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Assessment of Governance and the Challenges of Human Security in Nigeria, 1999-2017

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Abstract

This paper examines governance and the challenges of human security in Nigeria between 1999 and 2017. Governance issues are closely linked to the empowerment of people and communities which is the core of human security. Presently, most Nigerian families are living below poverty level. Graduate unemployment is increasing at a geometrical progression. People are losing their jobs, poverty rate is on the increase, and hunger is multiplying. Infrastructures are decaying. In summary, Nigerian atmosphere is suffocating. It is against this background that this paper x-rays governance and the challenges of human security in Nigeria between 1999 and 2017. This period coincides with the period Nigeria returned to democratic rule after so many years of military dictatorship. This paper therefore, tried to conceptualize governance, good governance and human security. The paper looks at the impact of infrastructural decay on human security. It also discusses the effect of corruption on human security in Nigeria. We adopted the theory of constructivism as framework of analysis. The finding of the paper shows that since 1999, human security has been endangered by the nature of governance in the country. The finding of the paper also shows that the absence or inadequate basic infrastructural facilities has affected human security negatively and that corruption is at the heart and center of decreasing human security in the country. Our finding also shows that there is prospect for improved human security in Nigeria but that it requires a re-orientation of the minds and actions of the present Nigerian political leadership.

Keywords: Governance, Good Governance, Human Security, Unemployment, Poverty.

Introduction

The concepts of governance and human security have become issues for hot debate in both national and international forums both within and outside Africa. Governance is the process of making and implementing decisions and to deliver services, regardless of whether the government is democratic or not (UNESCAP, n.d. & Fukuyama, 2013). Good governance refers to the effectiveness with which government performs its task and promotes public goods which include enforcement of law and order, revenue allocation, allocation of resources to meet specific demands, provision of infrastructure and promotion of human rights to mention but a few (Anyang Nyongo 2001).

Governance issues are closely linked to the empowerment of people and communities, and until people and communities are empowered to let their voices be heard or to participate in decision making and implementation, good governance will

remain a mirage. Governance is very crucial to human security. According to Graham, Bruce and Plumptre (2003), good governance is seen as the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development.

Human security helps in safeguarding national and international stability by promoting such values as, the rule of law, respect for democracy, the defense of human rights, good management of public affairs, peaceful resolution of conflict and environmental protection which are the core of good governance.

However, Nigeria gained her independence from Britain in 1960 and the management of the affairs of the state felt on the nationalist leaders whose failure to properly manage the affairs of the state for the good of all led to military intervention in 1966.

The emergence of the military in Nigeria's political scene did not help matters instead human conditions worsened under the military. Attempt to return to democracy in 1979 once again failed in 1983 following the sacking of the Shagari regime by the military. By the late 20th century, issues like democracy, human rights and the rule of law have become internationalized and the wave of democracy led to the return of power to civilians in 1999.

Since the return of democratic governance in 1999, the nature and character of governance in the country has remained a subject of intense debate by scholars, analysts and commentators of all divides. The rising concern about the governance project in Nigeria, according to George-Genyl (2013), cannot be explained outside the country's historical experience, which laid the foundation for the current wave of ethno-religious crisis, politico-economic crisis and, corruption in the land. This state of affairs has raised serious concern about the question of good governance in the country, where politics of exclusion, deprivation and mismanagement of resources appear to be taking over the principle of accountability, transparency and responsibility which has thrown up security challenges in the country (George-Genyl 2013: p.57). The state in Nigeria since 1999 has become a source of insecurity instead of being a provider of security.

It is against this backdrop that this paper examines governance and the challenges of human security in Nigeria since 1999 and 2017. To achieve the above stated objectives, this paper is partitioned into five sections including this introduction

The second section centers on conceptual clarification. The third focuses on the impact of infrastructural decay and corruption on human security. The fourth section x-rays governance and the challenges of human security in Nigeria between 1999 and 2017, while the fifth section draws the conclusion with recommendation.

Statement of Problem

Basic infrastructures are required to empower peoples and communities. They are vital for human security. It helps to create enabling environment for business to thrive and improve the living condition of the people. Since 1999, when Nigeria returned to democratic rule, basic infrastructures have been decaying. No pipe borne water, no electricity, no good road, health facilities are in deplorable state, hyper inflation, and

increasing unemployment. These have worsened the human condition in the country, and the government seems to be doing nothing serious to change the situation.

