

GOOD GOVERNANCE: THE IMPERATIVE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

¹M.M. Adagbabiri and ²U.C. Okolie

¹Department of Political Science, Delta State University Abraka, Delta State, Nigeria

²Chartered Institute of Personal Management of Nigeria, Edo State Study Centre, Benin-City, Edo State, Nigeria

Email: ugookolie@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Nigeria like most other democratic countries entrenched the principles of good governance as criteria for democratic governance in her 1999 constitution. However, despite this constitutional provision, as well as the enormous resources and huge potentialities, good governance continues to be elusive to Nigeria. This is exacerbated by the seeming failure of governance to address key issues affecting economic development such as poverty alleviation, access to education, employment, resource distribution, infrastructure development and political power contests. This has indeed robbed the country of desired peace and security, which are necessary ingredients for sustainable development. This paper argues that the problem of development in Nigeria is a problem of governances; when defined in term of the proper, fair and equitable allocation of resources for the achievement of the end or purpose of the state, which is the promotion of the common good. The central argument of the study is to weave a thread linking the Nigeria state's ability to ensure human security and a convivial atmosphere, the focus of which is the protection of the people and the response to their needs especially as these concern threats to life and property. This is cast within the context of global peace and security where consideration is not just for protection, but also empowerment of people and societies as a means of engendering development. Unless these categorical steps are taken, the country may experience another democratic breakdown that will spell doom for the nation – state.

Keywords: *Good Governance, Peace, Security, Development.*

INTRODUCTION

One of the principal functions of the modern state is that of protecting the territorial integrity of the state, lives and property of its citizenry and upliftment of the human condition. The promotion of human security has become the central focus of the new development paradigm because building of arms and ammunitions do not bring peace, security and political

stability. Eradicating poverty, hunger, disease through sustainable development programmes, hold the key to an enduring national security. Thus a country that invests heavily on human security may not have to spend much money and efforts in fighting crimes like: kidnapping, human trafficking, bombing, political assassination, student unrest (Ighodalo, 2012). This has thrown up security challenges in the poverty – ridden society.

In countries where appropriate development paradigm is in place and practice, the citizenry enjoys high standard of living demonstrated by the willingness of government to provide the basic necessities of life in terms of jobs, portable water, electricity, affordable housing, foods, roads among others. Under these conditions, there could be national human security (Ighodalo 2012). In Nigeria, years of economic exploitation, mal-development and bad governance have continued to fan the ember of conflicts and crises in the country. More than ever before, the country's security has come under threat.

Indeed, the climate of fear pervades the country as politics of impunity pervade the polity, never before has the country's security being so stretched in peace time. Yet, this threat to national security is not unconnected with injustices which dominate the body polity (Ighodalo, 2012). Faculty development politics pursued since independence, has left the people pauperized and decimated. Also, failure to play by the rules of the game of party politics brings the country close to state of nation.

Good governance is the key instrument that oil a sustained peaceful, secured and overall development of society. In other words, the survival of the society is dependent on how its leadership and people are committed to the ideals of good governance where the atmosphere of peace, equal rights, justice and rule of law and freedom of choice prevails (Euginia, 2013). From all the foregoing anomalies, it is apparent that there is deficit in the governance process in Nigeria. But this can be corrected through an active and virile civil society.

Good Governance: Conceptual and Theoretical Discourse

In modern day governance globally, the issue of good governance has assumed the front burner as an indispensable requirement for social, economic and political development (World Bank, 1989; UNESCO, 2005; Nanda, 2006; Hout, 2007; Gisselquist, 2012), yet better governance continues to be a source of worry and a big challenge to most countries

including Nigeria. Democratic governance with the underlying emphasis on the activation of citizenry to realize the common good' has not taken root in the popular consciousness of Nigerians. Everyone appears to be for himself, in Nigeria, it would seem that democracy has increased the culture of impunity in some people while political difference are believed to have fuelled some of the violence that have erupted. More than anything else, the greatest obstacle to nascent democracy is the pervasive insecurity of lives and property, as evidenced by the spate of armed robbery attacks, assassinations and ethnic seeming helplessness of security agencies to handle criminal acts (Ojo, 2010). The situation is worsened by the increasing number of unemployed Nigerians some of whom are already recruiting for criminal activities (Nigerian Tribune, 2002). When these features occurs together they create an environment that is hostile to development and the authority of governments over their peoples tends to be progressively eroded. This reduces compliance with decisions and regulations. Government then tend to respond through populist measure or, as in some authoritarian regimes, resort to coercion. Either way, the economic cost tends to be high, including a diversion of resources to internal security and escalating corruption (Ogundiya, 2010).

