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Sous la direction du :
Pr Elisabeth A. GNANSOUNOU FOURN



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- Communication et Information,
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La Revue Internationale de Recherche en Communication, Education et Développement (RIRCED), publiée par l'Institut Universitaire Panafricain (IUP), est une revue ouverte aux Enseignants-Chercheurs et Chercheurs des universités, instituts, centres universitaires et grandes écoles.

L'objectif visé par la publication de cette revue dont nous sommes à la onzième publication est de permettre aux collègues Enseignants-Chercheurs et Chercheurs de disposer d'une tribune pour faire connaître leurs travaux de recherche. Cette édition a connu une modification en générale et en particulier au niveau du comité de rédaction où le Professeur Titulaire Elisabeth A. GNANSOUNOU épouse FOURN, devient le Directeur de Publication, le Dr (MC) Innocent C. DATONDJI reste le Rédacteur en Chef et le volume de la revue passe au numéro 2.

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Pr Elisabeth A. FOURN GNANSOUNOU

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NATION BUILDING AND THE CHALLENGES OF SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Nation- building, security and national development are inextricably linked. Failure to mid-wife any of these concepts will jeopardize traction aimed at achieving national development. Findings revealed that Nigeria's quest for nation building has been impeded by the centrifugal forces of Political, Economic, and Food and Health insecurity. These elements have made the task of nation building a mirage in Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that the paper examines Nation building and the challenges of security and national development in Nigeria. Nations are built by men and women who have the will and vision to accomplish greatness, not for themselves only, their immediate families and friends, but for their country. This paper recommends some

fundamental strategies for addressing the challenges to security, governance and development in Nigeria.

Keywords: Nation building, Governance, Development, Political Insecurity

RESUME

L'édification de la nation, la sécurité et le développement national sont inextricablement liés. L'absence de sage-femme dans l'un de ces concepts mettra en péril la traction visant à réaliser le développement national. Les résultats ont révélé que la quête du Nigéria pour l'édification d'une nation a été entravée par les forces centrifuges de l'insécurité politique, économique, alimentaire et sanitaire. Ces éléments ont fait de la tâche de construire une nation un mirage au Nigeria. C'est dans ce contexte que le document examine la construction de la nation et les défis de la sécurité et du développement national au Nigeria. Les nations sont bâties par des hommes et des femmes qui ont la volonté et la vision d'accomplir la grandeur, non seulement pour eux-mêmes, leur famille immédiate et leurs amis, mais pour leur pays. Ce document recommande quelques stratégies

fondamentales pour relever les défis de la sécurité, de la gouvernance et du développement au Nigeria.

Mots clés : Construction de la nation, Gouvernance, Développement, Insécurité politique

INTRODUCTION

The nature of politics in Nigeria is largely determined by the nature of the society, especially the values which govern behaviour in the public realm (Osaghae, 1998). Dudley, in his book; "An introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics", linked the premium placed on wealth and status and the need to guard against personal and collective future insecurity, as well as the state of belonging to the sub-national community defined in terms of the moral obligations of the individual to the sustenance of his kith and kin to explaining the prevalence and ambivalence of ethnicity, political intolerance, favoritism, nepotism, leadership problem and corruption in Nigeria's political life (Dudley, 1973)

One can argue from the foregoing, that the major problems that are likely to face a country like Nigeria are:

maintenance of law and order, creation of national sentiment, provision of infrastructure so that the country may develop and the encouragement and control of social change through education and welfare services. The task is difficult because the country is extensive and its people are diverse. As a result, national building becomes sacrosanct. The leaders of Nigeria are still searching for viable process of fostering social harmony and economic development in the country, the success of Nigeria depends largely on how well it could be achieved. There is a strong link among challenges of security, governance and development toward the nation building effort in Nigeria, which are core to the evaluations in this paper, being indices of nation building in a developing nation like Nigeria. Essentially, there cannot be development without security, just as security itself can be achieved only through development which in turn rests on governance. In fact, the slow pace of development in Nigeria, engendered by poor governance, largely undermines security in the country (Adewole, 2010, Ndoro, 2012).

