

## **GOVERNANCE AND DIMENSIONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY: EXPLORING NIGERIA'S EXPERIENCE, 2010 – 2015.**

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### **Abstract**

*This paper argues that Nigeria is facing serious challenges that border on national security. The incessant nature of insecurity in the country has led to scores of deaths of innocent civilians, foreigners, and some members of the nation's security personnel. Using elite theoretical framework, the study offers an overview of security challenges in Nigeria particularly from 2010 to 2015 and discovered that violence has persisted in the country because the right caliber of leaders have not taken the center stage of governance in Nigeria. In other words, political alienation and non-participation of the citizens during electoral process has been responsible for the recruitment of bad leaders who are not well trained in the art of leadership. Finally, the paper suggests that there should be a total value re-orientation among the leaders to accommodate full participation of the citizens in electoral process. By and large, political alienation in its entirety should be discouraged. Through this way, the right caliber of people that will promote security through vibrant policies will emerge.*

**Key Words:** Governance, Development, Boko Haram, National Security and Stability.

### **Introduction.**

One of the basic duties of government is the security of her citizens and values. Under a secure environment, government mobilizes resources and engages in productive activities towards meaningful national development. A situation where government is unable to meet the aspirations of her citizens or attain development, citizen's frustration-aggression may arise. The inability of the government to mitigate or contain such frustrations creates avenues for individuals and groups to exploit and undertake acts that affect national security. However, the increasing rate of insecurity in Nigeria in recent times has continued to raise a lot of worries among scholars, people, and the international community.

Presently, the problem of insecurity has taken unquenchable dimensions forcing the country's socio-political and economic development into retardation. The entire nation has pronged into confusion, people have lost and mourn their beloved ones, investments worth billions of naira have been lost and moreover, there has been an absence of safety in most parts of the country. The number of violent crimes such as Boko Haram insurgence, kidnappings, ritual killings, car jackings, suicide bombings, religious killings, politically-motivated killing and violence, ethnic clashes, armed banditry and others has increasingly become the order of the day in Nigeria.

In the North, there is a deadly and devastating crises of Boko Haram insurgency which has sent thousands of Nigerians to their early grave. To demonstrate, the day Boko Haram visited Federal Government College, Buni in Yobe State, on February 25, 2014, no fewer than 53 students were massacred in the most grisly manner (Daily Sun of March 2014: 11). In the South, the litany of commercial kidnappings, killings and youth militancy have also made the zone unsafe. For example, a report released by Ibrahim Yakubu Lame, the Police Affairs Minister, in July 2009, Nigeria has recorded a total of 512 kidnappings from January 2008 to June 2009, with 30 of such persons involved losing their lives in the process (Anosike: 2009).

Extreme poverty and unemployment has taken the centre stage in Nigeria. The youths are graduating from different universities, rolling into National Youth Service Corps and coming out in batches every year without adequate employment. Personal security and trust are degenerating every day. No wonder the former findings of UNDP reveal that:

... personal security is still not guaranteed in some areas as the high frequency of armed robbery and other activities show. Access to health facilities has become the privilege of the rich... safe water is still a major problem and the electrification of the rural area is still a dream... power failures in urban areas are not just a rare incident but, in the major urban conglomerates like Lagos, a permanent thread, so that the national power authority's acronym is often translated as "Never Expect Power Again" (UNDP in Okoye 2000: 90)

The issues of governance are supposed to be within the exclusive preserve of those who understand what it means to govern and ensure adequate security in the country. This is because governance, perhaps, is not an all comers affair. It is worthy, according to Odum (2009:53), to note that the caliber of people involved in politics determines the nature of those that eventually assume leadership position just as the quality of personnel involved in political decision-making determines the quality of government policies and consequently the well being of the people. This takes us to the issue of the caliber of the people that occupies the governance position in Nigeria. What kind of

people are into Nigerian politics? What kind of personalities emerge as the leaders from electoral struggles in Nigeria? Do their attitudes in governance permit justice, fairness and equity in discharging their leadership responsibilities? In other words why insecurity still remain prevalence in Nigerian political system.

Before delving into political governance, it is germane that one attain to a certain level of political enlightenment and intellectualism in order to understand what the goals of government stands for. Odum *op cit* equally noted that when the wrong caliber of people gets into governance, there is the tendency that they can misinterpret the mission of governance and as such bastardize its essence. It is usually the bastardizing of the essence of governance as a result of bad leaders that normally leads to insecurity which has been prevalence in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the pattern of politics and governance in Nigeria has been generally problematic especially in recent times. Politics in Nigeria has taken a pattern that conforms to what is obtainable in a disorderly environment or a society without coherent political ideology. The process of socialization has been thwarted and this has affected political activities within the zone (Odum: 2009). He equally observed that due to the faulty nature of political recruitment and wrong yardstick attached to the selection process of our leaders, the wrong people have found their way into positions of influence and authority. The inability of such people to adequately respond to the challenges of governance has created a serious leadership challenge leading to internal insecurity in Nigeria.

