

The Interplay of Governance and Human Security Challenges: The Case of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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Abstract

The attainment of democracy on May 29th, 1999 as the beginning of the fourth Republic, was expected to usher in a new atmosphere of civility, tolerance and the flourishing of Democratic tenets and human security. Based on this reasons and expectations, and following from the perspective of the social contract theory, the study attempts to ascertain whether the Nigeria's 4th Republic could be seen as creating and achieving an atmosphere where human Security is prioritized and achieved with reference to conflict induced human security challenges (Herdsman-farmers conflicts) and non-violent human security challenges such as: food security / hunger and unemployment. Data was collected through content analysis and analysed using the scientific chi-square methodology. The study reveals that, Nigeria still lacks a robust understanding about security, which uphold the tenets of human security. Hence recommend reform systems that prioritize human security.

Keywords: *Governance, Human security, Social contract.*

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Background to the Study

The attainment of democracy in Nigeria, on the May 29th, 1999, was greeted with ecstasy, and the expectation that Nigeria has entered another phase of civil politics that will prioritize not only the dignity of man but uphold the basic /fundamental human rights of the citizens. This left Nigeria's with the illusion that the hitherto suffocated political landscape, severe human rights abuses, unlawful detention, coups and counter coups, corruption, dismantling of all civil cum democratic edifices – rule of law, transparency, accountability, the court, civil society, unions, etc has been replaced with a more human developmental and inclusive one, (Kukah 2007; Olanrewaju 2015 and Olaniyi 2015). Contrarily, the reverse has been the case as myriads of development, and security challenges have crippled the much hoped for democratic dividends. The Nigeria's 4th Republic has been riddled with myriad cases of corruption, underdevelopment and a very poor human security track.

The citizens continue to wallow in abject poverty, malnutrition, high cost of living and education, unsanitary environment, etc. while bearing the brunt of all manner of insecurity in the form of kidnapping, theft, arm-robbery, Boko Haram terrorism, herdsmen-farmers clash, etc. The government officials on their parts barricades and protect themselves, families, properties and few cronies with armed security. Nigeria has a track record of human insecurity as ethnic, religious, and physical threats ravages the nation. Such can be seen in the numerous agitations such as: the militancy in the Niger Delta, the emergence of the O'Odun People's congress (OPC), the movement for the actualization of the sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB), the Arewa People's Congress (APC), movement for the survival of Ogoni people, movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, etc. All these manifests in severe conflict among the various competing groups for scarce political and economic resources. All these conflicts have hampered the security, peace and stability of the country from the inception of the 4th Republic. Consequently, there is a connect between the raging state of instability and insecurity in the Nation and the failure of governance in Nigeria's 4th Republic. This is very glaring from the standpoint of the various surmounting government inadequacies in the areas of food challenges, unemployment, portable water, accessible health care, roads, qualitative education and other basic needs of the masses.

It is consequent upon this that this study surveys the extent to which human security challenges (Herdsmen-Farmers Clash) and non-conflict related human security challenges (Food insecurity and unemployment), have arisen as a result of these government inadequacies.

Statement of Problem

It is the basic duty of every government to protect the lives and property of its citizens, provide basic social amenities, and protect the territorial integrity of the nation against external aggression and the suppression of any internal insurrection. Despite all the huge amount expended on defence and security, the country still suffers from various issues of insecurity that do not only threaten the corporate existence of the Nigerian state, but make the citizens unsafe, living with fear as their lives and legitimate business is no longer guaranteed.

The 4th Republic, which was ushered on May 29th 1999, gave the Nigerian citizens a sigh of relief that they have entered a new political atmosphere better than the days of military junta. Many citizens saw the democratic 4th republic as a dawn of new era of hope, fairness, enhancing of citizen's welfare. But the disappointments came with the fourth republic accounting for many cases of political assassinations. Elements of insecurity have increased in number and sophistication. Never in the history of this country; since the civil war ended in 1970, have we witnessed the level of violence, threat to lives and property, assassinations, and intimidation that undermines the country's fleshing democracy.

Also, of great concern is the cases of kidnapping for economic reasons, and the bombings by Boko Haram initiated in 2002. Other issues, other than the above traditional security threats still loom high in the country. The issue of human security has taken the centre-stage in the thinking of international development experts and prioritized by international and regional development policy makers. Thus, according to Hough (2008), the concept of human security accommodates the consideration of wide range of threats to human being which poverty is undoubtedly the most significant. Other factors include: economic threats, social identity, environmental health, natural disasters, accidental threats, criminal threats etc. The researcher is bordered that government appears to be deficient as human security is more than just the protection of the state against external aggression, but include curbing internal insurrection, and addressing the issues of hunger, famine, robbery, rape, unemployment, religious crisis, kidnapping, environmental degradation among others.

Objective of the Study

The study is aimed at unravelling the human security delima in the Nigeria's 4th republic taking into consideration issues like; the Herdsmen – farmers clash, food security/hunger; unemployment etc. grouped into conflict related human security challenge (Herdsmen-farmers clash) and non-conflicts related human security challenges (food security/hunger, poverty, unemployment).