In addition, corruption has eaten deep into the fabrics of the Nigeria society so that people who are most qualified for some jobs are short changed because they are not related to one political office holder or the other or because they are not from a particular ethnic group. Besides, money meant for programmes and projects that will benefit the masses or majority of the people are diverted into private purse thereby denying the public their entitlements. These have grave implication for human security in the country

Objectives of the Study

The central objective of the study is to assess how governance in Nigeria between 1999 and 2017 has hindered human security in the country. The specific objectives being to:

1. find how the failure or inability of the leadership to build or improve on the existing basic infrastructures for the benefit of the people has affected human security in the country;
2. find how corruption has hindered the security of the individual and communities in the country within the period under study.

Method of Data Collection

The method used in gathering data for this paper is the documentary method. Document refers to any written material that was already in existence which was produced for some other purposes than the benefit of the investigator (Nwanna, 1981: p.177). According to Obasi (1999: p.172 – 173): “documents are published or unpublished materials on activities of public and private organization, usually, these documents are produced for reasons such as historical documentation of the nature dynamics and trends of events”. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, the documentary method involves the examination of various written documents on Governance, human security, infrastructural decay and corruption in Nigeria since 1999. The authors consider the method as the most appropriate and convenience for this paper.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this paper is constructivism; this theory seeks to explain how core aspects of international relations are socially constructed (Jackson & Nexon, 2002). Events and structures of international relations and perhaps the society are shaped by the ongoing processes of social practices and interactions. A good aspect of international relations is historically and socially constructed rather than the inevitable consequence of human nature. (Wikipedia; n.d)

This theory was first coined by Nicholas Onuf who used constructivism to describe theories that stress the socially constructed character of international relations. Other scholars that made useful contribution to this theory include:

Alexander Wendt, Richard K. Ashley, Friedrich Kratochwil, John Ruggie and, Christian Reus Saint (Wikipedia; n.d). The basic assumption of constructivism states that the structures of human association are determined by shared ideas rather than by material forces; and that identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by those shared ideas rather than by nature (Wendt, 1999).

It therefore presupposes that human security problems in Nigeria are socially constructed and not as a result of human nature. Corruption in the country is as a result of ongoing processes of social practice and interaction. Hence, Achebe opines that “Nigerians are corrupt because the system under which they live makes corruption easy and profitable and that they will cease to be corrupt when corruption is made difficult and inconvenient”.

The implication of the above is that the social practice which makes corruption profitable can be reconstructed. When this is done, money meant for necessary infrastructures that are needed for human security will be freed from corrupt hands and put into the project for which it is meant. Besides, Nigeria is richly endowed with enormous resources, but these resources have been mismanaged so that Nigeria is one of the poorest countries of the world. Poverty and unemployment are, therefore, socially constructed and not the consequence of human nature.

Conceptual Clarification

In order to achieve the objective of this paper, it is desirable that the concept of Governance, Good Governance and human Security be clarified.

Governance Defined

The term governance has been variously defined by scholars, bilateral and multilateral agencies. But for the purpose of this paper, a few of the definitions given by some scholars and agencies will be cited. Hence, George-Genyi (2013) said that governance emphasizes leadership which suggests the way political leaders, use or misuse political power, to promote social and economic development or to engage in those agendas that largely undermine the realization of the good things of life for the people. Quoting Oyedele, Leke and Oluwaleye (2015) defines governances as “the total ability to organize synthesize and direct the various actions of the working parts of government machinery in order for such a government to perform meaningfully, creditably and accountable.”.

For Funkuyama (2013), governance is a government’s ability to make and enforce rules and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not. Graham, Bruce and Plumpter (2003) see governance as a process whereby societies or organizations make their important decisions, determine whom they involve in the process and how they render account. The United Nations Development Programme (1997) defines it as “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their difference”. The word Bank (1993) defines governance as the method through which

power is exercised in the management of a country's political economic and social resources for development. Governance therefore implies the management of public affairs for the good of the people. It is an attribute of democracy.

