(Research/Review)

An Evaluation To Improve Civilian And Military Relationship In A Conflict Situation: Boko Haram Insurgency In Borno State, Nigeria.

Abalaka, J.N[1], Ajiteru,S.A.R[2], Sulaiman T.H[3]

1 Crown University, USA. Email: abalaka.james@yahoo.com
2 Relations Achievers University, Nigeria. Email: ajiterudr.sheriffdeen@gmail.com
3 Crown University, USA. Email: staiwohassan99@yahoo.com

Abstract. This analysis aims to draw attention to the necessity of improving military-civilian interactions in order to promote peace in Borno State. The information used in the paper was taken from literary works of literature. The results demonstrate the critical necessity for good ties between the military and people in order to establish mutually beneficial partnerships that could result in peace during this period of insurgency in Borno State, Nigeria. The primary focus of modern civil-military relations is how civilian leadership manages the armed forces in democracies. Therefore, the elements that influenced the connection between Nigeria's military institution and civilian leadership (2012–2021) were evaluated in this study. The study made the assumption that, since the establishment of the elected civilian government in May 1999, Nigeria's civil-military relations have been significantly shaped by the nature of the interactions between the military and civilian leaderships, the function of civil society, and the external environment. Among the factors found are the knowledge of civilian leadership, the military's readiness to follow orders from civilian leadership, the legal and policy frameworks that governed these leaderships, the functions of international actors, particularly advanced democracies, and civil society. The following results were obtained by using the qualitative content analysis method for data collection and evaluation: The Nigerian military was easier to control thanks to the civilian leadership's understanding of military issues; civil society's role as an advocate for liberal, democratic civil-military relations was very limited; the military's willingness to submit to established authority determined civilian control ability and the role of the international community in terms of its expectations and assistance in the region reform of the security sector fueled the potential for civilian command of the armed forces.

Keywords: JTF Era, Conflict Situation, Military-Civilian Relations, and Further Improve Quality.

1.1-The Study's Background

Pressure for political plurality in Africa, Asia, and Latin America increasingly undermined the foundation for military takeovers and control in many nations. The forces of capital overcame the state's repressive powers as a result of the acceleration of globalization processes, a multifaceted capitalist phenomenon. Therefore, demand for political reforms was unavoidably a result of the economic ramifications for political stability in such parts of the world. Similar to civilian-led dictatorial regimes, military administrations retreated more and more as a result of internal unrest and the global society. The victory of the Western capitalist powers over the Soviet-led Socialist hegemony in Europe marked the end of the Cold War and the onset of these pressures. To put it briefly, "the swift currents of globalization and Western triumphalism" significantly conditioned the impulses for democratic reform in numerous enclaves. Sulaiman (2023).

Political disengagement started to happen as the forces of liberal democracy grew stronger and culminated in the 1990s in the majority of the African governments that were subject to military rule and intervention. As the civilian elites regained political control, the soldiers started disengaging or retreating to the barracks. Generally speaking, the number of successful military takeovers in Africa decreased over the post-transition era. The military was forced to surrender to the barracks and embrace civilian democratic governance. When a civilian authority supplanted the military establishment, the character of civil-military relations (CMRs) evolved. Since the close of the 20th century, this has become more noticeable across Africa. A dynamic relationship between the military and the various civil sectors of the state, as delineated by a boundary, is implied by the concept of civil-military relations. This line establishes the limits of military power in relation to statutory roles, responsibilities, and actions. This line may be drawn by a nation's explicit constitutional provisions or by a long-standing custom. The presidential constitutions of

post-independence Nigeria in 1979 and 1999 serve as examples, outlining the function and authority of the military. (FRN, 1979 Constitution, Section 197[1-2]: 64, FRN, 1999 Constitution, Section 217[1-2]: 85) is expressed in reference to the primacy of civilian authority. Since the military relinquishes control of political power, the nature of civil-military interactions has generally changed as a result of this shift in the relative authority between the military and civil institutions in developing democracies. Under civilian direction, the military performs its core function. Soldiers in charge of certain nations, such as Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, and Uganda, methodically planned their withdrawal by appointing civilian leaders with close and frequently friendly relations to the military establishment (Ajiteru, 2023).

Generally speaking, the military's function in a democracy is determined by the degree of political culture or the overall mindset of the public's attitude toward the political system (Finer, 2019; Huntington, 2018). The military is compelled to accept civilian control in areas with a strong political culture and legitimate civilian leaders. At this stage, the military can use covert tactics like regular constitutional procedures and collusion with civilian authorities because of the mature or established political culture. When it is low, weak citizen control results from the erosion of civil rule's legitimacy. By using direct coercion against the civilian government or threatening to withdraw assistance, the military is likely to overthrow the weak civilian administration or possibly replace it (Sulaiman, 2014). Eleven military takeovers have occurred in Nigeria, both successful and unsuccessful. Most were hostile to other military commanders. Three of these leaders—Aguiyi Ironsi in July 1966, Murtala Mohammed in February 1976, and Sani Abacha in June 1998—died while in power. The nation was under military rule for a long time as a result of the numerous unsuccessful and successful coups against the military and civilian regimes. Because they feel that having soldiers in civilian politics is abnormal, the military has occasionally stated that disengagement is necessary. They "have been quick to declare their readiness to hand over political power to an elected civilian regime" as a result of their role as rulers Abalaka (2023).