The study proceeds by taking into consideration the extent to which poor governance has affected the conflict related human security challenges (Herdsmen-farmers crises), and the non-conflict related human security challenges (Food security, unemployment) in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

Hypotheses

- H₀:** There is no significant difference between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.
- H₁:** There is significant difference between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

Conceptual Analysis

Security according to Ullman (1983), can be understood when we first diagnosed the threat to security thus:

An action or sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitant of a state or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to a government of a state or to private, non-governmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state (Ullman, in Hough: 2008)

In the words of Hough (2008), security is a human condition. To limit it to state bodies whose aim is to secure their state and people in a certain dimension, rather than the people whose security is at stake is both odd and nonsensical. According to Lippman, a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war, (Lippman, in Hough 2009). Mill (1975) on his part is of the view that, security is the most vital of all interest and that security of a person and property are the first need of the society: (in Oladele 2018). To Yenor, National Security is the ability of a nation to survive in conflict or even to win a war hinged not only on its military capabilities, but also on economic potentials for war and the level of social mobilization. To over emphasize one of these elements of national security while disregarding others may appear natural in the event of a brief crisis, but it could be disastrous in the long term, (Yenor, in Mon 2018). To Nnoli (2006), security demands military power sufficient enough to challenge and deter or extinguish any attack; but so many non-military elements are required to create a formidable military might. That the thinking about security should not be limited to the perspective of purely military tactics. National security is a cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation – state, together with the similar safety of their other most cherishable values which are freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. Therefore, security in this sense, can be measured by the absence of fear that threat, anxiety or danger will manifest. In other words, it is value associated with confidence in physical safety and other most cherished values. No matter the level of safety, unless there is confidence that such safety exists or will exist, there is no security.

Human Security:

Any event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening of life chances and undermines States, as the basic unit of the international system is a threat to international Security. So defined, there are six clusters of threats with which the world must be concerned now and in the decades ahead: Economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation Inter-State conflict Internal conflict, including civil wars, genocide and other large-scale atrocities Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons Terrorism, and, Transnational organized crime. (UNHLP Report, 2004: Synopsis, Part 2).

Following the above perspective, Edward (2006), saw human security as an emerging concept for understanding international security. Human security agenda is becoming increasingly important to the international community. Various institutions have flourished in response;

including the Africa Human Security Initiative, the Southern African Human Security Network, Latrobe Universities Institute for human security and social change. Human security means protecting fundamental freedom. Freedom that are essential in life. Human security can be seen in many places; however, one that is especially interesting is human rights. Human rights are inalienable and since the mid-20th century have become increasingly part of international agenda.

In the words of Appiagyei-Atua, Muhindo, Oyakhirome, Kabachwezi and Bando (2017), the idea of human security brings to the fore a new thinking to the security and human rights/ democracy and development discourse. It places emphasis on the sector as non-military. The threats posed to the individual in the human security framework include: disease, environmental problems, the violation of human rights and bad governance. The security of the state depends first on the individual and citizens security. Hence human security holds the key to ensuring national security. The definition of Appiagyei-Atuaetal, (2017) brings to limelight a robust thinking of human security. It also shows the nexus between human security and National Security. Thus, one can reason that there can be no National security without human security. This is so as human security issues like employment, poverty, health can affect National Security and are all gamut of National security.

Governance

According to Fukuyama, governance is the ability of government to make and enforce rules and to deliver services, irrespective of whether such a government is democratic or not. Therefore, governance has to do with the ability to exercise authority in providing services to the people in a given nation regardless of the form of government in operation. It also connotes the process of exercising political, economic and administrative authority, especially over a state, (Fukuyama, in Abioro and Daramola 2018). In the words of Kaufman (2005) the term governance refers to the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good, and entails the purposes for achieving three dimensions of functions. First: Electoral; This involves the procedures by which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced; the second is the economic dimension which is government's capacity to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies, and thirdly, is institutional dimension; Viewed from the perspective of respect for the citizens and the state for the country's institution, (Kaufman in Abioro and Daramola 2018)

Good governance involves, far more than the state power or the strength of political will. It can be seen as the attainment of legitimacy, accountability and effectiveness in obtaining and using public resources in the pursuit of widely-accepted social goals. According to Keping (2017) governance means exercising authority to maintain and meet the needs of the public within a certain range. The purpose of governance is to guide, steer and regulate citizen's activities through the power of different systems and relations so as to maximize the public interest. Governance is the process of political administration, including the normative foundation of political authority, approaches to dealing with political affairs and the management of public resources.

To Lane (2018), good governance has some critical attributes such as: Legality: government is exercised by means of laws, enforced ultimately by an independent judiciary. The constitution that guarantees certain rights for the citizens, as equality before the law Accountability: Governments can be held responsible for their actions and non-actions through various established procedures of criticism and complaint, enquiry and removal from office as well as redress. Representation: the people have a say in government through representative institutions. Bradley and Ewing 2010, asserted that good governance entails limited government, i.e a political regime that respects the rule of law – moreover, limited government in relation to civil society implies a state that operates under certain key rules, (Bradley and Ewing, in Lane 2018). Lane further stated that governance consist of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which government are selected, monitored and replaced: the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. (World Bank, in Lane 2018). Consequently, good governance remains a vital element in enhancing democracy, development, and guaranteeing human rights. Therefore, good governance will always prioritize human rights, development, human security etc.

Theoretical Analysis

The theoretical postulation, upon which this research is based, is the social contract theory, with proponents such as, Hobbes (1588-1679), Locke (1632-1704), Rosseau (1712-78), among others. According to Appadorai (1975), the tenets of the social contract theory emphasize that the state is the outcome of an agreement entered into by men who originally had no governmental organization. The history of the world is thus divisible into two clear epochs: the period before the state was established and the period after the state was established.

