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The implication for Nigerian Fourth Republic**

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Abstract

In any political system the presence of government and citizens is sine qua non. In keeping with the purpose for which government was established, citizens expect government not only to be responsible for all its actions towards them, but also be responsive to their yearning just as government expects its citizens to discharge their duties to the state. It is often claimed that democracy is a system of government that enables both the leaders and the citizens to be conscious of what is required, and accomplish it for the betterment of the society in terms of political, social and economic development. In Nigeria, it is argued, however, that neither government nor the citizens have discharged their statutory functions satisfactorily. The study was undertaken to examine the extent to which the Nigerian state and its citizens have lived up to their statutory and civic requirements. The study revealed that most citizens of Nigeria are politically docile, gullible, and parochial. This has led to a situation where citizen's rights are trampled upon and made them easy target of elites' maneuvers. The citizens' level of political awareness and participation is low and this has resulted in the being shirking of their duties to the state. The work is of the view that democratic system in Nigeria could only be sustained when both the state and its citizens accept their duties and responsibilities as being inherent and inalienable. Both descriptive and historical methods were used in the study. It recommended among others that government should work to help citizens through massive education to develop their capacity for democratic participations and civic leadership.

Key words: *citizens, government, state, obligations*

Introduction

Among the major attributes of any state are the existence of government and the citizens. These two attributes are so indispensable that without them the state cannot function. Government as a major institution of the state, has the responsibility of using power at its disposal to protect citizens, work for their welfare, ensure justice, regulate the activities of both individuals and organizations as well as ensure individual freedom. Government must as a matter of fact do all these to create conducive environment for the citizens to thrive. On the other hand, citizens have several duties to perform in order to aid the state to fulfill its responsibilities and ensure good governance. These duties include payment of taxes, obeying the law of the land, being patriotic, loyal and honest as well as assisting the enforcement agencies to do their rightful duties among others. The discharge of responsibilities and duties by the government and the citizens is not only obligatory but also mandatory. The government and citizens of Nigeria are not exempted from these responsibilities.

As a territorial state, Nigeria evolved gradually under British administration which started with the establishment of the Crown Colony of Lagos in 1861 to when its various components were amalgamated in 1914 and designated Niger area. After a century of constitutional and political development, Nigeria got independence from the colonialists in October 1960.

Nigeria is a federal republic consisting of 36 states and 774 local government areas all recognized by the constitution, thus making it a federation with three tiers of government. The fourth republic actually started from May 29, 1999 when pressure from both domestic and international communities compelled the military to disengage from active politics and hand over government to civilians. Before then, Nigeria had first, second and third republics due to incessant military interventions. In the first republic, Nigeria experimented with parliamentary system which was patterned after that of Britain their erstwhile colonial masters. The system failed and was replaced by the American type of presidential democracy. The second republic which ran from

1979-1983 also failed. The third republic which the 1989 constitution was supposed to usher in was not a full-fledged democracy. It had both military and civilian personnel to man the state of affairs under a diarchal system. The failure of this system gave way to another full military engagement which later gave way to another democratic dispensation which is now known as the fourth republic. It is generally agreed that the blight of Nigeria as a country is not in the type of political system in operation but with the operators of the system and the citizenry. In the more than one hundred years of existence of Nigeria as an entity and about sixty years as an independent nation, both government and citizens are far from living up to their statutory obligations. Of more concern is the fact that the failure of the first three republics was attributed to the failure on the part of the government and citizens to live up to their terms of contract. Government is reneging on its responsibility to protect citizens lives and property, promote welfare of its citizens as well as ensure individual freedom. On the other hand, citizens are described variously as being docile, gullible and having a lackadaisical attitude towards civic issues with the attendant effects of being tossed about, maneuvered and cajoled by the government. The implications of such delinquency on the part of government and citizens on the working of the fourth republic is the concern of this piece.

Conceptual exploration

Governmental structures are dependent variables. This is one of the major reasons that contemporary political science tends to play down on institutional analysis and instead concentrate on the behavioural elements. A mere designation of a governmental structure or institutional system as presidential is, politically, hardly very informative. The designation is broad, vague, and ambiguous. There are presidential systems upon presidential systems in the world today. In some of them, the president is the head of both the state and the government, as in Nigeria today, while in others the president is only the head of state, as it was the case in Nigeria's first republic.

In the latter case, the president exercised no meaningful or significant political power. Such power was exercised by the Prime Minister or Head of Government. Current nomenclatural bifurcation into executive president to refer to the one who is both the Head of state as well as the head of government and the ceremonial president to refer to the other who is only the head of state is an attempt to eliminate the denotational ambiguity attending the concept of presidential system of government.

A country which has this system of government is known as a republic. Here again, republics are of different typologies. There are republics ruled only by the well-born or the rich. These are the aristocracies and the oligarchies. Their forms of government may be constitutional if the officers are chosen by citizens for terms of years, but the hitch here is that the voters who choose the officers are elitist because qualification is based on birth or purse. In a democratic republic, the many, comprising adults of both sexes, rather than the few choose the office-holders within a principle of franchise known as universal adult suffrage. The supreme political power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by their chosen representatives, among whom are the president and the legislator (Adler, 1963). Nigeria's fourth republic has this model of government. That is also why it is called a republic.