Different governments have come up with different policies and options towards tackling the menace of national insecurity. For example the federal government in her effort to tackle militant activities of the Niger Delta crisis included the deployment of the military, which at present is known as the Joint Task Force under Operation Restore Hope and a Federal Amnesty Programme. The amnesty programme was adopted to safeguard further loss of revenue that had the capacity to affect the economic position of Nigeria's national security (Gagariga, 2013:6).

Moreover, the government of Olusegun Obasanjo among other things, increased the numerical strength of the police force from 120,000 to 360,000 and, also, improved the welfare package for the police and other security operatives in Nigeria (Fayemi and Olonisaken, 2009). On the other hand, the federal government's effort to curb the violence in the North East has also been hinged on the use of force in response to the disturbances. For instance, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua ordered security agencies to take every necessary measure to restore order in Bauchi and Gombe in response to activities of Boko Haram in 2009. Besides, President Goodluck Jonathan also declared States of Emergency on 14 local Government Areas and later 3 States on 31 December 2011 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2013 respectively (Gagariga, 2013: 7).

In spite of the government's efforts toward curbing the menace of insecurity in Nigeria, there appears to be a growing public resentment against the government and its management of the security issues. This resentment is caused by the fact that insecurity is becoming prevalent in our contemporary political system. Against this backdrop however, the study intends to examine the level of participation of the right caliber of people in politics and governance in Nigeria since it is already an established fact that there is a serious correlation between governance and national security. In other words, to what extent could civil liberty/ participation of the masses in electoral processes that produces leadership help to alleviate the traumatic and prevalence of violence and insecurities in Nigeria.

### **Theoretical Perspective and Conceptual Considerations**

Governance and security are all activities involving leadership. Governance is achieved through political activities and is organized in order for people to emerge and fulfill the task of governance which provision of security is one of its major attributes in any nation. Governance is not supposed to be everyone's affair. It is rather expected to be an exclusive affair of those worthy and capable of withstanding the real challenges attached to it. In a bid to fashion out the best way to govern, scholars and philosophers have come up with several approaches to the understanding of leadership. In line with this therefore, several theories have been postulated to help in understanding how the society operates as it relates to governance.

Our investigation is anchored on the elite theory which contends that every society is ruled by a minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its accession to full social and political power. Broadly speaking, elites consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of society such as the intellectual elite, professional elites and political elites etc. inherent in the above assertion is that there are elites even among armed robbers, kidnapper, mechanics and other spheres of life. The society is well placed when the different elites perform the roles for which they are known for. For instance, the intellectual elites are expected to constitute the society's think tank. The political elites strive to offer political direction and qualitative leadership in the society, it needs be mentioned that the society cannot be in its best form when a group usurps the roles of the other. For instance, elite among the touts cannot function properly when they dabbles into the intellectual think tank realms, since they lacks the qualities needed in taking intellectual challenges.

Governance is a necessary phenomenon in every society and organization. However, Michels (1949) captured the import of this in postulation about the iron law of oligarchy. For him, immanent oligarchic tendencies exist in every kind of human organization; which strives to the attainment of definite ends. Among others, he observed that all order and civilization must exhibit aristocratic features. Also Gasset (in Odum,

2009:246) highlighted that the organization of human heap in leaders and the led is a primary social fact. For him, this supposes in a certain capacity to lead; in others certain capacity to be led.

A leader is expected to possess certain qualities necessary for moving the society forward. Among others, the person must be capable to provide direction, offer inspiration, show team spirit, display courage, and ready lead exemplary life by living above board. A leader is supposed to be in control. To this extent, the person requires basic experience over the issue of governance. It is believed that the political elites, based on their level of political enlightenment, should possess these qualities. When those that emerge into leadership position lack these qualities, the society will suffer (Odum, 2009: 55) As we reflect on the issues of governance and national security in Nigeria, the elite theory will act as a guide in assessing the kind of people that have taken political control of the state. In trying to understand the problems facing Nigeria, there is need to ascertain whether Nigeria has the right caliber of people that can offer political direction. This is because when this is lacking Nigeria will continue to experience problems from one regime to the other.

*Good Governance.* Generally, definitions have been offered by scholars in an attempt to situate the meaning of the concept. In line with this, governance, according to the World Bank Report (1989), is the exercise of political power in the management of a nation's affairs. This definition thus implies that governance encompasses the state's institutional and structural arrangements, decision-making processes and implementation capacity, and the relationship between the governing apparatus and the governed- that is the people in terms of their standard of living.