An elected civilian government led by retired general and former military leader Olusegun Obasanjo emerged after the last military dictatorship (1998–1999) conducted a brief transition program head of state in the military. Many former military officers who had held positions in the earlier military administrations also participated in the process. In May 2007, after serving two four-year mandates, the administration was turned over to a new civilian administration. Since 1960, no civilian regime has had a longer lifespan than this one. In December 1983, retired and active military commanders, along with members of the divided civilian elite, plotted to topple Nigeria's civilian government (Othman, 1984). A new type of civil-military ties has developed in the democratic period. Within a more or less democratic framework, a civilian-led regime has persisted while the military has remained in the barracks (Sulaiman, 2023).

1.2: Research Problem Statement

Two key themes serve as the main basis for examination of modern civil-military interactions in democracies. Who controls the military is the first question, and how that control is made feasible is the second. The elected civilian government is supposed to exert influence over the military in a liberal democracy (Ajiteru, 2023). However, a nascent democracy's civil-military relations landscape is different from that of an established democracy. The procedures in place for civilian command of the armed forces could not be consistent throughout all newly formed democratic governments or match what is found in developed democracies. This relates to disparities in past experiences, the validity of the state's civilian sectors, the function of the military hierarchy and how foreign interests either promote or hinder the development of civil-military democracy. In general, systemic stability and continuity are issues for a new democracy with weak political institutions, particularly if it has endured repeated military takeovers and protracted military rule. This presents problems for the nature of civil-military ties as well as the democracy process. Abalaka (2023).

Three factors should be taken into account while analyzing Nigeria's civil-military interactions and the country's developing liberal democracy. First, before beginning the process of enthroning democratic governance, such a nascent democracy has already experienced periods of military rule due to coups and possibly civilian rule. As

a result, it tends to have weak state civil sectors and a group of retired military officials who might have a significant impact on the nation's political climate. Second, because of the relative institutionalization of democratic culture, the new civilian institutions that are directly in charge of overseeing the military establishment are frequently brittle (Sulaiman, 2014). The government must therefore come up with strategies to enforce its rule over the military apparatus. Thirdly, it is not a singular transformation that it undertook. It is impossible to comprehend the shift to democratic governance without taking into account the globalizing trends of democratic space liberalization. Therefore, it is crucial that foreign factors play a direct or indirect role as an external variable in promoting political changes within a transitioning nation The foundation of this work is an analysis of the factors that shaped civilian control of the military in post-transition Nigeria, an emerging democracy (1999-2007) that struggled with intractable social contradictions and comparatively weak, dysfunctional civil political institutions that shaped military coups and extended rule (Ajiteru, 2023).

1.3 Research Issues

i) What kind of civil-military ties existed in Nigeria prior to and following the country's 1998 transition to democracy?

ii) What steps did the civilian leadership take to guarantee that the military was effectively under control? iii) How much does the military leadership defer to civil authorities?

iii)- What is the level of subordination of the military leadership to civil authority?

iv)-How can social movements, particularly Civil Society Organizations, contribute to the maintenance of civilian leaders' dominance over the military both during and after the shift to democratic governance?

v)-What part did foreign players play in bringing civil-military relations closer to the liberal-democratic ideal?

1.4-The Study's Goals and Objectives

Finding, analyzing, and assessing the forces and/or elements that influenced Nigeria's military's civilian governance as a developing liberal democracy is the goal of this project. In doing so, the following goals were pursued by the work:

i)-To investigate the historical foundations of civil-military interactions under previous military and civilian regimes prior to 1999 and how they have influenced the character of military-civilian interactions from 2012 to 2021;

ii) To evaluate the character and function of civilian leadership in directing and constructing the military from 2012 to 2021;

iii)-To evaluate the military's character and function in light of the military leadership's recognition of civilian authority as paramount;

iv)-To investigate how Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have shaped civil-military interactions in the post-military government of Nigeria; and

v) To analyze and evaluate how the international community, particularly the Western nations, has supported the Nigerian civilian leadership's attempt to exert control over the armed forces.

1.5-The Study's Assumptions

In general, the study suggested that a few elements shape the relationship between the military institution and civilian leadership in Nigeria's emerging democratic system (2012-2021). These elements can be found in the military establishment itself as well as in the internal and external situations of Nigeria. Therefore, the military, civil society, the international community, and civilian leadership all influence civil-military ties. As a result, the study developed four hypotheses. Abalaka (2023).

i. According to the first assumption (A1), the appropriate civil authority's understanding of military-related issues improves their capacity to manage Nigeria's armed forces.

ii. According to the second assumption (A2), the Nigerian military leadership's embrace of the civic supremacy principle has improved the military's ability to be controlled by civilians.

ii. According to the third assumption (A3), domestic lobbying by social movements, particularly Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), has improved the civilian government's endeavor to regulate the Nigerian military

iv. According to the fourth assumption (A4), foreign assistance for Nigeria's liberal democracy has improved the civilian government's ability to subjugate the military.

The first premise is predicated on the understanding of some people who hold important positions in the civilian administration regarding how to deal with the military as an organization. Their knowledge of military issues supports current constitutional and policy frameworks, which helps to regulate how the military institution behaves toward the political system of the new democracy. The military's internal orientation, specifically the leadership during and after transitions within the officer corps, is the subject of the second assumption. This relates to how they individually and institutionally view democracy and their allegiance to the government. The function of civil society organizations is the subject of the third. It is crucial in the fight for civilian supervision of military operations. The final factor is how the outside world, particularly developed democracies, influence civil-military relations by supporting measures like administrative reform and training that help civilian leadership better exert control over the military. Ajiteru (2023).

