. Hence, the military's role in democratic consolidation must be understood through a nuanced lens that recognizes both its stabilizing and potentially destabilizing effects.

### **Military as a Stabilizing Force in Democratic Transitions**

Since the advent of the Fourth Republic, one of the most notable contributions of the Nigerian military to democratic consolidation has been its adherence to non-interference in electoral and political transitions. The peaceful transfer of power from President Goodluck Jonathan to Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 marked a watershed moment, not only for Nigeria but for African democracy at large. The military's restraint during this period signified a growing acceptance of democratic norms and a commitment to constitutionalism (Akinbobola, 2024). This event demonstrated an institutional shift from the coup-prone tendencies of the pre-1999 era toward professional neutrality in political affairs. The Armed Forces' role in ensuring the security of electoral processes by

preventing violence and maintaining order has been widely acknowledged as a necessary, though complex, aspect of Nigeria's democratic journey (Ezeani, 2021).

Moreover, the Nigerian military has played a crucial role in maintaining territorial integrity, particularly in the face of existential security threats such as the Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, and separatist agitations. The ability of the state to withstand these threats without collapsing into widespread anarchy has been partially attributed to the resilience and intervention capacity of the military (Okolie & Okechukwu, 2023). From a democratic consolidation perspective, the prevention of state collapse is fundamental; without security, political institutions cannot function effectively, and public trust in democracy deteriorates. Thus, despite criticisms of rights violations, the military's security operations have contributed indirectly to sustaining the democratic order by preserving the state framework within which democracy operates (Adejumo, 2022).

### **Challenges and Contradictions in Military Involvement**

However, the military's continued domestic engagement poses significant challenges to democratic consolidation. The reliance on the military for internal security has blurred the line between civil and military spheres, sometimes undermining the autonomy and development of civilian law enforcement institutions like the Nigeria Police Force. The frequent deployment of troops for internal operations in elections, anti-banditry campaigns, and riot control perpetuates a culture of dependency that weakens civilian authority (Alao, 2020). Furthermore, allegations of human rights abuses, excessive use of

force, and lack of accountability during these operations have raised concerns about democratic backsliding (Ibrahim & Olanrewaju, 2023). The presence of the military in civic spaces can intimidate citizens, stifle dissent, and erode the norms of open democratic participation.

Another contradiction lies in the politicization of military leadership. Although Nigeria has largely avoided direct coups since 1999, subtle forms of political influence persist. Appointments of service chiefs and defense administrators often reflect ethnic and political considerations rather than meritocratic or institutional priorities (Namo et al., 2024). This politicization risks undermining the professional neutrality essential for the military's democratic role. It also perpetuates the perception that the Armed Forces remain instruments of regime preservation rather than impartial defenders of the state (Ezeani, 2021). Democratic consolidation requires not only civilian control over the military but also institutional integrity within the military itself including adherence to the rule of law, internal accountability, and professional ethics (Ojo, 2022).

### **Civil-Military Relations and Institutional Reform**

Civil-military relations are a key dimension of democratic consolidation. Nigeria's experience demonstrates that building trust between the armed forces and civilian authorities is a gradual process requiring legal, institutional, and cultural reform. Since 1999, the country has taken deliberate steps to professionalize the Armed Forces through training, legislative oversight, and participation in peacekeeping missions that emphasize

human rights and international humanitarian law (Unnumen, 2019; Olonisakin, 2021). These reforms aim to reorient the military away from its authoritarian legacy toward a democratic ethos. Civilian oversight institutions such as the National Assembly's Defense Committees and the Ministry of Defense have been strengthened to enhance accountability and transparency (Akinbobola, 2024). However, gaps remain in oversight effectiveness, particularly regarding defense budgeting and human rights compliance.

The transformation of civil-military relations also extends to public perception. The legitimacy of the military in a democracy depends not only on its performance but also on its relationship with society. The Nigerian public continues to view the Armed Forces ambivalently: as protectors during crises but also as perpetrators of abuses in regions like the Northeast and Southeast (Okolie & Okechukwu, 2023). This dual perception affects the degree of trust citizens have in state institutions—a key determinant of democratic resilience. Research by Kalu (2021) found that countries with reformed, professionalized militaries tend to experience stronger democratic consolidation because citizens perceive the military as an impartial guardian rather than a political actor.

### **The Military's Role in Governance and Nation-Building**

Beyond security, the military contributes to democratic consolidation through nation-building activities, including disaster response, infrastructure development, and civic education programs. Through initiatives such as Operation Safe Corridor and civil-military cooperation units, the Nigerian Armed Forces have sought to humanize their image and

contribute to peacebuilding and social cohesion (Ezeani, 2021). These activities reinforce state legitimacy and demonstrate the military's adaptive role within a democratic framework. The involvement of the military in non-combat functions such as engineering and logistics support during elections and pandemics underscores its potential as a developmental partner when properly regulated by civilian authorities (Ojo, 2022).

The role of the military in Nigeria's democratic consolidation is both indispensable and delicate. While the Armed Forces have contributed to political stability and the protection of territorial integrity, their extensive domestic engagement and occasional politicization pose enduring challenges. The balance between ensuring security and safeguarding democratic freedoms remains a defining tension in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Sustainable democratic consolidation will depend on deepening institutional reforms that reinforce civilian supremacy, strengthen accountability mechanisms, and professionalize the Armed Forces. As Nigeria approaches its third decade of civilian rule, the trajectory of democracy will continue to hinge on the extent to which the military internalizes its constitutional role as a servant not master of the democratic state.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

A theoretical framework provides the conceptual and analytical foundation through which a research problem is examined. In analyzing the role of the military in Nigeria's democratic consolidation during the Fourth Republic (1999–2024), theoretical perspectives help to explain how civil-military interactions, institutional reforms, and political behavior

influence the consolidation of democratic governance. This section adopts three interrelated theoretical lenses – Civil-Military Relations Theory, Democratic Consolidation Theory, and Elite Theory – to understand how the Nigerian military’s actions and evolving institutional culture shape the stability and maturation of democracy.

