

Democracy and Political Security in Nigeria: A Study of the Buhari Administration, 2015-2019

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Abstract: *The whole essence of democracy is rooted in the principles of rule of law, particularly the provisions for and safeguard of the fundamental human rights of the citizens as enshrined in the constitutions of states, the idea of political security. Even before the inception of the present democratic dispensation under the leadership of Major General Muhammadu Buhari (Rtd.), the whole of Chapter Four of the Nigerian Constitutions since 1979 was devoted to fundamental human rights provisions, including the right to life, human dignity, freedom of expression, freedom of association and much else. These rights are however often kept more in default by the successive Nigerian Governments. Under the present dispensation, the human rights situation in the country has deteriorated as not much has been done to protect the rights of Nigerian by the Federal Government. Instead, various reports by national and international human rights groups have continued to indict the Government for wanton violations of human rights provisions. The study is descriptive and analytic in nature as data was gotten from the secondary sourced while the theory of failed state was judiciously utilized as the theoretical framework. The study found out that; democracy as practicable in Nigeria today has failed to enhance the promotion of human rights under president Buhari. Furthermore, democratic values in periodic elections have significantly enhanced good governance in the Nigerian state under Buhari. The study recommends that in order to promote good governance there is every need for sound anti-corruption policies devoid of rhetoric. In addition, the legislature and the judicial arm must be functional and alive to their responsibilities, since a healthy and sound judiciary and legislature are sine qua non for good and democratic governance.*

Keywords: Democracy, Political Security, Human Rights, Freedom Expression, Buhari

A: Introduction

Nigeria's fleeting just examination after independence could be credited to the accompanying elements among others:- Breakdown of the standards of the round of legislative issues, which bountifully contaminated the political arena and made governmental issues as perilous for players just as onlookers; Gross abuse of political force; among public officials including disrespectful political and financial choices in allotment of scant yet a locatable assets; Erosion of the privileges of people; Disenfranchisement of the Nigerian people through glaring gear of races; Conspicuous utilization of legislators in the midst of the wretched destitution of the majority; and unnecessarily incredible provincial governments, which undermined the moderately frail bureaucratic focus with wanton relinquish (Elaigwu, 2017). As indicated by Freedom House, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International just as various homegrown gatherings, Nigeria's security powers are likewise blameworthy of submitting common liberty manhandles, including a great many extrajudicial killings, illicit detentions, torment, and discretionary mass captures. Further, defilement is uncontrolled both inside the Nigerian government and specifically in the state-run oil organization, bringing about the loss of conceivably billions of dollars.

The coming of Nigeria's majority rule government is as yet named a new kind. Its structures and directions are as yet present during the time spent a couple of kinds of preliminary and experimentation. The dream of Nigeria's majority rules system therefore has remained obviously defenseless. The different three organs of government in Nigeria, the administration, the assembly and the legal executive, the difficulties of evaluations, parities, complementarities and authenticities, have in this way remained continually argumentative (Oni, 2014). The battle for unhelpful autonomy and futile prevalence of the different foundations has remained reasonably said. Unquestionably, every one of the three organs of administration has suffered to be enmeshed in immense debasement.

In January 2019, military faculty attacked the workplaces of the Daily Trust, a regarded Abuja-based paper, for "subverting public security" by investigating an arranged military activity in the upper east; fighters allegedly reallocated PCs and captured a few staff members.⁶⁰ Human rights screens have additionally archived genuine maltreatments by the paramilitary Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), a local army that rose to battle the Boko Haram insurgency.⁶¹ Some onlookers caution that the administration may battle to deactivate the CJTF, which supposedly numbers more than 23,000; a portion of its individuals might be incorporated into the military or police (Human RightsWatch, 2019).

Fair governmental issues and great administration didn't toll better in the Second Republic just as the Third Republic. Be that as it may, since 29 May, 1999, when the Fourth Republic was introduced, lawmakers in government have kept on utilizing the expression "profits of majority rules system" which allude to the arrangements of material government assistance to the individuals, for example, streets, rustic charge, consumable water, improved instructive and wellbeing offices, lodging, among others. Nonetheless, it is relevant to take note of that majority rules system and great administration in Nigeria and somewhere else on the planet can't be accomplished through the simple arrangements of material government assistance, for example, streets, occupations, food, power, training, medical care administrations and others since they are much simpler to give under dictator rule.

A careless gander at the present equitable regulation under the authority of President Buhari and his change mantra outfits a glaring deviation from the blessed standards of vote based system especially as it concerns basic liberties administration. In addition to the fact that Nigerians are still assailed by wretched destitution and compromised by avoidable passing due to a great extent to bombed social approaches and uncouth projects, yet additionally avoidable slaughters and frailty, viciousness and rights infringement stay typical. The worry of this examination subsequently is to look at Democracy and Political security in Nigeria under the current administration of Muhammadu Buhari.