As a follow up, Nnoli (2003: 199) refers governance to the manner in which a government carries out its functions. According to him, it is determined by the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. He equally went further to delaminate four types of governance, which he said that some are good while some are bad, and among these are the commandist governance, one-party governance, multiparty oligarchic governance as well as popular participatory governance. On the other hand, Odock (2006:3-5 in George-Genyi, 2013), in his analysis sees good governance as "a system of government based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law and due process, the accountability of the political leadership to the electorate as well as transparency in the operations of government." Transparency, Odock opined that it has to do with the leadership carrying out government business in an open, easy to understand and explicit manner, such that made by government, the policies implemented by the government and the results of government activities are easy to verify by the ordinary citizens. Accountability as a component of good governance refers to the fact that those who occupy positions of leadership in the government must give

account or subject themselves to the will and desire of the society and people that they lead. Unfortunately, this is lacking in the public domain in Nigeria. Governance typically

In his view, McGinnis (in Akinola, 1991:1), sees governance as the way society manages the full array of its political, economic and social affairs by shaping the incentives facing individuals and local communities. Governance facilitates socioeconomic development and security if its structure reinforces the capability of local groups to deal with their own problems. The import of this is that the user groups have incentives and opportunities to participate and manage their own common pool of resources wisely. In this way, development is likely to be sustainable thereby reducing grievances from the citizenry. On the other hand, some scholars view governance as an exercise of political, economic and administrative authority. In line with this, Igun (2006: 10) has this to say:

Governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of the affairs of a county. It comprises the complex mechanism, processes, relationships and institutions through which a country's citizens express their interests, exercise their rights, and obligations and mediate their differences. It is a process, mechanisms and institutions through which a state exercises reasonable and effective administration and control over its territory.

The import of this definition is that good governance must involve participation by the citizen; transparency on the part of incumbents and role players; accountability to the governed; effectiveness in terms of goal achievement; equality in access to resources and opportunities; and strict adherence to the rule of law on the part of office holders and the governed.

Moreover, the World Bank (in Nwanegbo, 2009), equally sees governance as 'the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development'. The UNDP advances a broader definition in its definition of governance as "the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affair at all levels and the means by which states promote social cohesion, integration, and ensure the well-being of their populations. Though there are versions of governance as typified by Nnoli, we will, for the purpose of this study, be focusing on the popular participatory governance that is a true reflection of the good governance which will invariably reduce the rate of strife and violent attitudes in the citizens as a result of bad governance. According to Nnoli (2000:204), "popular participatory governance is usually referred to as good governance. It is based on a strong belief in the people. It sees widespread participation as crucial to responsive and responsible government". The import of this is that in this type of

governance, the rulers show concern for the removal of constraints on the poor. Under good governance, rulers exercise power in accordance with widely accepted rules and principle. Good governance usually promotes peace and cooperation between the rulers and the ruled.

*National Security.* Security according to Nnoli (2006: 16), in his 'National Security in Africa', is a cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-state, together with a similar safety of their other most cherished values. It denotes freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. Therefore, security in an objective sense can be measured by the absence of threat, anxiety or danger. In another view, Luard (1999) sees national security as the measurement of military might and capabilities necessary to secure a nation. This definition emphasizes the level of military preparedness against threat. A nation's security is however not determined by validating military effort alone. In line with this, Gagariga (2013:4) side track the military oriented approach stressing that security is not only seen through force, traditional military and hardware. He views security in terms of an ability to overcome food shortage, overpopulation, low level of productivity, per capital income and technological development, inadequate and insufficient infrastructure and unemployment. His view stresses the importance of development in security. While Olusegun Obasanjo cited in Gagariga (2013: 5) defines National Security as the aggregation of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups, political entities and institutions, which inhabit the Nigerian territory. His definition features primarily a strong country which advances her interests and objectives, control crime and other vices, while enhancing progressive growth and development towards improved welfare, well-being and quality of life.

Furthermore, "National Security is the activity developed by the State to guarantee order, security and public tranquility, to protect people and goods, to prevent criminality and contribute to ensure the normal functioning of the democratic institutions, the exercise of fundamental freedoms by the citizens and the respect for democratic legality" (National Parliament, 2003). It is generally associated with the stability of the State or with the notion of security of its citizens. It comprises not only conventional safeguarding of the political system, but also defense and economic stability, including availability of natural resources, food supply and financial and environmental security.

### **Principles of Good Governance.**

Principle is the way organizations are directed and controlled to ensure that they are effective in achieving their objectives. In effort to actualize these objectives in

governance, the British and Irish Ombudsman Association (2009) identified twelve principles for good governance with tools for implementation and among these are as follows: (i) *Fair Conduct of Elections, Representation and Participation*. Local elections are conducted freely and fairly, according to international standards and national legislation, and without any fraud. Citizens are at the centre of public activity and they are involved in clearly defined ways in public life at local level. All men and women can have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate bodies that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on the freedoms of expression, assembly and association. All voices, including those of the less privileged and most vulnerable, are heard and taken into account in decision-making, including over the allocation of resources. There is always an honest attempt to mediate between various legitimate interests and to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the whole community and on how this can be achieved. Decisions are taken according to the will of the many, while the rights and legitimate interests of the few are respected. (ii) *Responsiveness*. Objectives, rules, structures, and procedures are adapted to the legitimate expectations and needs of citizens. Public services are delivered, and requests and complaints are responded to within a reasonable time frame.