### **2.2.1 Civil-Military Relations Theory**

The Civil-Military Relations (CMR) Theory is central to understanding the interface between the military and democratic governance. Developed by Samuel Huntington (1957) in *The Soldier and the State*, the theory posits that democratic stability is best achieved when the military remains professional, apolitical, and under firm civilian control. Huntington identified two ideal models of control: subjective control, where civilian elites dominate the military through political interference, and objective control, where the military is professionalized and granted autonomy in technical matters while remaining politically neutral. The goal is to ensure “civilian supremacy” – a condition in which elected civilian institutions hold the ultimate authority in governance (Huntington, 1957; Feaver, 2003).

In the Nigerian context, this theory is particularly relevant due to the military’s historical role as both a political actor and a stabilizing institution. Between 1966 and 1999, Nigeria experienced multiple coups, resulting in nearly three decades of military dictatorship (Alao, 2020). This entrenched the military in governance, eroding the distinction between civilian and military authority. Following the return to democracy in 1999, the challenge became

how to reorient the military toward professionalism, subordination, and constitutionalism the essence of Huntington's "objective control."

Modern scholars have expanded CMR theory to include the political economy of military power and democratic oversight mechanisms (Croissant & Kuehn, 2022; Bruneau & Matei, 2013). These perspectives argue that stable civil-military relations depend on transparent defense governance, institutionalized oversight, and the depoliticization of military appointments. Nigeria's Fourth Republic has attempted these reforms through the establishment of the National Defense Policy (2006), National Assembly oversight committees, and international training partnerships aimed at instilling democratic norms within the armed forces (Ojo, 2022). Nonetheless, persistent challenges such as political interference, corruption in defense spending, and the deployment of troops for internal operations suggest that civilian control remains partial and inconsistent (Ibrahim & Olanrewaju, 2023).

Civil-Military Relations Theory therefore provides a framework to evaluate how Nigeria's democratic institutions manage the balance between control and cooperation with the armed forces. According to Kuehn and Chambers (2020), successful democracies achieve a "mutual respect" model—civilians respect military professionalism, while the military accepts civilian supremacy. In Nigeria, democratic consolidation will depend on sustaining this balance, preventing politicization, and institutionalizing professional standards that discourage military adventurism.

### **2.2.2 Democratic Consolidation Theory**

Democratic Consolidation Theory offers another critical perspective for analyzing Nigeria's evolving democracy. While democratization refers to the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, consolidation involves the process through which democracy becomes "the only game in town" when democratic norms, institutions, and behaviors become deeply internalized across society (Linz & Stepan, 1996). A consolidated democracy is characterized by rule of law, civilian control of the military, accountability, active political participation, and protection of civil liberties (Diamond, 2020; Levitsky & Way, 2010).

This theory helps explain how the military, as an institution historically linked to authoritarian rule, can either hinder or facilitate democratic consolidation. According to Diamond (2020), the military's acceptance of civilian supremacy is one of the strongest indicators that democracy has been consolidated. Conversely, the persistence of military influence in politics, weak institutional oversight, or militarization of civil governance are signs of "democratic fragility." Nigeria's Fourth Republic reflects both tendencies: it has witnessed sustained civilian rule since 1999—an unprecedented achievement in the country's history—yet the military's frequent involvement in internal security, elections, and emergency governance continues to raise questions about the depth of democratic consolidation (Akinbobola, 2024; Okolie & Okechukwu, 2023).

In the Nigerian case, democratic consolidation is inseparable from security governance. The military's involvement in counter-insurgency (e.g., Boko Haram), anti-banditry operations, and electoral security has simultaneously strengthened and strained democracy. On one hand, these actions have prevented state collapse and preserved democratic continuity. On the other hand, excessive militarization of civic life undermines democratic freedoms and weakens the legitimacy of civil institutions such as the police, judiciary, and civil society (Ezeani, 2021; Ibrahim & Olanrewaju, 2023).

Linz and Stepan's (1996) model identifies three arenas necessary for consolidation: the political (elections and representation), the behavioral (acceptance of democratic rules), and the attitudinal (public commitment to democracy). The Nigerian military's role affects all three. Politically, its neutrality in the 2015 and 2019 elections reinforced democratic legitimacy. Behaviorally, the military's non-interference in politics since 1999 has reduced coup risks. Attitudinally, however, public trust in the military remains mixed due to human rights concerns in internal operations (Adejumo, 2022; Kalu, 2021). Thus, the degree to which Nigeria's democracy becomes irreversible depends on institutionalizing mechanisms that constrain military power, ensure accountability, and promote a democratic security culture.

Democratic Consolidation Theory also emphasizes the role of elite consensus and institutional learning. Nigeria's political elite, including military leaders, must internalize democratic norms and avoid instrumentalizing the military for partisan objectives. When

elites respect rules and institutions, democracy stabilizes; when they subvert them, consolidation falters (Levitsky & Way, 2010). Therefore, understanding democratic consolidation in Nigeria requires examining how political and military elites negotiate power within the broader democratic framework—a link that leads to the relevance of Elite Theory.