1.6. Importance of the Research

There are several reasons why this analysis of Nigeria's civil-military interactions as a developing democracy is significant. It is necessary to comprehend the causes and variables that influence how civilian governments manage their armed forces.

First, research on a nation's overall civil-military relations Pay attention to who is in charge of the military. However, it ignores the variables that affect the exercise of such authority, particularly in nations that have just embraced liberal-democratic governance.

Second, the relics of military control have mostly been washed away by the liberal democratic winds of the post-Cold War era, which has changed the civil-military ties of these new democracies. The literature on the civil-military interactions of non-democratic or politically unstable nations places a lot of focus on events that occurred during the Cold War. The traditional books by Huntington, Finer, and Janowitz are lacking in their comprehension of current internal and international events that have consistently influenced civil-military relations in nations transitioning from military to civilian governance. These elements include the aspects of such a dynamic and intricate relationship that are systemic, institutional, and oriented.

Third, studies of the power dynamics in a nation where the military has been a major player in mainstream politics are justified by an understanding of the military's orientation toward the new political structure. It can even identify the reasons why a certain political system has persisted throughout time while others have not. Fourth, in modern studies of civil-military relations, both internal and foreign elements are significant, particularly for a nation transitioning from a military administration to a civilian democracy. Therefore, it is crucial to evaluate how the characteristics of the elected civilian government, the function of civil society, and the impact of the global environment interact to shape the nature of military-civilian ties.

Finally, this work can be a source of inspiration for political discourse experts and decision-makers alike. When considering long-term policy alternatives, such a study can be helpful in determining how civilian authorities might effectively manage the military to guarantee its subordination to democratic institutions. Similarly, scholars of civil-military relations can learn valuable lessons from the political histories of former unstable nations to develop descriptive and prescriptive theories that will benefit society as a whole (Abalaka, 2023).

1.7-The Study's Scope and Limitations

The scope and content of civil-military ties are broad and multifaceted. Therefore, the scope of this study encompassed the legal, strategic, political, and intellectual aspects of civil-military relations Nigerian relations as a developing democracy. Regarding who controls the military, the intellectual dimension refers to the body of civil-military thought. The phenomena of civilian control, praetorianism, and the relative strength of military influence on mainstream politics are the focus of the political dimension. The legal dimension entails subjecting the military to both civil and military laws, while the strategic dimension deals with military support for civilian authorities.

Specifically, it concentrated on a qualitative evaluation of the ways in which Nigerian military civilian rule was influenced by historical, political, social, military, and foreign circumstances between 1999 and 2007.

Regarding constraints, the study encountered some challenges during the data collection process. First, there was the concern that either inaccurate data would be obtained or obtaining absolutely no data. There is a certain amount of ideological bias in state institutions when it comes to making pertinent information accessible, particularly when that information is directly tied to the defense and security of the state, in less developed nations where the political system is less transparent about the inner workings of government. Second, the study noted the culture of inadequate record keeping, particularly at the National Assembly's library and archives (Sulaiman, 2014). Despite numerous visits, it was noted that almost all of the pertinent papers, such as those included in gazettes or committee meeting proceedings, were not located. Associated with this is the amount of data collected from designated respondents for the study. Some responders were hesitant to give precise information about the queries posed in an effort to keep what they perceived to be sensitive information private. The request for an interview was rejected by others. Last but not least, the study took longer to finish because of the numerous trips to meet respondents for scheduled interviews, which accounted for a significant portion of the primary data (Abalaka, 2023).

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Overview

In order for law and order to be maintained and peace and security to last, we must not only employ the Nigerian State's repressive apparatus to overcome the experiences of terrorism, but also strengthen the bonds between the military and all security agencies. In life, some encounters could end up to provide chances in previously unimaginable ways in order to create a society that is more secure, prosperous, and peaceful. The Chinese have demonstrated to the globe that times of war present several chances for transformation. When the group known as Boko Haram, also known as Jama'atul Ahlus Sunnah Liddawa'atiwal Jihad (People Committed to the Teachings of the Prophet and Jihad), stopped preaching its own brand of Islam and started using weapons against the Nigerian government, it created the circumstances that caused the security situation to worsen in a way and on a scale that was never anticipated (Sulaiman, 2023).

The military's ability to drive Boko Harm out of its base in Markas, close to the railroad, in a matter of days was appreciated by the civilian population station. It is crucial to remember that leaving security concerns to the military and police was insufficient; civilians must also have a part in maintaining their safety and security as well as the peace. Therefore, improving military-civilian cooperation is essential to achieving the goal of maintaining a safe, secure, and peaceful society. Abalaka (2023) The presentation outlines the foundation for improving military-citizen relations, explains some important terms, recalls the Joint Task Force's deployment and the difficult relationships it had with civilians, and discusses how NGOs and the media have been monitoring and amplifying officers' deviant behavior. These all contributed to defining the connection between the military and citizens of Borno State, especially those in Maiduguri. In the context of that relationship, topics such as hard tactics, adherence to the rules of engagement, calls for the withdrawal of the military, the dissolution of the JTF, the use of youth volunteers known as the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), and the deadly curiosity of civilians, international NGOs, and journalists are discussed. In order to improve the connection between the military and citizens, the report also highlights some important points that emerged from the conversation. There were several recommendations on how to improve military-civilian ties even more. It ends by expanding on the knowledge gained for a more successful military internal security involvement in order to restore law and order and promote peace and security "be sustained," Ajiteru, (2023).