B: Conceptual Literature

The term majority rule government like most ideas in sociologies comes up short on an exact single definition rather; it is commonly a matter of scholarly assumption. There are different implications, feelings, recognitions and meanings of the term by researchers and rationalists like Rousseau, Locke, Jefferson, Lincoln and Mills (Akindele, 1987). As per Elaigwu referred to in Yio (2012), the idea of vote based system is strange to Africa and should be trained to Nigeria (Africa's) neighborhood conditions and focused to her curious issues. He went further to characterize vote based system as: An arrangement of government dependent on the procurement of power from the individuals; the regulation of the standard of law; the accentuation on the authenticity of rules; the accessibility of decisions and esteemed qualities (counting opportunity); and responsibility in administration. This definition draws out the standards of popular government and the center one being the living arrangement of power with the individuals. As Yio (2012) had contended, from its Athenian root, vote based system is seen as "Government by the individuals with full and direct interest of the individuals". Yet, majority rule government by and by even in Athens was not comprehensive in the supreme sense as it barred ladies and slaves who were necessary parts of the Greek city states.

Huntington (1996) contended that a political framework is just; if it's most remarkable aggregate chiefs are picked through reasonable, fair and intermittent races in which competitors unreservedly seek votes and in which practically all the grown-up populace is qualified to cast a ballot. It additionally suggests the presence of every one of those common and political opportunities to talk, distribute, collect and compose that are essential for political discussion and the direct of discretionary mission. Too,

Abraham Lincoln offered probably the least complex meaning of majority rules system as "administration of the individuals by the individuals and for the individuals". In this astute, vote based system is above all else individuals focused. It likewise includes mass support and fundamental individual opportunity as its trademark. Ukase (2014) focused on that vote based system requests that individuals ought to be administered based on their assent and order; uninhibitedly given to build up an administration which is chosen, responsive and responsible to the individuals. Notwithstanding the distinctions in conceptualization and practice, all the forms of characterizing vote based system share one basic goal, which is the way to administer society so that power, really has a place with the individuals.

Then again, political security is one of five areas of investigation under the structure of the Copenhagen School of security examines. Inside arrangement circles political security is important for a human security plan. The 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) set out the definition and boundaries of political security in less than 400 words. It was characterized as the anticipation of government restraint, orderly infringement of common liberties and dangers from militarization. This built up a plan that would ensure individuals against states that kept on rehearsing political constraint, deliberate torment, abuse and vanishing.

The connection between human security and political security is, in the theoretical, a fairly basic verbalization. As the Human Development Report (HDR) sets out, 'One of the most significant parts of human security is that individuals ought to have the option to live in a general public that praises their essential common freedoms' (UNDP, 1994, p. 32). Along these lines, while it is gotten shrewdness in security examines that the idea of human security is hard to characterize, its subcategory of political security has come to mean, at an essential level, the avoidance of government constraint, precise infringement of common liberties and dangers from militarization.

C: Theoretical Orientations

The communication of majority rule government and political security in Nigeria with explicit accentuation on Buhari Administration has been examined from a few edges. This examination depends on the Rotberg's bombed state theory. Rotberg clarifies that Nation-states bomb because of inside seizure and savagery, and the loss of the ability to convey positive political products to their occupants. This is set apart by the administration's loss of authenticity, as the very idea of the specific country state itself gets ill-conceived in the eyes and in the hearts of a developing majority of its residents. Various issues are basic in Failed State speculation: the upkeep of sway and the capacity of the state to convey on social commitments. A country's quality or shortcoming is pronounced by its exhibitions in the conveyance of the public products.

He declares that country states exist to give a decentralized technique for conveying political (public) products to people living inside assigned boundaries (fringes), and having supplanted the rulers of old, current states center and answer the worries and requests of residents. They pretty much sort out and channel the interests of their kin in promotion of public objectives and qualities. States are additionally burdened with the duty to cushion or control outer powers and intercede between the imperatives and difficulties between the global field and the dynamism of their own interior monetary, political, and social real factors. States succeed or fall flat over all or a portion of these measurements. However, it is as per their presentation as indicated by the degrees of their viable conveyance of the most urgent political products that solid states might be recognized from feeble ones, and frail states from fizzled or crumbled states (Rotberg, 2003).

Typically, bombed states are set apart by strain, profoundly established and hazardous clashes, just as harsh contestations by warring groups. There is additionally standard outfitted commitment of government troops fighting with equipped rebellions drove by at least one extremist gatherings in the midst of assortments of common distress, public discontent, and a plenty of contradiction coordinated at the state and at bunches inside it. Rotberg noticed that bombed states are not recognized by the total force of these brutality however by their suffering character and the way that a great part of the savagery is coordinated against the current government or system (similar to the cases with Angola, Burundi, and the Sudan), notwithstanding the excited character of the political or geological requests for shared force or self-governance that defend or legitimize that viciousness in the psyches of the principle guerillas (Rotberg, 2003:10). These trademark includes as a rule have establishes in ethnic, strict, semantic, or other between common ill will as insatiability, debasement and destitution pushes further threat among the populace denied of political merchandise.

Political merchandise envelop desires, possibly commitments, educate the neighborhood political culture, and together offer substance to the implicit agreement among rulers and decided that is at the center of government and residents' cooperations. This position reflects Kinnan's proposition that state disappointment happens when it endures "the loss of physical control of its region; its restraining infrastructure on the authentic utilization of power; the disintegration of its genuine power to settle on aggregate choices; a powerlessness to offer sensible public types of assistance; and the failure to associate with different states as a full individual from the global network" (Kinnan, 2011: 9).

