

Governance and Political Security in Nigeria, 1999 – 2023

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Abstract

Incontrovertibly, the sudden appearance of the military in governance became a clog in the wheel of democratic rule. However, the civilian struggle against the military government ushered in democratic rule since 1999. The unbroken democratic rule in Nigeria has brought mixed feelings of total disregard for the rule of law among people. Since Nigeria returned to democracy, perennial conflicts have been reoccurrence problems. Can we say activities of political actors have led to politics of security instead of good governance which ought to have given security to politics? The thrust of the argument is that if democratic government is regarded as an ideal form of government devoid of the rule of force; what are the issues precipitating long-drawn agitation in different parts of the country against democratic government in Nigeria? The method adopted is secondary sources which connotes the use of written documents and electronic materials.

Keywords: Governance, Security, Politics and Politics of Security.

Introduction

Governance is the act or state of governing a place in line with established rules and regulations. This forms a base for an ideal or just society with equitable distribution of wealth. When governance is handled with utmost caution by the leaders, it suppresses the trepidation, apprehension, and consternation of the nationalities that make up the nation-states. The challenges posed by multiculturalism; such as identity, constitutionalism, minority protection, rule of law, justice, equity, the national question, and fair play hinder good governance in Nigeria (Yap, 2023, p.3). Some have put these challenges on the incursion of the military into politics which prevented free-flow of civilian administration for better civil relations. On the contrary, Nigerians see the intervention of the military as a messianic move because of impressions or excuses usually given by the military coup leaders each time they struck to truncate civilian rule to institute a military government. Alas! The excuses and actions of each military government were almost the same.

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This informed the assertion by Mathew H. Kukah that:

Each coup leader usually greeted Nigerians with the salubrious news of seeking to end the assault of their predecessors, by the time they were also overthrown by a more rapacious bunch, they had done even worse (Mathew, 2011, p.37).

This could be regarded as the bedrock of bad governance in Nigeria. The power derived from the barrel of guns did not give room for military men to be accountable for their actions. The long military rule changed the psyche of the ruled and rulers. It relegated the application of the rule of law to the background. The decrees of the military became the order of the day, which ushered in draconian rule. However, the advent of civilian rule brought a new lease of hope with high expectations on good governance and political security as the main focus of this study.

The question at this junction is, can Nigerians sleep with their two eyes closed? Unfortunately, peaceful co-existence is becoming illusory in many communities in our various states. Politics which is supposed to guarantee equitable allocation of resources turned out to be on the contrary, which has become the root cause of incessant conflicts amongst the people. Politics of security is now seen as the mainstay or instrument used by the politicians to gain political power. Emotional talks have become straight talk amongst the political actors. Like Adolf Hitler says, "I use emotion for the many and reserve reason for the few"

The politics of Hitler which led to pogrom of over 11 million people, among them Jews, Jehovah's witnesses and homosexuals (Dimeji, p.20) is gradually becoming part and parcel of politicking in Nigeria. This would not bring any meaningful security that will guarantee desirable development except unnecessary agitation. In view of the foregoing analysis, the study carefully analyses governance and political security in Nigeria, politics of security by political actors, and perennial agitations amongst the people.

Governance and Political Security in Nigeria

In concert with the analysis of both governance and political security in a society. It is very appropriate to examine the concept of governance for a proper understanding of political security. Governance is regarded as a state of governing or the art of governing a place. It is the system by which an organization is controlled and operated, and the mechanism by which it, and its people, are held to account (Iain & Alistair, p226). This connotes the ability to use the instrumentality of government known as the rule of law to make leaders accountable for their actions. In a state where a leader becomes uncontrollable through illegally acquired benefits and ill-gotten wealth, governance that would make the people happy will be eroded. Where people enjoy good and smooth governance, political security is guaranteed.

In view of the foregoing, political security is known as the prevention of government repression, systemic violation of human rights, and threats from militarization. Political security portrays organizational ability of state actors, showing their effectiveness in the protection of lives and property of the citizenry. It is equally regarded as defense against any form of political oppression (Takashi, 2003). Consequently, the concern of the actors is therefore to ascertain whether people live in a society where basic human rights are honoured. When government fails to restore or enforce certain fundamental issues that can guarantee basic human right, the purpose of political security is defeated, and hence the manifestation of insecurity becomes the order of the day. This poses security risks such as

terrorism, civil disturbances, and adverse regulatory changes which usually result in war in the entire society with a state of hopelessness in the minds of people.

