GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
The role of governance can not be undermined in the study of security challenges in Nigeria. This means that the way and manner power is exercised by the government in managing a country’s social economic resources can affect the security of the state in one way or the other. Nigeria has experienced a numbers of security challenges since its inception but particularly since the beginning of the present democratic dispensation 1999. The indices of insecurity such as corruption, religious and political violence acute food shortages, flood, low level of productivity and unemployment, fuel scarcity, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and other social vices. Boko Haram activities, kidnapping and militant constitute the whole mark of security challenger in Nigeria. The paper adopts the theoretical position of scholar of security studies Barry burzan who identifies threat levels of security the individual, state and international system. The paper examines also the five sectors of security as emitted by the some scholars ranging from economic societal, Environmental political and military. However, a searchlight is deemed into the internal contradictions that are responsible for security challenges in Nigeria. It is the perspective of the paper thus that good governance is instrumental in solving security problems in Nigeria and vice versa. This owns to the fact that good governance stimulates development which is a major factor of the security of a state thus recommend that since the problem of security in Nigeria is premised on governance. The masses need to be courageous to unseat any leadership that does not protect their yearnings and aspirations through credible and transparent election deemphasizing zoning and emphasizing credibility of leaders not respecting party affiliations.

INTRODUCTION
Nigeria has experienced security challenges since the inception of its nation hood it all started with primordial settings which is traceable to the pre-colonial era when most of the political parties emerged out of regionally or ethnically based cultural associations breeding serious security tension as the disagreeing political parties as Action Group, Northern Peoples’ Congress, National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon into campaign the after math of the election result was followed by crises and insecurity in Nigeria. The present scenario of Boko Haram has generated serous security challenge more than ever had in Nigeria. This ranges from wanting destruction of lives and property through indiscriminate bombing of places. In fact, the international community calls it terrorism, but, calls it a mass war. It is war in the sense that it has graduated from the use of guns to bombs which should only used in a war situation. The paper is convinced that with good governance and a stable developed political system, such security challenges as unemployment flood kidnapping assassination, lack of food and shelter bad roads and electricity network, corruption and Boko Haram, religious crises and political conflicts will gradually be overcome.
Governance and Security Challenges in Nigeria

It is against this backdrop that the paper recommends that the Nigerian masses stand their own responsibility of tackling security problems by being courageous and firm in breeding their leadership through electioneering process and saying no to leaders that do not protect their yearnings and interest. This will go a long way to tackle developmental problems and guarantees the security of not just the state but the individuals.

CONCEPTIONAL CLARIFICATION / THEORETICAL FRAME WORK
The concept Governance needs to be conceptualized for the purpose of better understanding. Apam J (2011) sums that governance refers to the manner in which power is exercised by governments in managing a country’s social and economic resources. In that sense good governance is the exercise of power by various levels of government in a manner that is effective, honest equitable, transparent and accountable, good governance according to the scholar, endures absence of abuse and corruption and the existence of the rule of law and the extent to which it delivers on the promise of human rights: civil cultural economic political and social rights. Akpa (2011) conceives good governance as basically bordering on issues of integrity efficiency effectiveness and economy of government in the management of public affairs and meeting government’s expectations of society. Good governance is also development oriented Rukah (1998:56) and Beetseh (2011) submits that good governance that is responsible, accountable, responsive and transparent; it is therefore not a luxury but a basic requirement for development (imf 2002:6). That is why mansaray (2004) agrees that good governance requires that governments or the leadership should be politically and financially accountable. it therefore entails that if the leadership is able to fight the inducements of insecurity as poverty, unemployment, environmental challenges like the flood, bad electricity network and roads epileptic education corruption and mismanagement of Nigerian resources there will be no cause for “self help” or social vices that pervade the Nigerian society as kidnapping, robbery, military and Boko Haram which is the most recent issue that has transcended into a devastating catastrophe leaving a psychological effect of the people and even affecting their socio-cultural state.