Nigeria's bombing status is found in the administration's appropriation of arrangement as a public security technique. The country's power turns out to be progressively dependent on exchange: the criminal equity framework perceives and acknowledges arrangement with degenerate people who employ enough impact to purchase the cycle of supplication bartering, public security and protection and dangers are incidentally settled through haggling and concessions to inside radicals in some cases at incredible expenses to the country. A portion of these dangers have emerged due to heightening joblessness just as the breakdown of foundation and government assistance.

The pertinence of this hypothesis in the examination of this investigation is well-suited. Using Rotberg's bombed state postulation in our examination, he thought that Nation-states flop because of inner spasm and savagery, and the loss of the ability to convey positive financial improvement to their occupants which must be made conceivable through detailing, execution and assessment of such approaches that will induce all round turn of events. In light of this attestation, Nigerian government is consistently at strain to convey positive political security to the populace through fair estimations of the president Muhamnadu's organization. This is set apart by the administration's loss of authenticity, as the very idea of the specific country state itself gets ill-conceived in the eyes and in the hearts of a developing majority of its residents because of the accessible financial advancement at the removal of the individuals. Along these lines, a country's quality or shortcoming is decreed by its exhibitions in the conveyance of the public merchandise. He attests that country states exist to give a decentralized technique for conveying political (public) products to people living inside assigned boundaries (fringes), and having supplanted the rulers of old, current states center and answer the worries and requests of residents. They pretty much arrange and channel the interests of their kin in facilitation of public objectives and qualities.

D: Democracy and Human Rights in Nigeria

Having seen the overall substance of basic liberties and those cherished in the Nigerian 1999 constitution as altered, we presently arrange it on the Nigerian culture. We start by expressing decidedly that no arrangement of government ensures regard for basic freedoms more than a law based government. Henceforth, when force moved from the Military to the fairly chose government in 1999, Nigerians were brimming with certainty that human people will presently start to appreciate these rights that are essential to them. Notwithstanding, Nigerians were stunned to see that the infringement of basic liberties that got during the Military fascism never decreased. What we actually have is gross infringement of common freedoms with extraordinary crescendo in each part of it. In this paper only not many occasions of this infringement are noted. Nigerians won't overlook in a rush what has been named the 'Odi Massacre'. Odi is a town in Bayelsa state in the South-South district of Nigeria where the occupants were disturbing the

manner in which the Federal Government of Nigeria was approaching the investigation of oil there which left their territory inhabitable because of oil contamination.

The Federal Government, equitably chose, drove by Olusegun Obasabjo requested the military to slip on the town on the twentieth November 1999, which left around 2,500 regular people dead as revealed by Human Rights Watch(got to. Here the principal right of life has been abused by an administration that expected to be vote based. Not long after the appearing holocaust at Odi people group, the Nigerian military by and by savagely slipped on a town in Benue state called Zaki Biam on the 22nd October 2001. In this military presentation of ruthlessness, around 100 regular people were slaughtered from the Tiv ethnic network. Their offense was a supposed snatching and executing of 19 officers that were sent there to reestablish harmony in that upset district. There was emergency between the Tivs and Jukuns of that State and on the grounds that the ruined groups of the killed warriors were found in Zaki Biam people group, the military assembled them for a conference where they were slaughtered and set burning – an away from of right to life. In February and May 2016, security powers were blamed for executing at any rate 40 individuals from the Indigenous People of Biafra(IPOB) and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra(MASSOB). The gatherings were and are pushing for the partition of Biafra – fundamentally comprised of Igbo discussing the southeast and south-south and the arrival of Nnamdi Kanu, the IPOB pioneer kept and going through preliminary for conspiracy since October 2015.

As per World Report(2017), in the unrefined petroleum rich Niger Delta, media reports state that on September 8 2016, fighters looking to capture individuals from the aggressor gathering – Niger Delta Avengers, annihilated 43 houses and different properties in Peremabiri, Akamabugo and Tikogbene people group of Bayelsa State. In spite of all these saw and noted basic freedoms infringement in an equitable Nigerian government, the one that goes on regular however isn't discussed is that of the respect of the human individual communicated justified to plunge condition. The infringement is done by both the offices of the administration and customary residents in various angles. In popularity based Nigeria it has become a typical thing to see with alarm perpetual and unapproved blasting of alarms by government and semi government authorities and some common residents also. As a follow up to this is enjoying activities hostile to guiltless eyes and brain, for example, (a) maltreatment of other street clients by these self acclaimed unrivaled residents. These individuals don't watch transit regulations and even drive against the progression of traffic unchallenged. The military and police are the most exceedingly terrible offenders in such manner, rather than doing their legal obligation of keeping up lawfulness. (b) once more, so frequently the Nigerian resident is powerless and suffer horrendously the uproarious commotion originating from boisterous speakers mounted in a portion of the places of worship and mosques and those from traders of music in the areas. Opportunity of love revered in the constitution is never opportunity of commotion making.

