AN ASSESSEMENT OF DEMOCRACY AND RE-EMERGENCE OF MILITARY COUPS IN WEST AFRICA

BAKO, Kefas[1]
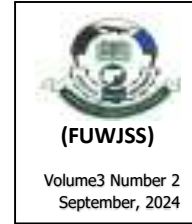**SAMUILA, Tibwa Abwage[2]**
[1&2]Department of Political Science
Federal University Wukari, Taraba State, Nigeria
Email*: kefasdanborno@gmail.com*
tibwaabwage@gmail.com

Abstract

This study critically examines the re-emergence of military coups in West African countries. The study adopts the ex post-facto research design and gathered data through secondary sources such as books, journals articles, internet materials, and conference papers. Data were content analyzed. The study findings established that the resurgence of military coups in West Africa constitutes elitist power struggles and conspiracies among the ruling oligarch in Africa. The study concludes that recent increase in military coups in West Africa resonantes around frustrations and deprivation experienced by the region's populace. Thus, the study recommends the strengthening of democratic institutions and the promotion of inclusive government that addresses socioeconomic concerns of the African people.

Keywords: Military, democracy, deprivation, inclusive government

Introduction

African history is a long catalogue of injuries and pains inflicted by Africans on Africa. And for a patriot, the reading of that history is nothing but an act of emotional torture and self-punishment (Nwankwo,1990). The story begins with the hostile geo-physical situations in which we Africans found ourselves as our birth-place. Although we made the best we could out of our tedious habitat and resisted the ambition of a hostile environment to suppress our survival efforts, we were eventually brow-beaten into slavery by a force of arms forged by European pirates and the musketeers whose propelling ideology was colonialism (Nwankwo, 1990). Since the advent of that dehumanizing phenomenon which used

force as an absolute means for ensuring consensus in human relations, Africa has remained under one form of military dictatorship or another. Military coup is a subject of a contemporary concern. The role and influence of the military on the developing countries is such that cannot be ignored. The reasons being that in many of these countries, the military has been in power for a long as, if not more than civilians. In countries where they have not directly intervened, their role in stabilizing the polity cannot be ignored also.

Military involvement in politics is usually through a coup d'etat. Nnoli, (1986) viewed a coup d'etat as the sudden and arbitrary change of government by a group of people. While military coup d'etat is the act of changing the government by the armed forces or military establishment. Coups are sometimes redemptive and corrective; they are many at times ruinous. The reasons for intervention of the military in our polity can only be explain within the context of theories, such as political culture, reference group and the custodian theory which is not our main focus in this debate.

African States have experienced over 200 military takeovers between 1960s and 2012. Many political analysts are of the view that coups in Africa is going extinct by 2015 due to the limited cases on the continent. At present, coups are widely seen to be on the rise or dangerously back in fashion in Africa, as countries, such as Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Chad, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Niger, Gabon and Sierra Leone have experienced a series of successful and failed attempts in military takeovers over the last four years. Six contiguous States across Africa, from Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean to Sudan on the Red Sea, have suffered eight military coups since 2020. The United States Institute for Peace (USIP) noted and wrote the above in relation to the coup in Niger Republic (Olagunju, 2023).

The question now is, why West-African States are the most burdened by military coups on the continent? This has raised concerns in the sub-region and questions the importance of the regional organization, the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS), with respect to the maintenance of peace and security in West Africa and also ensuring peaceful elections and successful democratic governance. Plethora of reasons were advanced for coup in Africa, including modernization, cultural pluralism, soldiers' greed and grievances, poor governance, corruption, autocracy, limited economic growth, and low-income levels and others (Amaoteng,2022). Many of the debates on the causes of military coups in Africa hinges on internal actors and factors, and thus

underestimated the vital roles of foreign influences. While few external factors, such as colonial heritage and Cold War between the then super powers have been included in the causes of military coups in Africa, such debates were not convincingly presented. For instance, Robin Luckham, (1971). Claim that desperate political systems inherited from Europeans have led to military coups in Africa. Also, political economic and socioeconomic factors, such as corruption and poor governance in Africa, are sometimes discussed as though they do not exist in other parts of the world. This paper will carefully look at the re-emergent of military coups in West Africa.

Theoretical Framework

In the realm of International Relations theories, no single theory has the monopoly, as a tool of analysis, to satisfactorily explain military intervention in politic. There are triangulation of theories, such as Frustration -Aggression, Constructivism theories, Elite theory, etc, but that which will be knotted in this research paper is none other than the Relative Deprivation theory.

