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Interrogating Nigeria's Governance Failure through the Prism of Insecurity

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Abstract- The minimum requirements of a social contract are supposed to be delivered by the State, especially one in which democracy and good governance hold sway. Nigeria has never had this; and certain social, political and economic indicators predispose scholars and observers to speculate that Nigeria is destined for classification as a failed state. It has, however, been affirmed that the primary justification for the state is its role as the guarantor of last resort of the personal safety, liberty and property of the citizen. A state that cannot or does not perform this function has no reason to exist. It can be arguably said that no other time since the civil war era has the Nigerian state been seriously engulfed in perennial security challenges that threaten the very foundation of the country than now. This essay discusses the trends, dimensions and manifestations of insecurity in Nigeria. It interrogates the Boko Haram terrorism in some parts of the country and how it largely reflects failure of governance in the polity.

I. Introduction

The modern state has become, among other things, a provider of goods and services, social insurer, wealth distributor, moral guardian, entrepreneur, keeper of the currency, banker, and economic planner. But it has been an abject failure in each of these roles (Ratnapala, 2006:9). Fuelled by the superpower rivalry that characterized the Cold War period, large portions of the developing world became engulfed in, and consumed by, protracted social conflict and societal warfare. As these societies emerge from years of intense societal conflict in the 1990s and early 2000s, they found their prospects for recovery challenged by their weakened state capacity, deeply divided societies, devastated economies, squandered resources, and traumatized populations (Marshall and Gurr, 2005:13).

Nigeria is not immune from this trend as it has witnessed a civil war and still battling a myriad of security challenges that incapacitate the central government. It is, however, an obvious fact that Nigeria is strategic to the African continent in particular and the entire world community in general. Expectedly therefore, emerging issues and developments concerning the country generate diverse interests across the globe. The reason is not far-fetched. As established by Ayoade (2008:vii), Nigeria is not just one country in Africa. It is also not just one country in the global setting. It is the most populous country in Africa as well as one of the best resource-endowed countries in the world. Its affairs are a concern to others continentally and globally. This is because, for whatever it is worth, in influential diplomatic circles, people believe that as Nigeria goes, so goes Africa". The Centre for Strategy and Technology (2011:2) in one of its occasional series, posits that: Nigeria's geographic and political position in Africa, its single-commodity and soon-to-be-top-20 oil-rich economy, extraordinarily complex demographics, culture of corruption, poor and failing national and human infrastructure, long history of dangerously destabilizing religious and ethnic violence, repeated and potential for future military coups d'état, endemic disease, and its growing importance to the global and US economy present researchers with a myriad of vexing and intractable problems and challenges.

II. Unpacking the Concept of Insecurity

The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations defines security as "a term which denotes the absence of threats to scarce values" (Evans and Newnham, 1998 cited in Malec, 2003). Fayeye (2010:195) defines security as the composition, structure and responsibilities of the security sector. It comprises also the personal and communal state of being secure from a wide range of critical and pervasive threats including but not limited to all forms violence, injustice and violation of human rights. The most accurate and most comprehensive definition of the term "security" is presented, however, in the Russian Federation Rules of Law related to security. Here the term security is defined as "defense of the vital interests of individuals, society, and state from internal and external threats" (ibid).

Security can be seen in two main aspects, internal and external. The internal aspect of security has two dimensions, the security of the people and the security of the state or the government. The security of the people is seen in terms of the satisfaction of the social, cultural, economic, political and human rights needs of the people. The security of the people is the only and best guarantee for the security of the government. The external aspect of insecurity relates to threats of armed invasion from outside the country. The UNDP developed the concept of 'human security' to encompass not just the achievement of minimal levels of material needs, but also the absence of severe threats to them of an economic or political kind: 'Job security,

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income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime – these are the emerging concerns of security all over the world'. In its fullest sense, Nzongola-Ntalaja (2007:96-97) contends, human security includes not only protection against criminal violence but also the promotion of the people's right to basic education, primary health care, water and sanitation, nutrition and reproductive health, as well as the implementation of preventive, relief and rehabilitation measures with respect to disasters, both natural and human made.

