

## **Governance Deficit, National Security and the Development of Nigeria: ENDSARS Protest Perspective**

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### **Abstract**

*Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with financial fortunes bolstered by enormous natural endowments and human resources. Yet Nigeria is faced with myriads of economic and socio-political woes and has earned the infamous sobriquet of the world's poverty capital. Scholars and other stakeholders have not only wondered why Nigeria, the supposed giant of Africa is trailing behind in anything positive, but also have consistently observed that Nigeria's endemic problems are anchored on ill-governance. The paper interrogated Nigeria's national security which has been compromised through incessant and runaway corruption, the activities of boko haram terrorists, the daily killings by the Fulani herdsmen and other criminal gangs in Nigeria, menacing poverty, dearth of infrastructure, institutions with weak performance capacities, a governance elite that is far away from the aspirations of the governed and too removed that it has become irresponsible and insensitive to the plight of its subjects, which was adequately exposed through the ENDSARS protests in the country in early October 2020. A qualitative research, the paper is anchored on Social Contract as its analytical theory. The paper's findings, amongst others, include a governance deficit foisted by self-styled leadership of a schizophrenic nature that has caused a reversing development, unemployment, human and income poverty, a recourse to inflaming ethnic, tribal and religious sentiments to cover up their primordial interests as well as maladministration and several other challenges arising from their prebendal nature. The recommendations include, among others: elimination of machine politics which is a progenitor of bad leadership and a culture of impunity with negative effects on human development and national security; a resort to entrenching human security if Nigeria intends to achieve national security which will usher in national integration and national development, as well as attract foreign investment and international goodwill.*

**Keywords:** Governance, National Security, Human Security, Leadership, Prebendalism.

### **Introduction**

Governance occupies a central place in the activities of groups, organizations/nation-states and the international community. The centrality of governance has pitched it as the principal function in catapulting humanity forward in terms of technology, socio-

economic and political development, security and indeed whatever area of human advancement. Natural endowments, human capital and ingenuity in a given polity are assets to the rapid development of such entities. Governance enhances the mix of natural and human endowments in producing desired outcomes. Security, socio-economic and political developments in any state are directly dependent on the quality of governance of any such entity or state. The nomenclatures of third world, second world, advanced industrial states and others are direct reflections of the quality of governance of the states involved and not just the resources they are endowed with. The quality of governance is the tool that pulls individual creativity and talent, the resourcefulness of the community together; builds a vision around it and releases same to flourish to a national pride such that greatness can be developed even in the face of lack and threats.

The story of Israel's place in entrepreneurship is apt here for emphasis and guide. Israel's success, as noted by Senior and Singer (2009:26) "...is not just of talent but of tenacity of insatiable questioning of authority, of determined informality, combined with a unique attitude toward failure, teamwork, mission, risk and cross-disciplinary authority". The implication of the foregoing is that the state, like the corporate business entity that provides entrepreneurial skills to knit together the three Ms (money, man and material) for utmost productivity, is in dire need of governance and governance structures to harness the resources of the state for the purpose of realising the fundamental needs of the citizenry. Chief amongst these basic needs is the capacity to provide security upon which the architecture for socio-economic development is laid which eventually makes for the enhancement of the welfare of man. Edeh and Ugwueze (2014) noted aptly that absence of security threatens development, as it is the forerunner of economic stagnation.

If the hypothesis that the mix of the three Ms mentioned above can lead both the private business entities and states in other climes of the world to achieve their desired goals, is anything to go by, why is Nigeria not attaining such feat with a population of over 200 million and the fortune she has garnered from the export of crude petroleum? Why is the security of the Nigerian state deteriorating on a daily basis with the activities of groups such as Boko Haram, kidnappers, bandits, Fulani herdsmen and wanton destruction of life on a daily basis? Why has Nigeria's government not been able to fix issues such as boko haram, the marauding Fulani herdsmen and other life threatening security issues? What accounts for the proliferation of self-help security outfits (Bakassi Boys and the Eastern Security Network (ESN) in the East, Egbesu boys in the Niger Delta of Ijaw land, AMOTEKUN in the South West)? and can these solve the security issues of Nigeria?

Two scenarios can spring from governance that borders on security: good governance produces security which produces economic fortunes of the state and enhanced citizen welfare; governance deficit, also called 'bad governance' (Atakpa and Udoms, 2015) rakes in insecurity, economic stagnation and a measure of public disavowal such as happened during the Arab Spring in 2011 and the ENDSARS protest in Nigeria between 5th and 20th October, 2020.

Governance deficit retards state's capacity to deliver the dividends of the social contract between the citizens and the state. Over the years, there has been sustained and worrying discourse as to the deficiency of state capacity in developing countries and particularly, in Nigeria. This deficiency has resulted in underperformance, with the

attendant implication that the Nigerian state is unable to respond to the complex nature of governance in a globalised world. State capacity is a desideratum to the understanding of Nigeria's myriads of economic, political and social challenges. This is even more compelling when weighed against Smith (2003) observation that the nature of the state, the public institutions by which legitimate power is exercised is necessarily inevitable to the study and understanding of state politics, whether in the developed or developing world.