In summary, political security gives people the right to express their political views without undermining the security of the country. On the other hands, freedom of speech is a right of individual but there is no full guarantee of right after making unsubstantiated speech. This is a fundamental issue in any ideal society which this study has examined within the ambit of democratic norms.

The best instrument of every government is the constitution. A well-crafted constitution with the people's mandate gives confidence to the people. It equally makes people to respect the constituted authority. Unfortunately, the political pundits and different ethnic groups in Nigeria did not accept the 1999 Constitution upon which the current political dispensation derives its power. This is because the constitution was imposed on Nigerians by the military authority through Decree 24' in the name of a Federal Constitution (Jide, 2022, p.24). This ran contrary to the provision of an autochthonous constitution referred to as a homegrown constitution which emanates from people and brings in and instills confidence in people than a foisted constitution.

The foregoing attributes have made 1999 Constitution a subject of controversy amongst the different ethnic groups in Nigeria because the less privileged elites believe that the constitution is serving the interest of few ruling class at the expense of the majority. This has resulted in the agitation for constitutional change which is making governance in Nigeria a subject of controversy. This could be regarded as the bedrock of perennial agitations among the warring ethnic groups in Nigeria which has resulted to what could be tagged "mobocracy" (political control exercised by a mob). The rule of law has just become a mere mantra, instead of good instrument of democracy which gives everyone sense of belonging in the state affairs.

For a level playing political stability, smooth relationship between governance and politics is necessary. A good coordination of governance and politics enhances harmonious relations, which guarantees political security. While political governance is the process of decision-making to formulate policy, administrative governance is the main bedrock of political structure which guarantees political security in any society (Yap, 2021). When governance is seamless, it reduces agitation and unnecessary struggle among the political actors who mobilise people to cause unrest in various communities. The stabilizer of political security is good governance, which must be achieved for any state to achieve an ideal society protecting the interest of people.

Politics of Security by Political Actors

Politics of security began in Nigeria before independence as a result of divide-and-rule tactics adopted by the British colonial authority to gain support and relegate to the background the natives who were seen as belligerence. To make the matter worse for the country, formation of three (3) supposedly big political parties were created along ethnic colouration at that time. While other smaller parties formed then toed the same line. As it was succinctly mentioned by Segun Adeniyi that the leaders of the three big parties treated leaders of smaller parties more or less as irritants. The foregoing scenario sowed seed of discord at the inception of political parties' formation in Nigeria (Olusegun, 2005, p.3). Despondently, this ugly scenario became worst in 1999 when the three major political parties were equally formed on the same trajectory. For instance, Alliance for Democracy

(AD) had its root among the Yoruba of South-West, the All Peoples Party (APP) had its roots among the Northern people, while the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) had strong roots in the South-East and South-South with a fraction of northern elements moved with another Party which eventually led to the emergence of PDP as a ruling party from 1999 to 2015.

Unfortunately, the pattern of the PDP campaign and political permutations threw up divisionism which led to the aggressive minority question. The example of the division hinges on the following issues; ethnic, linguistic, religious, Local Government Area, or Senatorial District as means of selecting the candidates into various elective positions (Olusegun, 2005, p.3). This singular act has caused unnecessary agitation among the same people, who were supposed to see themselves as one are up in a game of polarization and politicization of every issues concerning them. What ought to be settled amicably would take a new dimension of clandestine move against the opponent?

Use of security against the will of the people to justify the spending has been a common knowledge in Nigeria since 1999. It is common knowledge that the governors in all thirty (36) states collect security votes without being accountable to anyone. This singular act explains why the race for the governor's seat, from nomination to selection, is often a fierce battle. It is a war viciously fought by desperate men to clinch the ticket. The monetary value attached to the coveted seat of governor in Nigeria has made it a do-or-die affair for any intending aspirant. To retain this seat at all costs, many of them created unconventional security apparatuses surrounding them which have metamorphosed into big security challenges that country is going through in the recent time. To buttress this assertion, Jide Oluwajuyitan, in his comment in the Nation Newspaper says:

Members of state assemblies need endorsement to contest speaker seats. This had made state assemblies' members a mere extension of government house boys. Attempts to assert their independence will most often lead to Ogun state experience under ex-Governor, Gbenga Daniel who locked up his state house of assembly and chased the lawmakers out of town. We also know governors can through their power of patronage create millionaires overnight. They don't account for their monthly security votes. In the Niger Delta and North East, we have seen how governors deployed security funds to sponsor terror gangs that metamorphosed into Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram insurgency (Jide, 2013, p.20).