If we agree that "security is a state when there are no threats…," this automatically suggests that the opposite state, "insecurity," is identified by particular threats within this area of security (Malec, 2003). The manifestation of human insecurity can be mental, physical and procural. It is based on current agitations or the anticipation of future conditions and needs or both. In broad terms, security then is the basic condition of safety from harm and deprivation, which is applicable to a person, living things, an entity and inanimate objects (Kayode Are, http://www.lagoscountryclub.net/downloads/ PROJECTING % 20 NIGERIA's% 20Security.pdf). As noted by Stewart (2004:3) people may have the potential to do and be many things, yet this potential may be cut off, or people's sense of well-being may be seriously adversely affected with high levels of insecurity. Such insecurity includes the possibility of economic vicissitudes, health crises, and injury or death as a result of criminal or political violence. Sustained political violence may lead to the break-up of communities and families, forced migration and the need to re-establish lives in strange and alien environments, or even a suspended existence in refugee camps. There is no question that if such events are widespread, they have a serious negative impact on many people's lives, and therefore adversely affect the achievement of development.

The state, according to Okpaga et al (2012:80), exists fundamentally for the protection of life and property and ensuring the wellbeing of the citizens. As such, state-based institutions and agencies have responsibility for the security of the citizens. However, certain institutions and agencies are specifically charged with the responsibility for the security of life and property. They include the police, state security agencies, the military, immigration, and prison services. Insecurity refers to the breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic and political that have contributed to recurring conflicts, (which Nigeria has witnessed over the years) resulting in wanton destruction and loss of life and property. Insecurity also manifests in political problems, which according to Bouchat (2010:84), include lack of stability or violence through frequent coups, civil wars and cross-border fighting, dominance of self-serving elites, inadequate citizen representation, and poor or counterproductive government policies.

III. Insecurity in Nigeria: Trends and Dimensions

Since 1999, Elaigwu (2011:213) contends that "an atmosphere of insecurity has enveloped the polity". Before now, the most serious security challenge, however, has been the intensification of the insurgency in the Niger Delta, an area viewed as increasingly lawless and unsafe, particularly for foreign nationals and Nigerians associated with the oil industry, government officials and security forces. (Commonwealth Observer Group, 2007:12-13). Though the amnesty programme of the Federal Government has stemmed the pace of insecurity in the area, cases of crude oil bunkering/theft by hoodlums have intensified while other parts of the country are engulfed in one security challenge or the other. According to the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria, CBCN, (The Nation, 2012:5) Nigerians continue to live in fear and tension despite the acclaimed efforts to beef up security in the nation. Bombings and killings of innocent Nigerians continue in the northern part of the country while periodic murders and armed robberies continue in the southern part. Writing on the state of the nation with particular focus on security, Odunuga (2011) observes that "there are no safe havens anymore. Even fortresses like the Presidential Villa and the National Assembly have had to adopt desperate measures to stave off imminent attacks from the dreaded Boko Haram sect. And, of course, the outcome of that desperation is reflected in the humongous amount set aside to tackle security in the 2012 Budget".

It is observed by Hilker et al (2010) that states often fail to provide adequate security for citizens or undermine democratic governance through acts committed in the name of security calls into question top-down approaches to reducing violence. This ugly development has some implications. As noted in The Punch (2012:13) editorial, investors are wary of coming to a country where their lives and investments are not safe: Nigeria has been on a steady decline in the Global Peace Index. Out of 158 countries surveyed, the country was 117th in 2007, 129th in 2008 and 2009, 137th in 2010, 142nd in 2011 and 146th in 2012. Even a country like Chad is more peaceful than Nigeria. We are only better than such countries as Syria, Pakistan, North Korea, Iraq, Sudan, Congo Democratic Republic, Afghanistan, Libya, Israel, Russia and Somalia- pariah states or nations on war footing.