Bad governance on the other end takes the exact opposite of good governance. it means corruption, lack of accountability and transparency inefficiency mismanagement of resources absence of good programmes for socio-economic and political development which is a fundamental problem facing Nigeria today. What then is security? Generally security implies freedom from anxiety and danger. There is no agreement on this concept however. Lipman (1974) believes that a nation is secured to the extent that it is not in danger having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able if challenged to maintain them by victory in such war.

SECURITY FROM A THEORETICAL POSITION/BUZAN’S APPROACH
To understand the security challenges in Nigeria the paper adopts the position of Barry Buzan American strategist who offers a corrupt extensive study of security on issues that border on the individual the society and the state. Buzan’s definition of security criticized the security conception of the United States. Defense department believes that only the state is the
referent point of security as well as the container of security. If this is brought to explain the
Nigerian scenario, what that implies is that once the leaders and the sovereign integrity of the
state are protected by the security gadgets around them, that becomes security. This is
because in Nigeria there is hardly any distinction between the state and the leadership that is
why it is hard to deliver justice in favour of a common man. The paper is not saying that is
what is obtainable, in America but what is obtainable, in America but is only drawing
implications. In developed countries of the world, a state is autonomous and its sovereignty
is respected that is why crimes committed by leaders receive the same judgment as crimes
committed by common men. That means justice prevents in such developed environments.
The state as a reference point means that once the state is protected the individuals are
subjects of the state thus, their security is guaranteed. In this respect, Buzan argues that
what of situations where the state becomes a threat to security, of course, in Nigeria we had
issues of state sponsored assassinations and kidnappings of political opponents. During the
military era the state was in the business of violating the social security of the citizen creating
fears in the people.

The state as a container of security means that only the state has the responsibility of
ensuring security. This means it is endowed with the security gadgets to reinforce security in
the state. Buzan believes the individuals the society and the state are referent points of
security. To him the definition offered by the defense department in the US has not
incorrupted other vital concepts of security as regional, societal and environmental security in
one way or the other. Therefore he identifies three levels of security: The individual state and
international systems. Individual security means that the individual should be protected from
poverty unemployment, hardship. He should be endowed with factors of life as good health,
status, wealth and freedom amongst few examples. However the individual enjoys these
when his life is not threatened the state security which includes the abruptant economic
protection of state resources and territorial integrity. The national security calls for peaceful
coeexistence amongst states as well as absence of terrorism and threat.

Buzan also identified security in five sectors which include the economic, political societal,
environmental and military. He believes that security threat can emanate from the five
ratified sectors for instance, economic threat happens when there is economic repression,
down turn, and mismanagement of resources by the government. It can also manifest when
humans have no means of survived where as there is abundance to be tapped from but
hijacked by the leadership for selfish reasons. Political threat could be in form of political
instability rigging of elections, politics of bitterness and rancour, and political violence as well
as crises. Environmental threat could be in form of flood, indiscriminate dumping of refuge
which could be hazardly disastrous to human beings. Military security threat could come in
the form of coup de tat. They can decide as manager of violence to pose a threat to the
states and the individuals. Societal threat is seen inform of social vices just as we in Nigeria
experiences kidnapping religious violence in form of Boko Haram armed robbery, militancy to
mention but a few.
Governance and Security Challenges in Nigeria

It can therefore be seen that the position of Barry Buzan in security study is fundamental in understanding the security challenges in Nigeria today. Nigeria has experienced security challenges emanating from the various sectors of security as identified by Barry Buzan. Looking at the history of security challenges in Nigeria. One would agree that Nigeria’s major security challenges stem from the political military environmental societal and economic sector which is the major factor. It is not gain say that Boko Haram as the major security challenge is closely hilled with the economic stand point of the Nigerian society where poverty has grappled into the very fabrics of the society. Believe it or not a hungry man is an angry man. Some body who can not afford one meal in a day except he stands the humiliation of begging can possibly resort to self help. Imagine a situation in school graduates with a good result but helplessly roams the street battered by people whom he is better of interns of creativity and administrative competence can do nothing more than join them to cause problem for the nation. That is why one would agree with Buzan that the individual also is a very important referent point of security. if the individual is well secured from poverty and hunger, illiteracy and unemployment and well developed skillfully and technically the issue of Bokko Haram will be a thing of the past. This is because no developed human being would agree to run the risk of suicide bombing.

SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA FROM A HISTORICAL PESPECTIVE:
POLITICAL VIOLENCE AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE

Security challenges in Nigeria range from different sectors and assume a historical dimension. Some of the most serious issues that mainstream into insecurity in Nigeria are premised on political religious, societal, environmental, economic, ethnic agentialities, the militia and the military. The resort to ethnic sentiments by the Nigerian elite dates back to pre-colonial period when most of the political parties emerged out of regionally or ethnically based cultural associations for example, soon after the return of Chief Obafemi Awolowo from studies abroad in 1948 he formed the Egbe-Omo-Oduduwa (Descendants of Odudua), a pan-yoruba cultural association which later metamorphosed into the Action Group (AG). Awolowo intention of forming Egbe-Omo-Oduduwa was to create a forum for Yoruba unity, foster their nationalism and individuality as well as promote other study of Yoruba language, culture and history. The main purpose of action group initially was to ensure that it captured all the political seats in the Yoruba dominated western region. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), headed by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto emerged in the North to oppose the penetration of the North by the Western and Eastern Political Leaders.

Meanwhile, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe’s National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) was unable to control the west as a result of Chief Obafemi Awolowo’s opposition to the emergence of a non Yoruba as leader in the Western House of parliament resulted to defection by erstwhile member of NCNC to AG. Azikiwe therefore returned to his Igbo kinsmen under the umbrella of NCNC. The parties struggled to maintain the lead in their respective ethnic based domains. During election the seed of ethnic discord and hatred for
one another had already developed. Derogatory words were used against the northern NPC, Eastern NCNC and western AG. The northerners were seen as uneducated, uncultured, unintelligent and barbaric creatures who should not be accommodated. In some areas of the north where the Action Group infiltrated such as the Middle Belt congress leadership made the ordinary Tiv man to believe that muslim virtues’ were an aberration for a descent human being. The 1959 election triggered off the Tiv riots of 1960/1964, the census crises of 1962 and the election crises of 1964.

Regrettably and most interestingly the political structures of the second republic both in terms of recruitment, power base and ecological postulations were basically in conformity with the politics of the first republic worse of all most of the political leaders of the first republic, except Sir Ahmadu Bello who died in the first military coup of 1966, still found themselves by design or default presiding ones the leadership of second republic political parties. This Chief Obafemi Awolowo who founded the Action Group (AG) regrouped his followers into up or while Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of NCNC was dragged into the NPP by his leaders while NC N C supporters who were predominantly Igbos. In the case of the NCN, though it was under the chairmanship of Chief Akinloye Adisa, a Yoruba leader, the party was regarded as a reincarnation of the conservative northern people’s congress (NPC) as it drew most of its followers from the north. These political activities created insecurity in Nigeria and up till now primordial politics is a serious threat to the national security since the peace and unity of the country is threatened.

THE MILITARY AND COUP DE TAT
The first military coup to ever take place in Nigeria occurred on January 15, 1966. It was executed by a group of army majors led by Late Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu. The coup ended the Tafawa Balewa led civilian administration. Two among politicians that were killed are Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister, Sardauna of Sokoto Sir Ahmadu Bello Premier Northern Region, Chief Okolie Ebo Minister of Finance, and Alhaji Ribadu, Minister of Defence. This coup was suspected by northerners to be an Igbo planned coup because prominent among the politicians that were killed are from the north. The coup plotters however, encountered some logistic problems in their operation and so failed to achieve complete success. The reins of power were then handed one to the most senior army officer, at the time Late Major General Johnson Agniyi Ironsi who subsequently became the head of state. His failure to bring the coup plotters to bone fed into a counter coup on July 26, 1966. This was seen as a retaliatory measure against other January 15th coup. Lt Colmel Yakubu Gawon came to power Gowan soon had problem with L/Colonel Odumegwe Ojukwu, the then governor of Eastern Region over the creation of twelve states from original four regions without consultation in May 1967. This led a basis for the Nigerian civil war on July 6, 1967.

THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE
The Nigerian civil war broke out on 6 July 1967. The war was the culmination of the instability that had plagued the nation from independence in 1960. This situation had its genesis in the geography, history, culture and demography of Nigeria. The immediate cause
of the civil war itself may be identified as the coup and the counter coup of 1966 which altered the political equation and destroyed the fragile trust existing among the major ethnic group as a means of holding the country together in the last result, the country was divided into twelve states from the original four regions in May 1967. The their Eastern region under Lt. Col Ojukwu saw the act of the creation of states by decree without consultation as the last straw and declared the region an independent state of Biafra. The Federal Government in Lagos saw this as an act of secession and illegality. Several meetings were held to resolve the issue peacefully without but to no avail. To avoid disintegration of the country, the central government was left with only one choice of bringing back the region to the main fold by force. The federal side expected a quick victory while the Biafrans saw the war as that of survival and was ready to fight to the last man. By August 1967 the war had been extended to the Mid-Western Region by the Biafrans with the aim to relief presence on the northern front and to threaten the Federal capital Lagos. Both sides employed political diplomatic, psychological and military strategies to execute the war. During the periods of 1967 to when the war ended and even shortly after, there was gross insecurity in Nigeria which became gradually submerged over time and space.

POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT AS SERIOUS SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

There were serious issues that bonder on security challenges in Nigeria which are not taken carefully. These issues have caused people to commit suicide; some even go into deadly missions just to earn a living. Poverty and unemployment which has eaten deep into the fabrics of the country has constituted security challenges to the citizens more than the often emphasized Bokko Haram. In fact it is quite realistic to believe that these two challenges. Poverty and unemployment are the further intensification of Bokko Haram activities in Nigeria. This is because a man who is aggressively ravaged by the effect of poverty and unemployment may prefer to die than stand the test of time. Such a man if given opportunity he can easily go on a suicide mission. It is sad to note that these problems or challenges are premised on the nature and character of governance ever had in Nigeria over time. A kind of governance that is epitomized by all sorts of deprivations and mismanagement of our numerous resources and devoid of ethnics and accountability. It is reported that over 70 percent of Nigerians are living below poverty line, life expectancy at birth is 51 years over 40 percent of the population lacks access to portable drinking water and only about 40 percent of the population are literate (El’ Rufai, 2001).

According to Diamond (2004:2002) the deepest root cause of development failure is not lack of resources or international isolation. Rather it is a lack of good governance, the inability or lack of political will to apply public resources effectively to generate public goods. Public goods include physical structures such as good roads, bridges, ports, sanitation, portable, water electric power public transport, telecommunication etc. Bad roads cause accidents which are claiming lives on daily basis in Nigeria. All these constitute serious security challenges to our Nigerian society as people more with fear and anxiety.
ETHNIC MILITIA AND RELIGIOUS CRISSES AS SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

The fear of domination, marginalization social deprivation and internal colonialism expressed by some sections of the Nigerian state. The complaint against corporate violence, official negligence, environmental degradation and denial of access to resources of the south-south the crises of marginalization, alienation and discrimination by the south East and the lamentation of injustice, political harassment and domination of the south. West by the political leadership and bad governance have been responsible for the emergence of agitative movements lives; the Niger Delta volunteer force (NDVF); Movements for the survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP); Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MOSSOB); Oodua People Congress (OPC). The protest and demand of these militia groups are not critically looked into by the political leadership. Their demand for distributions of resources and power are misconstrued demonized and criminalized by the state. Driven to frustrated heights as a result of the use of official violence against their protest and demands, the militia groups for the self defense of the state. Religious crises on the other end constitute another dimension of security challenges in Nigeria. This religious is even a threat to corporate existence of the Nigerian state. The crises range between the Muslims and Christians often initiated by religious fantasies and the selfish politicians who hide under the corn of religion to cause problems in the state to achieve their political goals. The problem is that these self-centered politicians because of their economic strength in the society are give exalted positions in these religious circles. They control both what happens in politics and in their religious societies.