In the pre state era, there was no existing government, and no law to control the behavior of man. Men lived in a state of nature in which they were subject to such regulations as nature was supposed to prescribe. But there was no human authority in the form of government to formulate these rules precisely or to enforce them. However, after some time, they decide to set up a government. As a result, they parted away with some of their natural liberty to form a government and agreed to obey the laws prescribed by the government. The state therefore became a human creation, the result of a contract, (Appadorai 1975). Appadorai further posit that in the social contract, no man can make himself emperor or king; the people sets a man over it to the end that he may rule justly, giving to every man his own, aiding good men and coercing bad, in short that he may give justice to all men. If then he violates the agreement according to which he was chosen, disturbing and confounding the very things which he was meant to put in order, reason dictates that he absolves the people from their obedience; especially when he has himself first broken the faith which bound him and the people thereafter, (Appadorai 1975)

For Thomas Hobbes, in his book the Leviathan (1651) with his analysis of human nature: man is essentially selfish, he is moved to action not by his intellect or reason but his appetites, desires and passions. Men living without any common power set over them; i.e in a state of

nature, would be in “that condition of warre and such warre as is of every man, against every man, not war in the organized sense but a perpetual struggle of all against all, competition diffidence and love of glory being of the three main causes. Law and justice are absent, the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. For John Locke, in the state of nature men were free and equal: each life according to his own liking. This freedom, however is not license. There is a natural law or the law of reason which commands that no one shall impair the life, health, the freedom or the possessions of another. The state or political society is instituted to be a way of remedy for the inconveniences of the state of nature. To arrest, not to escape from a state of war. These inconveniences are three-fold;

1. **First** is the want of an established settled known law, received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right or wrong and the common measure to decide all controversies;
2. **Secondly** the want of a known and disinterested judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law:
3. **Thirdly**, the want of power to back and support the sentence when right and to give it due execution.

The state is created by Locke through the medium of a contract in which each individual agrees with every other to give up to the community the natural right of enforcing the law of reason, in order that life, liberty and property may be preserved. Locke unlike Hobbes gives the power to the community and not to a government. The community is supreme but its supreme power is latent. Its power does not come into play so long as the government is acting according to the trust reposed in it, but when it acts contrary to that trust, the power of the community manifests in its rights to replace that government by another. For Rosseau (1712-1778) the social contract is important in two respects: it inspired the French revolution of 1789 which was a revolt against French monarchy. It also supplied the basis of the theory of popular sovereignty. Man, according to Rosseau is essentially good and sympathetic, the state of nature is a period of idyllic happiness, men being free and equal soon, however with the introduction of private property and the growth of numbers, quarrels arise and man is compelled to give up his natural freedom. His problem is to find a form of association to gain protection of lives and acquired property of each associate and in virtue of which everyone while uniting himself to all remains as free as before. The problem is solved through a contract and the creation of civil society. In this contract, every one surrenders to the community (and not to the government as Hobbes) all his rights; the surrender as complete as in Hobbes. The community therefore becomes sovereign. Its sovereignty is as absolute as that of the government as in Hobbes.

These theories buttress the factors that necessitated the emergence and establishment of government. The government is to protect the lives and property of the citizens, while enhancing their welfare. This ethical reasoning of government is enshrined in the constitutions of many states. Thus the masses after electing their leaders are there to fully represent the people in areas of protecting their lives and properties, enhancing their welfares in areas of food, infrastructure (roads, electricity, social services, wealth, education, pension, housing etc.), for the wellbeing of the masses. Also issues like employment, poverty reduction,

the safety and the protection of human rights etc. which are all ingredients of human security, are all what the citizens deserve in return for giving some persons the power to govern them. The citizen should obey law, observe and respect national symbols, pay tax, be civil and act within the confine of the law, thus avoid engaging in any unlawful activities like robbery, rape, kidnapping, killing, murder, vandalization, etc. which are attributes of a lawless and failed society.

The utility of the theory to this study, brings to the fore the current situation in the country. Thus, the level of insecurity as evident in the serial killings from Boko Haram, herdsmen, arm-robbery, cultism, assassins and unknown bandits etc., are all forces truncating and destabilizing Nigerian fledgling democracy. Life in contemporary Nigeria has clearly shown the break in the social contract. We are experiencing a reversal to the life in the state of nature. Life in contemporary Nigeria is short, nasty, brutish, poor and solitary. Even military personnel and their installations are being attacked by armed bandits. All these is happening amidst high level of poverty, decayed health facilities, food insecurity, hunger, high cost of living when there is low income, poor salary, high unemployment rate. Hence a case of poor level of human security. The Nigeria state has seen its entire fabrics been wrecked by all manner of insecurities, threatening the corporate existence of the state, with many centripetal and centrifugal forces playing out as evidence in the IPOB, Odua, Arewa, Niger Delta, etc.

The study, which centers on the human security record in the fourth republic, shows the government's poor performance in that area (human security). Human security according to what Peter Hough 2008 termed as non-military threats to human security connote economic issues (famine, hunger, depression), social identity (violent discrimination, human rights) environmental (global warming, pollution, resources, war) health (diseases, displaced persons, urbanization, technology) natural threats (natural disasters (floods, windstorms, tornadoes, earthquake, Tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, poisonous gas) accidental threats (transport disaster, building collapse, industrial accidents, personal injury, business risk), etc the study focuses on non-conflict related human security challenges; unemployment, hunger and general insecurity emanating from the threat from herdsmen abounds that the idea of human security has not in any way been upheld by the Nigerian state.