Horrendously, government has no guideline in such manner. (c) Dumping of asylums/squanders along our streets and roads. Endless urban communities in Nigeria today are known for this appalling and shocking pattern regardless of the realities that the residents pay their assessments to the legislature to deal with this sort of obligation. (d) Another disgusting practice in such manner is the aimless peeing along our high ways and other uncovered regions. This is an obscene presentation that outrages against blameless eyes and brains. Government should assume up the liability of giving helpful spots along our high ways for her residents. (e) Nigerian residents should understand that absurd over stacking of vehicles, tossing out squanders from moving vehicles and hopping of lines openly puts, and so on, comprise infringement of option to OK condition which is gotten from that of human poise and constantly to that of life which is a crucial right. Concisely put, common freedoms infringement particularly that of Life and Human pride by legislative organizations and private residents, flourish in these occasions acquire in Nigeria; danger of Boko Haram insurrection and different demonstrations of psychological warfare, Militancy in the Niger Delta area, Kidnapping, Bribery and Corruption, Government harshness, Unemployment, Inflation, neediness, Police and Military mercilessness on regular folks and the preferences (Ogoloma, 2014).

Among various assortments of governments or systems, law based government is the best upholder and respecter of basic freedoms. In that capacity, articulation of basic freedoms blooms most in a just setting. In Nigeria, law based practice and its ensuing assurance of basic liberties are not what they should be. The glaring infringement of common freedoms in law based Nigeria by so numerous legislative organizations provides reason to feel ambiguous about the physicality of genuine popularity based practice in Nigeria. Regard for basic liberties enhances vote based system and makes it the most ideal choice among numerous others. The Nigerian vote based system is deprived of its one of its delights, (maintaining human of rights), by the rulers and their companions. These individuals consider themselves to be exempt from the laws that apply to everyone else and have no respects for fair treatment and rule of law. The resistance condition in the 1999 Nigerian constitution is a variation of genuine majority rule practice. Individuals ought to be responsible for both their activities and inactions promptly and not in the wake of abandoning workplaces. One of the wonders of vote based system is the standard of law. This investigation requires a genuine majority rules system in Nigeria as opposed to the non military personnel organization that exists right now in the nation. It brings up some administration offices that have no respects for basic freedoms and how to manage them, all together, to have genuine law based Nigeria that can contrast well and different majority rule governments on the planet.

Popularity based administration takes care of into monetary and social approaches that are receptive to individuals' needs and yearnings, that target killing neediness and extending the decisions that individuals have in their lives, and that regard the requirements of people in the future. Contingent upon the specific circumstance and the abrogating objective looked for, good administration has been said at different occasions to incorporate full regard of common liberties, United Nations Commission for Human Rights (2012). Fundamentally, vote based administration is the way toward making and continuing a situation for comprehensive and responsive political cycles and regard of the privileges of the residents.

Basic liberties are essential rights and opportunity that all individuals are qualified for paying little mind to identity, sex, public or ethnic starting point, race, religion, language, or different status. It incorporates common and political rights, for example, the privilege to life, freedom and opportunity of articulation and social, social and financial rights remembering the option to take an interest for political decision, to work and get training.

Common freedoms are the basic highlights of any obvious law based setting on the grounds that the embodiment of vote based system itself depends on the possibility of basic liberties. Common freedoms are generally seen as the basic privileges of individuals (Enebe, 2008). They are the lawful qualifications which each resident could appreciate unafraid of the administration or its kindred residents. They are those rights which can't be said to have been given to man by man yet are earned by man for being a human on the grounds that these are vital for his consistent glad presence with himself, his kindred man and for investment in an unpredictable society (Kaluge, 2013, p.4).

The essential issues engaged with principal basic liberties as indicated by Ndifon (2013) are (an) opportunity rights – opportunity from abuse in its different structures, (b) investment rights – in the dynamic cycles in different circle of life, (c) benefits right – to food, work, clinical consideration, instruction, and so on. In an investigation of the turn of events and development of basic freedoms (Enebe, 2008; Nwaofor, 2010; Kaluge, 2013; Ndifon, 2013) grouped the phases in the development of common liberties into three ages: common and political rights; financial, social and social rights; and solidarity or network rights.

It must be noticed that in a popularity based society, the fundamental privileges of the residents are ensured. That is the reason each cutting edge constitution contains some conventional certifications of social equality. In any case, there is an incredible difference at the degree of genuineness that these rights are ensured by various nations. This incited Austin Ranney to comment that, "the simple presence of officially ensured rights in any country's constitution implies at any rate that the composers, for reasons unknown, regarded it alluring to offer in any event empty talk and maybe more to the possibility of the privileges of men" (Ranney, 1975 :528).

E: Democracy and Human Rights under Buhari

There is no doubt that Nigerian Constitution contains expound arrangements conceding essential rights to Nigerians. There is likewise no uncertainty that the said arrangements were in congruity with global common freedom instruments with the point of developing majority rule administration in the nation. What has anyway raised concerns was the degree to which progressive governments especially the current government have advanced and watched the arrangements.