The third principle is *Efficiency and Effectiveness*. Results meet the agreed objectives. Best possible use is made of the resources available. Performance management systems make it possible to evaluate and enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of services. Audits are carried out at regular intervals to assess and improve performance. (iv) *Openness and Transparency*. Decisions are taken and enforced in accordance with rules and regulations. There is public access to all information which is not classified for well-specified reasons as provided for by law (such as the protection of privacy or ensuring the fairness of procurement procedures). Information on decisions, implementation of policies and results is made available to the public in such a way as to enable it to effectively follow and contribute to the work of the local authority. (v) *Rule of Law*. The local authorities abide by the law and judicial decisions. Rules and regulations are adopted in accordance with procedures provided for by law and are enforced impartially. (vi) *Ethical Conduct*. The public good is placed before individual interests. There are effective measures to prevent and combat all forms of corruption. Conflicts of interest are declared in a timely manner and persons involved must abstain from taking part in relevant decisions. (vii) *Competence and Capacity*. The professional skills of those who deliver governance are continuously maintained and strengthened in order to improve their output and impact. Public officials are motivated to continuously improve their performance. Practical methods and procedures are created and used in order to transform skills into capacity and to produce better results. (viii) *Innovation and Openness to Change*. New and efficient solutions to problems are sought and advantage is taken of modern methods of service provision. There is



readiness to pilot and experiment new programmes and to learn from the experience of others. A climate favourable to change is created in the interest of achieving better results. (ix) *Sustainability and Long-term Orientation*. The needs of future generations are taken into account in current policies. The sustainability of the community is constantly taken into account. Decisions strive to internalize all costs and not to transfer problems and tensions, be they environmental, structural, financial, economic or social, to future generations. There is a broad and long-term perspective on the future of the local community along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which this perspective is grounded.

The tenth principle is *Sound Financial Management*. Charges do not exceed the cost of services provided and do not reduce demand excessively, particularly in the case of important public services. Prudence is observed in financial management, including in the contracting and use of loans, in the estimation of resources, revenues and reserves, and in the use of exceptional revenue. Multi-annual budget plans are prepared, with consultation of the public. Risks are properly estimated and managed, including by the publication of consolidated accounts and, in the case of public-private partnerships, by sharing the risks realistically. The local authority takes part in arrangements for inter-municipal solidarity, fair sharing of burdens and benefits and reduction of risks (equalization systems, inter- municipal co-operation, mutualisation of risks...). (xi) *Human rights, Cultural Diversity and Social Cohesion*. Within the local authority's sphere of influence, human rights are respected, protected and implemented, and discrimination on any grounds is combated. Cultural diversity is treated as an asset, and continuous efforts are made to ensure that all have a stake in the local community, identify with it and do not feel excluded. Social cohesion and the integration of disadvantaged areas are promoted. Access to essential services is preserved, in particular for the most disadvantaged sections of the population. (xii) *Accountability*. All decision-makers, collective and individual, take responsibility for their decisions. Decisions are reported on, explained and can be sanctioned. There are effective remedies against maladministration and against actions of local authorities which infringe civil rights.

### **Challenges of Good Governance in Nigeria**

Governance is said to have evolved from the need to organize society towards the achievement of a common goal. Regrettably, the achievement of these common goals have, indeed, remains a mirage in most developing countries particularly Nigeria. Some challenges are attributed to this. Consequently, the Final Report of the Seventh African Governance (AGFVII), United Nations Development Programme ( 2007) identified the key challenges in this regard, and they include the following; (i) Improving the effectiveness and integrity of the electoral system; (ii) Strengthening the mechanisms

for popular participation; (iii) Enhancing parliamentary and local governance processes and systems; (iv) Creating sustainable, accountable, transparent and responsive institutions of the judiciary, legislature and the executive; (v) Enhancing human rights, human security and the rule of law; (vi) Preventing, managing and resolving conflicts; (vii) Re-establishing the rule of law and addressing impunity; (viii) Investing in social development, particularly education, health, water and sanitation, and housing; (ix) Promoting growth and equity by responding to the needs of the socially vulnerable groups; (x) Fast tracking infrastructure development, particularly roads, power and telecommunications; (xi) Enhancing efficiency and effectiveness in social service delivery; (xii) Strengthening economic governance institutions and improving their management; (xiii) Ensuring effective management and equitable and transparent utilization of natural resources; (xiv) Promoting and empowering civil society; (xv) Addressing unfair terms of global trade with a view to enhancing a level playing field in international trade and commerce; (xvi) Bridging the digital divide through allowing African countries to gain access to ICT innovations in a manner that is fair and equitable; (xvii) Attracting foreign direct investment (FDI); and (xviii) Promoting gender equity, including domesticating all ratified international conventions related to gender, reforming property laws to remove gender biases, improving access to social and economic resources (e.g. education, land, credit) and halting traditions and cultural practices that hinder women development. Moreover, African Peer Review Mechanism (2009) equally identified “over centralization of power, security and financial resources in the Federal government” as one of the major challenges of governance in Nigeria. A situation it argued that has generated a lot of crises in Nigeria leadership.