Nigeria has been perennially unstable due to ethnically and/or religiously motivated crises which have led to the loss of thousands of lives and billions of naira worth of properties. Although Panels are set up to investigate the causes of the crises, their recommendations are never implemented. The inaction

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by responsible authorities to punish the perpetrators of violence sends the signal that it pays to go on rampage. It often fuels fresh cycle of violence (Erinosho, 2012:36). The situation in this regard is both precarious in the rural as well as in the urban areas. Due to the armed and violent conflicts, social services and facilities are disrupted. As noted by Okolo (2009), what the current trend of violence is imprinting on the psyche of Nigerians is that the government security apparatus is incapable of guaranteeing the safety and security of people. This perception creates fear, limiting the people's ability to develop economically. It also limits the state's capacity to attract investors because the perception of insecurity is shared by outsiders. The number of avoidable deaths arising from these extra-judicial and other violent activities has been documented:

It may be correct to say that over 54,000 Nigerians have died outside the law since 1999. Vigilante killings account for at least 15,000 murders; ethno-religious and sectarian violence including Boko-Haram terror account for at least 16,000 criminal deaths; extra-judicial executions by Nigerian security forces led by the Nigeria Police account for at least 21,000 killings, which include Odi, Zaki-Biam and the Niger Delta (i.e. Gbaramatu invasion) massacres. Police killings or extra-judicial executions may have accounted for over 17,000 deaths. The election-related killings since 1999 may also have accounted for over 2,000 deaths. These figures did not include deaths arising from other man-made tragedies such as road accidents, flood menace and those killed by armed robbers including deaths arising from robbery gunshot injuries (Nigeria Daily News,2011).

IV. The Boko Haram Terrorism

Armed groups have increased their use of violent tactics over the past year in the form of kidnappings, battles with security forces, clashes with one another, and car bombs, which is a more recent tactic. Such groups are demonstrating increasingly sophisticated tactics and weaponry, raising concerns about future violence (Fisher-Thompson, 2007 cited in Hazen and Horner, 2007:18). Yet, by failing to take effective measures to stem the tide of violence, the Nigerian authorities have fostered a climate of impunity. They are creating conditions conducive to an escalation of violence (Amnesty International, 2011:6). As can be daily witnessed, such violence has reached a deadly level that glaringly reveals the incapacitation and helplessness of the Nigerian government, particularly with the bombing activities of the Boko Haram Sect. The paradox of Nigeria's security is that instead of the State being the framework of lawful order and the highest source of governing authority, it now constitutes the greatest threat to itself. Forest (2012:90) observes that while the violence in the south of Nigeria is mainly secular and driven by grievances associated with resources and environmental damage, the north has seen far more ethnic, tribal, and religious violence, often manipulated by politicians for political gain and profit-especially in areas where neither Muslims nor Christians are a clear majority. Resource scarcity and ethnic identity politics play a prominent role in the conflicts of this region.

The large number of young unemployed or under-employed graduates in Nigeria constitutes a risk to the security of the country. This situation portends a bleak future for the country because Nigeria is now creating an army of potentially restless, miserable, frustrated and violent young people with reasonable amount of education. This group can easily be mobilized to demand their social and economic rights. It can also become another tool of political violence just as the Boko Haram is to us today (Erinosho, 2012:36). Citing Human Right Watch Report, Leicher (2011) affirms that: although most people had not heard of Boko Haram before its bomb attack on the headquarters of the United Nations (UN) in Abuja in August 2011, the Islamic religious sect has operated in Nigeria for almost a decade since its establishment in 2002. Founded under the leadership of Mohammad Yusuf in Borno state, Boko Haram officially calls itself Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati wal jihad, or 'people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and jihad.' The Nigerian state allocated the name 'Boko Haram' to the group itself, which roughly translates into 'western education is sin' (ibid). The year 2009 represented a watershed in Boko Haram's history. Immediately following the public execution of its leader, the group launched an Islamic insurrection and began to carry out a series of bombings and assassinations across the Nigerian state.