Citizen and Citizenship

A citizen, in its most general sense, connotes an individual member of a given political society or state; by extension, one who owes allegiance to and may lawfully demand protection from the government of that State (Fajonyomi, 2012). Such a person is conferred with what is referred to as citizenship. Citizenship has been defined as the right to have rights. It is as Marshall (1963) opines, a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. As Lister (1997: 41) argues: 'To be a citizen in the legal and sociological sense means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation. To act as a citizen involves fulfilling the potential of that status'.

Under the Nigerian constitution, citizenship can be acquired in three ways: by birth, by registration, and by naturalization. (Nigerian Constitution, 1999, Chapter III).

Democracy

Opinions differ as to what is democracy. As a word it means different thing to different people. Hunt (1962:637) observed, "To Plato it meant mob rule or anarchy. To some people today it means capitalism; to others it means socialism; to still others it means the Russian brand of communism." Abraham Lincoln the sixteenth president of the United States of America defined democracy as the government of the people by the people and for the people. Satori (1965) in his discussion of concept of democracy defined it variably as power of the people and the rule of the people among others. To Hunt (1962) it denotes a government by the many as opposed to the government by one or the few. Concurring, as it were with Hunt, Dahl (1970) asserted, "a democracy is a political system in which the opportunity to participate in decisions is widely shared among all adults' citizens".

As Raphael (1971) perceives democracy is not something way off yonder nor is its most important privilege the right to vote somebody, rather, it is the way the ablest members of the group carry out their responsibilities when chosen as leaders, whether these groups be the villages, the districts, the states or the whole country. Both Raphael (1971) and Sartori (1965) refer to the concept of democracy in the form rendered above as etymological democracy, i.e., democracy as linguistically specified in the historical changes or development of the term and concept, democracy in ideal. In practice, the system is yet to attain this ideal. From all indications in modern time the actual practice of democracy in its realistic form falls short of its ideal. This is so even among all western countries who claim to be champions of democracy.

Hence Williams (1965) argued that Demokratia, a Greek word, meant rule by the people. Disagreeing vehemently with Satori, Williams proposed that demos, another

Greek word which forms the prefix of democracy, meant not the plenum, the entire body or an organic whole as the former posited. According to him, demos referred not to the generality of people but to the Greek ruling class only. He then opined that government is of the people and for the people, but in no country is it by the people. Government is always by the few.

Expatriating more upon the fact that democracy is always a system of government of the people and for the people but not by the people, Williams declared, reality is concealed by the great stir of election when candidates for office appeal to the people for votes and the general voting by the people gives them the erroneous feeling that they, the people, are running things through the men elected into office. Actually, they themselves do not choose the ones for whom they vote. The candidates for office are generally selected by a few men. People vote for one or the other of the candidates presented to them by party leaders.

In a nut shell, a democracy is a system of government where opportunity is open to all who are willing to participate in political affairs of a nation. The Nigerian political system has the essential characteristics of democracy and republican, and therefore it may be described as both democratic and republican.

Theoretical Consideration

According to the social contract theoreticians, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the individual is prior to the political community and the government. His natural rights and freedom, too, precede society and government, for men, they say, first lived in a state of nature where they had absolute freedom and right to live in the way they considered best for them and to compete or struggle, if necessary, among themselves for the acquisition of the material things necessary for their realization of happiness and security for their persons and estate. In this regard, man-made so much use of his freedom and right to compete with one another that there emerged a condition called war, according to Thomas Hobbes, and such a war as

is of every man against every man with the result that there was continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (Olafson, 1965).

For John Locke, men in the state of nature were in a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they (thought) fit, within the bounds of the law of nature; without asking leave, or depending on the will of any other man. That state was also a state of equality wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal. Men had perfect political equality and independence. There was no subordination of any one man to another (Olafson, 1965).

Because Locke considered man reasonable and guided by the law of nature, the life of man was, unlike Hobbes' view, good. Men lived together, however, according to reason, without a common superior on earth, with authority to judge between them where a criminal violated the right of another man. In such an instance, the injured person relied on his ability or power to redress the injury. Here, at times, might determine right to the disparagement of justice and detriment of the weak.

Living as they did under continual fear and danger of violent death, from Hobbes' viewpoint, or the absence of a common superior on earth, with authority to whom an appeal for settlement could be made by parties to a controversy, men in the state of nature reached, as Jean-Jacques Rousseau puts it, a point at which the obstacles that endanger their preservation in the state of nature (overcome) by their resistance the forces which each individual can exert with a view to maintaining himself in that state.