### **Dimensions of National Security**

There are various dimensions of national security in Nigeria. According to Adebakin, M. A. in Tadjbakhsh (2008) national security covers critical dimensions, viz: Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Community security, Political security. Further explanations on the seven (7) dimensions of human security are provided hereunder: *Economic Security* This refers to a security that requires an assured basic income for individuals, which manifests as provision of productive employment opportunities and adequate remuneration. Unemployment, economic hopelessness and chronic poverty are threats to economic security. *Food Security* This type of security requires that all members of the community, at all times, have access to basic food and nutrition that ensures stable wellbeing and protection from hunger, starvation and malnutrition. In the development circle, poor yield from farmlands; endemic famine/drought and sudden pest attack on agricultural produce are threats to food security.

*Health Security* This security requires an assurance of a minimum protection from all forms of diseases and unhealthy lifestyles that cut short human lives. Threats to health security are absence of clean water, dirty environment and poor hygiene/health education. *Environmental Security* This requires a planned protection of people from the short and long-term ravages of nature, spill-over negative effect of environmental degradation and abuse of the ecosystem/natural environment in the forms of desertification, gas flaring/emission, pollution of fresh water, careless use of industrial chemicals et cetera. *Personal Security* This type of security concentrates on the protection of people's lives and their properties from physical violence created by the state, external states, violent individuals and sub-state actors. *Community Security* Communal security assures protection of people from their loss of traditional homeland, customs and values from all types of sectarian and ethnic-related conflicts. *Political Security* This type of security is concerned with the protection of fundamental human rights of electorates as well as freedom from systematic torture, ill treatment and coercion (Ibid.) The seven dimensions of national security as explained above can summarily be describes as "...protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, and environmental hazards" (UNDP, 1994).

#### **Nexus between Governance and National Security.**

It is an unarguable fact that there is a strong correlation between the nature of governance and the state of security in any country. To be precise, it is governance that provokes and defines the nature of security. In effect, when there is governance failure the security framework deteriorates as has been the case in Nigeria. To ensure effective security system, there must necessarily be some link between the elements of good governance by the leadership. These elements include rule of law, accountability and transparency in the management of resources, political stability, provision of basic needs and services as well as absence of corruption (George-Genyi, 2013).

Obviously, achieving individual rights and freedoms is the responsibility of the state. However, manifestation of the acts of violence in all forms infringes on these fundamental rights and threatens the safety of individual. Furthermore, inability of the federal government and her institutions to provide physical security and address socio-economic and developmental issues provides an adequate environment for public dissent and frustration. This has created the avenue for a variety of actors to exploit and project radical ideas that include acts of violence and terror. An escalation of these unchecked acts makes Nigeria less secure and ungovernable.

On the other hand, to ensure effective security system, there must necessarily be some link between the elements of good governance by the leadership. These elements include rule of law, accountability and transparency in the management of resources,

political stability, provision of basic needs and services as well as absence of corruption. The role of the leadership is particularly important in the governance project. The primacy of leadership in the governance project rests on the ability of the leadership to see beyond the perceptual vista of the people, appreciate their needs, and inspire and motivate them to cherish and desire these needs as goals that should be achieved (Chikendu, 1987)

Indeed, ensuring good governance for achieving security and sustainable development rests with the leadership. This is deeply rooted on the ability and capacity of leadership to allocate scarce resources, determine policy choices and outcomes that affect the direction and nature of development in the society. However, the nature of governance in Nigeria has not instituted sufficient policies and programmes to alter the structures of imbalance and insecurity entrenched by colonialism and prolonged authoritarian military rule (Ibrahim, 2002:197). These structures are exclusionary and ill suited especially in a democratic system of governance. It has already been argued that colonialism imposed on Nigeria a structural imbalance in the configuration of Nigerian federalism. This situation created a feeling of fear of domination and mutual suspicions among the various ethnic nationalities (Balewa, 1994). These factors, that is, the fear of domination and suspicions manifests in the political, economic and social dynamics of the country.