It must be stressed here that human security evolved as a military parlance to describe issues bothering on protecting and empowering people, either individually or communally (Adewole, 2010). Against this background, it is commonly conceived narrowly as freedom from violence or conflict. However, over the years, the concept of human security has developed such that it now includes several aspects of human life (Soundron, 2010). It then became broadly constructed as referring to freedom from physical violence, hunger, diseases, poverty, illiteracy, environmental degradation and pollution, etc. This broader and contemporary view of security is, of course, tied to the complex challenges of governance and development. Thus, security issues that confront Nigeria are basically threats to the fundamental human rights of the people, especially rights to security, life, etc. However, the notable dominant security concern today in Nigeria seems to be the need to provide security for the state, especially to the advantage of the leaders, against the challenges of the security concerns of the citizens of the country which is counter nation building.

1. NATION-BUILDING

The process of nation-building refers to the creation of a nation, or a socially constructed or “imagined community,” that seeks to be politically sovereign (Wimmer, 2018). Mylonas (2012) clearly stated that Legitimate authority in modern nation- states is about the majority rule and nation-building is the process through which these majorities are constructed. Nation builders are those members of a state who take the initiative to develop the national community through government programs, including military conscription and national content mass schooling (Darden and Grzymala- Busse, 2006). Nation-building can involve the use of propaganda or major infrastructure development to foster social harmony and economic growth. According to Wimmer (2018), three factors tend to determine the success of nation-building over the long-run: "the early development of civil-society organisations, the rise of a state capable of providing public goods evenly across a territory, and the emergence of a shared medium of communication

Nation building is constructing or structuring a national identity using the power of the state (Deutsch and

Williams, 1966). Nation-building aims at the unification of the people within the state so that it remains politically stable and viable in the long run. Nation-building can involve the use of propaganda, value re-orientation, or major infrastructure development to foster social harmony and economic growth (Wimmer, 2018).

2. GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

Fundamentally, governance is about power, relationships, and processes of representation and accountability – about who has influence, who decides, and how decision-makers are held responsible and accountable. It is not the same as government; rather, it focuses attention on a much wider range of stakeholders, and their relationships and networks including government, private sector and non-governmental organisations. Governance is also all about the society's effort to arrange itself in the best interest of the members of such society it could not be taken in isolation but it must locate itself within a conglomeration or amidst a group of individuals looking for a common objective. Therefore,

for any society to be developed democratically, it must take a viable system of governance into consideration.

In the evaluation of good governance, what are of paramount importance are the elimination of maladministration and mal-governance and the establishment of good governance through democratic processes as well as the rule of law so that citizens of a particular nation-state will enjoy the resources that belong to them as their rights beckon. Scholars have noted that good governance is epitomized by predictable, open, and enlighten policy making, fostering strong, but sharply delimited states, capable of sustained economic and social development and institutional growth (Natufe 2006)

The effect of good governance from the above descriptions should be felt in all areas of human exercises, be it political, economic or social, among others. In various political discourses, it is equated to political convenience; good governance is ensuring a better today and a brighter future for all the citizens see (Ebijuwa 2010, Ikenna (2011: 20)). It is important to note the fact that governance is wider than government, although,

government is the most powerful element of any system of governance. So, good governance involves ensuring the responsibility and accountability of various stakeholders like the government, civil societies and those in the corporate sectors. This means governance is no longer simply equated with civil service reform or with the application of management strategies devised in the private sector to public organisations. Instead now, there is a greater emphasis on participation, decentralization, accountability, and governmental responsiveness, and even broader concerns such as those of social equality and justice with the people being the focus in terms of participation.

These essentials of good governance are needed to effect a change in a developmental society. Good governance depends on the extent to which a government is seen and accepted as legitimately committed to improving the welfare of its citizens, exhibiting competence to ensure law and order, capable of delivering public services, and able to create an enabling policy for productive activities. It is also measured by the extent to which a government is equitable in its conduct and

dealings with citizens, especially with consideration for the totality of their security concerns.

3. THE CHALLENGES OF SECURITY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA.

Although, security issues are of global concern, the peculiar Nigerian experiences of the threats/challenges are notable with respect to the core components of human existence, thereby resulting in the following forms of insecurity: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political respectively.