The theory of relative deprivation is derived from the field of social psychology and is widely used in the entire social sciences. It helps to a great extent in offering explanations to inter-group issues. Indeed, great Social Psychologists such as, Gur (1970), Runciman (1966) Stouffer (1946), Merton (1938), among others had used this theory extensively to explain the social relationship that exists between two groups, "have and have not" (Stouffer, 1946) in (Ekanem, 2022).

Pettigrew (2015) described relative deprivation "as a judgment that one or one's in-group is disadvantaged compared to a relevant referent and that this judgment invokes feelings of anger, resentment and entitlement. It has been used mainly to explain injustice and inequity among inter-group. Ans and Elirea (1996) explained further that relative deprivation arises from a subjective feeling of discontent among groups or even individual, based on the belief that a particular group or individual is getting less than what its perceived to have been entitled to "…when there is a gap between aspirations and reality, social discontent is likely to result .Relative deprivation is determined by perceptions of inequality (the cognitive element) as well as feelings of discontent (the affective element The basic assumptions or propositions of relative deprivation are that, an individual or group's satisfaction is not related to their objective circumstance, rather to their condition relative to other individual or group. "This implies, for example, that objectively

disadvantaged people may feel less deprived than objectively advantaged people because of the chosen target for their social comparisons (Dambrun, McDonald, Crush, Taylor & Meot, 2000) in (Pettigrew ,2015) also maintained that there are three requirements for relative deprivation to occur:

1) An individual or group must make cognitive comparisons
2) There must be cognitive appraisals that they or their groups are disadvantaged and
3) An assumption that these disadvantages are seen as unfair and arouse angry resentment.

If any one of these three requirements is not met, relative deprivation is not operating (Smith et al., 2012, Pettigrew, 2015) in (Ekannem, 2022). Indeed, relative deprivation theory suggests that objectively disadvantaged people are frequently comparing themselves to others in their same condition or worse than-them, while objectively advantaged people are frequently comparing themselves to those who enjoy even more advantages than they possess.

In other words, comparism is endless processes in any inter group relations. This is why (Kenda, 2005) opined that relative deprivation may also be temporal, that is, a group that experiences economic growth or an expansion of rights, followed by stagnation or recession of those processes may experiences relative deprivation. Added to this (Runciman, 1966) in (Ekanem, 2022) noted that there are four preconditions for relative deprivation (of object x by person A). (i) A does not have x (ii) A knows of other persons that have x (iii) A wants to have x (iv) A believes obtaining x is realistic. Relative deprivation can lead to social dissatisfaction, thereby resulting in conflict. Gurr (1970) had cited relative deprivation (especially temporary relative deprivation) as the potential cause for social movements and deviance that could lead to extreme political violence; such as Military takeover, rioting, terrorism, civic war as well as social deviance like crime. Rose (1982) also posited that social movements arise when people feel deprived of what they perceive as their "fair share" while Merton (1938) argued that individuals engages in deviant behaviours when their institutional means do not match cultural goals.

In light of the above, the resurgence of military coups in Africa and more specifically West Africa could be analyzed through the lens of elitist power struggles, conspiracies among the ruling oligarch and bandwagon effect that characterized the post independent politics in Africa. However, this paper contends that the most pertinent empirical

understanding of the recent increase military coups in West Africa lies in the impact of the current frustrations and deprivation experienced by the region's populace. These frustrations and deprivations manifest in diverse forms; there are socio-economic, political, cultural and leadership related. Virtually every political space in Africa is plagued by issues such as; the rising poverty levels, soaring unemployment, corruption, human rights violations, impunity, conflicts and wars. Additionally, there is a significant leadership deficit. Presently West African nations grapple with high and unacceptable inflation rates. Preventable diseases are claiming lives, environmental degradation, injustice, infrastructure deficiencies, ethnic conflicts, militancy, and various forms of insecurity.

All of these factors contributes to mounting hostility and, at times, lead to aggression against democratic leaders who are perceived, either rightfully or inadvertently, as responsible for the people's suffering. It is undeniable that people are responding aggressively to these frustrations. For instance, in Mali, Guinea, Burkina-Faso, Chad, Sudan and other African States, citizens have called for military intervention and in some cases, overtly celebrated military takeovers.