By and large, George-Genyi, (2013) stated that the structural imbalance in the ethnic, religious and regional composition of Nigeria and the manipulation of such identities logically explains the various ethno-religious and even communal conflicts in the country such as Zangon-Kataf in Kaduna, Ife-Modakeke, Jukun/Tiv, Jos Crisis, Boko Haram insurgency, Kano, Borno, among others. The crisis of state and economy in Nigeria also reveals that there are potent threats to national security in the country. This vacuum is arising from the inability of the state to perform, particularly out of the domain of social provisioning that is increasingly being filled by ethnic militias, religious fanatic (Boko Haram) and disgruntled state elites who feel marginalized or excluded from participating in the public or decision making arena. In fact, neither people nor investments or government can feel secured in such a conjuncture. The desperation for political power and by extension for unrestrained access to economic resources has also deepened the insecurity situation in the country. The primacy of political power as a springboard to economic resources and higher level of social status has led to the militarization of society in Nigeria. This signifies violence in the struggles of social forces as against peaceful political competition and conduct. As a follow up, Ake cited in George-Genyi, (2013) has clearly explained the nature of politics that generates conflicts in African societies such as Nigeria thus:

The militarization of society is the outcome of the over valuing of political power in Africa and intense struggle to obtain and keep it. This transformed politics into warfare. In this competition every form of force is mobilized and deployed; the winners have the prospect of near absolute power and the losers not only forgo power but face a real prospect of losing and even life (Ake, 1989: 57-58).

The import of the above assertion merely amplifies the character of a post-colonial state such as Nigeria. The premium on power is exceptionally high and the system lacks the institutional arrangement to moderate political competition and to mediate between classes thereby creating a fertile ground for insecurity in society. The current democratic governance in Nigeria has continued to witness repeated abuses of state power that has manifested in different forms and guises.

Similarly, Nnoli (2006: 9-10) remarked that political exclusion, economic marginalization and social discrimination threaten the security of citizens to such an extent that they regard the state as the primary threat to their survival. In desperation, the victimized citizens take the laws into their own hands as a means of safeguarding their fundamental values from the threat of unacceptable government policies. People who believe that the government no longer represents their interests seek, by all means, to overthrow it or otherwise establish an alternative state or government. The decline of the state as the guarantor of protection and human security is traceable from the non participatory nature of the right caliber of the people in our national politics. As a result of this, the wrong people who are not well trained or qualified into the positions of leadership have in one way or the other assume the leadership role of our country thereby bastardizing the process of good governance. Worthy to note is that the decline of the state as the guarantor of protection and human security is serious, but its role as the creator of insecurity is more serious. This is the real situation in our contemporary state. Therefore, the nexus between good governance and insecurity is inverse as a rise in one will cause a fall in the other.

### **An Overview of Insecurity in Nigeria**

The incidence of violence in Nigeria has been traumatic and remains source of endless worries. Nigeria has been enmeshed in a firebox of insecurity leading to scores of deaths of innocent civilians, foreigners, some members of the nation's security personnel, elected officials and many government workers. The insecurity challenge has assumed formidable dimensions forcing the country's political and economic managers and, indeed the entire nation, to rue the loss of their loved ones, investments and absence of safety in most parts of the country. The number of violent crimes such as kidnappings, murder, armed robbery, child stealing and killings, politically-motivated killing and violence etc has increasingly become the regular phenomenon that characterize the

present Nigeria. According to available crime statistics obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics from 1994 to 2003, as shown in the table below, the number of crime recorded increases every year. For instance, the total number of crime recorded in 1994 is 6649, 1999 recorded 6680 while 2003 recorded 8341 crimes as shown in the table. There are other crimes but we selected these for the purpose of this study including the subsequent ones we shall equally discuss as the thesis unfolds.

Table 1 SUMMARY OF CRIME STATISTICS IN NIGERIA FROM 1994 - 2003

Offence	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Kidnapping	461	415	373	377	282	342	243	349	337	410
Murder	1629	1585	1561	1730	1670	1645	1255	2120	2117	2136
Armed Robbery	2044	2109	2419	2181	2286	2291	1877	2809	3889	3497
Child Stealing	131	175	146	303	107	147	101	116	55	39
Man Slaughter	20	25	21	18	27	14	101	14	13	06
Rape Assault	2364	2364	2198	2585	2249	2241	1529	2284	2084	2253
<b>Total</b>	<b>6649</b>	<b>6673</b>	<b>6718</b>	<b>7194</b>	<b>6821</b>	<b>6680</b>	<b>5106</b>	<b>7692</b>	<b>8495</b>	<b>8341</b>

Source (www. nigeriastat.gov.ng)

Nevertheless, the activities of Boko Haram have constituted a serious security challenge in contemporary Nigeria as the group has even been linked to the dreaded Al-Qaeda terror group. It has been accepted in many quarters that the criminal and evil agenda of the Boko Haram terror envoys in Nigeria, including the introduction of suicidebombing on Nigerian soil, has not only paralysed economic and social activities in Maiduguri, Abuja, Suleja, Damaturu, Minna, among other cities, but has also made Nigeria unsafe for investment and tourism (Onifade, Imhonopi & Urim, 2013).