3.1. Economic Insecurity:

One of the topics that raises most heated debates in Nigeria in particular and Africa at large is on the African continent is undoubtedly its economic situation. For a country to be economically secure, her citizens have to be able to earn sufficient money to feed their families. Sources of funds in a given country may include

remunerative works, productive works and governmental funds. One of the most fundamental instruments to measure the economic security of a country is the Gross Domestic Product (GDP per capita). In non-economical terms, it refers to the amount of money a family can have to survive.

In Nigeria, there is unequal distribution of wealth. What is depicted is a situation where the country faces great economic hardship. Poverty remains a factor that seriously has a very negative impact on investment resulting in a continuous fall in income to index economic insecurity. Consequently, people are basically deprived of food, education, healthcare and conducive social environment, which are factors considered essential and vital for the survival and development of the Nigerian people, and in fact, of every community. Unfortunately, the economic situation amounts to an unparalleled gap between the rich and the poor within the nation, culminating in economic insecurity. The country's resources are being largely mismanaged by the leaders and such poor governance undermines development in the country.

3.2. Food Insecurity

Food insecurity encompasses two broad aspects, namely, the unavailability of food and the lack of capacity to buy the food. In Nigeria, the global problem of food security takes another dimension in terms of its severity and the proportion of the population affected. Food security in the nation has worsened since the 70s and the proportion of the malnourished population has been on the increase. The various factors that led to the problem of food insecurity in the country include the underdeveloped agricultural sector, barriers to market access, the effect of globalization, diseases, infection and paralyzing policies which are associated with the governance approaches of the leaders.

So, also is the menacing negative implications of armed Fulani- herders and farmers' clash on the diversification of the Nigerian economy from petroleum to agriculture. In order to achieve food security. The infractions between the Fulani- herders and farmers has stifled the prospects of human development and food production in Nigeria.

3.3. Health Insecurity

The aim of health security is to provide for the minimum protection and prevention against diseases and safeguard unhealthy lifestyle. One of the health problems that Nigeria faces is low food availability and deeply rooted poverty has caused the number of undernourished people on the nation to rise considerably in recent years.

Another serious health challenge facing Nigeria is HIV/AIDS. A good number of people are plagued with HIV/AIDs in Nigeria. This means that the dramatic consequences of the AIDS epidemic on the Nigerian society is likely to be felt most strongly in the next ten years and beyond. Its social and economic consequences are already widely felt, not only in the health sector but also in education, industry, agriculture, transport, human resources and the economy in general. A more recent challenge in the country was the Ebola virus epidemic broke out in the country and claimed the lives of many Nigerians, including healthcare givers. This resulted from government's inability to put up a proper health control

for immigrants, which exposes the country to healthy insecurity.

The worrisome outcome of the novel COVID- 19 pandemic which has brought the globe to its knees has exposed the fragile nature of the Nigerian health system. The pandemic is a reflection of the inherent weakness in Nigerians contingency plans against the virus and health security.

3.4. Environmental Insecurity

In general terms, the concept of environmental security tends to protect persons from the threats of the deterioration of the natural environment, due to the intervention of man. In Nigeria, as in other developing countries, lack of access to portable water is one of the greatest environmental threats. Unclean environments due to industrial wastes and lack of proper sewage disposal mechanism constitutes another environmental challenge that tends to threaten the resilience of Nigeria, given the lackadaisical attitudes of the leaders to the challenges of waste management in the country.

3.5. Personal and Community Insecurity

Personal insecurity and community insecurity are two concepts that are very closely related. However, the main difference is that personal insecurity tends **to** suggest lack of protection of the physical person from crime and abuses while community insecurity presupposes nonuse of traditional values to protect the whole community. There is a strong link between the two as it is through community security that the Nigerian society can reach personal security for her citizens. As a matter of fact, by protecting the traditional values of good behaviour, bravery and courtesy, members of the society can be freed from crimes and misbehaviours, such as communal violence between farmers and herdsman in the Northern part of the country, political assassinations, electoral violence, youth militancy in the Niger Delta, oil bunkering, suicide bombing, kidnapping for ransom and the Boko-Haram insurgency which have all bedeviled Nigeria. All these have, no doubt, questioned the administrative capabilities of our leaders to hinge the challenges on poor governance which has greatly dented

the image of the nation, making it vulnerable to personal and community insecurity.