For example, in January 2022 and 2023 hundreds of people gathered in Ouagadougou to celebrate military coup that removed the former President Roch Marc Christian Kabore from power. Similarly, in 2017, Zimbabweans took to the streets to celebrate the military coup that ousted former leader Robert Mugabe. In Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Chad, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Gabon citizenry are seen jubilating over military takeovers.

While these celebrations may not signal an end to mis-administration (as seen in Sudan where people celebrated only to later opposed the same military) they signify a yearning for change and a temporary alleviation of frustration. In summary, the current crop of leaders in Africa, particularly West Africa, is either knowingly or unknowingly impending the development of already underdeveloped institutions, political systems, and the people. This accumulated frustration seems to compel some to perceive democracy as incapable of addressing the challenges facing the West African region, leading them to seek change through actions like coups in pursuit of peace, stability, security, and development. that may have temporarily extinguished or eased frustration. In all, crop of leaders in Africa and West Africa in particular are either deliberately or unknowingly under-developing the already underdeveloped institutions, political systems and the people. This has led to an accumulated frustration which seems to have compelled some

people to misconstrue democracy as being incapable of addressing the challenges confronting the West African region hence, the resolve **to** attack the system if not completely Coups in dismantle it in search of peace, stability, security and development.

Research Methodology

This paper adopted ex post facto research design and gathered data through secondary sources like, books, journals articles, manuscripts, internet materials, conference papers etc. We used content analysis to analyse data gathered.

Re-Emergence of Military Coups in West Africa

The first coups in west Africa started in the Francophone countries (Togo on January 13, 1963, then Benin on October 28,1963) and gradually spread to Anglophone nations that share a border with them (Nigeria on January 15, 1966, then Ghana on February 24, 1966). Thus, it will be a mistake for Nigeria and Ghana to watch as coups once again resurge in West Africa (Omokri, 2022). That action which began in Togo, made the sixties an era of coups in west Africa, that era is gradually returning to Africa with the crops of coups.

Globally, Africa is the epicentre of military takeovers. Of the 476 global coup attempts since 1950, Africa's share stands at 206. This is distantly followed by South America's 95 attempts (with 40 being unsuccessful). Of Africa's 206 military coups, 101 have been successful while 105 have been unsuccessful. Similarly, of the 54 countries in Africa, 40 have witnessed military coups. Indeed, only about a quarter (14) is yet to experience a military coup (Giles, 2019; Kazeem, 2017; African Development Bank, 2012; Powell & Thyne, 2011; Eshiet, 2022).

The first military coup in Africa occurred in Egypt in 1952 and since then the wind of military coups has been blowing across the continent, with the four decades between 1960 and 2000 being the 'golden decades' of military coups. Each of the four decades witnessed at least 40 coup attempts. In country terms, Sudan (15 attempts, 5 successful) and Burkina Faso (11 attempts, 7 successful) have the highest number of attempted coups. Other countries with a high number of coup attempts include Nigeria (8 attempts, 6 successful), Ghana, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Chad, etc. However, Morocco, Kenya and Cameroon remain the three countries with no successful coups (Giles, 2019; Kazeem, 2017; Powell & Thyne, 2011).

Over the years, decades of military misrule have dispelled the popular but erroneous perception of the military as 'saviours' (of the people) from civilian misrule, which made military takeovers a cheerfully greeted and welcomed event by a majority of the civilian populace. Consequently, intense agitations for a return to civil rule swept across the continent beginning from the 1990s, leading to a significant decline in military takeovers. Thus, between 2000 and 2010, only 22 coups occurred and between 2011 and 2019, the number had further declined to 17 (Giles, 2019). Today, a military takeover of government has bounced back in Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Chad, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Niger, Gabon and Siereleone have experienced a series of successful and failed attempts in military takeovers over the last four years. In whatsoever guise is strongly discouraged and unwelcomed by civilians. Therefore, the following questions arise: Who are the military and what is their constitutional role in the state? Why do the military get involved in politics in African states? How has military rule impacted nation building in Africa? Is there still a future for military rule in Africa? Releasing a statement and suspending Coupists from ECOWAS is not a decisive. What concerns a coup plotter with ECOWAS, when he is in full control of his home government, treasury and people?