The sect's membership cut across the broad spectrum of society, but a preponderant number of members came from its poorest groups. Thus, beyond former university lecturers, students, bankers, a former commissioner and other officers of Borno State, membership extended to drug addicts, vagabonds, and generally lawless people. Although the common denominator among all members was their desire to overthrow the secular government and to propagate Islamic law, the oratorical prowess of Yusuf arguably contributed to their mobilization and participation (Michael and Bwala 2009; Omipidan 2009a; cited in Adesoji, 2010:100). Oluwagbemi (2012) avers that Nigeria, with her sordid history of prevalent inter-ethnic suspicion, religious violence and extremism in the north and poor/illiterate population coupled with rising unemployment, dissatisfaction and clueless local and national leadership provides a fertile ground for the terror network.

The governments and the elite are unable to tackle Boko Haram that has morphed into a terrorist organization. Not only is the sect on rampage and the

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governments clueless, the problem has reached a point where the authorities are sadly and shamelessly pleading for dialogue. The government is desperate, and the people themselves are consumed by fear (The Nation, 2012:64). Because of the persistent wanton destruction of life and property, it is gradually turning into a permanent state of affairs in the region. In such a situation, more businesses close down, more people get displaced, and a major chunk of the nation's scarce resources is spent fighting the insurgency. The result is that poverty worsens, and those orchestrating the violence get more members from the population of frustrated Nigerians, and the result is a cycle of violence and poverty (The Nation, 2012:19).

Before 2009 when Boko Haram first forced itself bloodily into public consciousness, there was the Maitasine rebellion which the Obasanjo government succeeded in putting down, largely through the application of force. But the underlying problem that produced Maitasine in the North was not really addressed. Boko Haram is the direct successor of Maitasine. A report on global terrorism by the State Department of the United States (cited in Fafowora, 2012:64) showed that in 2011, 136 attacks were carried out in northern Nigeria by Boko Haram resulting in the death of 590 people. In terms of the global number of casualties in terrorist attacks, Nigeria was placed fifth, after Afghanistan (3,353), Iraq (3,063), Pakistan (2,033), and Somalia (1,103). It was reported that in 2011, there were some 978 terrorist attacks in Africa with Nigeria alone accounting for over 20 per cent. It has been argued that the causes of the sect's insurgency are rooted in socio-economic deprivation, politics, and private doctrinaire sectarian objectives.

While some analysts believe the group is divided into factions, others argue that Boko Haram has evolved into a cell-based organization that remains unified under Shekau's control. Complicating the matter are criminal gangs in the north, including political thugs that are suspected of committing crimes under the guise of Boko Haram. Despite Boko Haram's clandestine nature, the largely consistent pattern of attacks documented in the Human Rights Watch's (2012:11) report suggests a degree of coordination or organizational control within the group. Although there is no conclusive link with jihadist movements outside Nigeria, the modus operandi of the sect, fashioned after the Taliban in Afghanistan, has generated some curiosities. Given its large following and the claim that it had sent members to Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Iraq, Mauritania and Algeria for training, it could be that the Boko Haram modeled itself after the Taliban simply to acknowledge its source of inspiration. It could also be that it was meant to attract sympathy and support from the Taliban or related groups. Viewed from another perspective, it could also be that the links actually exist but have not been conclusively proven (Adesoji, 2010:101). However, there are indications that members of the group have received weapons and training in bomb-making and other terrorist tactics from al-Qaeda affiliates in the north and/or east of the continent (Forest, 2012:2).

The Presidency has been, ridiculously, oscillating between the use of force and dialogue as an approach to combating the insurgency. However, the obviously adopted application of force has attracted human rights issues. International organisations, for instance, Human Rights Watch report (ThisDay, 2012), catalogues atrocities for which Boko Haram has claimed responsibility. It also explores the role of the Joint Task Force (JTF), whose alleged abuses, it said, contravened international human rights law and might also constitute crimes against humanity. According to it, government security forces have also engaged in numerous abuses, including extra-judicial killings. The unlawful killing by both Boko Haram and Nigerian security forces only grows worse.