However, governance in Africa and Nigerian in particular is in crisis. Speaking in Nairobi, Kenya in 2006. The former U.S President Barak Obama noted that:

Governance in Africa is crisis ridden and it is a crisis that is robbing honest people of the opportunities they fought for. Corruption erodes the state from the inside out, sickening the justice system until there is no justice to be found, poisoning the police forces until their presence becomes a source of insecurity rather than a source of security. In the end, if the people cannot trust their government to do the job for which it exists, to protect them and to promote their common welfare, all else is lost.

Writing on the failure of leadership in Nigeria, Achebe (1984) wrote:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership (P.1).

Governance and leadership in Nigeria have become a threat to human security in Nigeria, depriving people of basic necessities of life. The leadership has failed to live above personal example in pursuit of their selfish interest thereby endangering the security of individuals and communities. Said (2006) identified the components of governance to include: (a) the mechanisms and processes of selecting, monitoring and replacing government (b) constitutionalism and the rule of law (c) capacity to formulate and implement sound policies and deliver public services (d) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions (e) citizens and civil society empowerment.

Good Governance Clarified

One may wonder the necessity of clarifying good governance, having defined governance earlier. The essence is to make a slight distinction between governance and good governance. The difference between the two concepts lies in the 'good' preceding governance in the good governance, which specifies the effectiveness of governance. Hence, good governance is the exercise of power by various levels of government in a manner that is effective, honest, equitable, transparent and accountable. (Beetsech, Echikwonye and Chiba, 2012). Good governance simply means the effectiveness with which a government carries out its functions and promotes public goods. It entails sound public sector management, accountability,

exchange and free flow of information and a legal framework for development. For Munshi (2004), good governance “signifies a participative manner of governing that function in a responsible, accountable and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy and consensus for the purpose of promoting the right of individual citizens and the public interest, thus, indicating the exercise of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice”. Good governance is all about effective and transparent leadership that produces results which together transform the socio-economic conditions of a nation. Good governance is characterized by participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability (UNESCAP, n.d. and Ahmadu, 2013).

Human Security Defined

One major problem with the concept of human security is not that it has no definition but that it has many definitions. This paper will examine a few of the definition. However, the concept of security has gone beyond military consideration and has shifted the security discourse from the state security to the security of individuals and communities. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, recorded that the concept of human security emerged from a post Cold War multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving a number of research fields including development studies and human rights. The encyclopedia maintains that the UNDP’s Human Development Report of 1994 was a milestone in the evolution of human security when it argued that ensuring “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” for all persons is the best path to tackle the problem of global insecurity. Hence, the UNESCO Committee of Expert on public Administration (CEPA) (2006) defines human security as protecting vital freedom. Protecting people from critical, pervasive threats and situations; building on their strengths and aspirations.

It also mean creating system that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood, Yukio (2000) defines human security as the preservation and protection of the life and dignity of individual human beings. Thomas and Wilkin (1999) defined it as a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met and in which human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community can be realized. Such human security is indivisible, it cannot be pursued by or for one groups at the expense of another.

The former Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan argues that human security can no longer be understood in purely military terms. Rather it must encompass economic development, social justice, environment protection, democratization, disarmament, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. According to him: “human security in it’s broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her potential (Annan, 2000). The commission on Human Security defines human security thus:

to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.

However, all the above definitions are correct but one point to note is that human security cannot be separated from the security of the state. The security of the individual is inseparable from the security of the state. It is a necessary condition for the security of the state. The 1994 UNDP's Human Development Report recommended that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas;

- Economic Security
- Food Security
- Environmental Security
- Personal Security
- Community Security
- Political Security (Wikipedia n.d & CSS, 2011)

In this paper therefore, we are going to operationalize human Security to mean protection of the individual, communities and the state against non-military threats. Military threat is seen here as any kind of armed threat or armed violence against the individual, communities and the state. It is our view that reduction of non-military threat will automatically translate into reduction in military threat to the individual and communities and hence, the state.

Infrastructural Decay, Corruption and Human Security in Nigeria

In this section, we shall be examining how corruption has affected infrastructural development and how the two have hindered human security in Nigeria since 1999.