ECOWAS slammed border closure on Niger because of the coup there. Let us briefly take a look at the political map of that country. It is bordered in the north by non-ECOWAS members, Libya, and Algeria. It is bordered by Benin and Nigeria in the South where local people along borders share farms and streams with their kin on Niger's side. Niger also shares border with Burkina Faso in the Southeast, with Mali in the west, and Chad in the East. Is ECOWAS aware that all these countries are, like Niger, under military rule? So, how effective and reliable will the closure be? It is gratifying to see the whole world rejecting what is happening in Niger. Niger's old master, France, has stopped all aids to the country; the European Union has halted all help; the United States has talked tough in support of democracy even as it threads the needle with utmost care (Alagunju, 2023). Also the AU and ECOWAS demonstrated their commitment in restoring constitutional government, peace and stability in Niger. It is pertinent for African countries to re-examine the concept of the government of the people, by the people and for the people to critically see whether what we all called democracy is fulfilling it purpose in the continent of Africa? Giving sanctions is not the solution, but tracing the root of the problem.

Conceptualizing Democracy in Africa

Thus, Appadorai (2004) described democracy as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them. He further explained that a state may, in political science, be termed a democracy if it provides institutions for the expression and, in the last analysis, the supremacy of the popular will on basic questions of social direction and policy (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2012). In all, democracy has inbuilt principles and institutional mechanisms for development thereby establishing linkages between democratic practices and development in every society. With these innate or inherent abilities, it strives to provide greatest happiness to greater number of people in the society.

There is no doubt that the burgeoning tendencies of democracy, especially during the third wave of democracy in the 1990s and its widening acceptability in the aftermath of the third wave tend to have amplified its subscription. Virtually everywhere in the World, people have embraced democracy and it seems to have become a household concept in contemporary societies. Part of the reasons for this development is the people's growing awareness and desire to ensure accountability, equity and justice. These principles are well embedded in democratic principles as enunciated by Nnoli (2003); Appadorai (2004); Odigbo et al, (2023) etc.

One of the enormous challenges facing virtually every African nation is on how to apply or redefine democracy and make it more responsive and efficient to suit the needs and aspirations of Africa, meeting the diversities, cultures and traditions. Over the years, there exists mammoth of scholarly commentaries on the dyfunctionality and the floundering trajectories of democratic practice in Africa (Awolowo, 1985; Ake, 2003; Houngnikpo, 2006; Collier, 2009; Omotola 2009; Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013; Nwanegbo & Odigbo 2014; Omotola, 2021, Odigbo etal, 2023). In fact, Ake, (2003) specifically espoused the form of democracy suitable for Africa. This according to him would be a democracy characterized by the following features:

a. A democracy in which people have some real decision-making power over and above the formal consent of electoral choice.
b. A social democracy that places emphasis on concrete political, social and economic rights, as opposed to a liberal democracy that emphasizes abstract political right.
c. A democracy that puts as much emphasis on collective rights as it does on individual rights.

d. And lastly a democracy of incorporation (Ake, 2003, p.132).
Apart from these assumptions, it is important to posit that the basic challenges facing democracy in Africa stems from the fact that most African societies and their leaders lack basic democratic orientation and some never willingly embraced democracy (Odigbo et al, 2023). In some African countries, especially North Africa States like Libya, democracy was foisted on the state. Some other nations democratized to be qualified for foreign loans and other development assistance. This therefore shapes their democratic attitudes. Democratic attitudes are basic democratic dispositions of the people and the state. It does not only determine but also enhance the functionality of the democratic institutions. In fact, societal values that are in tandem with democratic values increase the potential for a viral democracy, energize democratic growth and survival. Domestic value systems when aligned with democratic values established conditions capable of retooling democratic processes to majorly developed within and offer the people greater opportunity to actualize their individual and collective dream of a better society. Odigbo et al, (2023) posited that these values are in the people and nourish the practice, without it, the institutions would only be a burden.

Following from the above, it can be stated that democratic discontent is the causal factor in military intervention. State of dissatisfaction often aroused from poor governance and pitiable democratic performance. In Africa, lack or in some cases weak or personalized state institutions only reinforced failures. It can be noted that the stability and viability of a democracy determined the extent to which it addresses common societal problems. Therefore, democracy's discontent and military take over manifests as a result of poor governance, bad leadership, lack of development and the trajectory of impunity and social injustice.