Human Security Challenges in Nigeria's 4th Republic

The coming of the Fourth Republic, democratic governance on the May29th, 1999, breathe in a fresh air into the political landscape of the nation. Thus, the entire atmosphere was filled with a euphoria of hope, that the people of Nigeria will experience a new political culture and atmosphere of tolerance, the emergence of an egalitarian society of equity, fairness, justice, respect for human rights, rule of law, enhancement of the human wellbeing, etc. According to Uya:

For many people, May 29th, 1999 was regarded as the date of Nigerian second independence. The enthronement of democratic government at all levels on that date was expected to usher in a political culture based on justice, equity, sense of belonging, transparency and accountability in the conduct of the affairs of our nation. As of course expected there would be massive

improvement in the welfare and wellbeing of Nigerians marked by radical improvement in political, social and economic growth, health and educational services and infrastructures: a reversal of the poverty, corruption, indiscipline and moral decadence which appeared to have become the norm in our country, especially in the later decade of military rule (Uya 2005).

The above position by Uya, brings to the fore that democracy with its collaterals – good governance, rule of law and transparency, justice and equity, tolerance, inclusiveness, etc. became the “Answered Prayer” of the already bewildered Nigerian masses. The masses whom were formally under the unquestionable traumatized military rule, where their voice were suffocated, their lives militarized, civil society buried silently, the court muzzled and tied to the strings of silence, while military tribunals held sway with its concomitants abuse of human rights, extrajudicial killings, poor human security records, etc. hence the democratic wind that swept across the world like a crusade reached Nigeria on the 29th May, 1999, marked the beginning of the fourth republic. Thus before 29th May 1999, Nigerians faced degrading and unpalatable human conditions experienced by Nigerians in the colonial period, were human rights in terms of conditions of employment, political participation was relegated, while there was continuous abuse of human rights in colonial era, the coming of independence met with many trouble waters of regional crises, military coups, myriads of ethnic/religious crisis, human rights abuses in the military era that cares not for human security. Hence, the security of its citizens in the fourth republic was to be a priority to heal the wounds of the military era.

As pointed out by the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in 2006, the human security challenges of 21st century require the promotion of a broader definition of democracy that includes human right concerns, capacity for social and economic development, accountability, the building of consensus in settings of high diversity, improving electoral processes and promoting public involvement. Sources of insecurity lie in exclusion and lack of access to power and resources. The concept of human security emphasis the protection of people from grave threats to their lives, safety from harm and violent conflict and empowerment against such social threats as disease or crime. Democracy enables the protection of people through institutional safeguards, equality before the law and the advancement of human rights. Democracy practices links the empowerment of people to critical development outcomes such as education, health care and opportunity for livelihood.

Conflict-Related Human Security Challenges: Herdsmen-Farmers Clash

The issue of herdsmen conflict and saga, is a major area of concern for National and human security. The conflict is causing more death toll, displacement, food crisis and shortage, loss of livestock, crops leading to hunger and general food insecurity. According to Nwangwu and Enyiazu (2019), the importance of livestock rearing (both domestic and sedentary pastoralism) to economic sustainability and food security in West Africa is not to be disputed; it provide about 44% of the regions agricultural production and also boasts of 60 million heads of cattle 160 small ruminants and 400 million poultry. The issue of population growth and increasing commodity production have led to the expansion of agriculture by peasant

farmers and other investors on formally shared grazing lands. Contrary to the existential realities in the relationship between those land users in other jurisdictions outside Africa. Trans-human pastoralism in West Africa has become extremely conflictual and tension soaked (Nwangwu and Enyiazu (2019). The protracted clashes between herders and farmers in Nigeria have increased exponentially since 2015. Fatalities reached an annual average of more than 2,000 between 2011 and 2016, often exceeding the toll from Boko Haram insurgency. By the same token, Assessment Capabilities Project (2017) reports that about 2500 persons were killed nationwide in 2016 in various coordinated attacks on farming communities by armed herdsmen, while tens of thousands have been forcibly displaced with property, crops and livestock worth billions of naira destroyed, at great cost of local and state economies. These attacks are very profound in about 22 states of the federation drawn mainly from Southern Nigeria and the Middle belt. Middle belt been the most affected by these attacks mostly in 2016, where no fewer than 800 people were killed in Southern Kaduna and 1269 in Benue state, where at least 14 of the 23 local government areas including Agata were invaded, (Egbejule in Nwangwu and Enyiazu 2019).

The offensive by these herds militant is characterized by large-scale destruction of farm lands and properties, rape, robbery, abduction and internal population displacement of peasant farmers. The pastoralists are often found with pump action guns, cartridge dang guns, cartridge ammo, cutlasses, jack knives, sticks, torch lights, certificate of occupancy, assorted charms and hard drugs (Soriwei, Adebayo and Egwu in Nwangu and Enyiazu 2019). The increasing prevalence of unlicensed weapons has amplified the threats of human security. One of the popular attacks by the militant herdsmen occurred on 21 September, 2015 with the kidnapping of Chief Olu Falae, former finance minister and a chieftain of Afenefere (a pan Yoruba socio-cultural organization) by several herdsmen from his farmland in Ondo state. The economic effect of this is reflected in huge lost to Nigeria. The country lost about US \$13.7 billion in revenue annually as a result of the herder farmers clash in Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa and Plateau state. The federal government of Nigeria decried a loss of about US \$ 14billion annually to the conflicts in the country, (Adeyemo in Nwangwu and Enyiazu 2019). The Fulani herdsmen saga has instilled fears in the lives of many, loss of lives, properties and destruction of vast expanse of land leading to food insecurity and poor harvest. (Adeyemo and Nwangwu 2019).