Generally, governance, according to the World Bank report (1989) is the exercise of political power in the management of a nation's affairs. This definitions thus implies that governance encompasses the state's institutional and cultural 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 (Euginia, 2013). By governance therefore, we means the manner in which power is exercised by governments in the management and distribution of a country's social and economic resources. The nature and manner of this distribution makes governance a bad or a good one. It is significant to note however, that good governance as a norm cannot make sense unless it is predicated on the presupposition that the experience and knowledge of bad governance is possible and real (Ogundiya, 2010). This suggests that governance can be good or bad depending on the method of the management of a country's social and economic resources.

So, what is Good Governance? We are going to first take the definition of the concept by World Bank, as the chief engineer of the good governance agenda. How does world bank define this concept believed to be capable of engendering suitable development and democracy in countries such as

Nigeria? To the World Bank, good governance consists of a public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable and an administration that is accountable to the public (World Bank, 1989). According to the bank's definition, the key components of good governance include effectiveness and efficiency in public sector management, accountability and responsiveness of public officials to citizenry, rule of law and public access to information and transparency (World Bank, 1989). According to Madhav (2007) as quoted in Ogundiya (2010), good governance has much to do with the reference to specific norms and objectives as may be laid down. It looks at the functioning of the given segment of the society from the point of view of its acknowledge stakeholders, beneficiaries and customers.

In a similar vein, Odock (2006) as quoted in Euginia (2013), open that good governance is in tandem with democratic governance which is largely characterized by high valued principle such as rule of law, accountability, participation, transparency, human and civil rights. These governance qualities have the capacity to provide the development process of a country. In his analysis, Ogundiya (2010), maintain that governance is good provided it is able to achieve the desired end of the state defined in terms of justice, equity, protection of life and property, enhanced participation. Preservation of the rule of law and improved living standard of the population.

However, looking at the rate of unemployment, diversion of resources by public officials, escalating rate of corruption, (Nigeria continues to be reported among the most corrupt countries of the world), tribal cum ethnic clashes, abuse of office by public officials, looting of public funds, kidnapping, increased rate of cybercrimes and other types of crimes there is every reason to believe that good governance is still a mirage as far as the Nigerian polity is concerned. In essence, good governance produces peace, security, development and political stability. Zartman (1995) specifically notes that the status of a state is reviewed as failed or collapsed when it exhibits inability to fulfil the functions of a state such as the sovereign authority, decision-making institution and security guarantor for its population. This can lead to structure, authority (legitimate power), law and political order falling apart. Therefore, for good governance to be feasible in Nigeria, there is need for effective and efficient leadership, the absence of which good governance will continue to be a mirage.

The Concept of Peace

Peace is often seen as the absence of war, and logical extension, war is the absence of peace. This perspective of peace is faulty because it really does not tell us anything about the meaning of peace. Ibeanu (2005) has however attempted to explain peace in sociological terms as a condition of social harmony in which there are no social antagonisms. In other words, peace is a condition in which there is no social conflict and individuals and groups are able to meet their needs, aspirations and expectations (Euginia, 2013). Peace in this sense can be explained from the perspective of structural functionalism.

Structural functionalism is a tradition of social analysis that sees society as a mosaic of functions and structures that perform them. For example, in order to survive, a society needs to educate its children, produce goods, govern its affairs and provide security for its member. These are functions and they necessitate a number of structures such as schools, industries, parliaments, courts, armed forces etc to perform their roles. Understandably, when these structures perform their roles or functions properly, there is order in society and in fact, society inherently moves in the direction of order and stability. Consequently, from a structural – functionalist perspective, peace is achieved where existing social structures perform their functions adequately, support by the requisite culture, norms and values (Euginia, 2013).

In broadening the definition of peace, Galtung (1990) had earlier outlined two dimensions of peace. The first is negative peace, that is the absence of direct violence war and fear of the individual, nation, region and indeed at the international levels; the second dimension is positive peace, that is the absence of unjust structures, unequal relationships, justice and inner peace of the individual. In sum, we can conceive peace to be the absence of fear, conflict, anxiety, exclusion, deprivation or suffering and violence. It is primarily concerned with creating and maintaining a just order in society. This is succinctly captured by Galtung (1991) when he writes that:

Peace and indeed peace theory is intimately connected not only with conflict theory, but equally with development theory therefore a peace research must be one that looks into the conditions of past, present and future for the realization of peace which is intricately connected with conflict research and indeed development research.