However, infrastructures are, key to development in any country. Corruption is at the heart and center of underdevelopment in Africa. It has hindered infrastructural development which is key to the over-all development of the nations in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. Corruption has negatively impacted in every facet of human life in Nigeria and those in the public sector are the major culprits. Thus according to Achebe (1983):

to hold any useful discussion of corruption, we must first locate it where it properly belongs, in the ranks of the powerful. Corruption has been raised to the level of state craft in recent times. From fairly timid manifestation in the 1960, corruption has grown bold and

ravenous as with each succeeding regime: P. 42.

Government at all levels are culpable in the corruption menace in the award of contracts, government officials and members of the tenders board usually inflate the cost of the project based on a predetermined percentage of the contract value (Igwe),2010. This has led to some projects being abandoned or the cost revalued if it must be completed. In most other cases, the quality of work done is less than what is stated in the tender and nobody asks questions.

Energy is a key infrastructure needed for development to occur. Various governments have stated their desire to end the energy crisis in Nigeria but at the end of the day nothing happens. The Obasanjo regime between 1999-2007 spent billions of dollars in turn around maintenance of our refineries without positive result .According to Igwe (2010):

Nigeria has four completed and once functioning oil refineries but due to negligence and lack of maintenance those refineries have either been abandoned or operated at minimum capacity such that the country, the sixth largest oil exporter, imports refined petroleum products.

The implication of the above is that the money that would have been used for other projects are spent on fuel importation. Worse still the corruption going on in the fuel import subsidy is unequalled. Government pay subsidy on product that was never imported.

The electricity sector is another area of concern. Governments since 1999 have made insincere efforts to improve electricity situation in the country but to no avail. Billions of dollars were spent by successive regimes in an effort to improve on energy provision without positive result. Privatization did not help matters after all. In the electricity sector, people pay for services they never enjoyed. Even when there was no electricity for a whole month or even more, they will be forced to pay with threat of disconnection. The Jonathan's government ordered the PHCN (Power Holding Company of Nigeria) to provide pre-paid meter for every electricity user but such order was never heeded. The reason is that the advent of pre-paid meter will reduce the extortion and income of certain individuals whose stock in trade in the sector is to exploit unsuspecting consumers. It is widely believed that pre-paid meter regime will reduce to the barest minimum, the level of corruption in the sector, thereby reducing their personal economic gain, and increasing the income of the company and government.

The government has over the years spent billions of dollars in construction of steel plants without result (Igwe 2010). The steel plant is key to technological revolution in the country, but no serious effort is shown by government in that regard .The effect of this is that Nigeria will remain technologically backward.

The budget padding controversy reveals how those in authority siphoned public fund from source. Achebe maintained that *“most people will agree that corruption has grown enormously in variety, magnitude and brazenness since the*

beginning of the second Republic because it has been extravagantly fuelled by budgetary abuse and political patronage on an unprecedented scale” (P.49). The NNPC, FIRS and some other agencies did not even defend their budget before the National Assembly .This tells one the rot in the government

Corruption negates political development. In a country where corruption is systemic ,political oppression, repression and suppression of political opposition and critics become a feature of political life (Igwe 2010). Political exclusion, domination of the weak, lack of rule of law, disregard to court orders, tension, dishonesty, selective law enforcement etc, have characterized the Nigerian political scene since 1999. The situation has worsened since the Buhari administration assumed office in 2015.

Massive looting was fund to have occurred at the local government. This led to the change in dimension of the looting spree. The state governments have taken over the affairs of local governments so that local governments as tiers of governments no longer exist as democratic entities but as appendages to state governments. Local governments now strive on caretaker committees, contrary to constitutional provisions (Newswatch June 25, 2001; Okafor and Orjinta, 2013). The massive looting of local government accounts has remained the major hindrance to rural development in the country.

The millennium development office that is directly under the presidency which is saddled with the responsibility of implementing the Millennium Development Goals aimed at improving the quality of life of the individual and the community spent about one trillion naira in four years without any result to show for it. Poverty is increasing, unemployment is multiplying; health systems are dilapidating; illiteracy is on the increase. The implication of the above is that the money meant to provide these services for the people have been lost to corruption. (Newswatch 30 August,2010).

Basic infrastructures such as electricity, water, road, health facilities, etc are necessary for human security and development but unfortunately, the nature and character of governance in Nigeria which has created a situation of mutual distrust between the government and the governed has impacted negatively on human security which is evidenced in the growing rate of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, high death rate with high infant mortality rate and all kinds of human deprivation in the country.