The conflict had also disrupted economic activities, caused political instability and threatened the national unity in Nigeria, (Kasarchi 2016 in Abodunrin et al 2020). The federal government on its part has taken steps towards tackling the menace of herdsmen conflict to live up to expectation of securing the lives and properties of its populace. President Goodluck Jonathan inaugurated an inter-ministerial technical committee on grazing reserves, but the defeat of Goodluck Jonathan killed such initiative. The coming of President Buhari in May 2015 saw the Federal Ministry of agriculture and rural development to formulate a comprehensive livestock development plan, including measures to curb farmer header clashes. In August 2015, the ministry recommended short-medium and long-term strategies, including the development of grazing reserves and stock routes (international crisis group 2017 in Enyiazu and Nwangwu 2019). On January 25th, 2016, the President presented plan to the Nigeria Governors forum to

map grazing areas in all states as a temporary solution for cattle owners until they could be persuaded to embrace ranching (premium times, in Nwangwa and Eniyazu, 2019). But such a plan for grazing was opposed by the Southern Governors. The government has adopted the use of force approach in deploying the Nigerian Police, Security and civil defence corps and Army to rural areas. However, the lack of ability towards early warning system/mechanism, late response to distress calls most times the security and military force arrives the scene after the acts. This prompted president Buhari to order the Inspector General of Police, Ibrahim Idris to relocate to Benue State following the gruesome new year day attacks and killing of 73 persons in Lagos and Guma Local Government Areas up-Benue State by armed herdsmen's, (Channels Television, on 2018; Gesinde, (2018), in Nwangwu and Eniyazu, 2019). By the same token the military reluctantly deployed it still-birth Special Force Codenamed Exercise AgemKaptuma (Operation Cat Race) in February 2018 in affected communities in the middle Belt which already reported to self-protection and the formulation of ethnic Militia, (Ofewale and Appiah-Nyanekye 2018 in Nwangwu and Eniyazu, 2019). Many Non-Government Organization and International Development Partners have been active in raising voice and concern, over the clashes between these land users. the British Council, the United State Agency for International Development (USAID), The German Embassy, Nigerian Reconciliation and Stability Project (NRSP), Interfaith Mediation Centre (IME), mercy crops centre for Humanitarian Dialogue etc. all focusing on post – Conflict reconciliation and peace building, improving early warning system and strengthening relationship between communities, (Eniyazu and in Nwangwu 2019). Despite this, the pogrom resulting from Herdsmen-farmers clashes, still looms high and threatening the peaceful coexistence of the masses, mostly in states like: Benue, where the masses now resort to self-help.

Non-conflict related human security challenges: Unemployment

One major area of human security challenge in Nigeria is that of unemployment. Just like poverty, the challenge posed by unemployment in Nigeria remains a daunting task to curb and overcome. The phenomena of unemployment have unleashed several threatening issues like: poverty, crime, terrorism, arm robbery, cultism, population growth from early pregnancy etc. According to Adegoke (2015), unemployment remains a global issue, whereby eligible workforce of the state is deprived of the opportunity to work in the service of the country. It causes social unrest and acts as a harbinger of the spate of crimes, perennial youth unrest and unstable socio-economic structure that plagues several states. According to O'neil (2021) in 2020, the estimated youth unemployment rate in Nigeria was at almost 14.2 percent, as shown by data retrieved from International Labour Organization, an agency of the United Nations developing policies to set labour standards. Youth unemployment rate are often higher than overall unemployment rates which is applicable in Nigeria as well: the general rate of unemployment was approximately six percent in 2018. One reason for this contrast is that many of the youth under age 24 are studying full-time and are unavailable for work due to this. In the same vain, the views of Adebimpe et al (2021), shows the impact of Covid-19 pandemic on the rate of youth unemployment in Nigeria. Their study relies on the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and other published documents. The research shows that the Nigeria's unemployment rate stood at 30.1 percent in the fourth quarter of 2020. The study further reveals that the unemployment rate among young people from age bracket of 15-34 is 30.1% up

from 26.7%. The study also finds out that 64% of the considerable increased in flows from employment into unemployment were due to Covid-19 shut down measures. It has been also established in the study that as at the fourth quarters of 2020 that the youth unemployment was 30.1% indicating that about 22,764,614 Million Nigerian youths remain unemployed.

In the same vein Emmanuel, Magayi and Ishaku (2017), opine that unemployment is generally agreed to be one of the macro economic ills plaguing the Nigerian state. As one of the musts debilitating developmental quagmire in both urban and rural Nigeria. Unemployment comes into two ways: Voluntary – a situation whereby individuals have some work but because of they have other means of livelihood, they refuse to take up employment. On the other hand, involuntary unemployment refers to situation whereby some persons are willing to work at the prevailing rate of pay but unable to find work (Anyanwu 1995 in Emeka et al 2017). Adegoke lamented on the unemployment rate in the country, thus: the speedy increase in the country's unemployment rate has become a source of disturbance. Several school leavers and employable adults are either finding it difficult to secure employment or are laid off work for one reason or the other. It is no longer about going to school and graduating or learning a trade, but about how to face the reality of graduating and joining brigade of the unemployed with little hope of what the future holds. The unemployment situation is not without adverse effects such as: increasing violent crimes, kidnapping, restiveness and political instability, (Adegoke, 2015).