Violent conflicts, whether social, political or environmental have seriously contributed to the crisis situation in terms of loss of human and material capital. Nigeria has experienced the breach of peace from the six geopolitical zones. All these violent conflicts have contributed to the state of underdevelopment in Nigeria's fourth republic. There has been loss of lives, livelihoods, destruction of infrastructure and natural resources, employment opportunities which coincides directly with a weakened social safety net a decline in the capacity of the state to provide services such as health, education indeed security for the people (Euginia, 2013). In a sentence, the peace and security and indeed wellbeing of the people of Nigeria has been seriously compromised.

The Concept of Security

Like any other terminology employed by social scientists, the concept of security is a term that does not lend itself to easy definition. Thus, security could mean different things at different times to different people. Generally security could be referred to as "a measure that ensure peaceful co-existence and development at large" (Adebayo, 2011). Where there is security, this is likely to be absence of fear, threat, anxiety, tension and apprehension over loss of life, liberty property, goals and values, among other (Ibid). From the foregoing, it is clear that security is vital for development in any human collectivity. However, as part of the colonial legacies in Africa, security tends to assume the militarists approach either because the political system is inherently unstable or those in control of state powers want to be there "ad minfinitium". In either case, emphasis in on the building of arms and ammunitions of life for the citizenry (Ighodolo, 2012).

Consequently, some of the world's poorest people live in the continent of Africa. Even in peace time, much of public annual budgets still go to the purchase of state arms while education is poorly funded. Thus, in recent times the concept of security has shifted from the military angle to prioritize the provision of goods and service which make life more meaningful to the people and empower them to participate in the development processes. This is more enduring aspect of national security where people go about their daily activities unhindered. The fragility of the state in Africa is partly due to this deficit in human security (Alber, 2011). Therefore, it can be argued that approaching the question of security from a political state or militaristic angle is defective. The more fundamental basis for security lies in freedom from poverty, disease, ignorance, joblessness, arbitrary power, etc (Ibeanu, 1999).

Security could take different forms. There is human security, national security, and so on. National security implies the appropriate and development of state apparatus of coercive force to deal with situation of crisis, nationally or internationally. Human security involves protecting the citizenry from hunger, disease, poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, etc. however, all these can only take place where there is peace and stability in the polity. Experience has shown that it is human security that presents the most effective instruments for national security and not the building of arms and weapons of warfare (Ighodalo, 2012). Kofi Aunan (1998), has earlier emphasized on the human perspective of security when he posited that security will encompass areas such as education, health, democracy, human right, the protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons. Indeed there can hardly be security amidst starvation peace building without party alleviation and no true freedom built on the foundation of injustice. It is in this sense that the Kampala document on security clearly state that:

The concept of security goes beyond military consideration. It embraces economic, political and social dimensions of individual, family, community, local and national life. The security of a nation must be constructed in terms of the security of the individual citizen to live in peace with access to basic necessities of life while fully participating in the affairs of his/her society in freedom and enjoying all fundamental human right (1992).

Elaborating further, Aligwara (2009) as quoted in Euginia (2013), submit that security of the individual citizens is most important thing. He argued that security is for the citizens and not citizens for security. Thus, for the citizens to live in peace the basic necessities of life such as food, good health, job opportunities, justices, freedom and all other ingredients of life must be provided and development can only take place where there is security. Mijah (2007) argued that security is tantamount to development. There can be no development without security and the greater guarantee of security is when the people are at peace with themselves and the government of the day.

Good Governance: The Imperative of Peace and Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Governance and security are separate concepts, yet they have a relationship. 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, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, participation, 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 primary role of leadership in the governance project (Chikendu, 1987) 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 desire these needs as goals that should be achieved. Indeed, ensuring good governance for achieving peace, security and sustainable development rests with the leadership. This is dependent on the ability and capacity of leadership to allocate scarce resources, determine policy choice and outcomes that affect the direction and nature of development in the society (Euginia, 2013).