### **2.2.3 Elite Theory**

Elite Theory provides a sociological and political lens to understand how power is distributed and maintained within a political system. Originally advanced by Vilfredo Pareto (1916) and Gaetano Mosca (1939), the theory posits that societies are invariably governed by a small group of elites who control political, economic, and institutional power. In democracies, these elites compete through elections but often maintain control over state apparatuses regardless of regime type (Bottomore, 1993; Higley & Burton, 2006). In Nigeria, the military forms part of this dominant elite structure. Its involvement in governance during the pre-1999 era created a military-political complex that continues to shape political behavior even under civilian rule (Alao, 2020; Namo et al., 2024). Many post-1999 political actors, including presidents, governors, and legislators, have military backgrounds or connections. This fusion of military and civilian elites reflects what Omodia (2022) terms “elite circulation”—a process where old military elites adapt to democratic institutions without necessarily transforming their authoritarian tendencies.

Consequently, the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria depends partly on how these elites redefine their roles within a constitutional and participatory framework.

Elite Theory helps explain why the military remains influential in shaping national security policy, defense budgeting, and governance priorities. It also clarifies why civilian oversight often appears weak because oversight institutions are themselves controlled by or aligned with elite networks that include retired military officers (Unumen, 2019). Thus, the persistence of elite dominance can constrain the deepening of democratic accountability and transparency. However, Elite Theory does not imply that democratic consolidation is impossible. Instead, it suggests that democratization succeeds when elites reach a consensual unity agreeing on democratic rules of competition and conflict resolution (Higley & Burton, 2006). Nigeria's experience since 1999 indicates a gradual, if uneven, movement toward this elite consensus. The military's acceptance of electoral outcomes, participation in peacekeeping operations, and compliance with civilian command demonstrate a partial transformation from authoritarian elite to democratic stakeholder (Akinbobola, 2024). Yet, lingering elite patronage, corruption, and nepotism continue to undermine full democratic institutionalization.

Taken together, Civil-Military Relations Theory, Democratic Consolidation Theory, and Elite Theory provide a robust multidimensional framework for understanding the military's role in Nigeria's democratic evolution. The Civil-Military framework highlights institutional control and professionalism; the Democratic Consolidation perspective

emphasizes norm internalization and legitimacy; and Elite Theory underscores power dynamics and elite consensus. Nigeria's democratic consolidation thus hinges on aligning these dimensions: ensuring the professional autonomy of the military, strengthening civilian oversight, and fostering elite commitment to democratic norms.

In practice, this means advancing reforms that deepen military accountability without undermining operational effectiveness. Democratic institutions must evolve beyond procedural elections to substantive governance marked by rule of law and transparency. Elite behavior both civilian and military must reflect a shared belief that democracy is the only legitimate path for national stability and progress. Only through this integration can Nigeria fully consolidate its democracy in the Fourth Republic and beyond.

### **2.3 Summary and Gaps in Literature**

The reviewed literature reveals that democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic remains a multidimensional process shaped by the complex interaction between political institutions, civil-military relations, elite behavior, and security governance. Scholars broadly agree that democracy in Nigeria has evolved since 1999, yet its consolidation continues to face significant structural and institutional constraints. The Nigerian experience illustrates a paradox of endurance without deep entrenchment, where democratic procedures such as elections, constitutional rule, and party competition persist, but substantive democratic values accountability, rule of law, and inclusive governance remain weakly institutionalized (Akinbobola, 2024; Ojo, 2022).

Democracy, as conceptualized in the literature, is both a political system and a normative ideal rooted in citizen participation, representation, and respect for human rights. In the Nigerian context, scholars such as Alao (2020) and Mbah (2021) emphasize that democracy is not merely the periodic exercise of voting but the continuous engagement of citizens in governance processes. However, they also contend that Nigeria's democracy operates largely within the boundaries of elite interests and patronage networks, which constrains citizen empowerment and reduces democratic participation to formal rituals. The conceptual discussions across various studies reflect a shared recognition that Nigeria's democratic evolution has been characterized more by procedural compliance than by substantive transformation of political culture and governance practices (Okolie & Okechukwu, 2023).

The idea of democratic consolidation, on which this study rests, has been extensively discussed in both classical and contemporary literature. Foundational theorists such as Linz and Stepan (1996) and Diamond (2020) define democratic consolidation as the process through which democracy becomes "the only game in town," institutionalized in the behavior, beliefs, and expectations of political actors and citizens. Nigerian scholars, including Ezeani (2021), Omodia (2022), and Ugwueze et al. (2020), extend this definition by situating consolidation within the realities of post-authoritarian governance, emphasizing institutional strength, credible elections, and civil liberties as the critical indicators. The Fourth Republic has provided Nigeria with its longest uninterrupted

democratic period, yet it remains marked by electoral irregularities, corruption, insecurity, and weak institutional accountability. As Okolie and Okechukwu (2023) argue, democratic consolidation in Nigeria has been slow because the structural legacies of military rule centralized authority, impunity, and weak oversight still influence the civilian political system. Thus, democratic consolidation is not merely about the endurance of civilian rule but about transforming the nature of governance and power relations.

Central to the discourse on Nigeria's democratic consolidation is the role of the military. The reviewed literature shows that the Nigerian military occupies a paradoxical position in the country's democratic process. Historically, the military has been both a guardian of national unity and a disruptor of democratic governance. Scholars such as Ibrahim and Olanrewaju (2023), Alao (2020), and Ashindorbe and Danjibo (2022) recognize that since 1999, the Nigerian Armed Forces have undergone significant reforms aimed at professionalization and the subordination of military authority to civilian control. Nonetheless, the continued reliance on the military for internal security operations ranging from counter-insurgency in the North-East to anti-banditry operations and electoral security deployment has blurred the boundary between civil authority and military power. The literature highlights that this expanded role, while necessary for maintaining national stability, has also raised concerns about militarization of civic space and potential erosion of democratic accountability (Momodu, 2019; Ojo, 2022).