Nigeria's government has responded with a heavy hand to Boko Haram's violence. In the name of ending the group's threat to citizens, security forces comprising military, police, and intelligence personnel, known as the Joint Military Task Force (JTF), have killed hundreds of Boko Haram suspects and random members of communities where attacks have occurred. According to witnesses, the JTF has engaged in excessive use of force, physical abuse, secret detentions, extortion, burning of houses, stealing money during raids, and extrajudicial killings of suspects. These killings, and clashes with the group, have raised the death toll of those killed by Boko Haram or security forces to more than 2,800 people since 2009 http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover.pdf Boko Haram has repeatedly enunciated its objectives, which are to Islamise the northern part of the country, enforce the Sharia law and control territories. In one of its audacious taunts, the group that bombed the UN building and the Police Headquarters, both in Abuja, once told President Jonathan that only his conversion to Islam would bring an end to the insurgency (The Punch, 2013:18). To date, Boko Haram has used car bombs in fewer than a dozen attacks, but each of these has attracted tremendous attention and with the exception of the attack on Nigeria's Police Headquarters, has been extraordinarily deadly. In sum, Boko Haram was once viewed by authorities as a nuisance confined to the far northeast, attacking Christians with machetes and small arms. It has now become the most notorious armed group in Nigeria. It has expanded its attacks in terms of frequency, lethality, and range of targets. While armed assaults were the predominant mode of attack in 2009, the group has added suicide bombings to its arsenal, beginning with the attack against the Abuja police barracks on 16 June 2011. These developments indicate an increasing level

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of capability and sophistication (Forest, 2012:70). However, the group's ideology resonates for many reasons beyond religion. Socio-economic grievances include the huge gap between aspirations of Nigeria's youth and the opportunities provided by the system for achieving a better life. A swelling population amid economic despair creates an environment in which radical extremist ideologies can thrive.

Attempts by the Federal Government to engage the terrorist group in negotiation have been seen as a manifestation of capitulation. In its editorial, the Sunday Punch (2012:13) submits that: Only a failed or failing state negotiates with terrorists seeking to dismember the state. Going by the published agenda of Boko Haram, it is wrong to view its brand of terrorism like the Taliban of Afghanistan, the Basque separatists of Spain or even Palestinian radical groups. These are primarily violent dissident groups seeking independence for their homelands. Not so with Boko Haram which seeks the dismantling of the Nigerian State and the overthrow, by violence, of its constitution. The extremist group shares a perception that Western culture has polluted Islamic values and traditions and views violence as the natural and justified by-product of a cosmic struggle between good and evil. It has, therefore, made no secret of its rejection of the authority of the state and western education, and is bent on expelling Christians and mainstream Muslims that do not subscribe to its narrow, Salafist interpretation of Islam.

Yet, not much has been done by the Northern leaders-by way of intervention- to curb the menace. According to The Punch editorial (2013:16): "It is regretted that many northern leaders still refuse to face up to the implications of the mistake of allowing religious extremists get a foothold in the North. Rather than heed the warning, some northern leaders prefer to sit on a keg of gunpowder, offering tame and untenable excuses for the actions of terrorists, shielding them from arrest and prosecution, and some even allegedly funding them. They have refused to acknowledge the threat posed by Boko Haram as a terrorist organisation. That is why they call for dialogue with the group and falsely blame poverty for their actions. A problem that would have been nipped in the bud has been allowed to fester". The lack of a vibrant local press to articulate the desires and wants of the people who have been culturally conditioned not to question their leaders and who for years were satisfied with the crumbs from the tables of their leaders have all led to a complacency on the part of the leaders who have taken the people for granted (Osuntokun, 2013:21).