It is in incontestable fact that there is a strong correlation between the nature of governance and the society in any society. But the case in Nigeria appears to be problematic. From 1999 to date, the country has experienced considerable erosion of domestic security arising from inherent deficit in governance. This is evidenced by the increasing proliferation of private security firms (Mija, 2009) to curb the problem of insecurity in the country. In point of fact, the nature of governance in Nigeria's fourth republic 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). These structures are exclusionary and ill suit especially in a democratic system of governance.

According to Balewa (1994); Hembe (2003), the colonialism imposed on Nigerian a structural imbalance in the configuration of Nigeria federalism. This situation created a feeling of fear of domination and mutual suspicions among the various ethnic nationalities. These factors, that is, the fear of domination and suspicious manifests in the political, economic and social dynamics of the country.

Consequently, the multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria and the failure of the governing apparatus to evolve a true nation and a corresponding national identity (Ibrahim, 2002), ethnic religious and other primordial elements have assumed points of relevance in Nigeria. Mijah (2009) argued further that the eventual transformation of identities along primordial lines and the entrenchment negative identity politics have made ethnic and religious identities the basis of inclusion or exclusion in the distribution of resources. Thus, dominant ethnic groups systematically exclude minority ethnic groups from national and even regional or state processes and opportunities for individual and collective development. Thus, as a protection of communal and group resources, ethnic nationalities have defined citizenship along the lines of indignity. This has created the problem of indigenship and settlers (Euginia, 2014).

Consequently, indigenes derive more benefits, opportunities and resources than the settlers. In other words, this indigenship/settlership phenomenon has become the stand for inclusion or exclusion in the distribution of available resources and opportunities (Mustapha, 2004). It must be pointed out clearly that the entrenchment of this negative identity politics in Nigeria is part of the wider causality of insecurity in the country. In point of fact, 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 in Kano, Borno, among others (Euginia, 2013).

The political unrest and spate of insecurity which have invaded part of the Northern geo-political zone have their links to the disputed presidential elections in 2011. For the umpteenth time, it has shown that political tolerance and accommodation, bargaining and compromise are yet to be enthroned in the fourth republic politics, the aftermath of the general elections of 2011 continue to pose major threat to the socio-economic and political development of the country. The Boko Haram insurgency has led to the loss of thousands of lives and properties. Also, the economy is threatened due to the insecurity in major flash points of the country (Ighodalo, 2012). As the governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria has rightly noted, 'the current spate of bombings across the country by terrorist groups alludes to the fact that our business environment is becoming more and more threatened and therefore the need to urgently develop a

framework that will enable us to effectively respond to any crisis and thus safeguarding lives and properties and ensuring stability and growth in our economic system". (The Punch 29th February, 2012).

The crisis of state and economy in Nigeria also reveals the potent threats to security in the country. The inherent economic crisis has had varying impacts on socio-economic and political spheres of Nigeria (Jega, 2003; Mijah, 2006). 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. Ake (1989) 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 employed; 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.

The above amplify 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 (Euginia, 2013).

The current democratic governance in Nigeria has continued to witness repeated abuses of state power that has manifested in different forms and guises. No doubt, the political elites still see politics or state power as an avenue for primitive accumulation of wealth. This conclusion which has been reached by scholars like Anifowose (1982), Ake (1985), Joseph (1987), Ikpe (2000), Euginia (2013), etc is still the order of the day today. According to Tell Magazine October 17, 2015, many public office holders in Nigeria especially state governors, ministers (past and present), members of the National Assembly, etc are stupendously wealthy. These public officers according to the magazine have huge investments both at home and abroad which cannot be explained. This basically explains why corruption has remained endemic in the country. When public officers who

are suppose to be vanguard in the fight against corruption now elevates the ignoble practice to statecraft, democracy, good governance, peace and security cannot but be at rick. Corruption no doubt undermines and or hampers the governance proves and indeed development. In poorly governed countries, it is argued, corrupt bureaucrats and politicians badly hinder development efforts by stealing aid contributions or misdirecting them into unproductive activities.

CONCLUSION

Achieving good governance requires the understanding and participation of every member of the society. However, it has been observed that for governance to be just and democratic, leaders more than any other sector of the society need to use their power responsibly and for the greater good. Systems and procedures need to be in place that impose restraints on power and encourage government officials to act in the public's best interests. We have argued that good governance is a critical element for peace, security and sustainable development. We have also established that the historical experience of Nigeria has affected the nature of governance that has failed to effectively address the development needs and aspirations of the citizens. This has further created problems of insecurity in the country. Development can only take place where there is peace and the government of the day. Moreso, for good governance to be feasible in Nigeria, the political elite need to apply the basic principles of patriotism, accountability, transparency and objectivity in the discharge of their duties as well as uphold the sanctity of truth and fairness at all times. The deficits in governance can be corrected through a virile and active civil society, revamping of the economy and proper socialization on the society and the political space should continually be expanded to give the people more opportunities to participate in the democratization processes going on in the country.