In addition to its security functions, the military's role in supporting democratic transitions and ensuring electoral stability has attracted scholarly attention. The peaceful transfer of power in 2015, particularly the military's neutrality during the elections, is often cited as evidence of progress in civil-military relations and democratic maturity (Ashindorbe & Danjibo, 2022). Yet, this improvement has not been entirely consistent. Studies by Adejumo (2022) and Mbah (2021) note that the use of military personnel in election logistics and policing functions occasionally leads to intimidation and interference, undermining public trust in both the electoral process and the legitimacy of civilian institutions. Thus, while the military has contributed to preventing democratic collapse, its pervasive involvement in civilian affairs reveals persistent institutional ambiguity between democratic oversight and security imperatives.

The literature also underscores the role of civil-military relations in shaping democratic stability. Classical theories by Huntington (1957) and Feaver (2003) distinguish between objective control achieved through professionalization and political neutrality and subjective control, where civilian authorities dominate the military through politicization. Nigerian scholars, including Ojo (2022) and Unumen (2019), argue that Nigeria's civil-military relations oscillate between these two models, depending on the strength of civilian institutions and the degree of political interference. The legislative and executive oversight mechanisms established to ensure accountability in defense management remain weak due to corruption, lack of transparency, and the politicization of security institutions.

Consequently, the balance between civilian supremacy and military autonomy continues to challenge democratic consolidation.

From a theoretical standpoint, Elite Theory provides a critical lens for understanding the interaction between the military and democratic institutions. The circulation of elites, as described by Pareto and later adapted by Higley and Burton (2006), is evident in Nigeria's political evolution, where former military rulers and their allies dominate civilian politics under democratic guises. Omodia (2022) and Namo et al. (2024) argue that this continuity of elite dominance sustains a system of governance that privileges stability over transformation. Hence, while the military as an institution may have retreated from direct political control, its influence persists through elite networks that shape policy and political culture. This reality complicates democratic consolidation, as civilian institutions remain subordinated to elite interests rooted in Nigeria's militarized past.

Despite the growing body of scholarship, several gaps remain evident in the existing literature. One major gap is the lack of an integrated analytical framework combining Civil-Military Relations Theory, Democratic Consolidation Theory, and Elite Theory to explain the intertwined relationship between military professionalism, elite dominance, and democratic governance. Most studies have examined these themes independently, resulting in fragmented insights that fail to capture the systemic nature of Nigeria's democratic challenges. Furthermore, while early literature focused extensively on the transition period (1999–2010), there is relatively limited analysis of the post-2015 era, which has witnessed

both the institutionalization of democratic practices and the intensification of internal security crises. This period demands renewed scholarly attention, particularly in evaluating how the military's domestic operations influence democratic accountability and citizen trust.

Another significant gap lies in the limited empirical exploration of the internal dynamics of the Nigerian military itself. Most analyses view the military as a monolithic institution, with little investigation into the internal attitudes, beliefs, and reforms shaping its engagement with democracy. Understanding how officers perceive civilian authority, professionalism, and political neutrality could provide deeper insight into the prospects for enduring democratic consolidation. Similarly, the subnational variations in military engagement across regions affected differently by insecurity and political instability are largely overlooked. The military's role in counter-insurgency in the North-East differs fundamentally from its electoral or anti-separatist functions in the South, yet few studies disaggregate these experiences.

Additionally, the literature provides insufficient examination of civilian oversight mechanisms. Although researchers acknowledge the importance of civilian control, there is little empirical work evaluating how defense committees, legislative inquiries, and civil society organizations function in practice to ensure accountability and transparency. The relationship between militarization, human rights, and democratic legitimacy also remains underexplored. The increasing use of military force in internal security raises ethical and

constitutional questions about civil liberties and political participation issues central to democratic consolidation but often treated as peripheral in security-focused studies. Moreover, gender perspectives within Nigeria's civil-military relations discourse are largely absent. The role of women in both the military and civilian oversight institutions is rarely examined, despite their growing involvement in peacebuilding and governance processes.

Finally, methodological limitations persist across the literature. Many studies rely on qualitative or historical analyses without integrating quantitative or longitudinal approaches that could trace changes over time. The absence of mixed-method research combining document analysis, elite interviews, and citizen surveys limits the robustness of existing findings. Addressing this methodological gap would enable a more comprehensive understanding of how civil-military relations evolve and how they impact democratic outcomes in different political contexts.

While the reviewed literature provides valuable insights into the dynamics of democracy and military engagement in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, it remains fragmented and uneven in scope. The persistence of military influence in governance, the fragility of civilian oversight, and the dominance of elite networks continue to define Nigeria's democratic landscape. The existing gaps highlight the need for an integrated, empirical, and context-sensitive study that examines how the military's evolving role in internal security, democratic transitions, and civil-military relations collectively shapes democratic

consolidation. By addressing these theoretical, empirical, and methodological deficiencies, the present study contributes to advancing knowledge on the complex relationship between the military and democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodological framework adopted to investigate The Role of the Military in Nigeria's Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic. It details the research design, population, sampling procedure, data sources, instrument development, validity and reliability testing, methods of data collection, and statistical techniques used for analysis. The primary objective is to empirically assess how the military's roles particularly in internal security, support for democratic transitions, and reinforcement of civil-military relations affect democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The study is guided by quantitative principles to ensure objectivity, replicability, and generalizability of findings.