In a bid to constructively engage key members of Boko Haram and define a comprehensive and workable framework for resolving the crisis of insecurity in the country (Abati, 2013, http://saharareporters.com), President Jonathan appointed a commission to explore a possible "amnesty" programme for Boko Haram, but the insurgents have shown no interest in laying down their arms. Instead, they are increasingly using tactics associated with international jihadist groups, such as kidnapping and suicide bombs (Campbell, 2013). The sect has repeatedly rejected peace talks, citing the government's insincerity, following a series of failed mediated negotiations (Christian Science Monitor, 2013). In May 2013, the President, however, declared a state of emergency in three states- Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. More troops were deployed in these states with the mandate to take "all necessary action" to "put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists".

V. Nature and Manifestation of Governance Failure

Nigeria's political development has always been punctured by governance crisis and corruption at all strata of the society. There is thus a disconnection between the governed and the government. As comprehensively enunciated by Alemika (2004:1-2): some manifestations of the crisis of the state and governance in the country are (a) inability to guarantee a basic minimum standard of living that accord with human dignity for the majority of the citizens…(b) lingering conditions of political instability, repression and violence; (c) widespread petty and grand corruption; (d) economic decline resulting in capacity under-utilisation, structural distortion.., huge debt burden; (e) very high unemployment rate, especially among young people .. (f) deterioration of socio-economic infrastructure…; (g) widening inequality among individuals and between rural and urban communities; (h) insecurity of life and property due to violent crimes and socio-political violence engendered by competition over resources, and (i) deterioration of the social services- particularly education and health care, which has been made worse by structural adjustment programmes implemented by successive governments since 1986. This situation of anomie has continued to give serious concern to many Nigerians as Kukah (2012:36) rhetorically puts it: how do we explain the fact that after over 50 years, we are unable to generate and distribute electricity, supply water to our people, reverse the ugly and avoidably high infant mortality, set up and run an effective educational system, agree on rules of engagement of getting into power, reverse the circle of violence that attends our elections, contain corruption, instil national discipline and create a more humane and caring society?

The culmination of these failures accounts for repeated poor performance of the country on the Global ranking. For instance, out of the 177 countries considered in the 2011 ranking by the Fund for Peace- an American independent non-profit research and educational organization- Nigeria was ranked 14th most failed state in the world. According to the 2011 result

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which is the seventh annual Failed State Index report, the country maintains the same position as that of 2010. Nigeria was 15th in 2009, 18th in 2008, 17th in 2007, 22nd in 2006, 54th in 2005, which means that its 14th position assumes its worst stagnant status since 2007. The fall from 2005 to 2006 was sharp, while it has since then been maintaining the margin of one of the most failed in the world, having a status of being better than just eight other countries (Vanguard, 2011, see also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Failed_state).

The 2012 Failed State Index ranked Nigeria as the 14th most troubled state. Also, in the 2012 Global Peace Index, published by the Institute of Economics and Peace, Nigeria was ranked 146th out of the 158 countries, signifying a decline in peace and stability in the country particularly in the last five years (The Punch, 2012). The ranking evaluates, among other things, the risk of renewed fighting, the resurgence of political instability and terrorist threats http://www. rescuechristians.org / 2012 / 06 / 26 africa -global-peace index-top-10-most-d. Nigeria is also ranked the 6th most dangerous African country. The latest ranking came on the heels of Federal Government's insistence that Nigeria was safe for investment, despite incessant bomb attacks that had killed many people, especially in the North. Fawole's (2012) submission is very pertinent here:

Any government that derogates from this fundamental responsibility (securing lives and property) would soon become irrelevant and obsolescent, as citizens may be forced to resort to self-help for their safety and security, and watch the country descend into Thomas Hobbes' conception of the state of nature where life is nasty, brutish and short. If the government fails to live up to its responsibilities as the domestic security situation demands, Nigeria risks going down the road travelled by the likes of Rwanda, Sudan, and Somalia. Lest we forget, almost a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were callously slaughtered in Rwanda in 1994 in an orchestrated bloodbath; Sudan had the longest and bloodiest civil war in Africa between the Muslim North and the Christian and Animist South, resulting in the independence of the new Republic of South Sudan last year; an unrelenting bloodbath and ethnic cleansing is still raging in the Darfur region of Sudan; and Somalia which nearly vanished off the global map in the 1990s is today a hellish enclave of warlords, bandits, murderers and pirates.