Globally, military regimes have been described as an aberration and a deviation from the norms. However, in Africa and many other developing or third world societies, some democratic leaders have performed awfully. In fact, some seemingly consolidated democracies in Africa are still either fragile or struggling to retain its identity as a nation. This predisposed such states to danger. Leadership deficits and poor governance increased the vulnerability of these states to military coups and popular protests against democratic governance. In Africa and West Africa specifically, it is pertinent to note that the recurring or the resurgence of military coups do not imply that democracy has failed, it simply means that democratically elected leaders have failed (Odigbo etal, 2023). Therefore, the coups (whether invited by the people or wilful

intervention by the military) are unfortunate but an expression of disappointment by some members of the political community. Thus, retooling democracy in Africa entails people's total ownership of the means, processes and the institution itself. People will determine how and what would prevail in the polity. At this point, support and compliance to state policies and programmes would be driven by "we" feeling. Considering the fact that development is all encompassing and that man is the object and subject of development, the feeling of communality would drive collective goal of the people for a better society. This is greatly lacking in many African states and has contributed to a greater extent the prevailing disillusionment. It is important that African states realize this, re-calibrate and re-incorporate domestic democratic norms in contemporary governance structures for development.

No doubts, the inability of African leaders to surmount challenges facing the continent and reposition African states on the path of growth and development necessitated the multiple military interregnums. Failure of leadership has remained the Africa's greatest undoing. In spite of the enormous challenges facing democracy and democratic institutions in Africa, it is evident that democracy has no viable alternative in Africa. Its practice has promoted freedom, equity, justice, fairness, transparency and accountability in governance in Africa.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In all, this study looked at the re-emergence of military coups in Africa, especially in West Africa, which reflects deep-rooted issues such as socio-economic challenges, political mismanagement, and frustration among the populace. While military takeovers may temporarily alleviate public frustration, they are not sustainable solutions for achieving long-term stability, development, and democracy. To prevent further coups and consolidate democracy in the region, West African States must focus on addressing the core issues that drive dissatisfaction and instability. These include strengthening democratic institutions, promoting inclusivity, and tackling socioeconomic maladies. International cooperation and diplomatic efforts are also crucial in ensuring the restoration of constitutional government and the preservation of peace and security in Africa. Ultimately, the path to a more stable and democratic Africa lies in addressing the needs and aspirations of the people and fostering good governance.

Thus, this work recommends the strengthening of democratic institutions: African States particularly those in West Africa, should prioritize and strengthen democratic in their domain. This include ensuring the independent of the judiciary and integrity of the elections management bodies to promote fairness and transparency in the electoral processes. Also upholding of rule of law over the affairs of citizenry.

Promote Inclusive Democracy: African State should work towards a more inclusive form of government that prioritize collective rights and addresses the diverse cultures, traditions, needs and aspirations within the continent and regions. This will go a long way to mitigate tensions arising from cultural and ethnic diversities.

Address Socioeconomic Issues: Government in Africa should tackled pressing socioeconomic issues such as poverty, unemployment, corruption etc. By addressing these fundamental challenges, they can maximally reduce public frustration and discontent.

Encourages Civil Society Engagement: These groups play a vital role in promoting democratic governance, exposing corruption and human rights violations. Encouragement and protection of the role of civil societies, activists, and journalist is sacrosanct in ensuring accountability.

International Engagement: African leaders should continue to engage with international organization like African Union (AU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to mount pressures on various African leaders to adhere absolutely to democratic principles, and making sure that sanctions and diplomatic efforts are use strategically to restore constitutional government and deter coup.

Finally, Conflict Resolution and Mediation in Africa: Develop and strengthen regional and continental mechanisms for conflict resolution and mediation. This can aid prevent violent uprisings and military takeovers by addressing grievances through peaceful means.

Reference

Adenuga, G.A., (2012b), The limiting effects of bad governance on human resource and national development: The Nigerian experience". A paper Presented at the 23rd International Conference of the West and Solomon Corporate Ideals Limited and the National Association for Research Development (NARD) on the Theme "Education and Human Resource Development in Africa" at Uyo, 10-14 September.

Adenuga, G.A., and Aborisade, D.A., (2012) Electoral Malpractices in Nigerian Politics and the Security Agencies Involvement: the 2011 Presidential Election in Focus. The Classic, 2(1).

Adekunmi Olukemi Johnson Odusanya, (2013). The Challenges of Democratic Governance in Africa: The Nigerian Experience. Ontario International Development Agency. ISSN 1923-6654.