As pointed out by Oguonu (2005), Nigeria is classified as one of the countries in Africa with high suffering indices. Such indices to authenticate this claim, include: illiteracy, access to clean water and number of poor people below the poverty line as a measure to rate poverty. Nigeria ranks below other sub Saharan African countries like Kenya, and Zambia on the poverty scale. Poverty is one of the developmental challenges plaguing Nigerians. The problems associated with poverty includes: Environmental degradation and health problems, inadequate health facilities, poor educational facilities and inadequate welfare systems for the people. Poverty can be seen as a major impediment to sustainable development, environmental development (Oguonu, 2005). The problems of the poor include: Suffering from nutrition which makes him vulnerable to diseases. He is in most cases an illiterate and he is either unemployed or underemployed. Though he cannot provide for his children and wife yet he gives birth to many children, hereby spreading and multiplying misery to many people. With such a situation, most human prefers to die than facing such life of misery and indignity (Ajadike, 2001 in Oguonu 2005). In the same wavelength the United Nations Development Report of 1998 sees poverty as the denial of choice and opportunity mostly fundamental to human development. Thus, opportunities such as: living a tolerable life materially, politically, socially, culturally and psychologically. It further connotes the lack of ability to make choices and use available opportunities purposefully (UNDP, in Eko, Utting and Lawrence 2013). Poverty causes include: Lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities of life – food, shelter, clothing and acceptable levels of education; sense of noiselessness and powerlessness in the institution of state or society, vulnerability to adverse shocks, likened to an inability to cope with them, (World Bank, in Oguonu 2005). The National Bureau of statistics (1996) socio-economic profile of Nigeria was definite in categorizing the causes of poverty in Nigeria

into the access to assets such as: employment opportunities for the poor, land and capital by the poor; Markets for the goods and services and that the poor can't sell; education, health, sanitation and water services: the destruction of the National resources endowments, which has led to reduced productivity in agriculture, forestry and fisheries; inadequate access to assistance by those who are the victims of transitory poverty such as drought, floods, pests and war: and inadequate involvement of the poor in the design of development programmes (National Bureau of Statistics, in Eko et al 2013).

Food Insecurity

The fledging, nascent and traumatized democratic space of the Nigerian polity, cannot thrive in an atmosphere cobwebbed by chronic hunger arising from food insecurity. Thus, the citizens of the country need adequate means of sustainability in terms of food, shelter, safety, etc to enable them carry out their daily endeavors. Hunger arising from either poverty, unemployment, war, disaster is a terrible societal deformity that breeds human hopelessness and indignity, social vices, such as arm robbery, prostitution, petty theft, etc.

Another area to examine human security in the Nigerian polity, is that of “food insecurity”. According to the Food Security Alert Publication of August 12, 2020, as a result of the hike in food prices, with the challenges of reduced access to income given the Covid-19 movement restrictions, poor households are facing increased difficulty meeting their basic needs. Furthermore, farmers ability to engage in planting for the agricultural season was constraint due to movement restrictions and contractions in household's income. While reduced households ability to purchase agricultural inputs such as: a below average main season harvest is expected, overall, 6 to 7 million people will require humanitarian food assistance in Nigeria during June to September lean season and while food security will improve between October and December with the harvest, needs are expected to remain higher than normal. In the same vein Ayinde, Otegunrin, Akinbode and Otegunrin (2020), opine that the world data lab of May 6, 2020 published a report indicating Nigeria having a population of 205,323,520 and has 102,407,327 people living under extreme poverty condition (50% of the total population). Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa and ranked number 7 globally with an estimated growth rate of 2.43 percent per annum and a high dependency ratio of 88 percent. According to worldometer, Nigeria's population is equivalent to 2.64% of the total world population and it is projected to reach 401 million by 2050, (NPC/NBC, 2018; Otegunrin et al 2019 a; world meter, 2020; World Data Lab 2020 in Ayinde et al 2020). In 2014 Nigeria was ranked as the 10th largest crude oil producer in the world, achieved a status of a middle-income country. Despite Nigeria oil wealth, 50% of Nigerians total population lives in extreme poverty within property threshold of \$1.90 per day (world data lab 6 may, 2020 in Ayinde et al 2020). Food insecurity in Nigeria is currently at alarming rate calling for urgent and immediate intervention. Nigeria's ranking in terms of Global food security index (GFSI) has continued to skyrocket since 2013 (ranked 86 among 107 countries with 33/100 score) and reached a nauseating and unpalatable rank of 94 (with 48.4/100 score) among 113 countries behind Ethiopia, Niger and Cameroon in 2019 GFSI overall ranking table (the closer to 100 score the better). As of 6 May. 2020, 102.4 million Nigerian's live in extreme poverty implying that an additional 15.5 million Nigerians have plunged into poverty in 24 months (world data lab,

2018; in Ayinde et al 2020). The precarious state of acute food insecurity in Nigeria is occasioned by chronic and hidden hunger, extreme poverty, corruption, conflict events (insurgency in the North East) and unfavorable climate change. In the 2019 Global Hunger index (GHI) score, Nigeria has a GHI score of 27.9, which falls in the serious category. These data is a factual illustration that Nigeria, (through this indicators) is not yet on track in attaining the SDGs target of ending all forms of hunger, achieved Food Security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture by 2030.

Population of undernourished plummets from 9.3% in 2000 of 13.4% while a slight decrease was recorded in stunting from 39.7% in 2000 to 37% in 2019, (Von Grember et al, in Ayinde et al 2020). Chronic and seasonal food insecurity persist in every part of Nigeria, escalated by frequent high food prices, impact of conflict related to insurgency (especially in the North East), armed banditry, communal, pastoralist/farmer crisis, kidnapping, cattle rustling and climate change, (FEWS NET, 2020 in Ayinde, et al 2020). The government of Nigeria has done their best in tackling these myriads of nauseating issues. However, the Nigerian government in its bid to tackle the challenges of insecurity in food has set up many policies (National policy on food and nutrition (NPFN in 2002); Agricultural transformation agenda (ATA); social safety Net programs in 2016, under the auspices of the national social investment program; National cash transfer program (NCTP) in 2016; the National Home Grown School Feeding (NHGSF); the N-Power Program; the Government Enterprise and Empowerment Program etc. All worth billions of naira disbursed to traders, youths etc. however the policies still suffered from the challenge of monitoring and effective implementation. (Ayinde et al, 2020).