The Jos crises for instance, had assumed the religious factor. The crises had been sporadic in places like Barkin Ladi, Ryom, Dogo wahawa, Zot and Rassat has continued to witness the onslaught and massacre of large number of Nigerians. On 8 July, 2012, the gun men attached monners during mass burial of villagers killed by unknown gunmen in Barkin Ladi and Maseh resulting to over 104 people killed including Senator Geyang Daylop Dantong, representing plateau North and Hon. Gyang Fulani Majority leader of the Plateau State House of Assembly. The activities of the group known as the Jama’atu Ahtus Sunnah Lidda’awati Wal-jihad (People committed to the prophets teachings and Jihad) popularly referred to as Boko Haram, have generated a remarkable interest across Nigerians and abroad because of the series of targeted attacks on individuals and corporate bodies and bombings of places which have left a psychological Truman and socio cultural effect on the people. For instance people are afraid even while they are in their houses, some have stopped going to church, some are afraid to go to public places where there is crowd, some people are afraid to put on dresses that could make them identifiable to the Boko Haram sect. In fact in some places like the south, the belief that Boko Haram is a northern affair creates fear in them while interacting with a northerner. Some easily call you Boko Haram if found dressed like a northerner. It has generated undue security consciousness in the lives of Nigerians and even the aliens (Eme 2011).

The problem with Nigerian politicians is that they like taken advantage of situations just to achieve their selfish political ends. The root of Boko haram was initiated out of ignorance.
The founder of the group Muhammad Yusuf initiated the group arising from the concerns of some Muslim families about western civilization, thought, politics and dress where our younger ones dress half naked which is against the provisions or ethnic values of the Muslim community and even the Christian community (Beetshe, 2011 and Afegbua, 2012). It was felt that western modes of dressing and style of politics were impacting negatively on the society. A Qur’anic Islamic school was set up in 2002 meant to promote the traditions of the Muslim community. The group came to prominence in 2009 when there was a strong military and police action against the members of the group in which the leader Mohammed Yusuf Ahanotus was caught. The army officer, Col. Ahanotus that arrested Yusuf landed him over to the Borno State police command and he was killed.

There is clear national concern on the activities of Boko Haram and widespread fear among people concerning their safety and security. In the case of Boko Haram this had been done several times including hitting mostly Christian worship places like Living Faith Church and Harvest Field Church, both in Yelwa Tundu near Bauchi. The Police Headquarter and United Nations building in Abuja. The attack of potiskum livestock market in Yobe State killing over sixty (60) people, suicide bombing of thisday. The sun and movement newspapers on April 2012 killing 8 people and 14 injured. The discovery of four bomb factories in the church and mosque in Kogi State. The ability to hit at individuals and targets through careful planning and execution raises a number of security challenges among which are: How safe are we? Can the security forces come and guarantee the much needed safety and security of innocent citizens’ residents? How is the government responding to this national security challenges to ensure the safety and security of every one? For how long will national occasions be like independence and children day be celebrated in doors? If the leadership is psychologically traumatized by the insecurity challenges in Nigeria what will the masses do? When will Nigeria mount intelligent oriented security and do away with eye service security measures? (Chris, 2012)

RECOMMENDATION

For Nigeria to overcome her security challenges it must be ready to sacrifice their gullibility and sermon courage to fight against bad leadership in Nigeria. The leadership must develop the political will to tackle the challenges of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria as an idle mind is a devil’s workshop. The leadership must mount intelligent oriented security rather than going on eye service security. What this means is that it is high time we embarked on satellite security rather than use of humans who may also be victims of the insecurity challenges advanced technologically such that we should go on space security where satellites are mounted in space to monitor every activity that goes on in Nigeria.

CONCLUSION

With good leadership the Nigeria security is guaranteed. Bad leadership is frustrating and can cause aggression in the minds of the citizens. The frustration for instance that affects especially the youth is dangerous to the growth of a nation. This is because in the hands of the youth lies the further of a country.
REFERENCES