The central thesis of the paper is that the deteriorating national security in Nigeria epitomised by numerous threats to the security of human person: activities of bandits, Fulani herdsmen, boko haram and others, is a consequence of governance deficit. It is the strong opinion of the authors that ENDSARS movement is a protest against ill governance by the Nigerian State, where almost every sector of public institution has collapsed or is showing signs of collapse, with particular reference to the performance of assigned roles.

### **Theoretical Framework – The Social Contract Theory**

The adopted theory for analysis in this paper is the Social Contract theory. There are three celebrated Social Contractarians: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Notwithstanding the little variance in their individual accounts, they confluence at the following tenets central to the theory - the state of nature, lack of known law giver and central regulating authority; and that the State and government came as a result of the need for enhanced welfare of the people.

The central thesis of the social contract theory is that the state is “the product of a covenant, a compact or social contract” (Nbeté, 2012:267). Still notwithstanding the different views on social contract by its various key exponents, the confluence of views remains that the state is the outcome of a social contract. The logical extension and implication of this is that the state and its various paraphernalia are the construction of the people and should exist for the interest of the people at all times.

This paper is however anchored on the Social Contract Theory as propounded by John Locke to justify constitutional government. Locke's position is that the surrender of natural right is not absolute, rather, that people only give up certain of their natural rights to common authority in order that the remaining rights may be kept intact. Locke therefore sees the setting up of government as a secondary transaction where its dissolution would not necessarily entail the dissolution of the society, meaning that the society would have to set up another government in place of the former. In his *Two Treatises of Government* as part of his Social Contract Theory, John Locke affirmed an explicit right to revolution thus:

Whenever the legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people who are thereupon absolved from any further obedience and are left to the common refuge, which God hath provided for all men, against force and violence. Whatsoever the legislators shall transgress the fundamental Rule of Society; and either by ambition, fear, folly or corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of

any other an Absolute Power over the lives, liberties and Estates of the people; By this breach of Trust they forfeit the power the people had in their hands, for quite contrary ends and it devolves to the people, who have a Right to resume their original liberty (Powell, 1996 cited in Atakpa and Udoms, 2015:221).

This theory is relevant to this study in that since the people possess the power to make regimes, the people are also vested with the power to change regimes, but far from the argument that democratic government can only be overthrown by popular vote, the right of the people to remove the government through extraneous means, other than the vote, is still relevant. According to Ikpe (2010), by the terms of the contract, the government is bound to guarantee the natural rights of the people to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. The people, on the other hand, have the right to sack any government that fails to protect or guarantee these rights. Hence, the legitimacy of the government hangs on the dutiful performance of this function. The failure of a government to perform in line with the contract justifies the overthrow of such a government.

In some sense, the liberal theory which confers the right to revolution actually gives pep to the Frustration-Aggression Theory. Theorists who rely on this explanation use the psychological theories of motivation and behaviour as well as frustration and aggression to explain conflict. Citing (Anifowose, 1982) and (Fiereabends, 1969), Best (2009) explains that scholars point to the difference between what people feel and what people want or deserve to what they actually get – the 'want-get-ratio' and the difference between "expected need satisfaction" and "actual need satisfaction". Best went on to explain that where expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. And so, when this frustration is widespread, on the foundation of the right to revolution earlier espoused, then the tendency toward revolution from the people becomes very plausible.

## Conceptual Issues

### Governance/Governance Deficit

As always with social concepts, agreements on the meanings and definitions usually present problems. To this extent, governance has attracted series of definitions. UN (2007) sees governance as the formal and informal arrangements that determine the making of public decision and the manner in which public actions are carried out from the perspective of maintaining a country's constitutional values. The above definition restricts governance to the public sector. Kraan (2006), sees governance as activities that are undertaken with public funds, whether within or outside of core government and whether those forms represent direct transfer or are provided in the form of an implicit guarantee. However, scholars such as: Nzongola-Natalaja (2003) broadens the view of governance as he sets out to analyse it under three separate and mutually enforcing types. These are:

- a. Political or Public Governance which embraces the authority and stamp of **the state, government or the public sector. Here, governance is the process through which the society organises its affairs.**
- b. Economic Governance with the authority being the private sector and refers to the policies or the processes or organizational mechanisms that are necessary to produce and distribute services and goods.
- c. Social Governance. Here, the authority is the civil society which includes citizens, non-profit organizations. Governance refers to the system of values and beliefs



necessary for social behaviours to happen and for public decision to be taken. Nzongola-Natalaja's definition is broader than the former definition as it widens its reach to embrace the entire fabric of systems and processes of arrangement by which policies, decisions affecting the production of public goods and services is carried out. This brings to bear another important contribution on the explanation of governance given by Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2004:4), as the tradition and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This part of the definition if left on its own looks either too shallow or ambiguous until the two important addition are added to their definition:

**The first part includes:**

- i. The process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced.
- ii. The capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies.
- iii. The respect of citizens and the state of the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

The beauty and strength of the above definition lies yet in the two measures as generated by the authors to measure governance which includes:

- i. The process through which governments are selected, monitored and replaced. This measures governance along the modalities for recruiting the personnel that man public office, the processes of checks and balances, as well as the ways the personnel of government are changed. Under this very important area are two dimensions for assessing governance, viz:
  - a. Voice and Accountability (VA): The critical questions and concerns here are: What is the extent of involvement of the citizens in the choice of those who govern them? What is the quality of freedom of expression? Is there opportunity for the citizens to form and join associations that promote their interest? How free is the media or is the media gaged through artificial inhibitions such as hate speech regulations, is the media reporting only what the government wants?
  - b. Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (PV): Concerns here include whether the elected governments stand to be removed from office through unconstitutional arrangement such as coup d'état, politically motivated violence, terrorism and other means of violent protest.
- ii. The capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies. Two dimensions are covered under this:
  - Government effectiveness: This deals with issues such as the quality of public services, the degree of independence and non-partisanship of the civil service. Is the civil service one that can stand against undue political pressure? What is the quality of policy formulation and its implementation? Is it in the interest of the people? How committed is the government to realizing such policies or are these mere empty electioneering campaign promises?
  - Regulatory Quality (RQ): Is the government able to formulate and implement policies and regulations that permit and promote the development of the private sector? What is the quality of 'enablers' for the private sector to thrive?
- c. Respect for Citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions. Under this are:
  - i. The Rule of Law (RL): An evaluation under this dimension requires the answering of questions such as, what is the extent to which the operatives of government

- obey extant rules by society? What is the extent of enforcement of contracts? What is the behaviour of the Police and courts? What happens to peoples' rights? What is the extent of crime and violence?
- ii. Control of Corruption (CC): Is public/political power used for private gains, whether they be petty or grand corruption or state capture?. What is the extent of prebendalism in the state?

The above form measuring standards on the government. An evaluation on the above criteria predisposes one to either good governance or bad governance and their various implications to development in society, which has a lot of bearing on the security/insecurity of the state.

Good Governance entails the:

- i. Positive manner by which government and social entities interact and maintain relationship with citizens.
- ii. The genuine use of state capacity to serve citizens and other actors including the way public functions are executed, management of public resources for the welfare of the citizens and the exercise of public regulatory power in the interest of the masses.
- iii. Exercise of authority for common good as well as the ability of governance to help the citizens' ability to achieve individual satisfaction and material prosperity.

Governance is for the interest of the generality of the people, not a select elite class who only use the phrase - "in the interest of the masses" as a mere slogan for attaining parochial interest using public resources". The goal of governance is quid pro quo the ability of individuals to achieve satisfaction and material prosperity – enhanced welfare. In other to achieve this, it means therefore that governance must be geared towards the supply, delivery and management of political goods. Political goods here referring to human security, rule of law, political and civil freedom, medical and health, schools and education, communication network etc. (Besancon 2003). All these, in themselves, are prerequisites for development and the absence of these, pitch the citizens amongst those suffering from human poverty. Thomas (2000) asserts that, a people may suffer from human poverty even when they do not suffer from income poverty; human poverty referring to illiteracy, short life expectancy and other range of demand of choice, and opportunities for promoting a quality life in a community. Income poverty on the other hand points to the economic purchasing power of the citizens e.g. the US one-dollar mark/day criteria. That citizens are able to live a tolerable life in terms of having the political goods, getting out of the income and human poor category is a function of governance and quality of policies formulated and implemented for the benefit of the citizens.

Governance deficit is the direct opposite of good governance. It depicts a deplorable situation where governance serves the primordial interest of the elite class, where the interest and comfort of the masses is sacrificed on the altar of prebendalism.

#### **Manifestation/Instruments generating Governance Deficit**

1. Deliberate disregard for constitutional provisions by public office holders in the day to day running of their forts, due to personal and group aggrandisement.
2. Weak institutions with utter lack of independence to perform assigned roles. Here political institutions respond to the body language of certain "men on top".

3. Subordination of the interests of the masses to the personal and group interests of elites.
4. Ill reward system where those who work hard are not rewarded but the lazy and indolent are rewarded.
5. Extolling the virtues of corruption and the corrupt in society.
6. Inadequate punishments to serve as deterrents.