Methodology and Analysis

Research design

This is concern with the systematic study of the method that has been applied, the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie this study.

Area of Study

The area of study is the Nigeria's 4th Republic. This period spans from May 29th, 1999 to date, covering the various administrative tenures within the stated period.

Method/Source of data collection

Data for the research were collected through content analysis of available relevant literature and scholarly contributions on the insecurity situation in Nigeria, ranging from Boko Haram, Herds-Men, and other forms of crises, arising from conferences, discussants, and publications on these crises.

Method of data analysis

The content analysis design was adopted in this research. Content analysis as a methodology in the social sciences is a type of secondary data analysis that is used to analyse text, including newspapers, books, journals, manuscripts, and web sites to determine the frequency of specific ideas (Krippendorff, 1980). Here, it is used to analyse the place of governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

However, the content analysis as used here was supported with the chi-square method in order to scientifically test the weighted scale result. The aim is to ensure the deductions of generalizations that provide the basis for making tested postulations.

Testing of hypotheses

The hypothesis upon which this work is based is cast in the null form:

Hypotheses

H_0 : There is no significant difference between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

H_1 : There is significant difference between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

In the above hypothesis, “human security challenges” is the dependent variable, while “governance” is the independent variable. This relates to the indicators of bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

Where available data show that bad governance is not significant in the human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic, the alternate hypothesis will be accepted and null hypothesis will be rejected. While the null hypothesis will be accepted, and the alternate hypothesis rejected where the available data show that bad governance is significant in the human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

Available data from the surveyed literature indicate as follows:

Herdsmen/Farmers Clash = $H_0 = 17$ $H_1 = 2$ ----- Total = 19	Non-Conflict Related Challenges = $H_0 = 14$ $H_1 = 3$ ----- 17
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After using the content analysis in the presentation of data as could be seen above, the chi-square method of data analysis shall be adopted to scientifically test the weighted scale.

Table 1: Chi-square analysis of the relationship between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic.

Articles	Alternate Hypotheses (Hi)	Null Hypotheses (Ho)	Total
Herdsmen / Farmers Clash	17	2	19
Non-Conflict Challenges	14	3	17
Total	31	5	36

Table 2.

Of	Ef	Of - Ef	(Of-Ef)	$\frac{(Of - Ef)^2}{Ef}$
17	16.36	0.64	0.41	0.03
2	2.64	-0.64	0.41	0.16
14	14.64	-0.64	0.41	0.03
3	2.36	0.36	0.13	0.06

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(Of-Ef)^2}{Ef} = 0.28$$

Chi-square formula = $X^2 = \sum \frac{(Of-Ef)^2}{Ef}$ and 0.05 as critical value

Where \sum = Summation

Of = Observed frequency

Ef = Expected frequency

Degree of freedom (df) = (N-1) (C-1) where N = number of categories, and C = number of columns. From table 3 therefore:

Table 3.

$$\begin{aligned} (1) \quad A &= \frac{19 \times 31}{36} = 16.36 & B &= \frac{19 \times 5}{36} = 2.64 \\ (2) \quad A &= \frac{17 \times 31}{36} = 14.64 & B &= \frac{17 \times 5}{36} = 2.36 \end{aligned}$$

Degree of freedom (df) = (N - 1))C - 1) = (2 - 1) (2 - 1) = 1 x 1 = 1

Critical table value = 0.05

Computed X^2 value = 0.28

Using X^2 table, df = 1 under 0.05 = 3.84

Therefore, since the computed X^2 value of 0.28 is less than the critical table value at 0.05 of 3.84, the alternate hypothesis (H_i) which states that there is significant difference between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic is rejected, while the null hypothesis (H_o) which states that there is no significant difference between bad governance and human security challenges in the Nigeria's 4th Republic is hereby accepted and upheld.

A critical analysis of the above discourse clearly reveals the following findings:

From the above analysis, it could be seen that the 4th Republic ran into many troubled waters of ethnic, religious, resource conflicts, terrorism, Herdsmen clash with farmers, among other

forms of severe human insecurity issues following the inadequacies of governance. The attack against innocent civilians by bandits, herdsmen and Boko Haram is a show of human insecurity and lack of government control. The politicians have barricade themselves with formidable security apparatus to protect their houses, offices, family members, etc while the bewildered masses are left to fend for themselves and face the wrath of bandits, herdsmen, terrorist and other criminal elements.

According to Appiagyei-Atua et al (2017), the beginning of democracy in Nigeria came with the upsurge of security threats and in the bid of the federal government of Nigeria to tackle this threat using the Nigerian Military and other security forces, they ended up abusing the rights of innocent citizens. The Boko Haram case is a classic example where the government's establishment of the numerous joint task forces (JTFS) comprising the police intelligence personnel, the air force, the state security service and the navy, but mostly the Nigeria Army (Odomoro 2014: 49). The joint task force have been brutal in their bid to restore order and advance state security, prompting the amnesty international (2016: 6), to report that, the vast majority of arrests carried out by the military appeared to be entirely arbitrary often based solely on the dubious word of a "paid informant". These arrests usually were made during search missions by the JTF or at the aftermath of a recaptured Boko Haram territory. Any one not readily identified as a member of the recaptured territory was marked as a 'suspect' and taken into military custody until further notice. (Amnesty international 2015: 40-41 in Appiagyei et al 2012). Between January 2012 and July 2013, the military in the name of state security, arrested 4500 civilians whom they considered suspects (Amnesty International 2015: 75 in Appiagyei et al 2012). By 2015. It has been documented that since 2011, the JTFs and CJTF had arrested at least 20,000 people, (Amnesty International in Appiagyei et al). However no proper record exists of the exact number of detainees including boys between the ages of five and six (Amnesty International in Appiagyei et al). Arbitrary arrest, detention, death and ill treatment simply were seen as acts of 'sacrifice and contribution towards the return of peace to our country', (International centre for investigative reporting 2016 in Appiagyei et al 2017). The Nigerian Army is equally responsible for numerous other serious atrocities including the gruesome acts of extra-judicial killings, (Amnesty International in Appiagyei-atua et al, 2017). A number of panels immediately were set up to investigate the incidents. These include; the Nigerian Senate, the National Human Rights Commission and the Kaduna State Judicial Commission which held that there appeared to be a disproportionate use of force by the Nigerian Army (NA) to deal with the situation, hence the Nigerian Army used excessive force, yet to date no member of the Nigeria Army has been held responsible for such inhumane acts, (Appiagyei-atua et al 2017).