To overcome these obstacles, men coalesced with one another to establish a form of association which could defend and protect with the whole force of the community, the person and property of every associate as well as the association itself. In other words, the intolerable situation in the state of nature gave rise to society and government in which men agreed to respect one another's rights, not for altruistic motives, but for protection and expediency.

St. Thomas Aquinas, too, supports this necessitarian point of view. He argues that it is natural for man to be a social and political animal. He points out that nature has provided animals with their basic needs. They are provided with food, hair as covering, teeth, horn, claws as means of defense, and speed in flight. Man has none of these things. He is, instead provided with reason with which he can provide for himself those things that he needs by the work of his hands, but one person cannot supply himself with all his needs. Aquinas continues,

it became, therefore, necessary for man to live
in a group *so that each one may assist his
fellows and different men may be occupied in
seeking by their reason to make different
discoveries.*

In sum, men gave-up the state of nature and established society by means of social contract which guaranteed each his rights and spelt out his duties for the mutual preservation of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness. They set up government comprising people selected from their midst and contractually established it as a trust or an agent of the people to operate solely for the protection of individual rights and freedom while the individual also still retained those rights of freedom. The society so formed was a republic and the head of the society was what we call president today. This also explains, theoretically, the origin of modern republics.

In modern thinking and quite obvious from the foregoing discussion, therefore, a presidential or republican government is a system that operates under the rule of law. It is a government guided by constitution which may be written or unwritten, as evidenced in the history of government and society sketched earlier. The whole society is meant to function under objective, substantive, and procedural due processes of law that are to be operated and applied universally without discrimination between individuals or institutions. Each member of the society, be it human, institutional, natural, artificial, or corporate, undertakes or has to undertake to obey the laws and

follow the procedures or processes as he finds them (Benemy, 1968). Democratic system need active, informed and responsible citizens and who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and their communities and contribute to the political process. For democracies to thrive citizens must among other things, be aware of their rights and responsibilities, informed about the social and political world, be concerned about the welfare of others as well as be articulate in their opinions and arguments and responsible in how they act as citizens. It is for this reason that the role of the government in this system attracts curiosity.

The Rights and Duties of Citizens

The benefits which a man enjoys as a member of a state are called rights. These rights are indispensably necessary for the welfare of the individual and society. The citizens enjoy these rights given by the state and by the help and support of the state.

In Nigeria, citizen's rights and duties are explicitly enshrined in chapter 14 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as "Fundamental Rights". It listed them as:

- – Right to life.
- – Right to dignity of human persons.
- – Right to personal liberty.
- – Right to fair hearing.
- – Right to privacy.
- – Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.
- – Right to freedom of expression.
- – Right to freedom of movement.
- – Right to freedom from discrimination.
- – Right to property ownership.

Specifically, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has prescribed certain duties of the citizen in section 24. Under this section, the citizen is expected to

abide by the Constitution; to respect its ideals and help enhance the powers, the prestige and the good name of Nigeria; to respect the legitimate interests and dignity of other citizens; to make positive and useful contribution to the advancement, progress and well-being of the community; to render assistance to appropriate and lawful agencies in the maintenance of law and order and prompt payment of taxes (Okom,2004). Section 23 the of 1999 Constitution which is the national ethic section also impliedly confers on citizens' certain responsibilities. The section provides that the national ethics shall be discipline, integrity, dignity of labour, social justice, religious tolerance, self-reliance, and patriotism

The citizens have a duty to demand of their government, respect and recognition for all their fundamental human rights. It is theirs to call on the government to create for the society an atmosphere that is conducive to the quiet enjoyment of all those rights as well as facilities that encourage same. Citizens have a duty to make the government continuously aware of the fact that it is accountable to them as the sovereign and expect government not to be indifferent but positively responsive to particular demands, public opinion, and the general needs of the people in the interest of the general welfare of all the citizens and the continuity of the state. Any attempt by the government to ignore the opinion of the public on the flimsy excuse that if it listened it will not be able to do anything is a travesty of the principles of republicanism, since the consent of the people as the supreme authority is the standard of right policy for the government. It is here that political education or awareness of the masses in the society is a necessity and general education for all becomes a birthright, because it is only an enlightened populace that can meet this demand.

In keeping with the purpose for which the government was established or the terms of the social contract, citizens expect that the government will, on its own initiative, pursue policies that will enhance he general well-being of all in the society. In this regard, they expect the government to be responsible for all its actions and behaviour, that is to say, that it will take credits for its successes and accept the

people's blame or castigation for its failures. Here, too, a reciprocal demand falls on the citizens themselves. They must be interested and involved in the processes of government in order to be able to enjoy their rights and perform their duties effectively.

To justify their expectation of the government, citizens have, as a duty, to support the state so as to ensure its continuity and avoid its dissolution or destruction which could automatically lead to a return to the original state of nature abandoned on grounds of its deficiencies. Citizens also have a duty to support the government to enable it to be effective in performing its contractual functions as the agent of the people and personification of the state. To do this, the people must actually avail themselves of their rights and utilize them for the objective purpose of contributing to the sustenance and improvement of the state as well as shutting up the government for the common good of all. They must support the state materially and make themselves available by accepting to serve in various posts where their services may be needed and obey the laws of the country.