African Development Bank (2012). Political Fragility in Africa: Are Military Coups d'Etat a Never-Ending Phenomenon? Abidjan: Chief Economist Complex, AfDB.

African Union (2007). African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. Addis Abba, Ethiopia: African Union (AU). African Union (2001). Constitutive Act of the African Union. Addis Abba, Ethiopia: African Union (AU). Austin, D. (1966). The Underlying Problem of the Army coup d'etat in Africa. Optima June, XVI: 65 -72. Bailie, C. (2018). The African Military in a Democratic Age. Conflict Trends 2. Retrieved from   https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/theafrican-military-in-a-democratic-age/on.   Accessed 5/6/2020.

Ake, C. (1981). The Political Economy of Africa, Harlow: Long Man

Ake, C. (2003). Democracy and development in Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Akinrinmade, G.A., Osifeso, B.Y., Kolawole, A.K.A., Johnson Odusanya, A.O. and Ayanleye, O.A., (2013), An Assessment of the Role of the National Assembly in the Fight Against ssCorruption in Nigeria, presented at the National Association of Law Teachers' (NALT) Conference held at University of Ilorin, Nigeria, April 2013.

Ani, N. C.(2021). Coup Resurgence in Africa: The Pitfacts of a Regional Response. Accord, September 30, 2021

Appadorai, A. (2004). The substance of politics. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Arthur A. Nwankwo, (1990). Retreat of Power: The Milityary in Ngeria's Third Republic. Fourth Dimension Publishing Co, LTD, New Haven Enugu, Nigeria.

Asomba, B. (1973). "Military in Politics", New Breed Magazine September, 1973.

Awolowo, O. (1985). The Travails of democracy and the rule of law. Macmillan Nigeria Publishers.

Blaug, R and Schwarzmantel, J. (2006). Democracy, Edinburgh: Endinburgh University Press

Bebler, A. (1973). Military Rule in Africa: Dahomey, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Mali. Praeger Special Studies in International Politics and Government. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Bell, M, J. V. (1968). The Military in the New States of Africa, in Jacques, V. D. (Ed.), Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays. The Hague: Mouton.

Clark, John F. (2007). The Decline of the African Military Coup. Journal of Democracy, 18 (3):141 -155.

E. N Amoateng, (2022) Military coups in Africa: A continuation of politics by other means? Governance, Leadership

Giles, C. (2019). Sudan coup: Are military takeovers on the rise in Africa? BBC Reality Check. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/world africa-46783600. Accessed May 15, 2020.

Hobbes, T. (1588-1679). Social Contract Theory. Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. Retrieved from https//iep.utm.edu Accessed July 10, 2020.

Kazeem, Y. (2017). What is a coup? These 40 African countries could help explain. Retrieved from https://qz.com/africa/1130009/what-is-coup zimbabwe-joins-40-african-countries-that-have-had-coups/. Accessed 9/6/2020.

Lasisi Alagunju (2023) The Afonja in Niger Republic. Nigerian Tribune on Monday 31 July, 2023.

Lincoln, A. (2004). "The Gettysburg Address", Ricardo Blang and John Sdiwarzmantel (Eds) Democracy: A Reader. Endinburgh: Endinburgh University Press.

Nnoli, O. (2003). Introduction to politics. Enugu: SNAAP Press.

Nwanegbo J. & Odigbo, J. (2012). Appraisal of the Arab spring and democratization project in the North Africa. ANSU Journal of Peace and Development Studies, 1 (1), 130141.

Nwanegbo, J. & Odigbo, J. (2013). Democracy and institutionalization of poverty in Nigeria, Journal of African Studies and Development, 5 (5), 80-89.

Nwanegbo J. Odigbo J. & Nnorom K. (2014). Party defection and the sustenance of Nigerian democracy. Global Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 14 (6), 110.

Odigbo etal, (2023) Democracy's Discontent and Resurgence of Military Coups in Africa. Journal of Contemporary International & Diplomacy Vol.4 No1, 2023, pages 644-655

Reno Omokri, (2022) What is Behind the Resurgence of Coup in West Africa? This Day Newspaper 2022

Rodney, W. (1972) How Europe underdeveloped Africa. London;

Thyne, C. L. and Powell, J. M. (2016). Coup d'État or Coup d'Autocracy? How Coups Impact Democratization: 1950 - 2008. Foreign Policy Analysis, 12:192-213. United