Basic liberties security as utilized here involves cognizant endeavors focused at forestalling infringement of unavoidably and lawfully ensured rights and offering change, cures or authorizes if common freedoms are disregarded and envisioning issues and utilizing compelling techniques and components to manage the foreseen issues before they happen. It likewise includes accepting and reacting roughly to, and following up on individual and gathering grumblings on common freedoms infringement.

As indicated by Jega (2007), the advancement of common liberties includes making residents know their privileges, to have the option to safeguard them, just as know the privileges of others, to have the option to regard and not break them. It likewise incorporates preparing of the law implementation staff and those associated with the organization of equity, to empower them show more prominent regard for others' privileges, and affectability and propriety in taking care of common liberties issues in their obligations as open officials. All these are pointed toward digging in the way of life of regard for common freedoms.

Basic liberties records of the administrations of Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo, Musa Yarádua and Goodluck Jonathan were excessively corrupted by infractions and infringement no uncertainty, anyway the desires for the individuals were increased by the change mantra of the current government with respect to the insurance of the privileges of Nigerians under the current regulation.

In a majority rules system, the standard of law secures the privileges of people, jam request, and cutoff points forces of government. The converse is by all accounts the case in Nigeria. Common freedoms are not regarded. Extra-legal executing, unlawful confinement, and different arrangement of denials of basic freedoms are as yet predominant. Ofoegbu (2013: 60) noticed that the most noteworthy basic liberties issues in Nigeria are extra-legal killings and utilization of exorbitant power by security powers, exemption for maltreatments by security powers, discretionary captures, drawn out pre-preliminary detainment, legal defilement, and chief wilderness and impact on the legal framework. Writers are as yet being dogged and detained in the nation in a manner memory of the military interregnum. The privilege of the individuals to uninhibitedly communicate is in peril and police

fierceness and wanton maltreatment of court orders are disturbing. The right to life granted Nigerians by the Constitution has been taken away and the society is daily regaled by reports of pogrom and fratricidal carnages meted to the people by Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen. In a newspaper article entitled *The Story of Cain, Abel and Nigeria*, Abimbola Adelokun as cited by Igomu (2015) captured the state of the present day Nigeria thus:

Today, Nigeria is literally bleeding. There is too much violence. We have bred enough Frankenstein monsters to haunt us. We feed them red meat each time they cry for blood. Those who are not killed by Boko Haram are killed by the Joint Task Force. Those who escape the JTF fall into the hands of min-bending illiteracy. Those who manage to escape all those are consumed by road accidents. Some die in poorly equipped hospitals. Those lucky to bypass all of the above are either killed with hunger, poverty, or frustration practically turns them a living dead.

As per Human Right Watch Report (2017), the continuous Boko Haram struggle in the North-east, patterns of mutual viciousness among pastoralists and ranchers, and nonconformist fights in the Southern part characterized Nigeria's common freedoms scene in 2017. Another report by the United States Government distributed on Premium Times of March 26, 2018 has portrayed Nigeria as a nation where defilement, official exemption, and gross basic liberties infringement happen freely. As indicated by the Report, the fear based oppressor gathering, Boko Haram, and the Nigerian Government are the most exceedingly terrible culprits of denials of basic liberties in the nation. The most genuine denials of basic freedoms during the year were those dedicated by Boko Haram, which directed killings, bombings, kidnapping and assault of ladies, and different assaults all through the nation, bringing about various passings, wounds, and broad decimation of property; those submitted by security administrations, which executed extrajudicial killings, torment, assault, beatings, discretionary confinement, abuse of prisoners, and pulverization of property; and inescapable cultural viciousness, including ethnic, local, and strict savagery.

Nigerian government has neglected to actualize a December 2016 court request for the arrival of Ibrahim El Zakzaky, pioneer of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN). Zakzaky and his better half Zeenat, just as several IMN individuals have been in confinement without preliminary since December 2015 when warriors executed 347 IMN individuals in Zaria, Kaduna State. Savagery among itinerant and cultivating networks spread past the North-Central area to southern pieces of the nation in 2017. Several individuals were executed and thousands dislodged.

In July 2017, two days of conflicts among herders and ranchers killed more than 30 individuals in Kajuru town, 31 miles outside the city of Kaduna, Kaduna State. A comparative assault in Jos, Plateau State left 19 dead and five harmed in September. The legislative leader of Kaduna State required the mediation of the local alliance, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to end the enduring savagery between the two gatherings.

In April 2017, Nnamdi Kanu, pioneer of the dissident Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) was delivered from confinement on the sets of a court. He was captured in October 2015 and confined on treachery charges because of calls for Igbo autonomy by IPOB. In June 2017 a northern-intrigue pressure gathering, the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF), gave a notification requesting that Igbos leave northern Nigeria before October 1, 2017, or face "obvious activities." Following judgment by different conversationalists, including United Nations free specialists, the AYCF pulled back the quit notice in late August 2017.