3.6. Political Insecurity

Political insecurity is concerned with the fundamental right of freedom of expression and information. It includes the right of association and the freedom of the people in a nation to choose their leaders in a democratic way. This, in turn, will result in good political governance and thus promote economic growth and sustainable development. However, with the recent trends in the democratic processes in Nigeria, one cannot say that political security exists in the country. Hooliganism and electoral violence now characterize electoral processes. Ultimately, rigging also seems to have become part of the rule of the political game in the country, given the leaders' desires to remain in the corridors of power indefinitely. The credibility of the electoral body, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has remained soiled, especially with the true independence being doubted given government's control over the body. This hinders the conduct of free and

fair elections in the country, suggesting the weakening of political security structure of the nation.

4. STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH THE CHALLENGES OF SECURITY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

In pursuit of nation-building in Nigeria, it is important to view human security as an integrative concept that accommodates two strategies namely, protection and empowerment. Protection presupposes shielding the people from danger, while empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision-making. Human security and its applications to the protection and empowerment of Nigerian should therefore be informed by the following factors:

- Access to qualitative, practical-based and entrepreneurial-oriented education for every Nigerian student rather than a theory-based education should be provided by the governments at all levels. This will boost empowerment and enable people to channel their

potentials towards the country's development and become full participants in decision-making.

- A justice system that treats citizens equally irrespective of their societal position, socio-economic class or governmental office must be put in place, especially to control crimes, corruption and political hooliganism across the country and ensure the security of lives and properties.

- Transparency and accessibility within government structures in every part of the country. For example, the legislative protection of every citizen in terms of the laws that it puts in place; infrastructural performance in every state of the country, per capita income of every citizen, etc. should be taken seriously and made available to any recognized body on demand. This will enable the African union and other regional bodies to access if the government of the country has really done enough in terms of providing security for its citizens.

- Governments at all levels must give access to good and improved healthcare services, technology, emergency management facilities, high-performance social infrastructure, etc. High priority should be given to

people's access to modernized healthcare. For example, more health institutions should be built and medicines should always be available in all health institutions. Nigerian governments should find ways of ensuring that skilled health personnel are saddled with healthcare responsibilities; and these staff's conditions of service should be improved. Furthermore, health insurance schemes should be sustained to help cater for the healthcare challenges of all vulnerable groups. Improvements should be made to water and sanitation. As well, hygiene and health control measures appropriate to both urban (including our borders and other points of entry into the country) and rural areas should be given a good priority to create basic awareness and knowledge on healthy lifestyles.

- To address the issue of food insecurity in Nigeria, domestic food production must be encouraged and government must ensure that acceptable standards are met by the manufacturers. Also, issues pertaining to land tenure, finance and credit, agricultural implements, pest control and so on need to be given adequate attention so as to make raw materials adequately available for the

manufacturing industries, for example, profitable types of land tenure such as private tenure need to be adopted by various environmental conditions. Irrigation should be supported in all parts of the nation, as relying on rain-fed agriculture also contributes to food insecurity.

- Unemployment in the country must be significantly reduced. As such, a very conducive environment that will allow the Nigerian citizens to utilize their entrepreneurial skills need be provided. A social welfare policy also needs to be put in place for the aged and physically challenged Nigerians to make the nation resilient security-wise.

- A tradition of political will and freedom must be evolved to ensure political security, with political leaders being made to be sincere to their oaths of allegiance to the nation by, for instance, being bound by law to resign whenever such oaths are breached. Such framework will change the attitudes of the political class towards their political responsibilities to the nation and bring about a politically viable and secure nation.

CONCLUSION

This paper has addressed the challenges of nation building and governance in Nigeria. It established the fact that there is a strong link among the terms (human) security, governance and development, which are core to the discussion in this paper, being indices of nation-building in a developing nation like Nigeria. The discussion dwelt on the state of human security in Nigeria in all its essential ramifications, namely, health, economy, education, community, politics and so on, especially with respect to the challenges posed by these components to human security vis-a-vis governance and developments in Nigeria; and the strategies for addressing the threats to human security in Nigeria, toward building a resilient nation. The details articulated in this article is hope to provoke a process of rethinking with a view to evolving a framework for strategic initiative and policy measures that is aim at building a developed and stronger Nigerian nation.

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