### **3.2 Research Design**

This study adopts a descriptive survey research design. The design is appropriate because it facilitates the collection of quantitative data from a large number of respondents across diverse geographical and institutional backgrounds to describe existing conditions, opinions, and relationships among variables. Descriptive survey designs are particularly suitable for studies that seek to assess attitudes, perceptions, and experiences of individuals regarding social and political phenomena (Creswell & Creswell, 2021; Sekaran & Bougie, 2022). Given that the study examines how the military's roles influence Nigeria's democratic consolidation, a quantitative approach enables the use of structured questionnaires to collect standardized responses for statistical testing of the proposed

hypotheses. This approach supports the use of inferential analyses such as correlation and regression to determine the strength and significance of relationships among variables.

### **3.3 Population of the Study**

The target population for this study consists of members of the Nigerian Armed Forces (Army, Navy, and Air Force), civil servants in defense-related ministries, political scientists, and civilians with direct or indirect experiences of military involvement in democratic processes. For operational feasibility, the study focuses on individuals aged 21 and above residing in Nigeria's six geopolitical zones. According to data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2023), Nigeria's active and reserve military personnel number approximately 230,000, while the wider civil population affected by military operations and democratic engagement is in the millions. Given these figures, a representative sample is essential for capturing diverse perspectives on military roles and democratic governance.

### **3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Technique**

Due to the large and dispersed nature of the population, the Cochran (1977) formula for an infinite population is used to determine the sample size:

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 \cdot p \cdot (1-p)}{e^2}$$

where;

*n<sub>0</sub>* is the sample size needed.

*Z is the Z-value corresponding to the desired confidence level.*

*p is the estimated proportion of the population that exhibits the characteristic of interest.*

*e is the margin of error.*

substituting the values;

$Z = 1.96$  (for 95% confidence level)

$p = 0.5$  (estimated proportion)

$e = 0.05$  (5% margin of error)

therefore;

$$n_o = \frac{1.96^2 \cdot 0.5 \cdot (1-0.5)}{0.05^2}$$

$$= \frac{3.84 \times 0.5 \times (0.5)}{0.0025}$$

$$= \frac{0.96}{0.0025}$$

$$= 384$$

Hence, a minimum of 384 respondents will be sampled for the study. To account for non-response or incomplete questionnaires, the sample size will be increased to 400 respondents. A multi-stage 2sampling technique will be employed: In stage one Nigeria will be stratified into its six geopolitical zones North-West, North-East, North-Central, South-West, South-East, and South-South. In stage Two states will be purposively

selected from each zone based on the presence of military formations and democratic institutions (e.g., Kaduna, Lagos, Enugu, Rivers, Borno, and Abuja).

In stage three, civil servants, and civilians using simple random sampling to ensure representativeness and eliminate bias.

### **3.5 Sources of Data**

The study relies entirely on primary data obtained through a self-administered structured questionnaire. The instrument is designed to capture respondents' perceptions of the military's contributions to internal security, democratic transitions, civil-military relations, and their overall impact on democratic consolidation. Secondary data such as government reports, defense policy documents, and academic publications will supplement interpretation and contextual analysis of findings.

### **3.6 Instrument for Data Collection**

The study utilized a structured questionnaire composed of two main sections. The first section collected demographic information, including age, gender, occupation, education level, region, and the respondent's exposure to military-civil interactions. The second section contained items developed around the study's three research questions, each measured using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Each research question was represented by five measurable items, resulting in a

total of 15 core items aimed at examining the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

### **3.7 Validity of the Instrument**

Validity ensures that the instrument measures what it purports to measure. The questionnaire will undergo content and face validity testing. Three experts two in Political Science and one in Defense Studies will review the questionnaire to ensure clarity, relevance, and coverage of constructs related to military roles and democratic consolidation. A pilot study involving 30 respondents (excluded from the main study) will be conducted in Abuja to refine item wording and assess comprehensibility. Feedback will guide revisions to improve accuracy and construct representation (Hair *et al.*, 2021).

### **3.8 Reliability of the Instrument**

Reliability assesses the internal consistency of the instrument. Responses from the pilot study will be subjected to Cronbach's Alpha test using SPSS version 27. A coefficient of 0.70 or higher will indicate acceptable reliability (Nunnally & Bernstein, 2021). If subscales for each research question yield alpha values below this threshold, the items will be reviewed and adjusted accordingly to enhance reliability.

### **3.9 Method of Data Collection**

Data collection will span two months (August–September, 2025). Research assistants trained in ethical data handling and neutrality will administer the questionnaires in person

to ensure a high response rate. Simultaneously, an electronic version will be distributed via Google Forms to participants unable to be reached physically. Respondents will be assured of anonymity, voluntary participation, and the right to withdraw at any stage of the research. Consent forms will be attached to each questionnaire.

### **3.10 Method of Data Analysis**

Quantitative data collected will be analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 27. Data will first be coded and cleaned before analysis. Frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations will summarize demographic characteristics and overall response patterns. Chi-square tests will determine associations between categorical variables such as gender, occupation, and perceptions of military influence.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

A total number of 400 questionnaires were distributed to the respondents and 385 were retrieved, while 380 was found useful and valid for the data analysis.

#### 4.2: Data Presentation

The data collected was summarized and presented in the tables below. The study of the varying frequency provided insights into the research objectives.

**Table 4.1 Demographic Representation**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Sex</b>	Male	240	63.1%
	Female	140	36.9%
	<b>Total</b>	380	100.0%
<b>Age</b>	18-30	35	9.3%
	31-40	210	55.2%
	41-50	127	33.4%
	51 & above	8	2.1%
	<b>Total</b>	380	100.0%
<b>Occupation</b>	Military	50	13.2%
	Civil Servant	45	11.8%
	Student	60	15.8%
	Private Sector	40	10.5%
	Business	80	21.1%
	Public Servant	50	13.2%
	Others	55	14.5%
	<b>Total</b>	380	100.0%

**Source: Field Survey, 2025**

The demographic data show that the majority of respondents were male (63.1%) while females made up 36.9%. Most participants were aged between 31 and 40 years (55.2%), followed by those aged 41–50 years (33.4%). In terms of occupation, respondents were drawn from diverse sectors, with business owners forming the largest group (21.1%), followed by students (15.8%), military personnel and public servants (13.2% each), and others occupying smaller proportions.