The manifestation of governance deficit as presented above is by no means exhaustive. However, placing good and governance deficit in comparative perspective; good governance is directed at enhancing the quality of life of the citizens. This is saying that good governance is aimed at promoting a high standard of living. Governance deficit on the other side implies crisis of governance where public institutions are intentionally made to malfunction for the interest of the gluttonous elite who play against the rule of law, promote their primordial interest against public interest. To this extent, governance deficit is in tandem with lack of accountability, lack of transparency, irresponsibility of the governors and the governed as well as social inclusion and non-equitability (Atakpa and Udoms, 2015). From the above, governance deficit becomes tangential to huge loss in terms of economic growth and development, drives away investments at social, political and economic fronts, monumental waste of national resources, among others. In all, deficit in governance eulogizes and elevates alienation of the citizenry, fuels insecurity, midwife's other challenges and indices of human insecurity and the helpless citizens' resort to self-help (Udoms and Ekanem, 2017).

### **Governance Deficit, Development Challenges and Insecurity**

Governance deficit is a serious challenge to development. Dudley Seers (in Todaro and Smith, 2003) sees development in terms of the reduction of those threats to human existence such as poverty, unemployment and inequality. According to Seers, a society is developed if the answers to three fundamental questions are in the positive. The questions:

- i. What has been happening to poverty?
- ii. What has been happening to inequality?
- iii. What has been happening to unemployment?

It is important to note that: a growing per capita income in the face of increase in poverty, inequality and unemployment does not mean development as basically development is about the qualitative enhancement in human condition. Development is measured by the existence of social indicators given by Jhingan (2007) to include health, education, food, safe water, sanitation and affordable housing for the people. "The place of social indicators is that they relate to ends which refer to human development and while development is a means to those ends, social indicators tell how different countries prefer to allocate the GNP among alternative uses" (Udoms, Atakpa, and Ekanem, 2017:101). The contradiction engineered by governance deficit is enormously dangerous as the seeds of development challenges produce insecurity. Poverty, unemployment and socio-political and economic inequality harbour disastrous and violent upheavals in their womb. Armed robbers, kidnappers, herdsmen, suicide bombers, sea-pirates, terrorists, bandits, commercial sex workers (CSW) are not born but are products and victims of endemically atomistic, alienated, fragmented and ill governed societies; societies that neglect the very social harmony by insisting on

prebendal approach. Prebendalism on its own produces those who are income poor and human poor. The concept of income and human poverty is generously explained by Thomas (2000) when the scholar noted that: income poverty refers to the purchasing power at one's disposal e.g. US \$1 per day while human poverty relates to illiteracy, short life expectancy, inability to participate in governance or any other level of exclusion as a result of unnatural class division. Those who are financially wealthy may still suffer human poverty depending on the type of government.

Governance deficit stiffens development through its various manifestation of diverting resources for development which will benefit the people to the propagation of selfish motives. Table 1 shows the looted funds by various public office holders in Nigeria. If these funds were invested in education and employment generating outfits, poverty,

**Table 1: Some stolen funds by Nigerian public officers which should have been used in fighting insecurity through development projects**

S/N	Names of Public Officers who Embezzled the Funds	London Banks £	Swiss Banks \$	USA Banks \$	Germany Banks- DM
1	Former Military President Gen Ibrahim Babangida (rtd)	6.256 billion	7.41 billion	2.00 billion	9.00 billion
2	Former Military President Gen Abdulsalam Abubakar (rtd)	1.31 billion	2.33billion	8.00 billion	-
3	Admiral Mike Akhigbe former Chief of Naval Staff	1.24 billion	2.42 billion	671 million	-
4	Gen Jerry Useni	3.04 billion	2.01 billion	1.01 billion	--
5	Alhaji Ismaila Gwarzo	1.03 billion	2.00 billion	1.30 billion	1 billion
6	Alhaji Umaru Dikko	5.01 billion	1.4 billion	700 million	-
7	Paul Ogwuma	300 million	1.142 billion	200 million	700 million
8	Former Military President Sani Abacha	600 million	4.09 billion	800 million	345 million
9	Mohammed Abacha	400 million	-	-	500 million
10	Abdulkadir Abacha	1.12 billion	1.2 billion	150 million	3.01 million
11	Alhaji Wada Nas	2.5 billion	1.21 billion	900 million	535 million
12	Tom Ikimi	600 million	1.32 billion	153 million	471 million
13	Dan Etete	2.96 billion	1.39 billion	400 million	300 million
14	Don Etiebiet	-	1.03billion	700 million	371 million
15	Major Al Mustapha	2.3 billion	1.06 billion	360 million	1.72 million
16	Tony Anenih	700 million	1.001 billion	161 million	361 million
17	Bashir Dalhatu	300 million	1.09 billion	700 million	1.66 million
18	Alhaji Hassan Adamu	120 million	200 million	-	1.42 billion
19	T. Y Danjuma	-	1.02 billion	-	-
20	Gen Ishaya Bamaiyi	-	800 million	-	190 million

Source: Adapted from Ojo (2016).



## National Security

This article views security holistically. Barry Buzan conceptualised security in a three level approach: the individual, the state and the international community. He also incorporated sectors into his definition of security – the political, military, economic, societal and environmental (Buzan, 2008). Buzan (1991:432-433) further noted:

Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom, from fear and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Quite where this range of concerns ceases to merit the urgency of the security label (which identifies threats as significant enough to warrant emergency action and exceptional measures including the use of force) and becomes part of everyday uncertainties of life, is one of the difficulties of the concept.