The abortion of the Nigerian possibility has been long signposted by the total institutional collapse, festering corruption, barefaced fraud, incandescent ethnic and religious violence and ineptitude, total collapse of the value system and entrenchment of official roguery. Nigeria has remained a clay-footed giant, stuttering from one fall to another despite her enormous endowments (Nwakwo, The Guardian, 2012). According to the Minister of Information, Labaran Maku (The Nation, December 14, 2012), "Boko Haram, high-profile kidnapping, corruption, oil subsidy scandal, ethnic and religious strife, negative politics and politicking are some of the issues that smear the country's image at home and abroad". Kidnapping for ransom, especially in the southern states of the country, has become a lucrative business for criminally-minded young men, who seem to be avoiding the high risk involved in armed robbery. For this class of young men, kidnapping has become a multi-billion naira business, where victims are freely targeted, with scant regard for age or social status (The Punch, May 24, 2013). As a matter of fact, Nigeria is now ranked among such countries as Haiti, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechyna, Philippines, Columbia, Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico as kidnap havens, and is said to have moved up to the third position, behind Mexico and Columbia since 2007. Victims have changed from being predominantly foreign oil workers to Nigerians, including parents, grandparents, toddlers and about anyone who has a relative that could be blackmailed into coughing out a ransom (The Nation, May 21, 2013).

It is said that the nature and character of the state and of its operators, actors and agencies determine the trajectory and quality of governance. Where and when there are negative turning points in the sequences of the use of power and authority, the nation experiences alienation and instability, and sometimes it experiences extreme trouble and grave danger (Oyovbaire, 2007). Thus, as observed by Natufe (2006) "Nigeria is experiencing a fundamental crisis in governance". This perversion of governance flows from Nigeria's corrupt society, culture, and pre-colonial history. It also inflames growing ethnic nationalism across the country (CSAT, 2011:22). Although citizens regularly carry out their voting obligations, their concerns are often not reflected or their rights protected by elected officials in policy-making and governance decisions. The states' failure to respond to citizens' needs despite economic growth has created disillusionment with democracy.

VI. Concluding Remarks

Achieving greater security requires a heightened focus on how insecurity affects the lives and prospects of poor people. Ayoob, 1991 (cited in Sachs, 2003) observes that security strategy has often been focused on external threats in the past, and more specifically external military threats (which, therefore, require a military response). Yet, the nature of future conflicts may require that those concerned with preserving the state's monopoly on force look beyond such traditional categories as "material capabilities and the use and control of military force by states" (Katzenstein, 1996 cited in Sachs, 2003). Instead, planners must address problems such as "environmental pollution, depletion of the ozone layer,

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[global] warming, and massive migrations of unwanted refugees" (Holsti, cited in Sachs, 2003). This submission, no doubt, is aptly applicable to Nigeria today given its level of security challenges. According to Kayode Are (See http://www.lagoscountryclub.net/downloads/PROJECTING%20NIGERIA's%20Security.pdf), Nigeria has a future which is tied to her security. That future depends on events which have shaped her history and are responsible for the present. The linkage of security to the future is predicated on the consequence of coping or not coping with current challenges. The repercussion of security failure can be grave, which then means that security deserves priority attention.

With regard to the Boko Haram menace, it has been observed that terrorism demands painstaking surveillance and forensic intelligence gathering. Experts have always advocated a shift of emphasis from naked force to effective intelligence-gathering since the terrorists are not sitting targets but people who blend easily with the local population. Defeating them requires a ready and trained operational force. This is the preferred strategy globally. Since the Americans were taken unawares during the 9/11 attacks of 2001, for instance, no such terrorist attacks have succeeded again. The same goes for Britain. On a regular basis, terrorists are apprehended in these two countries before they have the chance to carry out their deadly acts. That should be the approach in Nigeria (The Punch, 2013:18).