In the North, there is a deadly and devastating crises of Boko Haram insurgency which has sent thousands of Nigerians to their early grave. For example, the day Boko Haram visited Federal Government College, Buni in Yobe State, on February 25, 2014, no fewer than 53 students were massacred in the most grisly manner (Daily Sun of March 2014: 11). At the same time, at St. Andrew's Protestant Church in Kaduna, it was recorded by the same source that on 25<sup>th</sup> November, 2012, bombs were hurling at the worships in the church and no fewer than 30 bodies of the worshipers were left dead while at Apocalyptic Mosque in Dumba village in Borno State no less than 35 persons were murdered the day Boko Haram visited them on 19 August, 2013.

Similarly, there has been a similar situation in Jos, Nigeria. Thus; the Jos crisis that has claimed numerous lives of Nigerians and property worth millions of naira is no longer a novelty in Nigeria (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2015). However, the Jos crisis has resulted in several attacks on Christians by Muslims. According to Oladoyinbo (2010: 6), over 10,000 Christians were slaughtered during the Jos crisis from 2007 and 2010. In 2010 crisis for instance, about 500 Christians lost their lives, he observed. Precisely, the Jos crisis has resulted in unimaginable confrontations, killings, bombings and other forms of violence. The crisis in Jos and other Northern part of the federation has adversely affected the economy and unity of Nigeria. Moreover, there is also an incessant rate of kidnapping especially in south east and some south western part of Nigeria.

Regrettably, Nigeria's porous borders have facilitated the spread of violent activities. Therefore, the porosity and inability to protect national borders especially in the North has been blamed on the part of Nigerian government. In Zamfara State for example, Gagariga (2013: 11) posited that Boko Haram killed 19 persons and fled unchallenged to neighbouring Niger Republic in March 2012. The porosity of the borders in Yobe State eased the escape of suspected sect members from Bauchi prisons in 2010. According to him, there are over 250 footpaths between Damaturu and Maiduguri linked to Cameroun, Chad and Niger Republics. These remain unknown, unmanned and unprotected. The exploitation of the porous borders remains a challenge as it serves as routes for terrorist to undertake series of vices such as arms trafficking unfavourable for national security.

Furthermore, a suicide bomber drove through the gates of the U.N. headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, just about 11 a.m. on August 26, 2011. The car, strapped with a 100-pound bomb, accelerated up the long driveway and crashed into two security barriers near the building's reception area. The explosion tore apart the building, which houses 26 different U.N. agencies, leaving 23 dead and injuring scores (Bartolotta, 2011).

In the Southeast of Nigeria, armed robbery and extortionist kidnapping are easily the most serious and challenging domestic security threat in the country. It is a national problem that is prevalent all across so many states in the country. According to a report released by Ibrahim Yakubu Lame, the Police Affairs Minister, in July 2009, Nigeria has recorded a total of 512 kidnappings from January 2008 to June 2009, with 30 of such persons involved losing their lives in the process. However, the eastern states top the list of kidnap incidents. Indeed, it is now a common fact acknowledged by all, that in virtually all the eastern states, gruesome incidents of mass armed robbery and kidnapping have become common occurrence. Where the robbers are not maiming and looting, kidnappers are targeting local moneybags and unfortunate expatriates like the Chinese executing building contracts for indigenous businessmen (Anosike, 2009) According to the said police report released in July 2009, Abia State tops all states with a total of 110 kidnap incidents, and 353 cases and three deaths in 2008. This is followed

by other eastern states: Imo (58 recorded kidnaps, 109 arrests, 41 prosecutions, and 1 killed), Delta (44 kidnappings, 43 released, 27 arrests, 31 prosecutions, 1 killed), Akwa Ibom (40 kidnappings, 40 released, 18 arrests, 11 prosecutions), among others.

Moreover, the activities of the Niger Delta youths (popularly known as ‘militant group’) is not in the least as a return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999 witnessed a rapid rise in more violent acts. In the Niger Delta region, groups were involved in nefarious activities such as vandalism of oil pipelines, assassination and hostage taking of the foreigners. Obviously, abduction and hostage of foreign workers in Nigeria has also been on increase as the information below shows the number of foreign abduction that has taken place in Nigeria from 2007 to 2012. To demonstrate, in Jan. 10, nine South Koreans and one Nigerian working for Daewoo Engineering and Construction Company in Yenagoa were abducted in 2007. In September 9, 2008: two British oil workers Robin Barry Hughes and Matthew John Maguire were kidnapped along with 27 other workers when their vessel was hijacked by militants groups. In Jan. 21, 2009: rebels from the Niger Delta attacked the tanker *MT Meredith*, filled with diesel fuel, and kidnapped a Romanian worker. April 16, 2009: Julie Ann Mulligan, a Canadian in Nigeria on a Rotary International exchange was taken hostage. In Jan 12, 2010, three Britons and a Colombian working for Netco were kidnapped when their convoy was attacked near Port Harcourt. While in April 11 of the same year, Nigerian employee of Total was kidnapped by unknown men in southern Nigeria. In Nov 17, 2011 two American and one Mexican sailor aboard the *M/V C-Endeavour* were kidnapped by militants. In Dec 17, 2012, five Indian sailors aboard the *SP Brussels* were kidnapped by militants. And on Dec 20: four South Korean oil workers were kidnapped by gunmen from an oil plant in the Niger Delta ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign\\_hostages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_hostages)).