2.3 The JTF Period

Unfortunately, Boko Haram's crimes and security threats to Maiduguri in particular continued after it was flushed out. Rather, it merely grew silent for a while before changing into something more expansive and hazardous. Along with becoming more aggressive, Boko Haram's foot soldiers attacked police stations, police officials, warders, politicians, businesspeople, ulama, and anybody else who dared to criticize them. Their intensity was so great that the

Nigeria Police seemed to have been overpowered, and the military had to be swiftly re-deployed to take control of the internal security situation. The circumstances were so dire that the cops had to relocate in a mufti in order to avoid being specifically targeted by Boko Haram assassins (Sulaiman, 2014). Officers from a variety of security agencies formed the Joint Task Force (JTF), a hybrid security formation introduced by the military. The JTF's deployment is crucial to our conversation about civilian-military relations, the importance of collaboration, and improving security and peacebuilding in Borno State and beyond. Robert M. (2014) After the military's previous operation against Boko Haram, the redeployment of the troops to address the security situation was appreciated. However, the nature of the security threat had changed by the time the JTF arrived to put an end to the situation (Ajiteru, 2023).

Components of Boko Haram had integrated themselves among the general public without ever identifying themselves. The JTF seemed to have been instructed not to put its trust in anyone in the town when it arrived. Its strategy was to deal with everyone, regardless of their identity within the community. Cries of despair and incredulity replaced the earlier sense that the populace would be safeguarded. Soon, it was unclear if the JTF was truly present to keep the populace safe. This sentiment resulted in a rift between the civilian populace and the JTF officers. The JTF did not appear to receive the cooperation they had anticipated. Rather, the JTF itself was in a challenging position. Initially, the JTF lacked a way to determine BH components, with the exception of the bold ones who attacked their targets. Second, despite what the general public believes, there was no aim to conceal BH components because, even in households, families were unaware that their wards were involved. Third, the public was killed after they began to identify some of the BH elements and denounce them to security forces (Abalaka, 2023).

Because of the deadly examples set by terrorism, the community was obliged to silence itself. The JTF faced challenges in obtaining community support in that situation. Kukah, M. (2019) Borno Elders took action to demand a reassessment of the strategy since the community was so worried about the challenging circumstances it was in battling the rebels. They were compelled to voice their worries about the JTF's handling of the internal security crisis in public after their behind-the-scenes efforts failed to yield any results. The Borno Elders eventually demanded that the JTF leave so that the populace could be left to deal with Boko Haram alone. Senior police officials, retired generals, civil servants, and others were among the seniors who made this demand. This illustrates the degree of community dissatisfaction and the divide between the military and civilians. It is crucial to note that this was a novel security danger that neither the military nor the people had ever seen before in the entire nation. Because its officers were the direct targets of Boko Haram attacks, the military was forced to adopt that stance. The idea of self-preservation took control since they were unable to distinguish between the Boko Haram components and the community's innocent members (Ajiteru, 2023).

Military personnel are taught to remain always vigilant, to make sure that any barriers to their goals are removed, and to respond quickly to any direct threat to their personal safety. At the time, the JTF operated in that challenging and unpredictable environment. Dlakwa (2020) It is important to highlight certain sentimental tendencies that forced the military to utilize force through physical assault and disciplinary measures. Some ordinary people with extraordinary chose to oppose the military and cause some kind of destruction during military operations out of personal curiosity, even in the face of death threats. Civilians approach the military to observe how they will handle the militants in numerous instances where the military had to block off areas in order to corner Boko Haram fighters. The military staff becomes extremely worried that civilians could be harmed by errant shots. For their own safety, they urge that citizens evacuate and seek shelter. However, the unyielding citizens, motivated by a deadly curiosity, refused to pay attention. This happened at the customs area on Bama Road, and I saw it happen. The JTF had to use force to chase the citizens. One of the worries that any sane person would have is that these individuals were not only endangering themselves but also distracting soldiers from their objective and endangering officers. Military-civilian ties are hampered by people who have a deadly curiosity. According to Sa'ad (2014), the military does not function in a time when civil society was either weak or uninterested in the manner the military performed its internal security responsibilities. Human rights NGOs have gained confidence and improved their ability to hold government agencies

accountable since the 1990s struggle for a return to constitutionalism, democracy, and the rule of law (Sulaiman, 2023).

The military's deployment to combat militancy in the South-South region known as the Nigeria Delta, generated questions regarding how the military interacted with the civilian populace. In order to restore peace and order in that region of Nigeria, the military was accused of using harsh tactics. The claims that were made in the Northeast were similar. The military came under fire for reportedly using harsh tactics that aided terrorists' plots and disregarding the rules of engagement after human rights NGOs brought up the crucial topic of rules of engagement (Ajiteru, 2023).