It has been rightly observed by the UNDP (2012:29) that "the exclusion of key segments of society from political processes often lies at the heart of grievances that, when unaddressed, can incite violence and ultimately undermine collective action". Participatory governance should, therefore, be encouraged in Nigeria to give room for a sense of belonging among the citizens regardless of class status, political affiliation or social background. It is not a good omen for a segment of the populace to feel neglected and inconsequential.

However, beyond the specificities mentioned here, this essay strongly recommends, in a very holistic approach, good governance, as a panacea for Nigeria's security challenges. Though governance is all-encompassing, some of its major attributes will surface in our discussion. Good governance, according to Hamdok (2001:2), presupposes the existence of effective domestic institutions. While the latter are generally few, those that exist are bound to address complex agency problems. What makes government institutions particularly complex is the hierarchical nature of the political power structures, each level being at once a principal and an agent. Good governance is the process where public institutions conducts public affairs manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption and with due regard for the rule of law. The basic tenets of good governance is the degree to which it delivers the dividends of democracy: provision of quality education, potable water, provision of employment , safe guard of fundamental human rights, cultural enhancement, provision of good economic atmosphere for development, and political and social rights (Abdullahi, 2012:1).

The quality of a country's rule of law and access to justice speaks volumes about how a society processes and resolves conflict, armed or otherwise. Despite experiencing different levels of fragility, a functioning law and justice system is essential for protecting civilians, maintaining social order, establishing predictable norms and rules, protecting private property, and ensuring clear proscription and sanctions (UNDP, 2012:56). It has been noted that governance institutions should be efficient and effective in carrying out their functions, responsive to the needs of people, facilitative and enabling rather than controlling, and operate according to the rule of law. These institutions should be tolerant of diverse perspectives, provide equitable access to opportunities and be service-oriented (http:magnet.undp.org/Docs/!UN98-).

Good governance and political will are required to support human development in terms of health and education, legal rights for private enterprise and political freedoms, and the construction and maintenance of a basic physical infrastructure. Such good governance also enhances other economic endeavours (Bouchat 2010:79). This notion is emphasised by Kayode Are (http://www.lagoscountryclub.net/downloads/PROJECTING%20NIGERIA's%20Security.pdf): An appropriate infrastructure for governance, law enforcement, surveillance and protective service delivery creates the conducive environment for the projection of security. It begins with the basic issue of governance. History shows that there is correlation between the willingness of citizens to obey rules or bear the pains of economic or social adjustment dictated by public policy, and the level of trust they have in those who govern them. Good governance depends on good laws and effective instruments of enforcement.

True federalism, devolution of powers and genuine unity founded on respect for minority and opposition rights in a true democratic fashion has been advocated as a panacea against a full blown balkanization come 2015 or beyond (Oluwagbemi, 2012). Also, tackling the problems of corruption, the assurance of good governance and the institutionalization and consolidation of democracy are the instruments likely to douse the volatile situation we now have in the country (Yaqub, 2007:27). As noted by Asiodu (2012:21), the degradation in the quality of governance and unresponsiveness to the real needs of the people seem to be accelerating and must be

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reversed in order to avoid disaster. He argues that what the ordinary man desires is shelter, food, educational facilities to ensure his children's advancement in life and of course adequate and improving availability of power, health and transportation infrastructure. The ordinary man is really not interested in the power struggles among politicians.

It can be said that Nigeria is at the crossroads; it is tottering between integration and disintegration. The forces of the two phenomena are more or less equally matched. It requires an enlightened leadership to swing the pendulum in the direction of stability and cohesiveness of the polity (Yaqub, 2007:32). The essence of this essay, therefore, is to contribute to knowledge just as affirmed by Marshall (2008:21) "that gaining a more succinct understanding of the(se) sequential problems…will enable policymakers and scholars to design better policies of conflict and crisis management so that we can, collectively and effectively, engage in war by other means. In doing so, this better understanding of the global system, its complexities, and its conflict processes will also help in distinguishing between political violence and war (driven by grievance) and organized crime and political predation (driven by greed)".

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