Where the government, in contempt of the citizens, demands for improvement and frustration of their expectations, lapses into delinquency or is inefficient, ineffective, corrupt, and sterile, or ignores the constitution, abdicates the rule of law and turns tyrannical and vindictive, or becomes unresponsive to significant public opinion, all of which thwart the purpose for which the government was established and threaten the existence of the state, the citizens have a duty to save the state from destruction. It is their right and duty to replace the government and even restructure the model, if necessary, in order also to protect their right and welfare. Any government that has gone thus afoul has breached the terms of the social contract. Accordingly, the people stand absolved of their obligations to that government, and as Thomas Aquinas put it:

If to provide itself with a king belong to the right of any multitude, it is not unjust that the king set up by that multitude be destroyed or

*his power restricted, if he tyrannically abuses
the royal power.*

Citizens can do this by using the ballot box, pressure on the government to resign or by any other means in accord with the dictates of reason and prudence in their particular circumstance. Like power, government is justified only in so far as it serves the common good, and as rulership is a trust from the community, a ruler is justified in his actions only on the basis of his contribution to the common good. Where a government fails in this primary responsibility, the people owe it to the state and themselves to tell such a government to quit or force it to do so. The people are the sovereign.

The role of government in the society

In exchange for the duties and obligations from the citizens the State has the obligation and mandate to protect and assist the citizens to enjoy the listed fundamental rights. Government obligation includes

Maintaining Internal Order and External Security: The primary and basic function of any government from time immemorial is to protect the social order against internal and external aggression. The government is the only agency which can take such responsibility since it is well equipped to protect a nation against internal disorder and foreign attacks. As the guardian to internal social order, government has at its disposal police, prisons, and courts to use to protect persons, property, rights, and whatever society designates as worthy of preservation.

Ensure Justice: The belief in "justice" appears to be universal, and every modern government professes devotion to it. Justice is a concept which involves the

relationships of individuals (and groups) both to society and to one another. All governments which are based on popular support strive to convince the people that they are being treated justly. People the world over have confidence in their government to the extent that it metes out rewards and punishments in accordance with the popular conception of justice. People are willing to submit their private disputes for public settlement, because they have faith that justice will be done. When government fails to perform this function adequately, and to enforce its decisions, lawlessness becomes widespread and revolution becomes probable.

Safeguarding Individual Freedoms: It is a known fact that in the absence of government there will be no organized, stable society, and without a stable society man would return to the state of nature where only the fittest would survive. The strong would always be exploiting the weak and then struggling with one another. The essence of any government mostly in a democratic system is to safeguard individual freedom.

The Regulatory Function of Government: In early times the functions of government were simple because life itself was simple. These simple societies of early times in which the functions of government were simple have evolved to very complex modern societies. A fact to note is that modern societies wouldn't exist without the readiness and capacity of government to regulate. In the growth of modern societies many institutions and groups have developed to perform various functions. Some of these institutions and groups provide important social services, but often they also have selfish interests which are contrary to the welfare of society. Where this is true government may find it necessary to step in and regulate their activities.

Promoting the General Welfare: In line with power assigned to Government as the agency for overall social control, it has the task of promoting the general welfare in a

variety of ways. These include provision of basic infrastructure such as roads, potable water, electricity, bridges and ports of all kinds. Welfare activities of government also include health services, education, provision of recreation facilities, aid to farmers, social security systems, subsidized private enterprises, even controlled prices, and many other enterprises. In a similar vein, government through the institution of social security system can cushion the inability of citizens to provide for themselves, particularly in the vulnerable conditions of youth, old age, sickness, disability and unemployment due to economic forces beyond their control.

To accomplish all these, government employs institutions at its disposal such as police, prisons, and courts to prohibit, to restrain, to regulate, to compel, and coerce. As Hunt (1961) maintains, it has power to pass laws and enforce them even with physical force due to the fact that it is a compelling organization from which there is no escape. It has universal jurisdiction over the people and everything including all other institutions like religious, educational and business organisations within the nation's territory. Such was the reason why Hunt (1961) could rightly aver that

It regulates the affairs of family, church, and economic enterprise in accordance with its concept of public security, morality, and welfare. Of all institutions of social control government is the most inclusive and the most powerful (620)

Those who constitute the government and, therefore, act for it are chosen by their people to do so. They are representatives of their people as well as their agents but not the principals. They are to lay, as Thomas Aquinas says, the foundation of human happiness by maintaining peace and order; to preserve it by seeing that all the needful services of public administration, of judicature, and defense are performed, and

to improve it by correcting abuses whenever they occur and by removing all hindrances to the good life.

Their positions, too, are not hereditary. The people are the supreme authority and their consent is the standard of right policy for the government.