Nigerian press, reinforced by solid common society, remains generally free. In any case, writers face provocation, and the execution of a 2015 Cyber Crime Act takes steps to diminish opportunity of appearance. In January 2017, police captured two columnists, the distributor and legal executive reporter of an online distribution, Premium Times in Abuja for articles that purportedly demonstrated "profound scorn for the Nigerian armed force." In June, Ibraheema Yakubu, a writer with the Hausa Radio Service of the German Deutsche Welle was captured and kept while covering a parade by the Muslim Shiites bunch in Kaduna. He was apparently slapped and beaten by the cops.

In August 2017, police captured and confined writer, Danjuma Katsina, in Katsina State for posting supposedly "damaging remarks" about a legislator on Facebook. The two writers were delivered following a day each in detainment following the mediation of authorities of the Nigerian Union of Journalists. Day by day Post News Online of February 22, 2018 correspondingly announced that "On 19 September 2017, the Katsina State police captured three bloggers, Jamil Mabai, Bashir Dauda and Umar Faruq, for scrutinizing the Governor. "On 19 January 2018, police assaulted the workplaces of Premium Times and captured distributor Dapo Olorunyomi and reporter Evelyn Okakwu for a few hours, after the Chief of Army Staff blamed the paper for hostile distributions."

The Director of Defense Information reported, in August 2017, that the military would screen web-based media for disdain discourse, hostile to government and against security data. The legislature additionally guided the National Broadcasting Commission to authorize any radio or TV channel that broadcasts scorn discourse. It threatened to charge people found to spread yet-to-be defined hate speech under the Terrorism Prevention Act. Daily Post News Online of February 22, 2018 published the **damning Report of Amnesty International on arbitrary arrest, unlawful killings and communal violence, freedom of assembly and expression as follows:**

On Arbitrary Arrests

By April 2017, the military detained more than 4,900 in extremely overcrowded facility in Giwa Barrack. Disease, dehydration and starvation killed at least 340 detainees.

At least 200 children, as young as four were detained in children's overcrowded cell.

Hundreds of women believed to be related to Boko Haram members were held by the military.

In September 2017 the Office of Attorney General announced mass trial of Boko Haram suspects.

On Unlawful Killings

At least 12 IPOB members were killed by soldiers in Umuahia in Abia state on September 14, 2017.

There was outrage over activities of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), and after huge pressure, police agreed to reform the squad.

On Communal Violence

Lingering violence between herdsmen and farmers claimed more than 549 and displaced thousands in 12 states.

In February 21 villagers were killed by suspected herdsmen in Atad, Kaura district, Kaduna State.

Twenty one people were killed by suspected herdsmen in Ancha village of Miango, Plateau state.

An attack by suspected herdsmen lead to the death of 27 people in Nkyie-Doghwro, Plateau state.

In December herdsmen attacked 5 villages in Demsa LGA Adamawa State, killing up to 57 people.

On Freedom of Assembly

The police continued to deny Islamic Movement of Nigeria, which was banned by the Kaduna State government in 2016, the right to peaceful protest.

On 25 July, Police in Kano city prevented a group of women from protesting against the persistent rape of women and children in the state.

On Freedom of Expression

On 19 September 2017, the Katsina State police arrested three bloggers, Jamil Mabai, Bashir Dauda and Umar Faruq for criticizing the Governor.

On 19 January 2018, police raided the offices of Premium Times and arrested publisher Dapo Olorunyomi and correspondent Evelyn Okakwu for several hours, after the Chief of Army Staff accused the newspaper of offensive publications.

Other cases of rights violation abound. For instance, on April 26, 2016, Sahara Reporters reported that a human right lawyer and activist, Chief Femi Falana SAN had asked President Muhammadu Buhari in a petition to order investigations into a variety of acts of impunity and human rights abuses under his government, particularly extra-judicial execution of criminal suspects by the police and the unlawful killing of unarmed civilians including women and children by the armed forces.

The newspaper reported that "On February 22, 2016, a platoon of soldiers invaded Ogoniland in Rivers State and killed three unarmed youths," Falana noted that the demand of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) that the culprits be prosecuted has been ignored by the authorities. Falana also complained about the trend of publicly parading robbery and kidnap suspects before the media in clear breach of the constitutional provisions on presumption of innocent.

It is worthy of note that democracies are to preserve human rights in line with the 1948 universal declaration of human rights. Nigeria has seen human rights abuses since its inception, but our focus is limited to the first term of President Buhari from 2015-2019. Based on this, the World Report (2019), asserted that the heightened political tensions ahead of the 2019 elections in which President Muhammadu Buhari sought re-election defined Nigeria's rights landscape in 2018. Despite notable military advances, and apparently premature proclamations of Boko Haram's defeat by government forces, the group remained a threat to security in the northeast region. Accordingly Utomi (2018), argued in the same direction when he opined that abductions, suicide bombings, and attacks on civilian targets by Boko Haram persisted during this period under study. According to him, at least 1,200 people died and nearly 200,000 were displaced in the northeast in 2018. In June, at least 84 people were killed in double suicide bomb attacks attributed to Boko Haram at a mosque in Mubi, Adamawa State(Utomi, 2018).