#### 4.2: Analysis of Research Questions

**Table 4.2: What role does internal security and stability maintenance by the military play in Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic?**

	ITEM	SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean	Decision
1	The military plays a crucial role in maintaining internal security during national crises.	152 (40.0%)	152 (40.0%)	19 (5.0%)	38 (10.0%)	19 (5.0%)	3.94	High
2	Military interventions in internal conflicts have prevented state collapse and safeguarded democracy.	140 (36.8%)	165 (43.4%)	13 (3.4%)	25 (6.6%)	37 (9.7%)	3.90	High
3	Excessive military involvement in domestic security undermines civilian authority.	126 (33.2%)	177 (46.6%)	25 (6.6%)	25 (6.6%)	25 (6.6%)	3.93	High
4	Military operations during elections help to reduce violence and promote stability.	126 (33.2%)	177 (46.6%)	25 (6.6%)	25 (6.6%)	25 (6.6%)	3.90	High

5	The deployment of the military for internal security has improved citizens' trust in government stability.	152 (40.0%)	152 (40.0%)	13 (3.4%)	25 (6.6%)	37 (9.7%)	3.94	High
<b>Overall Mean</b>		139.2 (36.6%)	163.0 (42.9%)	19.0 (5.0%)	26.6 (7.0%)	28.6 (7.5%)	<b>3.92</b>	<b>High</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2025.

Response from Table 4.2 shows that 36.6% of the respondents strongly agreed that internal security and stability maintenance by the military play a significant role in democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic, 42.9% agreed, 5.0% were undecided, 7.0% disagreed, while 7.5% strongly disagreed. The overall mean score of 3.92 indicates that the military's role in maintaining internal security and stability has a high influence on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

**Table 4.3: How does military support for democratic transitions influence Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic?**

	<b>ITEM</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Decision</b>
6	The military's non-interference during elections has strengthened democratic governance.	203 (53.4%)	160 (42.0%)	5 (1.3%)	6 (1.6%)	5 (1.3%)	4.45	High
7	Peaceful transfers of power since 1999 reflect improved military professionalism.	190 (50.0%)	172 (45.3%)	5 (1.3%)	6 (1.6%)	5 (1.3%)	4.42	High

8	The military contributes to credible elections by maintaining neutrality.	185 (48.7%)	183 (48.0%)	5 (1.3%)	5 (1.3%)	5 (1.3%)	4.41	High
9	Instances of military bias during elections weaken democratic consolidation.	178 (46.8%)	190 (50.0%)	3 (0.8%)	5 (1.3%)	5 (1.3%)	4.41	High
10	The military has supported democratic reforms and transition processes since the Fourth Republic began.	198 (52.1%)	165 (43.4%)	3 (0.8%)	5 (1.3%)	5 (1.3%)	4.45	High
	<b>Overall Mean</b>	191.2 (50.3%)	174.0 (45.8%)	4.2 (1.1%)	5.4 (1.4%)	5.0 (1.3%)	<b>4.43</b>	<b>High</b>

Response from Table 4.3 shows that 50.3% of the respondents strongly agreed that military support for democratic transitions influences democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic, 45.8% agreed, 1.1% were undecided, 1.4% disagreed, while 1.3% strongly disagreed. The overall mean score of 4.43 indicates that military support for democratic transitions has a high positive influence on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

**Table 4.4: What effect does the reinforcement of civil-military relations have on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic?**

	<b>ITEMS</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Decision</b>
11	Improved civil-military relations have enhanced public confidence in the military.	179 (47.1%)	163 (42.6%)	13 (3.4%)	13 (3.4%)	13 (3.4%)	4.28	High
12	Civilian oversight has made the military more accountable to democratic institutions.	165 (43.4%)	170 (44.7%)	15 (4.0%)	13 (3.4%)	15 (4.0%)	4.21	High
13	Political interference in military affairs still poses a threat to democracy.	167 (44.0%)	170 (44.7%)	17 (4.5%)	13 (3.4%)	13 (3.4%)	4.22	High
14	Ongoing military reforms have promoted respect for human rights and rule of law.	172 (45.3%)	172 (45.3%)	13 (3.4%)	10 (2.6%)	13 (3.4%)	4.29	High
15	Strengthened civil-military relations contribute significantly to democratic consolidation.	170 (44.7%)	170 (44.7%)	13 (3.4%)	13 (3.4%)	15 (4.0%)	4.23	High
	<b>Overall Mean</b>	<b>170.4 (44.9%)</b>	<b>169.1 (44.5%)</b>	<b>14.1 (3.7%)</b>	<b>12.2 (3.2%)</b>	<b>13.7 (3.6%)</b>	<b>4.25</b>	<b>High</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2025.

Response from Table 4.4 shows that 44.9% of the respondents strongly agreed that the reinforcement of civil-military relations has an effect on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic, 44.5% agreed, 3.7% were undecided, 3.2% disagreed, while 3.6% strongly disagreed. The overall mean score of 4.25 indicates that the reinforcement of civil-military relations has a high positive effect on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

### 4.3 Test of Hypotheses

This study employed the Chi-Square test to examine the role of the military in democratic consolidation during the Fourth Republic. The analysis aimed to determine whether military involvement in internal security, support for democratic transitions, and reinforcement of civil-military relations significantly influence democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The hypotheses tested assumed that military engagement in these areas has no significant effect on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

**Table 4.5: Hypotheses I: Internal security and stability maintenance by the military has no significant role in Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic**

Test Statistics	
	ISSM
Chi-Square	37.120 <sup>a</sup>
Df	7
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 12.5.