Following the affirmation by IDEA, the Nigerian situations is not in any way fit in the thinking of a country that appreciates and extol the tenet of human security, mostly in the form of the resultant effects of the many conflicts that ravage the country, while other non-conflict human security challenges looms. High issues of poverty, malnutrition unemployment, deteriorating health conditions coupled with inadequate health facilities, environmental degradation etc. creates an atmosphere of poor human security.

From the above, one would decipher that the Nigeria 4th Republic ran into boiling troubled waters of internecine and protracted conflicts of various kinds. These conflicts discussed in scholarly epistles, have not only threatened the corporate existence of the Nigerian state, but produced severe and catastrophic human security challenges in the form of displacement, refugees, exposure to wild animals and unfavorable atmospheric weather conditions, hunger, malnutrition, exposure to sexual harassment like the females in the case of terrorism, internally displaced who suffer from unsanitary hygiene. The non-conflict related human security issues- unemployment breeds in poverty, crimes-prostitution, alcoholism, misery, hunger, engagements in petty thieving, armed robbery, terrorism, among many other vices which in turn becomes national security issues, all, as a result of the appalling failure in the act of governance.

Conclusion

The intent of this work was to unravel the human security dilemma in the Nigeria's 4th republic with emphases on both conflict and non-conflict related issues. The study proceeded by taking into consideration the extent to which poor governance has affected these crises in the Nigeria's 4th Republic. The study met with some intriguing issues like the militarization of the Nigerian State from the Colonial days to the post-independence era, which was ridden with coups and counter coups, abuse of human rights, corruption, destabilization of democratic and civil institutions including the constitution. Thus, most of the events in the democratic 4th Republic are semblance of the Military era. There is the affirmation that the 4th Republic has seen many trouble waters and smacked with conflict, violence, death, and underdevelopment even more than that experienced in the military era. Hence there is the ghost of military and brute force approach in the understanding of security in the country as evident in the Niger Delta case, many of the massacres in Ogoni, Akassa, etc. Hence the need for a security reform that will overhaul the entire system. Also, there is a reversal of the contemporary Nigerian state to life experienced in the state of Nature as postulated by Thomas Hobbes, thus life is nasty, brutish, and short, as all citizens of the country live in fear.

The study proposed that, there should be a sincere answer to the leadership questions. The gamut of all the disturbances in the country, hinge on leadership beginning from the presidency, federal and state law makers, governors, Ministers, Commissioners, Chairmen, counselors. Their thinking from the experience is still in the part of primitive accumulation of wealth, mostly as the country is a rentier state depending on oil, the country needs visionary, sincere proactive and competent leadership that will see politics and governance from the point of view that prioritize the welfare of the masses in a manner that shows accountability, transparency, development, devoid, ethnic, religious and class sentiment and prejudice the crew of all these challenges hinge on poverty, inequality, religious sentiment, superiority of some group over the others.

Recommendations

The study recommends a change in the thinking, ideology and approach in governance, politics and security, among others. Thus, Nigeria needs a leadership that is visionary, competent, proactive in all the dealings – economical, political, environmental, and basically

in national/human security. The idea of viewing security from the narrowed perspective of merely the protection of the territorial integrity of the state against external aggression, and the protection of the lives, properties and families of the political office holders remains a bane to National security, development, and peaceful coexistence of the Nigerian state. That the current happenings in the country, such as the many ethnic, religious, communal and resource war has an undertone of human needs, feelings and dignity at stake. This is so as the problem of identity, marginalization and inequality in the distribution of national bounties – employment, appointment, project implementation, etc remains lopsided and to the advantage of the very few.

The study also recommends, the need for the development and motivation of security forces in a way that their needs are met. Thus, financially in the form of pay, incentives, logistical support in terms of weaponing, ammunitions and overall welfare. Also, the issue of corruption which negatively affects national growth in areas of food security, employment, health, and infrastructure should be drastically checkmated. The country should be sincere in the fight against corruption, sincere in the positioning of progress in a way that captures federal character principles, equity, fairness and justice. The government has put in place many social safety programmes like the school feeding, N-Power, etc. but there should be sincerity and honesty that captures national interest rather than in a selective manner. Most of these programmes should benefit the entire youths and not based merely on party lines.

Democracy cannot survive in any society, nation or state where the citizens are not secured and given the assurance of adequate means of sustainability particularly in areas of – food, shelter, good health system, accommodation and hygienic environment, employment, etc. Hence, any quest to consolidate democracy and a stable political atmosphere must be effective and fair in not just meeting but providing means of sustainability to the citizens. Thus, democracy does not just start and end with the conduct of elections that are not even free and fair as such elections are most often smacked with rigging, violence, thuggery, kidnapping of opponents, among others. Our democracy must prioritize development, national growth, and human security.

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