Young people were allegedly being drawn to the militants' camp by the use of harsh tactics. Human Rights and Amnesty International conducted investigations and documented cases. Watch is one of the worldwide NGOs that issued rulings that demonstrated a lack of adherence to the standards of participation. They had the opportunity to speak with victims of the JTF's oppressive tactics, especially those who were imprisoned, accused of being Boko Haram, and were fortunate enough to be released. Long-term arrests and detentions, the state of the incarceration facilities, access to the facilities, and extrajudicial killings were among the concerns brought up. It served as a gauge of how the military and people interacted. Rogue policemen who felt it was convenient to flout the rules of engagement and seek derision from the community were restrained by the human rights NGOs. Rather of assisting the military in achieving its goal of reestablishing law and order, it made it challenging to gain the community's cooperation. However, outside of the community, the military's standing and reputation were impacted by the presence of foreign NGOs and their decisions about the prosecution of the battle against terror. Sulaiman (2014). In addition to NGOs, journalists are a significant portion of the civilian population tasked with informing the public about the situation. The fight against Boko Haram terrorists piqued the interest of journalists who wanted to inform the public about the level of security in a particular region. The inclination to withhold information was one of the problems that surfaced in the relationship between media and the military (Ajiteru, 2023).

Without information Journalists had to make do with the information they had available to the public after receiving it from the military. The military is frequently annoyed by this since the information is deemed inaccurate or may endanger operations and endanger personnel. As crucial as this is to the military, the public is curious to hear that the military is completing a very challenging mission and winning in order to ensure their safety from terrorists. The civilians need this assurance all the time. Even though this was a problem in the past, it emphasizes how crucial it is for the civilian people to receive information in order to support the military. Additionally, they want to know that the military won't use force against them. Abalaka (2023).

2.4 The Post-JTF Era

The Civilian Task Force (CJTF) was created in response to the problem of turning a gun against a civilian. The teenagers took action to protect themselves because of the danger they were in. Following each attack, the young people made the decision to band together in order to flee the Boko Haram militants' onslaught and the persecution of military officers. Determining the relationship between the military and the civilian population was made easier by this important development. Unlike in the past, the possibility of identifying Boko Haram foot soldiers had increased at the time CJTF was established. Even though the development was unplanned, certain officers were able to see its significance right once and took the initiative to group them into better-organized civilian assistance. The CJTF's formation helped to make Maiduguri a somewhat safer sanctuary by driving Boko Haram militants out of the city. Regretfully, the terrorists shifted their strategy and began targeting towns and villages before occupying Nigeria on a scale that degraded our dedicated military men and made us a laughing figure globally. The Nigerian military, which is renowned for its exceptional professionalism, discipline, and bravery, started to lose favor with people around the world. For the situation to change, worried Nigerians and Nigeria's overseas friends have to speak up. According to reports, the Nigerian military was ill-prepared for combat and officers were being killed needlessly.

Ajiteru, (2023). The military has regained its position as one of the world's most disciplined, professional, and successful fighting forces. The civilian populace was crucial in speaking out and calling for a change in how the military is treated. The CJTF was beneficial to the military not just in obtaining intelligence but also in capturing Boko Haram members and battling the rebels alongside them. CJTF has shown how young people can support the military in keeping us safe and secure. Abalaka (2023).

It is important to note that the military's tactics changed as a result of the election of new guards, which is why the war against Boko Haram terrorists was successful. Before the shift in Despite the military's equipment and plan, nobody in Maiduguri was positive that the area was safe. Many people actually lived in constant fear of the military and Boko Haram. The story is different today. In addition to the military regaining Nigeria's territory, displaced people in camps are making their way back to their cities and communities. We have observed a shift in our soldiers' behavior. They use cordial language when speaking to citizens (Ajiteru, 2023). They drive while according to traffic laws. They provide people a sense of security. It is noteworthy that the military has taken steps to strengthen and deepen this connection after making significant progress and regaining the civilian population's confidence. The Nigerian military has established establishing Radio Dole to allow for the discussion and raising of concerns and to bring the public closer to the military. Professional journalists run the radio station, which broadcasts shows that appeal to a wide range of the general public. A workshop with the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) on how the military and journalists can strengthen their relationship and make information available in difficult security situations and during peacetime was sponsored by the Chief of Army Staff and the Theatre Commander. The program, titled "Towards a Safer Society," was broadcast on the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Maiduguri. Ibrahim M. (2019)

2.6 Ideas to Improve Military-Civilian Relations

The military and people have come to understand their mutual need other more than they both realize; hence, proactive measures to improve their relationship are required. One organization with the biggest concentration of strategic studies specialists is the military. In order to close gaps and dismantle any barriers of mistrust, a plan for regular contact with citizens must be developed. Improving the culture of keeping an eye on and reacting to public opinion is one strategy to deal with this. In this manner, the military would be able to pinpoint areas where it would need to make changes on its own or where it could educate or inform the public about the military without disclosing private information. The effort to operate media outlets, beginning with Armed Forces Radio and Radio Dole must be expanded and maintained. The military may obtain crucial information, recommendations, and ideas from the media that would aid them in defending the integrity of the territory and any internal dangers that could be outside the police's firing range. A system for evaluating the stations' programs should be in place in order to enhance their credibility as public information sources (Sulaiman, 2023).

Since town hall meetings offer chances for face-to-face communication with the people, they must be considered in the military's operations. It is necessary to plan the meeting and discuss certain topics. It is an additional method of strengthening ties with the general public. Such meetings can be planned and rotated on a zonal basis due to the time and expense required. In order to prevent negative elements from entering the institution, it is necessary to have a forum of some kind with opinion leaders and traditional rulers, such as ward heads, religious leaders, political leaders, journalists, NGOs, etc., to discuss issues that could improve relationships while also providing space for evaluating the character of those who wish to enlist in the military (Abalaka, 2023).