More so, there has existed decades old communal conflict between nomadic herdsmen and farmers in the Middle Belt intensified in 2018 and further exacerbated the security situation in the country. At least 1,600 people were killed and another 300,000 displaced as a result of the violence (Utomi, 2018). Similarly *Sunnewsonline.com* (2017:23), posited that....civil society led campaigns against arbitrary arrests, detention, and torture exposed human rights abuses by security agencies, including by the Department of State Security Services (DSS) and the Police Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) became intense and fierce due largely to human rights abuses perpetuated by security agencies of the country. This constantly put to question the potency and practicability of democracy as a form of government in Nigeria. If anything is to go by, why do we continue to uphold the very tenets of democracy in theory but in practice it becomes questionable. If the definition of democracy as government of the people, for the people and by the people is anything to go by, why do we still have political insecurity exhibited in arbitral defamation of human rights and relegation to the background anything like majority rule. If really governments draw their powers to function from the people, one big question yearning for answers is the inability of the same government to preserve the rights given to the people as a result of the social contract.

In a related development, Ajasin (2018), averred that although Boko Haram's territorial control shrank to small pockets of villages around Lake Chad as a result of sustained government military action, factions of the insurgency group continued to carry out attacks against civilians in the region.

In February 2018, insurgents abducted 110 schoolgirls from Dapchi, Yobe State, in a style reminiscent of the 2014 abduction of 276 Chibok school girls. One hundred and four of the Dapchi girls were released two weeks later after negotiations with the

government. Five of the remaining girls reportedly died in captivity and one girl, Leah Sharibu, continues to be held hostage allegedly for refusing to deny her Christian faith. About 100 of the Chibok schoolgirls remain unaccounted for this has put the democratic governance practiced in Nigeria in to a great check. It is an undeniable fact that there has existed other social vices before now, but the Buhari administration seems to have heightened to whole insecurity to a greater extent.

In line with the above a World Bank Report (2018), held that in September and October, Boko Haram insurgents executed Saifura Ahmed and Hauwa Liman, both aid workers with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) who were since held in captive since March same year. The report equally held that in June 2018, there was a twin suicide bomb attacks and grenade explosions by suspected Boko Haram fighters which reports had it that 31 people died while 48 others sustained several degrees of injuries during Muslim religious celebrations in Damboa, Borno State. The attack occurred in the wake of Chief of Army Staff Tukur Buratai's speech encouraging displaced people to return to their communities.

This day newspaper (2018:7), reported that over 35,000 internally displaced people returned to northeast communities despite security concerns and lack of basic necessities, including food and shelter became a great challenge for them to battle with. What then is democratic about a government that cannot adequately take care of its people. How can we begin to juxtapose the claim that it is government of the majority when it has become seemingly clear that it is the government of the few (elites). The report equally held that within two months of the return of 25,000 people to Gudumbali Borno State in July, suspected members of Boko Haram's Islamic State's West Africa franchise killed eight people and temporarily took control of the town.

Furthermore, between October 2017 and July 2018, authorities conducted three rounds of trials of over 1,500 Boko Haram suspects in a military base in Kainji Niger State. Some defendants had been in detention since 2009 and the majority faced charges of material and non-violent support to Boko Haram. The trials were fraught with irregularities, including lack of interpreters, inadequate legal defense, lack of prosecutable evidence or witnesses and non-participation of victims (Ajasin, 2018).

The major worry of most Nigerian has become the indirect as well as direct use of the security personnel which were meant to safeguard the lives of properties of the generality of Nigerian against them question which yearns for answer is, has these security personnel turn to serve the interest of the few in a democratic dispensation. What is the job of the Nigerian armed forces outside the barracks. Are they not supposed to live a regimented life, in the sense that since Nigeria is a democratic country, they are not to be found outside the barracks expect in extreme cases of external invasion or internal insurrection. The wrongful dismissal of DSS Director General Lawal Daura by the Vice President Yemi Osinbajo in August for the unauthorized sealing of the National Assembly has left many wondering the kind power showcased by these security personnel (Utomi, 2018). The National Human Rights Commission (2018), reported that under Daura's three-year leadership, the agency repeatedly violated rights, including carrying out unlawful arrests, prolonged detention without trial, and torture of detainees. More so, Okoli (2018), posited that despite court orders, the DSS refused to release a former national security adviser, Sambo Dasuki, as well as the Shia Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) leader, Sheik Ibrahim El Zakzaky and his wife, Ibraheemat, all of whom have been in detention pending trial since 2015.

Similarly Odeh (2018), argued that the Nigerian Police has continued their crackdown on protests by members of the Shia IMN and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) separatist group with arrests and detention. He reported that only in April 2018, 115 Shia IMN members were arrested in Abuja during a protest for the release of their leader Sheik Zakzaky and his wife. The Nigerian soldiers equally killed at least 42 more in Abuja during similar protests in October (Gaurdian, 2018:8).

A report by Human Rights Watch (2018), has it that on August 17, 112 women were arrested and prosecuted in Owerri, Imo State, for protesting the disappearance of IPOB leader, Nnamdi Kanu. These women were discharged and released by a court six days later. In a related development, *Daily post* (2018:4), has it that in December 2017 there arose a nationwide if not worldwide social media campaign against human rights abuses by the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), including extortion, illegal arrests, torture and extra-judicial killing.