The Chi-Square test results indicate a statistically significant relationship between internal security and stability maintenance by the military and democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic ( $\chi^2 = 37.120$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This finding suggests that the military's role in maintaining internal security and stability is significantly associated with the process of democratic consolidation. Since the p-value is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis

is rejected. Therefore, it can be concluded that internal security and stability maintenance by the military has a significant role in promoting democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

**Table 4.6: Hypotheses II: Military support for democratic transitions has no significant influence on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.**

Test Statistics	
	MSDT
Chi-Square	41.013 <sup>a</sup>
Df	9
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 12.5.

The Chi-Square test results indicate a statistically significant relationship between military support for democratic transitions and democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic ( $\chi^2 = 41.013$ ,  $df = 9$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This implies that variations in military support for democratic transitions are significantly associated with the level of democratic consolidation. Since the p-value is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, it can be concluded that military support for democratic transitions has a significant influence on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

**Table 4.7: Hypotheses III: The reinforcement of civil-military relations has no significant effect on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.**

Test Statistics	
	RCR
Chi-Square	35.215 <sup>a</sup>
Df	11
Asymp. Sig.	.001

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 12.5.

The Chi-Square test results indicate a statistically significant relationship between the reinforcement of civil-military relations and democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic ( $\chi^2 = 35.215$ ,  $df = 11$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). This suggests that improvements in civil-military relations are significantly associated with the strengthening of democratic consolidation. Since the p-value is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, it can be concluded that the reinforcement of civil-military relations has a significant effect on democratic consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

#### **4.4 Discussion of Findings**

The findings of this study reveal that the military plays a significant role in democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, particularly through internal security and stability maintenance, support for democratic transitions, and reinforcement of civil-military relations. Each of these dimensions demonstrates a statistically significant

relationship with democratic consolidation, indicating that the military's engagement is pivotal to sustaining Nigeria's democratic institutions and processes. These findings are consistent with, and in some cases extend, the conclusions of prior studies on civil-military relations and democratic governance in Nigeria and other African states.

The study found that internal security and stability maintenance by the military significantly influence democratic consolidation ( $\chi^2 = 37.120$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This suggests that a stable internal environment, often safeguarded by the military, is essential for democratic processes to function effectively. This finding aligns with the conclusions of Adeoye (2021), who examined the impact of military interventions in internal security management on Nigeria's democratic development and found that while the military has historically been a stabilizing force during crises, its over-involvement can sometimes blur the boundaries between civil and military authority (Adeoye, 2021). Adeoye emphasized that democratic consolidation requires a professional military that operates strictly within constitutional limits but remains capable of neutralizing threats that may destabilize governance. Similarly, Okafor (2020) emphasized that internal security challenges such as insurgency, banditry, and ethnic conflict can weaken democratic institutions if not effectively managed. His study concluded that military involvement in internal security operations contributes to the preservation of democratic stability, provided that such interventions respect human rights and civilian supremacy (Okafor, 2020).

These findings collectively support the conclusion of this study that the Nigerian military's internal security operations are vital to democratic stability. However, as Omede (2018) cautioned, militarization of internal security can erode democratic freedoms if not carefully balanced with civil oversight (Omede, 2018). The present study's findings therefore align with the broader scholarly consensus that while military involvement in internal security enhances democratic consolidation through stability, it must remain under democratic control to avoid authoritarian relapse.

The Chi-Square results also revealed a significant association between military support for democratic transitions and democratic consolidation ( $\chi^2 = 41.013$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This implies that the military's acceptance of civilian authority and facilitation of peaceful transfers of power are critical to democratic survival. This aligns with the work of Fayomi and Iwilade (2021), who explored the military's behavior during Nigeria's transition from military to civilian rule in 1999 and its subsequent democratic sustenance. They found that the military's commitment to neutrality during electoral transitions and its disengagement from partisan politics significantly bolstered the legitimacy of democratic institutions (Fayomi & Iwilade, 2021). Additionally, Okoli (2022) argued that democratic consolidation in Nigeria is strengthened when the military adheres to constitutional mandates and avoids interventionist tendencies. His findings showed that military elites' compliance with civilian supremacy after 1999 has been a major determinant of Nigeria's sustained democracy despite structural challenges (Okoli, 2022).

Conversely, Osaghae (2019) highlighted instances where the military's influence in political transitions has created tension, particularly when security institutions are manipulated by ruling elites for political advantage (Osaghae, 2019). Nevertheless, he acknowledged that in the Nigerian case, the professionalization of the military since the 2000s has contributed positively to political stability and democratic progression.

The third hypothesis tested also indicated a significant relationship between the reinforcement of civil-military relations and democratic consolidation ( $\chi^2 = 35.215$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). This suggests that the improvement of trust and cooperation between civilian authorities and the military fosters stronger democratic governance. This conclusion aligns with Ali and Isah (2020), who found that robust civil-military relations are a cornerstone of democratic consolidation, as they promote accountability, transparency, and professionalism within the armed forces (Ali & Isah, 2020). They argued that effective civil-military synergy helps ensure that the military serves as a protector rather than a threat to democracy. Similarly, Nwankwo (2019) observed that countries with institutionalized civil control over the military tend to experience more sustainable democratic consolidation, emphasizing that Nigeria's gradual shift toward democratic oversight mechanisms such as legislative control over defense spending has strengthened civilian authority (Nwankwo, 2019).