An Assessment of Governance and Human security in Nigeria: 1999 - 2017

Nigerian returned to democratic rule in May 1999. There was high hope in every quarter that, the end of military rule would automatically translate into a better living condition. Between 1999 and 2002 living condition seemed to improve. Some jobs were created. Unemployment reduced food was available people heaved a sigh of relief in the country. These were the result of the liberalization of the communication industry. The liberalization led to massive employment generation which in the short –run resulted in poverty reduction. But unfortunately, between 2001 and 2003 an atmosphere of fear returned. This was as a result of the struggle by

political office holders to retain their positions. The bid for second term by political office holders led to incessant killing of political oppositions too numerous to mention here. The uncertainty created by the situation affected foreign investment and hence, employment and poverty situation.

However, after the 2003 general elections, things began to change in the negative direction. Employment began to dwindle, poverty rate began to increase again, hunger increased, health and community safety began to deteriorate and climaxed between 2015 and 2017, unemployment rose from 6.4% in January 2015 to 18.8% in July 2017, and has risen to 33.10% in the first quarter of 2018. (<http://tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/unemployment-rate>). While youth unemployment has been increasing as a result of large number of people graduating from various higher institutions in the country, many people are being forced into the labour market as a result of job losses. Report shows that in 2014, Etisalat sacked about 200 of its workers. Glo sacked 54 of their engineers in July 2016. Jumia was earlier reported to have dismissed 300 of its workers in 2015. (Oludimu, 2017). The Central Bank of Nigeria has in the past laid off thousands of its workers. Other commercial banks are known to be in the habit of sacking their workers at will. The Dangote Group sacked over seven hundred of its works in 2017. The Nigeria labour law which is supposed to protect employees in the country is being violated by employers of labour in both public and private sectors, but that of the private sector is done with impunity. The consequence of job insecurity is that people are continually being thrown into the labour market where no job exists. Hence poverty and hunger continue to increase.

Health security is another component of human security which focuses on protecting the well-being of people by preventing, detecting and responding to public health threats. (IRREVO 2015). Inadequate health facilities and the attitude of health practitioners have led to the loss of huge sums of money to health tourism abroad. The minister of state for health said in 2006 that Nigeria loses one billion USD annually on medical tourism abroad. It is a common knowledge that the elites in Nigeria don't receive medical treatment in the country because of lack of trust in the medical system of the country. Many people have died in the hospital because they could not provide the initial deposit for their treatment. The medical practitioners in Nigeria are not passionate about their professions but are driven by the money they want to make which is consequent upon the corrupt environment we live in.

There is food insecurity as a result of lack of access to food. Food security simply means access by all people at all times to enough food for an active health life (World Bank, 2006). Food security means availability of food and one's access to it (Otaha, 2013)

The absence of community security has greatly impacted on food security in the country. Community security focuses on ensuring that communities and their members are free from fear (Wikipedia n.d). The absence of community security will automatically impact negatively on food security, the reason being that 90 % of the rural dwellers are engaged in the agric sector. But many of these rural dwellers are not protected in their communities. They lack basic infrastructures and other

necessities of life. The activities of the herdsmen have displaced people from their farms for fear of being killed by the herdsmen. The implication of this is that these rural dwellers will be out of job and will not produce foods needed in the cities and the implication on the economy can be unimaginable.

However, studies have shown that there is a thin line between good governance and human security. Most good governance issues constitute human security issues. Studies have equally shown that corruption and infrastructure have significant relationship with human security.

Many studies have shown that corruption is endemic in Nigeria. The most regrettable fact is that it is those who are entrusted with public offices that use their offices to enrich themselves at the expense of the citizens. For Geoge-Genyi (2013). These public office holders such as the state governors, ministers and members of the National Assembly have elevated corruption to statecraft, thereby putting democracy, good governance, peace and security at great risk. Ogbeyi (2012) argues that corruption is the only surviving legacy of successive political leadership in Nigeria since independence. He maintained that corruption has ravaged and destroyed most of what is held as national values. At a brainstorming session in Lagos in 2010, Nigerian engineers maintained that lots of money have been lost through infrastructural projects with the aid of engineers. Speaking at the occasion Mr. Atume Felix pointed out that *“it could not be possible for politicians to steal government fund via projects without an engineer’s signature.”*

Production of goods and services are made possible by infrastructural facilities (Oyedele 2012.). According to him: *Not only does infrastructure affect production directly, it also creates many direct and indirect externalities. It also involves large flows of expenditure, thereby creating employment.* (P. 8).