3.1 Literature Synopsis

The field of civil-military interactions has a large body of literature. These address the issues of military rule, the reasons behind, and the circumstances surrounding praetorians (military intervention) as either an independent or dependent variable and how military control, whether short-term or long-term, affects the political development of the states involved. Theoretical creations are axiomatically the result of specific experiences during specific times. The majority of these paradigms, models, and approaches are either based on the globalizing trends of security-sector reform in advancing liberal democracy or are the result of advances during the Cold War era with regard to governments that were subject to military control. Latin America and Eastern Europe have so far produced the majority of the literature, even in cases where there is such conversation regarding civil democratic control and the delegation of military missions (Ajiteru, 2023). Nevertheless, there are no clear explanations in the literature as to what causes the "renaissance" of civil-military interactions in reference to the question of military political dominance in developing democracies. Even in cases where research has been done, one facet of the civil-military dynamics is taken into account without taking into account other equally significant factors.

3.2 Conceptual Structure

Several possibilities were investigated in an effort to provide an explanation for the issue being studied. These include Rebecca Schiff's Concordance and Peter Feaver's Agency Theory (2013, 2015).

theory (1995, 2009), Thomas Bruneau's (2015) Fox and the Hedgehog civil-military analogy, and finally, democracy as a globalizing factor in the civil-military interactions of transitioning nations (Ajiteru, 2023). The customs and history of civil-military ties in the US serve as the foundation for the Agency hypothesis. The armed forces are "agents" referred to as the "principal" of the civilian leadership. The principle and the agent are the two actors in this partnership. Explaining "how civilians exercise control-identifying the factors that shape civilian control on a day-to-day basis and the trade-offs inherent in the relationship" is the aim of this theory (Feaver, 2013: 2). How the principal manages the agent is the matter at hand. It is assumed that the de jure authority structure in a democracy favors civilians over the military. According to Sulaiman (2014), civilians are expected to maintain their position as the political masters regardless of the military's might.

The military, which had previously held sway for a considerable amount of time, would want to exercise complete autonomy free from civilian interference by ignoring orders (shirking) or even perhaps making a "come-back," as was the case in 1983. Having some professional knowledge of military behavior, domestic societal support from civil society organizations, and the globalizing currents that help to provide the appearance of a democratic dispensation are some of the additional leverages needed for civilian control to occur. Such a strategic engagement occurs in a setting where both external and domestic forces overlap and expect citizens to have influence over the military. The civic sectors of society (civil society organizations) and the state (government) make up the domestic environment. By acting as a democratic advocate, the latter implicitly encourages the military to submit to established authority. The executive branch makes up the government and legislative branches that have direct communication with the military through its many senior officers. The government crafts control and secures relative obedience from the military by using both the constitutionally granted powers and the available knowledge (Abalaka, 2023).

Governmental and intergovernmental players make up the environment's exterior sphere. This area contributes to the globalization of liberal democratic civil-military interactions worldwide. It influences the home sphere and provides leverage to improve military control. Effective and efficient policies are to be used to accomplish this. Establishing a system that allows the military to implement policy as directed by civilian leadership with the backing of of outside forces. In order to prevent defense spending from becoming a burden on the new democratic regime, efficiency entails implementing such a policy within the parameters of the resources allotted to it. Nigeria, a growing democracy (1999–2007), essentially achieved civilian control over the military because:

i) The principle knows a little bit about how to handle the military;

ii) The principal can solicit assistance from foreign countries and segments of society both inside and externally while interacting with the military.

iii) Because there are more advantages than disadvantages to being subordinate to civilian leadership, the military, through its officer corps, agrees to follow the principle out of corporate self-interest.

4. The research methodology

4.1-Student Population

Four categories of respondents were identified while taking into account the research's questions and assumptions:

i) the military establishment, which is a key subject of study in civil-military relations;

ii) the elected civilian government was the second category;

iii) the third category, or societal variable, was represented by civil society, which serves as a catalyst for civilian supremacy over the military institution; and

iv) the international arena, which has some influence as a globalizing factor on Nigeria's domestic environment.

The study's focus was on how the military establishment's internal and external settings have influenced its interactions with the political environment. The duties and capabilities of the governmental entities with constitutional authority to exercise civilian supervision over the military were particularly covered by the internal environment.

In order to achieve civilian supremacy and control over the military, military commanders played an equally vital role in establishing efficient management of the military institution. The external component examined how foreign players, both governmental and non-governmental, conditioned and introduced characteristics that made it easier for the domestic environment to establish such civilian authority over the military.

Ten formally identified people and organizations made up the study's population. The dimensions of the population was determined using the presumptions made in the study of Abalaka (2018). Based on their positions in public service and their contributions to the civil-military relations system from 1999 to 2021, the population was determined. Four major respondent types were recognized and identified as constituting essential components of the population being studied. These included the international community, civil society, military leadership, and political leadership. The main government decision-makers who had direct involvement in military affairs were part of the political leadership, which served as a symbol of civilian rule over the military.