Government's responsibilities and citizens' duties on the scale: The Nigerian experience

Although government is, admittedly, a promoter of the common good, some governments have also been known to be corrupt. Some have failed to perform necessary functions while others have wasted taxpayers' money. Government functionaries and elected officers have seized position from the principals and become masters instead of agents or servants of the society as it is being witnessed today in Nigeria. It is for all of these that government is often seen as a necessary evil, a possible good, and an unnecessary evil.

The Nigerian government has failed to discharge its responsibilities to its citizens. In the area of maintaining of order, security and safeguarding of individual freedom the government has failed to live up to expectation. Despite claims by the federal authorities and other levels of government of increased security measures, an atmosphere of insecurity persisted across Nigeria. The country is experiencing frequent and widespread cases of kidnapping, banditry and recurring cycles of deadly violence between herdsman and farmers. It is reported that in northern Nigeria at least 1,300 citizens were killed in violence involving herders and farmers. An estimated 300,000 persons were also displaced by the violence. In the same vein, about 27,000 people, including 37 aid workers, have been killed since the onset of Boko Haram conflict in 2009 and, at least 223,000 people are without security while 100,000 have been cut off from humanitarian access as a result of the Boko Haram activities.

Southern Nigeria has not been immune to insecurity. The advent of Niger Delta militia movements and the prodigious escalation of other syndicates in the region since the early 1990s have furthered the parlous state of the domestic security equation in the region. Notable amongst the groups includes, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOB), the Odua People's Congress (OPC), the Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), the Bakassi Boys and the more recently Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) among many others. Since the 1990s, Niger Delta militia groups have been executing wanton attacks on oil installations and kidnapping expatriate oil workers to bespeak their grievances toward the state (Aghedo and Osumah, 2012). Almost too often, many authors are adept at linking the Boko Haram and Niger Delta insurgencies to such drivers as governance failure, poverty, weak security infrastructure, benighted educational sector, ethno-religious egotism and a politics of exclusion (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005; Diamond, 1988).

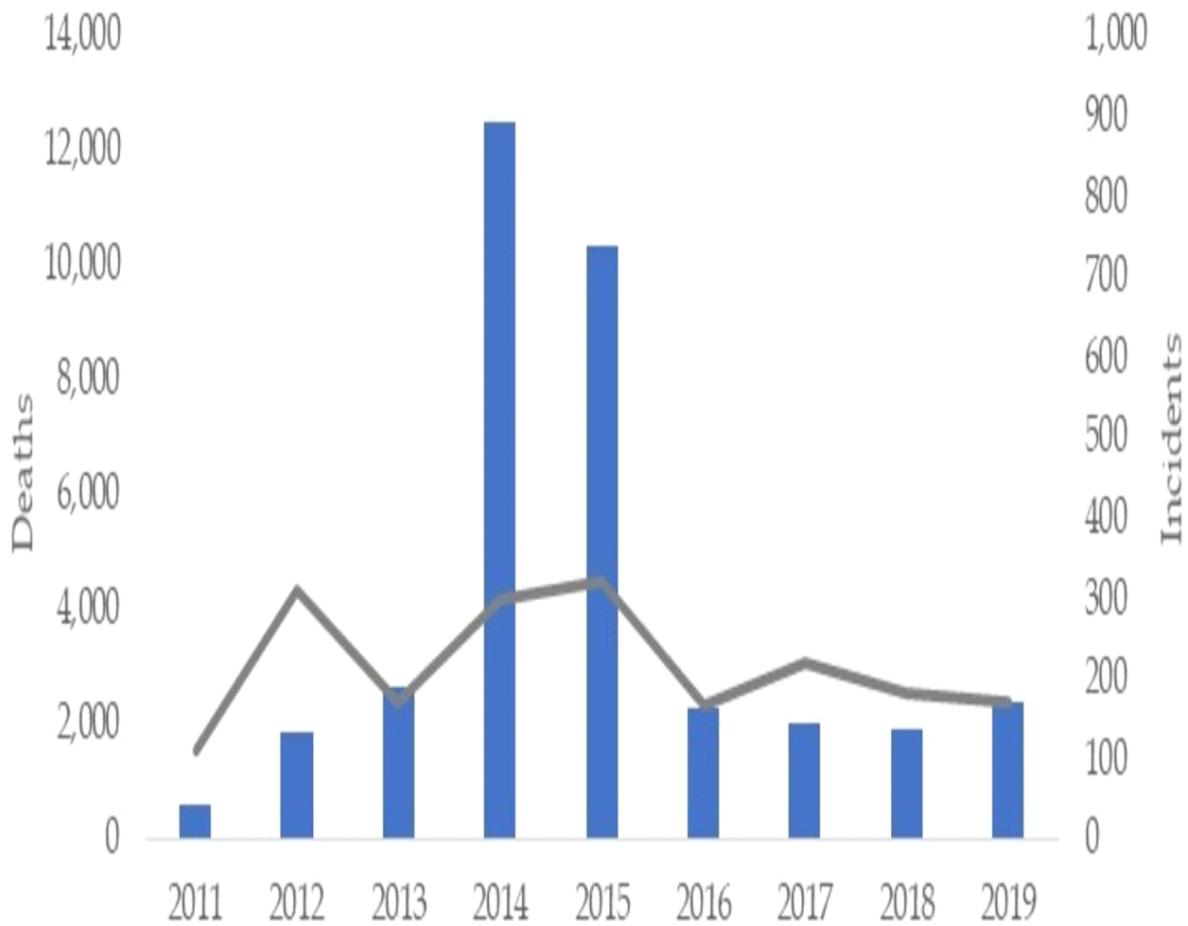


Figure 1

Source: Alen (2019).