In Nigeria, it is pertinent to state that the Nigeria's National Security Strategy (2014) which guides policy formulation and conduct of operations is encapsulated in the strategic vision of creating a peaceful, self-reliant, prosperous and strong nation. The National Security Strategy, 2014, sets out to address two very critical threat areas:

- i. National Security Interests - The core national interests are:
  - The security and welfare of its people
  - Sovereignty and defence of its territorial integrity.
  - Peace
  - Democracy
  - Economic growth
  - Social justice
- ii. Threats to National Security:  
Global challenges e.g. economic meltdown/global economic recession.
  - Terrorism
  - Transnational organised crimes
  - Crude oil theft
  - Ethnic religious conflicts
  - Farmers/herders conflict etc.

In line with Nigeria's vision the Grand Strategy – a major security policy document developed in year 2000 by President Olusegun Obasanjo defines national security as “the aggregation of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups, political entities and institutions in the territory of Nigeria”.

For any state, the security of life and property is a fundamental and primary function for this is the purpose of the state. Going by the metaphorical social contract theory, especially the Hobbesian thesis where, due to the ingratiating ills of the state of nature, the emergence of the Leviathan was to end the known short coming of the state of nature: the solitary, short, brutish and nasty nature of life, it is however noted that, in Nigeria, specifically since the return to democracy, the Nigerian state has failed at its security task. Threats to human and national security grows by the day. Rev. Father Matthew Hassan Kukah of the Sokoto Catholic Diocese, in his 2021 Easter Homily, puts it bluntly that the activities of Boko Haram are worse now than in 2015, as against the

position of the Federal Government who says always that the fundamentalist terrorist organization has been decimated. Another version of the activities of threats to human and national security is captured by Ukpe (2021:1) thus:

The security situation has become so worrisome that only two places in the country are now safe – Aso Rock and Prison. Aso rock is safe simply because kidnapers know that the final approval for ransom payment is domiciled there. It would be foolish to attack your revenue base and kidnapers are not stupid. Prisons are safe because it is inconceivable that social activists will ever take up campaigns like “bring back our prisoners and force government to pay anything substantial for prisoners to be brought back ...

The implication of the above quote is manifold:

- i. Insecurity in Nigeria is of a grave nature.
- ii. The lack of capacity of the Nigerian state to effectively secure its citizens resulting in massive loss of lives and property.
- iii. That the Nigerian government of President Muhammadu Buhari is either so helpless or is compromised that she now begs the hoodlums to release kidnapped victims e.g. school children which has become so rampant, at a fee – ransom.
- iv. Negotiation for ransom to release abducted school children

In sum, from the above, the Nigerian citizen is grossly vulnerable in the face of insecurity. Insecurity has taken a toll on educational institutions in Nigeria, as kidnapers and bandits have, in the last seven years, turned their tool of violence to schools as depicted in the table 2:

**Table 2: School Insecurity 2014-2021**

S/N	Name of School	Nature of Insecurity	Remarks
1.	Girls Secondary School Chibok, Borno State	Abduction of 276 teenage school girls by Boko Haram Terrorists on April 14, 2014	Some were later released in 2018 following pressure on the government of Nigeria by the International community and 'the bring back our girls' campaign. More than 100 others are still in the custody of the kidnapers and are used as sex slaves by the terrorists.
2.	Government Girls Science And Technical College Dapchi, Yobe State.	Kidnap of over 110 school girls by Boko Haram terrorists on Friday Feb. 19, 2018	104 of the girls were later returned by their abductors 5 weeks later (21 March, 2018) except Leah Shuaibu still in captivity on account that she refused to deny her Christian faith and convert to Islam
3.	Government Science School Kankara, Katsina State	Kidnap of 344 school boys from the dormitory on December 11, 2020	The boys were later released on December 17, 2020
4.	Government Science School Kagara Niger State	Kidnap of 27 boys and 15 workers on Friday February 17, 2021	Released on 27 February, 2021 days after abduction

5.	Government Girls Science College Jangebe, Zamfara State	Abduction of 317 school girls by Bandits on February 26, 2021	The Students were released on March 2, 2021
6.	College of Forestry Mechanisation Afaka, Kaduna State	Abduction of 39 students - 23 females and 16 males by Bandits on March 12, 2021	5 students were later rescued by search teams. Allegedly 180 other persons were also rescued by the team.
7.	Greenfield University (Private), located in Kasarami village, Chikun Local Government Area, Kaduna State.	Abduction of 20 students and 3 staff (23) on April 20, 2021 by Bandits	So far 5 deaths have been recorded – 4 students and a non-teaching staff

**Source: Authors' compilation from various publications and radio information on abductions and kidnaps.**

School kidnap is the latest and yet most dangerous source of threat to Nigeria's national security. Briggs (1988:36) saw threat as "anything that constitutes a source of danger to the country's territory, the lives of its people, its political and economic systems and its territory". In the same vein Imobighe (1990:224) described threat to a nation-state to mean anything that has the capacity to undermine the security of the nation, or anything that constitutes danger to the corporate entity and hinders the harmonious relationship of the various components of the nation-state, as well as the peaceful co-existence of the state.