The corrupt nature of Nigerian politics does not support stability that would guarantee political security in the system. Hence, what the system has thrown at the citizenry is a corruptocracy, instead of an ideal democracy, which guarantees good governance for dividends of democracy (Lanre & Ademola, 2011, p.423). This explains why Prof. Sola Adeyaye's says the nation's "year of putative independence" merely afforded us the opportunity to replace the "British alligators with Nigerian crocodiles," (Lanre & Ademola, 2011, p.424). This metaphor analyses the characteristics of political actors we have in power who are taking political power to promote their personal aggrandizement. Evidence of this could be traced to the advent of democracy since 1999 when different security problems had been regionalized in our various geo-political zones.

The O'odua People's Congress (OPC), an organization active in the southwest of Nigeria, which hinges its campaigns on the protection of the Yoruba interest and seeking autonomy for the Yoruba people is a complex organization, which has taken on several different roles as it has adapted to the changing political and security environment in Nigeria. One of

several Yoruba self-determination groups, it was established in 1994 with the aim of overcoming what it alleged was the political marginalization of the Yoruba. It has since evolved in several different directions. Its activities range from political agitation for Yoruba autonomy and promotion of Yoruba culture to violent confrontation with members of other ethnic groups, and, more recently, vigilantism and crime-fighting (HRW, 2003, p.10). For instance, between 1999 and 2007 under President Olukseseun Obsanjio, Oodua Peoples' Congress (OPC) was weaponized by the self-determination agitators to protect the ethnic identity of Yoruba.

The militant posture of the OPC was used to promote the identity of Yoruba within the South-west region, particularly in Lagos, where Igbo extraction was raising the assertion that "Lagos is no man's land". This assertion was vigorously fought by OPC in places like Ketu/Mile 12, against the Igbo and Hausa, Alaba market spread to the Ajangbadi area in Ojo LGA against the Igbos (HRW, 2003, p.10). Shortly after its establishment, OPC became a weapon in the hands of politicians. The organization became an instrument used to fight political opponents which eventually resulted to a total breakdown of law and order in the South West, particularly Lagos State.

In the South-South, a militant organization known as Egbesu (the god or deity of justice of the Ijaw people) with members popularly known as the Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), which later transformed to kidnappers, were kidnapping the oil-experts for ransom. The prevailing circumstances forced these formations into violence some of which have degenerated into criminal activities as a result of actions and inactions of political actors in the region (Okumagba, 2009, p1). Interestingly, the Bakassi Boys sooner or later became busy involved in wreaking havoc on people in the Southeast. To buttress this analysis, the Guardian Newspaper reported as follows:

There are growing concerns over the suspected return of a disbanded security group, 'Bakassi Boys' to the streets of Awka, in Anambra State on Monday. It is not clear who is behind the group. But with the growing insecurity, the resurgence of the dreaded outfit in the southeastern region might compound the already vexing situation. The dreaded 'Bakassi Boys' vigilante group, who engaged in jungle justice in Anambra State during the time of former governor, Chinwoke Mbadinuju, allegedly resurfaced after two decades to crush cultists and other criminals (Lawrence & Uzoma, 2021).

This was the panic mood the capital city of Anambra found itself at this particular time, with the sad experience of goner days of illegal security apparatus created by political actors to achieve certain objectives detrimental to the growth and development of the state for their self-interest. As the activities of this dread group was going down, the Movement for Actualization of the Sovereign State Survival of Biafra (MASSOB) began to rear its head. It became monster, hunting everybody within the south-eastern region.