The diagram above shows increase on incidents of Boko Haram and the resulted increase in number of deaths caused by it. At the early stage of Boko Haram activities, very few incidents and deaths occurred. By 2014, however, as could be noticed from the diagram, the Boko Haram had struck more than nine hundred times causing more than fourteen thousand deaths

The frequent clampdown on peaceful protests, arrest and detention of activists, and media repression signified intolerance of free speech and dissent by Nigerian authorities and its failure to safeguard individual freedom. Nigeria’s human rights record is not also impressive as the country was ranked 115 out of 180 countries surveyed. Killing,

detention and brutalisation of journalists alongside targeted attempts to shrink the civic space by the Nigerian Government was reason for the ranking. There were reports of abridgement of citizens' right to change their government, due to some election fraud and other irregularities. Other human rights violations that infringed on citizens' freedom are politically motivated and extrajudicial killings by security forces - including summary executions, security force torture, rape, and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment of prisoners, detainees, and criminal suspects. There are also records of harsh and life-threatening prison and detention center conditions; arbitrary arrest and detention, prolonged pretrial detention; denial of fair public trial, executive influence on the judiciary and judicial corruption; infringements on citizens' privacy rights; restrictions on freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, and movement; official corruption; violence and discrimination against women; child abuse; female genital mutilation, the killing exploitation of children suspected of witchcraft; child sexual abuse- all of which make the country sick. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State (2011)

NIGERIANS BELOW POVERTY LINE (2016-2020) IN MILLIONS

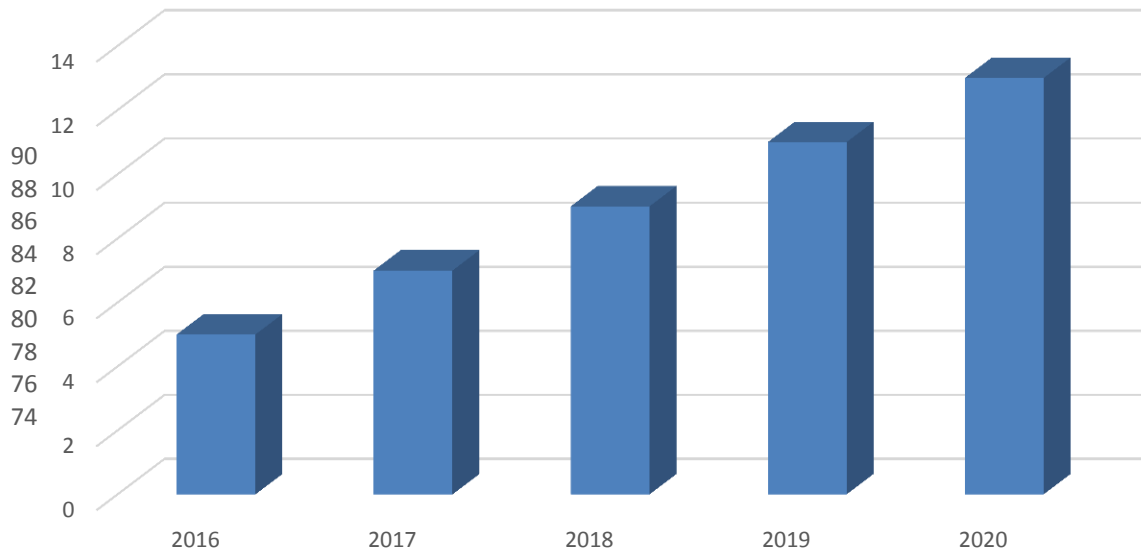


Figure 2

Source: Vanguard June 8 2020

Nigerian government is not doing better in the area of citizens' welfare as the country is still ranked among the poorest countries in the world notwithstanding its abundant natural and human resources. For example, it is reported that 57 million Nigerians lack access to safe water, over 130 million are without access to adequate sanitation. Nigeria has the highest number of out of school children in Africa of over 10 million. About 70 million people live on less than US\$1 per day (World Bank and DFID, 2005: 8). In a similar vein, 54% of Nigerians live below the poverty line (UNDP, 2006) just as one third of Nigeria's population live in extreme poverty. These ones are those who cannot afford 2,900 calories per day (UNDP, 2006). The same source confirmed that Nigeria's Human Development Index (HDI) is low standing at 0.448, giving the country a ranking of 159 out of 177 countries. A study undertaken by Eifert et al (2003) identified Nigeria differently as a predatory state and fractional democracy. The