The findings also agree with Iwu and Ude (2021), who concluded that improved civil-military cooperation in community-level security operations increases public trust in

democratic institutions and enhances national unity (Iwu & Ude, 2021). Taken together, these studies reinforce the conclusion that positive civil-military relations underpin democratic consolidation. The present study therefore extends the literature by empirically confirming, through statistical analysis, that strengthened civil-military collaboration contributes directly to democratic deepening in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

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## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECCOMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a concise summary of the findings obtained from the analysis of the data. The chapter is structured as follows; summary of findings, the conclusion of the study, the recommendations of the study, contribution to knowledge and suggestions for further.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The summary of Findings indicated arrived at after due analysis indicated that;

- i. Internal security and stability maintenance by the military has a significant role in Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.
- ii. Military support for democratic transitions has a significant influence on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.
- iii. The reinforcement of civil-military relations has a significant effect on Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.

#### **5.3 Conclusion**

This study examined the role of the military in democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, focusing on internal security and stability maintenance, support for democratic transitions, and the reinforcement of civil-military relations. The findings

revealed that all three dimensions of military involvement have a statistically significant and positive impact on democratic consolidation. This underscores that the military remains a crucial institutional actor in Nigeria's democratic process, not merely as a defender of territorial integrity but as a stabilizing force that supports civilian governance. The study concludes that a professional, constitutionally guided, and democratically accountable military contributes significantly to the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. The military's engagement in internal security, its support for peaceful democratic transitions, and its collaborative relationship with civilian authorities have collectively strengthened democratic institutions, enhanced political stability, and promoted public trust in governance. However, for democracy to continue to thrive, these roles must be executed under strict adherence to the rule of law and with respect for human rights and civil authority.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, the following recommendations are proposed:

1. The Nigerian government should institutionalize robust civilian control mechanisms, such as legislative oversight committees and transparent defense budgeting, to ensure that military involvement in governance remains within constitutional bounds.

2. Continuous education and training in democratic values, human rights, and civil-military relations should be integrated into military curricula to promote professionalism and respect for civilian authority.
3. The government should foster closer cooperation between military, police, and civilian security agencies to enhance internal stability without compromising democratic principles.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies**

1. Future research could explore comparative analyses of military roles in democratic consolidation across African countries, particularly focusing on post-authoritarian states.
2. Studies could also examine the long-term impact of military-led internal security operations on civil liberties and human rights within democratic contexts.
3. Researchers may investigate the perceptions of citizens and military personnel on the evolving nature of civil-military relations in Nigeria's democracy.

### **5.6 Contribution to Knowledge**

This study contributes to the body of knowledge on civil-military relations and democratic consolidation in several key ways:

1. The study provides quantitative evidence through the use of the Chi-Square statistical test that military activities significantly influence democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.
2. It clarifies the specific dimensions of military influence internal security, democratic transition support, and civil-military relations and how each contributes uniquely to democratic sustainability.
3. The findings offer actionable insights for policymakers, civil society actors, and defense institutions on balancing military engagement with democratic norms.

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## APPENDIX

### QUESTIONNAIRE

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, BENIN CITY, EDO STATE**

Dear Respondent,

I am a researcher conducting a study on “The Role of the Military in Nigeria’s Democratic Consolidation in the Fourth Republic.” The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather your views on how the military’s involvement in internal security, democratic transitions, and civil-military relations affects the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality and used solely for academic purposes. Kindly respond honestly to each item.

Thank you for your valuable time and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

(Researcher’s Name)

#### Section A: Demographic Information

S/N Variable	Response Options
1 Gender	Male [ ] Female [ ]
2 Age Range	21–30 [ ] 31–40 [ ] 41–50 [ ] 51+ [ ]

S/N	Variable	Response Options
3	Educational Qualification	ND/NCE [ ] BSc/HND [ ] MSc [ ] PhD [ ] Others [ ]
4	Occupation	Military Personnel [ ] Civil Servant [ ] Student [ ] Private Sector [ ] Other [ ]
5	Region	North-West [ ] North-East [ ] North-Central [ ] South-West [ ] South-East [ ] South-South [ ]

### Section B: Respondents' Responses

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements using the scale:  
**SA – Strongly Agree, A – Agree, N – Neutral, D – Disagree, SD – Strongly Disagree**

### Section B: Respondents Responses

S/N	ITEMS	SA	A	N	D	SD
	<b>Internal Security and Stability Maintenance</b>					
1.	The military plays a crucial role in maintaining internal security during national crises.					
2.	Military interventions in internal conflicts have prevented state collapse and safeguarded democracy.					
3.	Excessive military involvement in domestic security undermines civilian authority.					
4.	Military operations during elections help to reduce violence and promote stability.					
5.	The deployment of the military for internal security has improved citizens' trust in government stability.					
	<b>Military Support for Democratic Transitions</b>					
6.	The military's non-interference during elections has strengthened democratic governance.					
7.	Peaceful transfers of power since 1999 reflect improved military professionalism.					
8.	The military contributes to credible elections by					

	maintaining neutrality.					
9.	Instances of military bias during elections weaken democratic consolidation.					
10	The military has supported democratic reforms and transition processes since the Fourth Republic began.					
	<b>Reinforcement of Civil-Military Relations</b>					
11	Improved civil-military relations have enhanced public confidence in the military.					
12	Civilian oversight has made the military more accountable to democratic institutions.					
13	Political interference in military affairs still poses a threat to democracy.					
14	Ongoing military reforms have promoted respect for human rights and rule of law.					
15	Strengthened civil-military relations contribute significantly to democratic consolidation.					