4.2-Data Collection Method

The study included both primary and secondary data collection methods. The main technique used a predetermined number of respondents, who were either individuals or organizations, were interviewed. Due to the respondents' ease of identification, the purposive approach of data collection and search was employed. The study's major data collection method was a face-to-face formal interview. According to Ajiteru (2019), the purpose of this technique was "to capture the respondents' experience, beliefs, or attitudes in relation" to the presumptions made. During the interview sessions, both secret non-structured conversations and semi-structured questions were used. The interview questions were semi-structured and open-ended. They were made to let respondents to contribute as much information as possible that was pertinent to the study. According to Abalaka (2023), the questions' structure was based on funnel sequencing. This implies that for any group of Respondents, the questions posed were sequentially related to one another.

The purpose of each round of interviews was to record the responses of the individual respondents and to find novel concepts that were not anticipated in the assumptions made in the study questions. The kind of respondent that was interviewed determined the questions that were asked. This was true for the military, civic society, and civilian leadership, respectively. As a result, the inquiries were based on the respondents' positions and responsibilities, whether they were military or civilian authorities. Questions about civilian control, the military's acceptance of their authority, their proficiency in managing military affairs, and the assistance they got from the international community were posed to respondents from the civilian sector. This was intended to Examine the presumptions of civilian knowledge of military issues (Sulaiman, 2023).

The military leadership was questioned about their general opinions, the reason or reasons they believe civilian leadership is superior, the methods used to enforce discipline within the military hierarchy, and the nature of the connection between political and military officials. The purpose of the answers to these questions was to evaluate the presumptions of the military's recognition of established civil authority. The questions asked of the civil society organizations focused on the type and scope of their contributions to the establishment of Nigeria's liberal democratic order, which has existed since 1999. The inquiry focused on the nature, extent, and motivations of the international component. of the part played by foreign governments, especially those of the developed western democracies. This centered on the assistance given to the civilian government in maintaining military rule. This required a thorough search for and identification of pertinent facts that, taken alone, sought to provide a positive or negative response to the study topic. Ajiteru (2023).

Secondary data was used extensively in the study. Relevant information from online and physical library sources was used to create the secondary data. The investigation looked for and obtained relevant records from people, institutions, and both physical and digital libraries. Some of the information concerned the statements and behaviors of some of the respondents who were unavailable for an in-person interview. In research, secondary data is helpful. because it can be used to confirm the veracity of answers obtained during in-person interviews. While looking for relevant secondary data, the issue of credibility came up. A criterion was used to identify secondary sources that are reliable and pertinent to the study hypotheses; data was accepted if the source was deemed reliable in light of the author's experience with the subject and the publication's setting. Historical publications (such as autobiographies and biographies), policy documents (such as the 1999 constitution, laws, and statements made by pertinent but inaccessible respondents), and periodicals (such as newspaper and magazine reports and interviews) pertinent to the study's focus were all included in the search for secondary data. The supplementary information not only provided the study that provided some pertinent facts while also providing background on the problems surrounding civil-military ties in Nigeria. In certain ways, it produced data that was utilized to assess the reliability of presumptions. Abalaka (2023).

4.3-Data Analysis and Presentation Style

In this study, the qualitative approach to presentation and analysis was employed. The results were examined in light of the assumptions and the potential outcomes, whether favorable or unfavorable. The narrative technique is the style used. A narrative tries to characterize and explain the extent of conformity or divergence with a specific set of tenable arguments by giving a logical account of specific events and problems. Therefore, the display and evaluation of the main According to Abalaka (2023), secondary data entailed a conscious effort to characterize and analyze these two sets of data in light of the replies, recorded events, and interactions that were acquired during the field study research. This was accomplished by looking at both the pertinent information from the secondary sources and the verbal (linguistic) behavior of the responses in the main data. The analysis was limited to contrasting the gathered data with the study's hypotheses. The presentation of the primary and secondary data was done concurrently with the analysis framework. In order to produce a coherent chain of events with political ramifications for the character of modern civil-military relations, this technique selected specific events and topics of importance. in Nigeria. The data's relative convergence or divergence with the study's assumptions was the subject of the analysis. Three guiding concepts guided the data analysis: individual skills, the availability of supporting evidence, and other factors from the large amount of data. This entailed selecting specific replies from each category and connecting them to the study's goals (Ajiteru, 2023).

The proportion of national spending allocated to defense was impacted by the size of the military. The government had to think about the cost of keeping a sizable military in peacetime while it was preparing preparations for the demobilization of combatants. Between 2012 and 2021, the budgetary allocation for the military increased yearly due to the Gowon regime's delayed pace of military reduction. By 2021, the proportion of GDP devoted to defense spending was over seven percent. Plans to modernize and right-size the military with new weapons and barracks accommodations were the reason for this dramatic increase compared to the two years prior. Additionally, as part of an arrangement that involved the acquisition of weapons for the army, navy, and air force, Nigeria sent a large

number of commanders to Britain for training after the war. Between 2012 and 2021, approximately 300 cops were sent to Britain each year for training, according to Aluko (1981: 63).

Table 1: Defence Expenditure of Nigeria, 2012 to 2021

Year	Defence Expenditure (millions of Naira)	As a Percentage of GDP
2012	25.10	0.7
2013	107.50	3.9
2014	162.62	6.1
2015	359.91	10.1
2016	314.85	6.0
2017	285.90	4.4
2018	370.25	5.0
2019	420.16	3.8
2020	532.92	3.8
2021	1,116.70	7.6

Source: See Table 3.11 in Iwayemi,

Nigerian Government and Politics under Military Rule 2012–21, edited by O. Oyediran, includes "The Military and the Economy." The Macmillan Press Limited, London, 2021 (Table 3.11), p. 72. GDP is the total worth of goods and services generated in a nation over a specific time period.