identification of Nigeria both as a predatory state and fractional democracy placed Nigeria among states that have failed to use natural resources found within their territory for the benefit of the citizens. Nigeria is also said to operate monolithic economy. Since the Nigerian government is relying almost solely on revenue accruing from oil to manage its economy, oil revenues have weakened governance in one notable way. Because of their sheer volume, rents generated by oil has overwhelmed all other revenue sources, and thus created a concentration in revenue pattern. Adam (1991) cited in (ANEEJ, 2004) has noted for instance, that throughout history governments have had to exercise caution in imposing tax realizing that subjects who cannot tolerate it beyond a certain point revolt. In other words, one virtue of taxation is that it creates good, responsive governance. The effect of the Dutch disease in Nigeria is that since government does not give priority to payment of taxes by its citizens it is difficult for it to be responsive and responsible to the citizens. On the other hand, the citizens have not found it justifiable to demand from the government accountability. This situation is a driver of political instability and incessant military intervention due to governance failure.

The citizens, on the other hand, do not fare better in discharging their duties to the state. Great majority of citizens are, politically docile, gullible, and parochial. Their level of political awareness and participation is low and this has contributed to their being tossed about by various governments without resistance. This development has resulted in a situation where citizens' rights are trampled upon and they are made easy targets of elites' maneuvers (Obodeze, 1989). They are also easily cajoled, threatened, and bribed into electoral malpractices such as ballot stuffing, election thuggery and general disruption of the electoral process all of which stifle democracy. Many contributors agreed during the national political debates that the major malady that must be eradicated from the Nigerian polity is the negative attitudes and actions of the masses towards the political process. It was also postulated that the low level of

education among the people made them vulnerable to fraudulent manipulations by politicians and other dominant groups in the society. The situation accounted for the apparent culture of helplessness, apathy and indifference towards politics and politicians.

That citizens of Nigeria are politically docile, gullible, and parochial is seen from the table below which shows low percentage of voter's turnout against voting age population.

Table 1: General Elections Turnout from 1979 - 2015

Year	Voter turnout	Total vote	Registration	Voting age population turnout	Voting age population	Population	Invalid votes
1979	35.25%	17,098,267	48,499,091	44.83%	38,142,090	77,841,000	2.00%
1993	-	14,039,486	-	27.79%	50,526,720	105,264,000	-
1999	52.26%	30,280,052	57,938,945	57.36%	52,792,781	108,258,359	1.40%
2003	69.08%	42,018,735	60,823,022	65.33%	64,319,246	129,934,911	6.00%
2007	57.49%	35,397,517		49.85%	71,004,507	131,859,731	-
2011	53.68%	39,469,484	61,567,036	48.32%	81,691,751	155,215,573	3.19%
2015	43.65%	29,432,083	73,528,040	32.11%	91,669,056	181,562,056	1.25%

Source: international IDEA: http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?country_code=NG

As the table above shows in 1979 for instance, out of 38, 142, 090 voting age population, the total vote was 17, 098, 267, representing 35.25 percent of the total votes cast. In 1993 out of 50, 526, 720 voting age population, the total vote was 14, 039, 486. In 1999 there was a significant improvement anyway which could be attributed to the yearning of people to return to civil rule after a long military intervention. In that year out of 52, 792, 781 voting age population, the total vote was 30, 280, 052, and that represented about fifty-two percent of total vote cast.

in 2003 out of 64, 319, 246 voting age population, the total vote was 42, 018,735 representing sixty-nine percent of total votes cast. Here again the high percentage of votes cast was attributed to high level of irregularities that permeated the electoral process. In 2007 out of 71, 004, 507 voting age population, the total vote was 35, 397, 517, or less than fifty percent. In 2011 out of 81, 691, 751 voting age population, the total vote was 39, 469, 484, about fifty percent of votes cast. In 2015 out of 91, 669, 056 voting age population, the total vote was 29, 432, 083 or about forty-four percent of votes cast. It is argued that the low turnout during elections is a reflection of the parochial political culture of the vast majority of Nigerians.

Besides, in Nigeria there is absence of perceivable moral and ethical safeguards among citizens. Most Nigerians respect neither the law nor custom. Whenever a regulatory law is promulgated and a procedure for societal action is prescribed, an immediate reaction of a great many Nigerians is either to ignore the law and procedure or devise a way of contravening them and, at the same time, evading the penalty or consequences. To the extent that a Nigerian succeeds in achieving this negative and anti-societal feat, to that extent he considers himself great and courageous or even brainy (Umoh, 1986). That is why most Nigerians are unpatriotic and have consciously or unconsciously refused to discharge their duties as citizens. For a nation of nearly 200 million people, not many Nigerians pay taxes. Indeed, as of May 2017, only 14 million—or one in five—of Nigeria’s estimated 70 million economically active citizens were paying taxes. As such, Nigeria’s government has typically earned much less than it could have from taxes (Kazeem, 2017), and Nigerian tax to GDP ratio currently ranks among the lowest globally