In recent past, under President Goodluck regime, as MASSOB metamorphosed into another dreaded group called the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Activities of this group have led to the wanton killings of innocent people in the South-eastern region. The political actors and elders in the southeast could not see the threat the IPOB activities would cause in the region until it led to the destruction of business activities and killings of political leaders within and outside the eastern region. A good example of this was the killing of Ahmed Gulak, former Special Adviser on Political Affairs to President Goodluck Jonathan, who was killed in Owerri, Imo State, on May 30th, 2021. Following a series of IPOB criminal

activities, the Federal Government proscribed the organization through a court order:

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that by the Order of the Federal High Court, Abuja, in suit No. FHC/ABJ/CS/871/2017, dated September 20, 2017 as per the schedule to this Notice, the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra are declared to be terrorism and illegal in any part of Nigeria, especially in the South-East and South-South regions of Nigeria as proscribed, pursuant to Section 2 of the Terrorism (Prevention) Act, 2011 (as amended) (Ifreke, 2017, September 16).

After the proscription and subsequent arrest of its leader, Nnamdi Kanu, on June 27, 2021, IPOB began to issue sit-at-home order in all five (5) states of south east. This singular order from IPOB has paralysed business activities, as well prevented students from going on Mondays (Chinagorom, April 11), while many civil servants deserted their offices for fear of being killed or maimed. Many of those who defied the order were killed, while few ones who had opportunity to tell the story became reference points for the people.

In northern region, the problems of Sharia enforcement in the region created state of anarchy. Developmental issues were no longer paramount in the minds of people, hence, security of lives and property were the main request for the people. What really started as a method of sending signal to the authority that something must be done about the development in the region were rampant cases of kidnapping of mostly kidnapping political actors as major sources of making illegal money (Ben, 2003).

While the government was contending with similar ugly incidence in southern part of Nigeria, the Boko Haram in the north began the same criminality. The violent organization fighting against western education suddenly became bandits engaged in kidnapping school girls and others for ransom. This gradually metamorphosed into full scale kidnapping saga. A good example of this was the abduction of 112 students from Federal Government College (FGC) Birnin-Yauri, Kebbi State, on June 17, 2021 which resulted in the payment of huge amount of money to the tune of ₦80million as ransom (James, 2023). Series of this ugly event have become the reoccurrence issues in Nigeria as a result of leadership failure. The consequence of the development was politics of security to promote the personal agenda of the political actors.

Another critical issue causing politics of security is personal aggrandizement of political and non-state actors, whose sole aim is to grab or divert the national cake to their private use. Unfortunately, this has become the dominant character of state actors and non-state actors in politics in Nigeria. Very worrisomely, when parochial interest of both state actors and non-state actors is no longer protected, they result to violent attack on their opponents. And the major victims in the melee are always the innocent people.

The example of above phenomenon could be traced to the assertion made by Chief Bisi Akande in his autobiography in which he narrated his real life experience as a governor of Osun State. One of the striking experience he narrated vividly was the account of his ordeal about a water project between him and Late Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuwade. He says:

During Bola Ige's regime in the old Oyo State, it was the Oba Sijuwade as the Ooni that fronted for Costain International that built the Ede-Osogbo water project for One Hundred and Twenty-Six Million pounds (£126m). Twenty-six years later, he wanted me to borrow another Three Hundred million dollars (\$300m) to repair the same project. I called for the file of the project and studied it carefully. I discovered that we still owed £100 million pounds on the project. Despite moratorium, interest had

taken its toll, but the station was no longer working. Nobody was maintaining it. Here was I now staring at a debt that might be inherited by my grandchildren and great grandchildren! So, to borrow \$300 million from Austria to repair a water project on which we already owed an outstanding €100 million which we borrowed from ECCGD of England for the water that we drank for less than 20 years was too much for me. I declined to sign the paper. To surmount this challenge, the Chairman of the Water Corporations was invited, Mr. Bisi Olatunji, He promised to look into it. He returned with an estimate of ₦74 million, not up to half-a-million dollars then. That was the job the Late Ooni and his Austrian partner wanted to do for Osun people with \$300 million, if we had fallen into the trap then, Osun would have lost \$295 million! I ordered the release of ₦74 million and in a few months, rehabilitation of the Ede Water Works was completed. At the threshold of the Ramadan fast in 2001, water started running in Osogbo, Ede, Ile-Ife and many other towns, and villages. As at that time, instead of \$300 million, less than \$500,000 had done the project.