The civil war and the ensuing expansion of the military were among the factors contributing to the yearly rise in defense spending. By 2015, the army, which had grown from over 10,000 troops in 2012 to a quarter of a million. As the accompanying table demonstrates, defense spending did not surpass 10 percent of GDP until 2014. Second, the socioeconomic makeup of the armed forces in relation to the regional quota established in the creation of a federal balance in the late 2010s and early 2012s was significantly changed. Despite the lack of statistical proof, the Ibo ethnic group suffered long-term consequences as a result of this development. Ike Nwachukwu was a military provost and two-star general who led an army division and was a member of the country's highest decision-making body during the Babangida military administration (1985–1993).

5. summary

5.2-Recap of the Study

Examining the elements that influence the interaction between the military and civilian leadership in a new democratic regime with regard to civilian control of the military was the main problem and goal of the study. The study's applicability was determined by the gap in the literature, which is the lack of knowledge about the elements that determine the nature and course of the military-civilian leadership interaction in developing democracies. This cannot be claimed for Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, even if research has been done for Latin America and Eastern Europe. The study's time frame was from 2012 to 2021. However, in order to highlight certain consequences for the years 2012–2021, a historical background of Nigeria's civil-military interactions was done. To explain the logic of civil-military relations in Nigeria's new democratic era, the study used a modified Agency theory, which was derived from a variety of similar ideas and concepts. Consequently, several post-cold war ideas were investigated, one of which was transformed into a framework that clarified the character, foundation, and course of Nigerian civil-military relations. In general, these theories played a significant role in the study's adoption of methodological methodologies and assumptions.

5.3 conclusion

The Nigerian military's standing and function are the result of several factors. As a result of the shift to liberal democracy, which was predicated on certain expectations both domestically and internationally for the military to distance itself from popular politics, the military agreed to be subject to the orders of civilian authority (Ajiteru, 2019). A significant portion of the retired military and civilian elite, civil society organizations, and international pressures all contributed to the internal push among the current military elite over the necessity of military withdrawal to the barracks and

democratization. These elements contributed in varying degrees to determining the pace and course that led to the establishment of a civilian elected government in May 1999. The days of civilians being afraid of those in uniform are long gone, and the relationship between the military and the civilian population has significantly improved. This is undoubtedly the outcome of a deliberate attempt to strengthen ties within the community. Additionally, the community has demonstrated its ability to uphold law and order and contribute to the creation of a secure and safe society. To do this, respect for one another is required. We must never allow initiatives that will advance this cause to stall. They must be maintained. The nation cannot grow in an environment of unpredictability and terrorism. The partnership benefits both parties and contributes to the stability and tranquility of the nation. Sulaiman (2014).

REFERENCES

[1] Abalaka, J. N. (2023). An analysis of civil military internal operations in Nigeria: An interrogation of selected post-colonial state. International Policy Brief Series: Social Science and Law Journal of Policy Review and Development Strategies, 10(1). http://internationalpolicybrief.org/journals/international-scientific-research-consortium-journals-2/social-sci-and-law-jrnl-for-policy-review-vol10-no1-april-2023

[2] Ajiteru, S. A. R. (2023). An analysis of civil military internal operations in Nigeria: An interrogation of selected post-colonial state. International Policy Brief Series: Social Science and Law Journal of Policy Review and Development Strategies, 10(1). http://internationalpolicybrief.org/journals/international-scientific-research-consortium-journals-2/social-sci-and-law-jrnl-for-policy-review-vol10-no1-april-2023

[3] Dlakwa, H., & Hadiza, B. (2020). Peace, security, human rights and development (Vol. 1, p. 63). Pyla-Mak Services Ltd.

[4] Ibrahim, M. (2017). Informal disputes settlement among the Kanuri people of Borno State: A case study of Maiduguri Metropolitan, Borno State (Unpublished M.Sc. dissertation). University of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

[5] Ibrahim, M. (2019). An assessment of the performance of police-public complaints bureau in Maiduguri Town, Borno State, Nigeria (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis). University of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

[6] Kukah, M. H. (2021). Witness to justice in Nigeria. Bookcraft.

[7] Mandel, R. (2014). The changing face of national security: A conceptual analysis. Greenwood Press.

[8] Mu'azu, A., & Ibrahim, M. (2016). Media and the challenges of peace building in period of insurgency. International Journal of Humanity and Social Science Invention, 3(4), 2–4.

[9] Robert, W. (2013). Situating crime prevention: Models, methods and political perspectives. Crime Prevention Studies, 15, 23.

[10]   Stewart, F. (2016). Development and security in the 21st century. Paper presented at the Annual Conference for Global Development, Pennsylvania.

[11]   Sulaiman, T. H. (2023). An analysis of civil military internal operations in Nigeria: An interrogation of selected post-colonial state. International Policy Brief Series: Social Science and Law Journal of Policy Review and Development Strategies, 10(1). http://internationalpolicybrief.org/journals/international-scientific-research-consortium-journals-2/social-sci-and-law-jrnl-for-policy-review-vol10-no1-april-2023