The kidnap of innocent teenagers in schools is the worst of the newest threat tools to national security as it threatens the very survival of Nigeria as a sovereign entity. The kidnapped school children, traumatised and some eventually released without any form of genuine rehabilitation, live with two types of hurtful memories: the failure of the very state they pledged their loyalty to in the National Anthem and National Pledge (perhaps few hours before their kidnap) to protect them, giving rise to questioning the very loyalty they pledge and the bond to the state, a traumatised psychology for a life time. Eventually these children are the leaders of tomorrow: presidents, ambassadors, governors, legislators, business tycoons, teachers, medical practitioners, legal luminaries, engineers, military generals, police officers etc. It is highly probable they live and score the state with bias and fractional morale and trust. It becomes germane at this juncture to note that no nation-state is secured to the extent that its citizens are not secured. This is re-echoing the thoughts that the people are the referent objects of security going by the alternative security approach. This is what informed Udoms, Atakpa and Udofia (2015) to state that for any nation-state to achieve national security, that state must first eliminate all forms of threats to human security as human security is a strategy for achieving national security.

The very reason that security of the nation is threatened is the fact that governance deficit holds a serious grip on the security sector prompting the diversion of security

votes and other budgetary allocations to the security sectors been diverted to personal and corrupt uses instead of using same for public interest. A typical example is the over \$2.2 Billion released during the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan for the fight against the dreaded Boko Haram. The money was embezzled under the then National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) in what is popularly referred to (in Nigeria now) as Arms deal or the 'Dasukigate'. Table 3 gives a breakdown of how the money was embezzled by few Nigerians in position of trust yet these are still the ones who call the shots in different areas of the country.

**Table 3: Beneficiaries of Dasuki Arms Deal**

S/N	Name	Nomenclature	Amount
001	Dr. Peter Odili	Former Governor, Rivers State	N100 million
002	Attahiru Bafarawa	Former Governor, Sokoto State	N4.5 billion
003	Aliyu Shinkafi		N100 million
004	Jim Nwobodo	Former Information Minister	N500 million
005	Tony Anenih	Former BOT Chairman	N260 million
006	Ahmadu Ali	Former PDP Chairman	N100 million
007	Bode George	Former Deputy Chairman	N100 million and \$30,000.00
008	Olisa Metuh	PDP Publicity Secretary	N400 million
009	Gen. Bello Sarkin Yaki		N200 million
010	Dr. Raymond Dokpesi	Chairman Daar Communication Plc.	N2.1 billion
011	Iyorchia Ayu	Former Speaker House of Rep	N345 million
012	Dalhatu Investment Ltd		N1.5 billion
013	Bello Haliru and Son	Former PDP Chairman	N300 million
014	Bello Mutawalle		N300 million



015	ACACIA Holding		N600 million
016	Bashir Yuguda	Former Minister of State Finance	N1.9 billion
017	Rashidi Ladoja	Former Governor Oyo State	N100 million
018	Olu Falae	Former Secretary FGN	N100 million
019	Tanko Yakasai	Former Presidential Adviser	N63 million

**Source: Adapted from Daily Trust, January, 17th 2016 and [ventureafrica.com](http://ventureafrica.com).[dasukigate-her](http://dasukigate-her.com).**

### **Governance Deficit, National Security and ENDSARS: The Nexus**

ENDSARS is the Nigerian version of the 2011 Arab Spring, a revolutionary pressure that swept through the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) involving states such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and others. The spur for the Arab Spring was governance deficit that rendered the lives of the citizens miserable.

ENDSARS is a reaction to years of inept, selfish and governance deficit by the ruling class that does not have any genuine thinking for the poor Nigerian masses. October 3, 2020 the Nigerian Youth arose in their numbers to protest bad governance anchoring on one of the paraphernalia of government - the police, with particular attention to the unit of police referred to as Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), noted for its notoriety in brutality, extortion, maiming, killing and framing up innocent and unsuspected citizens especially those they perceived do not have political connections that will come to their rescue.

The last straw that broke the camel's back on October 3, 2020, was the extra judicial action of the anti-people unit of the Nigerian police (SARS), bearing on trump-up charges against a young man they labelled as a 'yahoo boy' (a Nigerian Parlance to interpret fraudsters and deceitful businesses). The killing of the young man triggered a series of peaceful protests by Nigerian Youth in the major cities of Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Uyo, Calabar, Benin etc. The demands presented by the youth to the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, besides the disbandment of the SARS as a unit of Nigerian Police and a comprehensive reform of the Nigerian Police, was a direct message to the Nigerian government, on the reign of bad governance across all the sectors of the economy. The 23 point demands are listed to include (see Table 4).