The import of the above information is to show the level of insecurity in the country as well as the government’s incompetency in tackling such menace. Consequently, extreme poverty, unemployment and lack of social amenities have caused groups to exploit a variety of clauses to conduct acts of violence in Nigeria. There is no doubt the rate of unemployment has been on increase in Nigeria, and government has not been able to do anything meaningful in tackling the surge of unemployment. The National Population Commission has it that the rate of unemployment in Nigeria rose from 21.1 per cent in 2010 to 23.9 per cent in 2011, while The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) equally reported that 54 per cent of Nigerian youths were unemployed in 2012. The above data shows the high level of unemployment among Nigerian youths who are the future leaders of tomorrow. Government has not been able to provide her citizens with adequate health care, employment, education, clean water, electric power, physical security, a salutory environment, and decent transport infrastructure.

Similarly, frustration-aggression is one of the major reasons why men involve themselves in violence. Anger induced by the frustration is a motivating force that



disposes man to aggression. Using relative deprivation as a form of frustration-aggression, Gurr (1970) in his book, "why men rebel", argued that relative deprivation is a necessary condition for violence. He sees relative deprivation as a perceived discrepancy between men's value expectation and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of attaining and maintain, given the social means available to them. When these things are abjectly deprived from them, violence is inevitable.

Arising from the nature of governance in Nigeria, one could rightly aver that there is a high rate of relative deprivation among the citizens by her government and violence has remained inevitable. This has been as a result of unemployment, abject poverty, political alienation, corruption among the government official, lack of accountability in governance, electoral malpractice etc. The ineffective and inefficiency of our leadership is therefore traceable from the alienation of the masses in participating in electoral process. The right calibers of people have not allowed access to the state-craft through the conduct of transparent and free election process in Nigeria.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations.**

Nigeria is presently confronted with the emerging threat with terrorism and all sorts of violence. Insecurity as a phenomenon leaves no doubt about its ills and negative consequences. The imposition of fear on citizens, uncontrollable damage of lives, properties and strategic infrastructures and a distraught foreign and domestic investment atmosphere does not speak well of Nigeria's national security posture. This has been blamed on government's inability to rise up to her responsibility as a result of the caliber of people that have occupied the governance position in Nigeria. There is no doubt that the quality of government personnel will determine the quality of policy output of any nation. Moreover, Achebe (1983) had argued convincingly in his book titled, *'The Trouble with Nigeria'*, that the trouble with Nigeria is a problem of leadership and the failure of leadership to rise to its responsibilities, to the challenges of personal exemplary life clearly shows why the nation has the problem of true governance.

Secondly, Nnoli (2006: 156) argued that political parties that produce leadership have failed to live up to their potential as major instruments of political liberalization. Today, political parties have been delinked not only from social movements, which in the past gave them ideological and mobilizational coherence, but party leaders are delinked from the rank-and-file of the party, which provided the party with electoral support. Both the party leadership and the party now hearken to the voice of the state rather than that of their followers. They spend more time, during elections, not in mobilizing their supporters to run out en mass to cast their ballot but in seeking out and bribing state electoral officers and agents for victory at the polls. It is no longer what

the supporters think or do that matter but how the state thinks and feels. Nigerian politicians and parties will jump unto any political programme that gives them any hope, however false, of coming to power even if this hope rides on a patently undemocratic route and promise no future. What is important to them is how to get close to, and obtain official endorsement, from whoever controls the state (military or civilian) and not ant “abstractions” such as democracy and multiparty system.

Finally, we have argued that the ineffective and inefficiency of our leadership to rise up to her responsibilities leads to frustration-aggressions and violence among the citizens. This, therefore, is traceable from the alienation of the masses, especially the right caliber of the people, from politics as well as participating in electoral process. The right calibers of people have not allowed access to the state-craft through the conduct of transparent and free election process in Nigeria. Therefore, we suggest that there should be a total value re-orientation among the leaders to accommodate full participation of the citizens in electoral process of our dear country. In other words, political alienation should be discouraged in its entirety. Through this, the right caliber of personnel that knows the nitty-gritty of governance shall be elected. This is so important because if one cobwebs a house without killing the spider, the house must always be messed up with cobweb. Good leaders will definitely come up with vibrant policies and programmes that will reduce, unemployment, poverty and corruption, thereby reducing the rate of frustration-aggression that is responsible for violence in Nigeria. Until the rotten tooth is pulled out, the mouth must chew with caution.

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