Since 1999 successive regimes have not done much to improve on infrastructure, instead infrastructural projects have been used to siphon funds in the country. Alexander, Ezugwu, Titillayo and Ajiboye (2012) maintain that the situation presently in Nigeria shows backward movement in infrastructure. It is evident in Nigeria today that pipe-born water is now a history and if care is not taken, public energy will soon be history too, as electricity will be provided by individuals like water. All these are consequences of failure of governance which has direct implication on human security.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has examined governance and the challenge of human security in Nigeria since 1999. The paper began with an introduction. The concept of governance, good governance and human security were clarified. We also x-rayed the impact of corruption, infrastructural and governance on human security. The effect of governance on human security since 1999, when Nigeria returned to democracy was equally discussed.

The finding of the paper shows that significant relationship exist between corruption, infrastructure and governance and human security. Infrastructures have significant impact on output, income and employment generation. It can also promote

good health as well as reduce crime rate (Oyedele 2012). The lack of or inadequacy of basic infrastructures such as electricity and water has affected the establishment of industries which can create employments. Many companies have left Nigeria for other countries because of lack of basic infrastructure which has negatively affected the Nigeria business environment. This has led to job losses and increased poverty.

Corruption has hindered the implementation of poverty alleviation programmes. Resources that are meant for poverty alleviation programmes are misappropriated and in most cases diverted to private pockets. Corruption has become institutionalized in Nigeria that it has become our national culture (Nna and Igwe 2010; Wikipedia, n.d). it has frustrated every effort at improving human condition in Nigeria.

The paper also found that human condition seemed to improve between 2000 and 2007. But situation sooner began to deteriorate and climaxed in 2016 when the country's economy finally entered into recession.

The Boko Haram insurgency in the North and the nationwide herdsmen menace did not help matters as these have thrown up new security challenges. People were displaced from their homes and farmlands and are made refugees in their own country.

Democratic experiment since 1999 has been doubtful as to whether Nigeria is actually democratic or not. There have been blatant disregard to the rule of law and human rights by successive regimes since 1999. Politics of exclusion climaxed under Buhari as most crucial offices were occupied by only people from his own ethnic group without regard to the federal character. The herdsmen have been attacking and displacing communities without any effort by the federal government to stop them just because they are from the president's ethnic of origin.

The nature of governance in Nigeria is such that those in government do not see themselves as servants of the people but instead, as masters of their people. They see their positions as an opportunity to enrich them. The resources and affairs of the states are managed in the interest of few at the detriment of the majority. The poor management of the affairs of Nigeria has led to high rate of poverty, unemployment, injustice, inequality lack of rule of law high mortality rate as a result of inadequate health facilities. These have direct implication on human security in the country.

In the light of the above, the authors wish to make the following recommendations.

1. Any effort at good governance must begin with the conduct of election to elect credible persons into positions of authority. To this end, the electoral body must assume responsibility for conducting all elections in Nigeria.
2. The independence of the electoral body must be guaranteed. Presently, the independence of INEC is not guaranteed. It is under the control of the president.
3. The legislature must live up to its responsibility as the representatives of the people and as watch-dog over the executive.
4. Political culture should be institutionalized
5. The rule of law should be ensured in the country
6. The politics of exclusion and winner takes all syndromes should stop.

7. The federal character principles should be respected by all those in authority.
8. The anti-corruption agencies should be independent of the executive. And corrupt acts should be criminalized
9. The independence of the judiciary should be guaranteed. This can only be achieved when a neutral person or body appoints judges and justices other than the president or governors.
10. Since government alone cannot provide jobs for the teeming unemployed people in Nigeria, the government should focus attention on the development of infrastructure and create enabling environment for businesses to thrive. This will help create jobs and reduce poverty.

The authors therefore conclude in the words of Achebe (1983:43) that: “*to initiate change, the president of this country must take and be seen to take a decision first step of ridding his administration of all persons on whom the slightest wind of corruption and scandal has blown.*” If the above recommendations are observed, human condition will improve in Nigeria.

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