In a divergent view, Igomu (2017), asserted that the recurring violence between herdsmen and farmers, as well as related cattle theft and banditry in many northern states, including Zamafara and Kaduna, posed serious threats to peace and security. Although the violence is increasingly described in religious terms, competing claims to land and other resources are at its core. United Nations Report (2017), has it that in June 2016, a typical reprisal attack began after farmers allegedly killed five herdsmen for allegedly trespassing on farms in Plateau state. In apparent retaliation, herdsmen attacked villages in the area, killing 86 and injuring hundreds, including women and children. In September, suspected herdsmen killed 51 people and abducted about 24 others in Numan, Adamawa State.

Uncoordinated and inadequate responses by state and federal authorities deepened mistrust and perception of authorities' bias and complicity in the violence. *Sunnewsonlie* (2017), reported that in May 2017, at least 45 people were killed in an attack by bandits in Gwaska village, Kaduna State. Zamfara state was perhaps the worst affected by frequent bandit attacks, who killed at least 400 people and displaced over 38,000 in 2018 which necessitated the government's deployment of about 1,000 military troops to the state to tackle insecurity.

Although the Nigerian press remains largely free, several arrests and detention of journalists and activists in Nigeria especially in 2018 suggest a disturbing trend toward repression of freedom of expression and media. According to the *Weekly source newspaper* (2018), in August, a social media campaign for the release of Jones Abiri, a journalist and publisher of *Weekly Source* newspaper forced the DSS to bring him before an Abuja Magistrate court, more than two years after his detention in 2016.

The court discharged him of the charges because the prosecution failed to substantiate them. Another court awarded him \$270,000 in damages for breach of his human rights. Similarly, an Abuja court conditionally released *Premium Times* journalist, Samuel Ogundipe, amid protests and campaigns for his freedom. He was arrested and prosecuted by SARS for allegedly refusing to disclose the source for a story about a police inspector general, Ibrahim Idris.

Collaboratively, Okeke and Obiora (2018), posits that international actors, notably the United States and the United Kingdom, continued to support the Nigerian government's effort to tackle security challenges and provide humanitarian aid to vulnerable communities. To this end in August 2018, Nigerian Air Force urged the US to expedite delivery of 12 A-29 Super Tucano light attack aircraft worth \$496 million. The Trump administration approved the sale in 2017, lifting the freeze imposed by the Obama administration over human rights concerns. The US also provided training to the Nigerian military, and in June, announced \$102 million in humanitarian assistance for people affected by the northeast conflict.

In a contrary report the World Report (2019), shows that Nigeria which is currently sitting on the UN Human Rights Council, in July abstained from voting on a resolution on the human rights situation in Syria, Venezuela, Yemen, and Burundi; and another resolution urging states to respect and protect basic human rights and civil society space. How can we begin to ask states to respect human rights when Nigerian government under the leadership of the same head of state has continued to violate human rights. In November 2018, under the HRC's Universal Periodic Review mechanism, states made 290 recommendations to Nigeria, including to combat all forms of discrimination, especially against women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex persons; combat impunity; and abolish the death penalty.

The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) continued its preliminary examination into the situation in Nigeria, with a focus on alleged international crimes committed in the Niger Delta, the Middle-Belt states and in the Boko Haram conflict. The preliminary examination also focuses on the status of national proceedings regarding these crimes. In August, President Buhari delivered the keynote address at the 20th Anniversary of the ICC's Rome Statute event at The Hague and used the opportunity to mark Nigeria's strong support for the ICC's mandate.

Nigeria, a member of the African Union Peace and Security Council (PSC), in April led the PSC on a South Sudan field mission aimed at fostering peace talks in the nation, which entered its fifth year of armed conflict. In a letter to President Buhari in March, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) declared the government's proscription of IPOB as a terrorist group and attacks against its members as prima facie violation of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. In April, Nigeria's sixth periodic report on the implementation of the charter was considered at the ACHPR's 62nd Ordinary Session in Mauritania.

F: Conclusion and Recommendations

Human rights cannot be taken away in a democracy because democratic governments exist to cater for the interest of the populace by safeguarding their fundamental rights. The import of human rights is today underscored by elaborate provisions in the constitutions of states. In the case of Nigeria, the 1999 Constitution as amended provides for the rights of Nigeria, however, what is still lacking is any serious and conscious attempt by the present government to abide by those provisions. It is therefore germane that the government takes proactive steps to properly sensitize the people of their right. It is also necessary to re-orient the security agents by way of training to always respect the rights of Nigerians.

Based on the findings of the study, it was recommended that the following should be strictly adhered to as policy measures towards ensuring that the citizens enjoys the dividends of democracy as obtainable in other developed as well as developing countries of the world. The recommendations are as follows;

1. In order to promote good governance there is every need for sound anti-corruption policies devoid of rhetoric.
2. In addition, the legislature and the judicial arm must be functional and alive to their responsibilities, since a healthy and sound judiciary and legislature are sine qua non for good and democratic governance.

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