REFERENCES

- Adebayo, A. (2011), "Elections and Nigeria's National Security" in I. Albert (ed) Democratic Elections and Nigeria's National Security. Ibadan: John Archer's Publications Ltd.
- Ake, C. (1985). Political Economy of Nigeria. London: Longman.
- Ake, C. (1989). Democracy and Development in Africa. Washington DC: The Brooklyn Institution.

- Albert, I. (2011). "Elections and State Fragility in Nigeria's Fourth Republic" in I. Albert(ed) Democratic Elections and Nigeria's National Security. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd.
- Aligwara, P.O. (2009). "National Security and the Challenges of the 21st Century" in Mbachu, O. and Eze, C.M. (eds) Democracy and National Security: Issues, Challenges and prospects. Kaduna: Medusa Academic Publishers.
- Anifowose, R. (1982). Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience. Lagos: NOK Publishers.
- Balewa, B.A.T. (1994). Governing Nigeria: History, Problems and Prospects. Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.
- Chikendu, P.U. (1987). "Political Leadership and National Building in Nigeria" in S.O. Olugbemi (ed) Alternative Political Future for Nigeria. Lagos: NAPSA.
- Euginia, G.M. (2013). Good Governance: Antidote for peace and security in Nigeria. European Journal of Business and Social Sciences, 2(2), 56 – 65.
- Galthung, J. (1990). "Cultural Violence" in Journal of Peace Research, 27(3).
- Gisselquist, R.M. (2012). Good Governance as a Concept, and Why This Matters for Development Policy. UNN-WIDER Working Paper No. 2012/30. Retrieved From <http://doc-08-94-docsviewer.googleusercontent.com>.
- Hembe, G.M. (2013). The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics in Nigeria. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.
- Ibeanu, O. (2005), "Conceptualizing Peace" in S.B. Gaya (ed) Introduction to Peace and Conflicts Studies in West Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Ibrahim, J. (2002), "Consolidation of Democracy and Minority Rights in Nigeria: Religion, Sharia and the 1999 Constitution" Paper for Politics of Development Group (PODSU), Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm Book on Rights of Groups and Differentiated Citizenship.

- Ighodalo, A. (2012). Election Crisis, Liberal Democracy and National Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 10(2), 163-174.
- Ikpe, U.B. (2000). *Political Behaviour and Electoral Politics in Nigeria: A Political Economy Interpretation*. Lagos: Concept Publication Ltd.
- Madhav, G. (2007). *Report of the One Man Committee on Good Governance in I.S.*
- Ogundiya (ed) *Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma*. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(6), 201-208.
- Mijah, B.E. (2006). "National Security and the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges" *Academy Journal of Defence Studies*, 3(2), 538-548.
- Mijah, B.E. (2009). "Democracy, Internal Security and the Challenges of Policing in Nigeria" in O. Mbachu and C.M. Eze (ed) *Democracy and National Security: Issues, Challenges and Prospect*, Kaduna: Medusa Academic Publishers.
- Nanda, V. (2006). The "Good Governance" Concept Revisited'. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 60(3), 269 – 839.
- Odock, C.N. (2006). *Democracy and Good Governance in G.M. Euginia* (ed) *Good Governance: Antidote for Peace and Security in Nigeria*. *European Journal of Business and Social sciences*, 2(2). 56 – 65.
- Ogundiya, J.S. (2010). *Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma*. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(6), 201-208.
- Ojo, E.O. (2010). A Survey of Ethno-Religious Crisis and its Implications for Nigeria's Nascent Democracy. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(2), 36 -36.
- The Kampala Document: Towards a Conference on Security and Cooperation (1992) African Leadership Forum.

The Punch (Lagos) 29th February, 2012.

The Tell Magazine (Lagos) 17th October, 2005.

World Bank (1989). *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*
Washington DC: World Bank.

Reference to this paper should be made as follows: M.M. Adagbabiri and U.C. Okolie, (2017),
Good Governance: The Imperative of Peace and Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *J. of
Management and Corporate Governance*, Vol.9, No.1, Pp 94- 107.