**Table 4: Showing the 23 Demands by the protesting Youth on October 20, 2020 during ENDSARS Protest**

S/N	Items of the Demands	Authors' Comments /Remarks
1	End SARS, SWAT or any other such contraption.	This unit of police is notorious for extortion, extra-judicial killing and high handedness and as a result very unpopular and Nigerians want the FGN to scrap it.
2	Sack security chiefs and replace with more competent hands reflecting federal character by all means.	Nigerians wanted the sacking of the security chiefs of the Army, Air force Navy and police for inability to tackle in security yet their tenure was elongated by Mr. President. The security chiefs were later recommended by the Executive for ambassadorial appointments in 2021 notwithstanding their poor management of the security sector
3	Improve security by implementing existing white papers on police and security services reform.	Various reforms in the security sector have not been implemented
4	Full deregulation of oil and gas sector to allow more investments for job creation	The FGN has not fully deregulated the oil and gas sector such that will allow for more private interests investments
5	Immediate passage of PIB	For more than six years the Petroleum Industry Bill has been in the national legislature. The passage of the bill will signal more investments and the participation of the locales.
6	Full deregulation of power sector to allow investment capital flow to generate, transmit and distribute more power and create jobs.	The government has spent a lot of resources in the sector yet electricity in Nigeria is comatose
7	FGN should hands off petroleum pricing to enable free market determination of pricing	. the federal government unilaterally fixes the price of petroleum products using the Product Pricing and Regulatory Agency - PPRA instead of allowing the market forces
8	FGN should close all Northern borders to stop free entry of Fulani Herdsmen and bandits and FGN should reduce by 70% the customs check points in the Southern	The nation is awash with bandits and the attendant security challenges

9	FGN should allocate more funds to education sector to provide better teaching tools and pay better salaries to end ASUU strikes. All allocation hitherto for hajj or pilgrimage should be converted to education.	The Nigerian federal government has not placed any priority in education as it is investing far less than the 26% national budgets as recommended by the UN. Infrastructure in the sector is appalling; remuneration for workers in the sector is lower than any in the African continent. The staff of the sector are left with no option but frequent agitation for funding and welfare issues
10	Change our Academic curriculum to reflect modern day realities.	
11	All politicians should be placed on minimum wage to attract genuine public servants, no politician should earn double the amount of any civil servant, in both salaries and allowances.	Nigerian politicians learn far more than anywhere else in the world. Governors have illegally made for themselves mouth-watering pension schemes and other severance packages while workers work and retire without pensions and gratuity
12	INEC must immediately migrate to 100% electronic voting tied to our BVN, tax TIN number and GSM number. Anyone not paying tax must not vote.	If Nigeria is to have credible elections and have good governance there is a need for electronic voting
13	Return Nigeria to regional governance structure or restructure the country and embrace True federalism. States autonomy must be paramount.	Due to issues of governance deficit there is calls for restructuring of the country to remove excessive power from the federal government
14	Disband the Bi-cameral legislature and adopt unicameral. Federal government to have only Senate while states to have House of Representatives.	The federal legislature comprising of 109 senators and 360 members of the House of representative are currently taking more than 30 % of yearly budgets as emolument and constituency votes which are also cornered into private pockets
15	Immediately reform Nigeria Police Force and let every state or region create its own police service with the FGN protecting human and citizens' rights violation in every State.	There is the call for state police as the federal police has failed to protect Nigerians, however, that state police will not fair worse is yet to be seen
16	No more budget for running private affairs of elected and appointed public servants	There is the urgent need to separate private life from public office by public office holders

17	Enthroned tertiary education as minimum qualification for public office holders at all levels of government from president to local government and ward chairpersons.	
18	Strip ex-governors and all elected and appointed public servants of all benefits after office.	See S/N 11
19	Increase salaries of our doctors, nurses, teachers, police, military officers and civil servants to be at par with petroleum sector workers.	Remuneration for these category of workers in the country is to say the least paltry and do not meet with roles performed for society.
20	Government should hands off ownership and management of businesses at all levels, but must regulate the market strangulating the society against the market by tanning all firms of uneven price fixing or monopoly.	
21	Name and shame all looters and make criminal offenders and looters face trial in their home states and villages to shame them and their families.	Politicians and their friends who loot public treasury are often rewarded with more juicy positions both at local, state and federal governments
22	Stop foreign medical trips for public servants. Let them be treated here in Nigeria. When last did you hear American President or British Prime Minister visit Nigeria for medical tourism?	Nigerian leaders are perhaps synonymous with a cook that does not eat what s/he cooks. They undertake medical tourism abroad as a medical facilities have been bastardised by these inept leaders
23	Stop all embassies in Nigeria from collecting visa fees if they did not grant the visa.	

Source: Adapted from [www.vanguard.ngr.com](http://www.vanguard.ngr.com).