Nigeria is made up of many ethnic groups. It is said that Nigeria has more than four hundred ethnic groups. Thus the territory of the present-day Nigeria was defined, not on the basis of its peoples’ shared historical, economic or social experiences, but

merely by the arbitrary amalgamation of a number of disparate ethno cultural units which happened to occupy contiguous land areas that were then under British colonial administration (Graf, 1988). The colonial administration did not attempt to unite the people or create in them sense of nationalism through massive education and training. Instead, an awareness of separate identity of ethnicity was consciously fostered and perpetuated. Thus the introduction of indirect rule was predicated among other things upon the assumption that the colonized peoples were fundamentally and qualitatively different from one another. Colonialists did not create in the people a sense of belonging that could have made them to serve the government loyally. Citizens were not faithful to the government because the impression was created that the government was not that of the people. The result, according to Wraith and Simpkins was a habit of African irresponsibility towards those in power, carried over into the days when power came to Africans themselves. Government was seen as legitimate ground for plunder. The government never won loyalty or affection of the people as citizens were indifferent to the government. The elites that took over from them are maintaining the status quo by promoting patrimonialism as well as running unresponsive government. The effect of this is that almost sixty years after the colonial administration was gone, the vast majority of Nigerians are still lacking a sense of nationalism and feel reluctant to identify themselves with the nation. In such a situation, it is not hard to discern while many citizens refuse or fail to discharge their duties.

Such laxity on the part of the Nigerian government and citizens has often resulted in incessant military intervention, political instability and stunted socioeconomic development. Consequently, there has been a continued decline in educational opportunities and standards in the country. The health sector does not fare better. Many hospital and health institutions are in a state of decadence as a result of chronic underfunding. Infrastructure such as water, roads, rails and electricity are in a

deplorable state. The only exception perhaps is the telecommunication sector where the availability of cellular phones has created new retail jobs and improved communication (UNDP, 2006). These explain why Nigeria and Nigerian have remained poor and impoverished, in spite of the presence of oil and more than thirty solid mineral deposits and vibrant human resources. Instead, the country has experienced incessant military interventions.

Conclusion

The work appraised Nigerian Government and citizens' performance within the framework of social contract. The study revealed that neither government nor citizens have lived up to the term of contract as spelt out in 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria. Government on its part has failed to perform its primary functions such as provision of adequate security to citizens, promotion of citizens' welfare as well as safeguarding individual freedom, a situation that has resulted in citizens' poor standard of living and insecurity. On the other hand, citizens have failed to effectively discharge their civic duties to the state such as participating in the political affairs and supporting the state by paying taxes. Citizens are equally found to be politically docile and parochial which have resulted in situation where citizen's rights are trample upon and they are made easy targets of elites' maneuvers.

The work established that man does not contract his basic human rights and freedom away as he joins or enters the political society. Rather, he is in the society and he chooses a government for the mutual preservation of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness. It is in the knowledge of this fact by the society that lies the secret for the maintenance and preservation of democracy in any society. The fourth republic can succeed and be sustained only if the government and the citizenry give their support and shun those vices that wrecked previous attempts at democracy. It is, therefore necessary for all Nigerians to be committed to putting in place a new socio-

political order that will give no cause for the military to ever again seek to intervene in governance. This work makes it clear that the negative attitudes and actions of the masses towards the political process must be eradicated through sustained political mobilization and enlightenment programmes.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the work recommends that:

Effective use of mass communication media-radio, television, the press, etc. will expose Nigerian peoples to one another and enhance their appreciation of themselves while also fostering a recognition and acceptance of government as their own.

Government should as a matter of urgency step up civic education of its citizens geared toward making them genuinely involved in public life and affairs. To accomplish this, there is need to establish Citizens Education Bureau (CEB) with offices in all the states, local government areas, and wards to handle this task.

Presently, citizens have low faith in government and are often indifferent or apathetic to civic matters due to misgovernance. The country needs patriotic leaders with whom Nigerians can identify as their leaders with ability to implement programmes that promote citizens' welfare. These could be installed through free and transparent electoral process.

Of all the knowledge that a citizen needs to have, perhaps, the most crucial, is of course in term of his political relevance, the knowledge of what the State as a corporate entity owes him and his own corresponding obligation on the other hand. Government should provide this knowledge through creation of deliberative fora at village level to

develop and improve the civic capacities of Nigerians. The fora should also be used to create awareness and enlightenment about the norms, values and laws of the nation.

Government should immediately initiate a comprehensive, coherent and sustained programme of social mobilization and political education for the country. It is only a politically conscious, effectively mobilized and properly motivated population that is the greatest deterrent to unresponsive government.

There is need for government to work with citizens to identify issues, offer resources to educate the public and create meaningful opportunities for discussion and action to strengthen the democracy.

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