The 23 points demand of the Youth, apparently spoke the position of the entire Nigeria populace. These can be grouped under 9 basic sectors/headings with substantial influences on the socio-political and economic well-being of the Nigerian state: security, education, power generation and distribution, petroleum, economy, infrastructure, politics, employment and welfare. That Nigeria can come out of the woods, improve security and individual wellbeing of the state, is dependent on the efficient performance of the various listed sectors. It is worthy to note that the deterioration and non-performance of the various units of governance listed above is as a result of bad governance and it is only good governance, as discussed earlier, that can cancel out the negative effects of ill governance and subsequently, usher in both human and national security, as well as development.

Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA, 2020) rightly attributed the # ENDSARS # protests to long years of poor governance, marginalization, marginality, alienation, exclusion, corruption, poverty, lack of accountability, and the failure of the political class to live up to her constitutional responsibilities. The protests itself was a testimony and conviction of not just the Nigerian youths, but also those of the entire Nigerian populace and the international community, of the deteriorating capacity of the Nigerian state to deliver public goods (NPSA, 2020).

### **Concluding Remarks**

The paper interrogated the nexus between governance deficit, national security and development, leveraging on the # ENDSARS # protests. It was discovered among others that national security is challenged by governance deficit. NPSA (2020:1) captured the essence of the protests poignantly attributing it to long years of poor governance, marginalization, marginality, alienation, exclusion, corruption, poverty, lack of accountability, and the failure of the political class to live up to her constitutional responsibilities. The NPSA (2020) further appreciated the Nigerian problem when she observed that:

The incontrovertible truth is that governance deficits and reckless constitutional breaches have become glorifying norms which redispense the political class to act as paramount emperors who are totally disconnected from the governed. These inglorious practices pervade the various levels of governance architecture in Nigeria (NPSA, 2020:2).

Governance deficit pervades virtually all sectors of the Nigerian society including but not limited to the judiciary, legislature, education, politics, health, power, security and economy. It should be recalled that the 23-point demand to the Federal Government of Nigeria by the Nigerian Youth, before they could call off the nationwide ENDSARS protest is instructive of the diseased body of the Nigerian state. Attainment of national security and or development is dependent on the achievement of human security. Human security represents a paradigm shift from the state centric notion of national security to the security of individual members of the state. It is a situation where the citizens in a state have the enabling environment that allows them to pursue and achieve social, economic, and political aspirations, as individuals and as a community without inhibition (Udoms, 2016). Human security implies the tackling of income and human poverty such as unemployment, marginalization, political exclusion etc. It is by this way that political thuggery, violence, kidnapping, etc. can be arrested in the Nigerian society.

This is the first point to establish security. The social contract between the people and the state is primarily to protect the human person to give him the ambience to pursue his aspirations in life. Until this is done, national security and by extension, development, is a mirage.

Based on the findings of the paper, the following recommendations are proffered: There is need to institute in an urgent manner the culture of accountability and probity in all public affairs such that public officers are held accountable for their omissions and commissions.

The security apparatus of the state must be strengthened in both military hardware (equipment and other operational logistics as well as software (morale, attractive service conditions, insurance etc. This should also go with complete overhaul of the security system to fish out the corrupt and inefficient hands, just as appropriate sanctions must be applied to serve as deterrent to would-be erring personnel.

A meaningful and genuine war should be waged on corruption - war on corruption that should show no respect for ethnic, socio political and economic status, religious affiliations. Selective fight against corruption is no fight at all.

The government should improve on infrastructure - electricity, good roads, medical facilities, educational institutions etc. It has become imperative for public officials to be barred from undertaking medical tourism abroad. This is the only way government will pay attention to revamping the comatose medical and other infrastructures in Nigeria.

Government should make conscious efforts to improve on educational facilities in the country. Public officers such as presidents, governors, legislators, ministers and others must have their children school in the country. This can be achieved through legislation. Also the conditions of service of those working in the schools, from the kindergartens to the tertiary levels, should be made attractive to attract the best brains and to stop brain drain.

Capacities of state institutions and apparatuses should be strengthened in terms of needed facilities including political will and integrity, as well as independence to enable them to perform their assigned roles.

The salaries and other mouth-watering incentives of politicians must be reduced, pecks of office of the Nigerian politicians must be reduced to enable those with genuine interest in developing the nation to come into politics.

There is at the moment, so much disparity in the emolument of public officers in Nigeria. There is need to reduce the gap between those who work in the public service. For instance, the gap in salaries and other conditions of service of an accountant working in the federal ministry of education and one working in the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) is alarming.

Electoral reforms should be undertaken to pave way for complete electronic voting system in Nigeria to reduce undue manipulations and to pave way for free and fair election as a way of throwing up popular candidates and representatives of the people in governance.

There should be a genuine attitudinal reorientation and enlightenment of the masses such that the citizenry does not applaud and sing the praises of those who loot the national and state treasuries for personal gains. Corrupt officials should be punished adequately as prescribed by law, to serve as deterrent to others and to encourage the spirit of patriotism.

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