Within that week when the water station started pumping water again, armed men attacked the station. They killed three (3) guards; all natives of Ede. They could not gain entrance into the work station probably guards did not have the keys. Some armed men also went on rampage in Osogbo, destroying some churches and Cathedral making it look like the Muslims were attacking Christian during the holy month of Ramadan. They thought Christian would fight back so that we would have a religious crisis on our hands. I believe all these happened because I refused to plunge Osun State into a debt of \$300 million (Bisi, 2021, p.336 & 336).

Another example of politics of security being played by the political actors in Nigeria was visible in 2023 Presidential Election during which the main four political parties held on to their region whipping and stocking ethnic and religious sentiments in their various regions. This was evident in the results of the election. Each candidate held strongly to his or her region with the mindset and premonition that “it is the turn of my ethnic group”. Those who were living together in peace and harmony became sworn-enemies overnight because of political actors who never believe in security of politics except politics of security that will give them edge in their domain.

The sudden profiling of a particular ethnic group by political actors in Lagos State during the 18th March, 2023, concluded gubernatorial election was a clear assault and affront calling capable of throwing the nation into full scale war (Pelumi, 2023). This is done to preserve status quo by the political actors without minding the consequences of such action. The sudden upsurge of the Labour Party (LP), otherwise known as OBIDENT MOVEMENT, across the south-east and south-south Nigeria could be ascribed to violence taking over of the regions with series of killings in Imo, Ebonyi, Rivers and Cross Rivers States (Emmanuel, 2023). The statement ascribing to a particular candidate in the same election having conversation with a Pentecostal Prophet Bishop, where the former is saying “this is religious war” it is evident of politics of security in Nigeria (Ibrahim, 2023).

Plural societies are derived from the feeling of uncertainty engendered by political domination of one group (often the majority) over the others. Dominance of certain ethnic groups encourages politics of security since manipulation usually becomes a device to retain power. Consequently, intra and inter-group relationships end up being mere payment of lip service to the “spirit of accommodation”, ‘tolerance’ and ‘unity in diversity’. Most often than not, the struggle is usually for the control of political power, because of the certainty of the notion – he who pays the piper dictates the tune’.

The structure of Nigerian society comprises different ethnic groups with multi-lingual fracas,

the control of political power guarantees the control of economic resources and the upgrading of the social and cultural class of the political leadership over and above the rest of society. Ultimately, the quest to remain relevant in politics always requires the use of any possible way to sustain and retain political control (Remi & Tuned, 2007 p.33-34).

Similarly, the desire to preserve the mindset of looting national resources unhindered has been propelling the political actors to adopt any possible tactics to manipulate the system at the expense of the less-privileged people in the country. The best way to describe the mindset of these people is vividly analyse below with tragedy of commons theory.

Tragedy of the Commons: A Suitable Theory for Politics of Security

It is very imperative to adopt a theory for better understanding of politics of security in a plural society like Nigeria. Tragedy of the commons theory personifies the mindset of Nigerian political actors with parochial sentiment of “what is my gain, family and immediate community” at the expense of others. The tragedy of the commons theory was first conceptualized in 1833 by British writer, William Forster Lloyd. Thereafter, in 1968, Garret Hardin, first used the term tragedy of the commons in science magazine to illustrate individuals’ tendency to make decisions based on their personal needs, regardless of the negative impact it may have or cause to others (Alexandra, 2019). It explains an individual’s belief that if others won’t act in the best interest of the group, it can lead them to justify selfish behaviour. It further clarifies personal perception of a leader in term of parochial feeling of self-interest without communal or collegial interest for the betterment of others.

The main concept of tragedy of the commons theory explains individuals with access to public resources (also called a common) who act in their own interest and, in doing so, ultimately deplete the resources. This is main characteristic of most political actors in Nigeria, who work or act solely for their personal aggrandizement without considering the negative effect of their actions on the general public. Hence, the ultimate goal is quest for power to control resource for the purpose of personal enjoyment. It makes development a hard crack task. Amazingly, the suitability of this theory explains the scarcity of common resources today as a result of growing population, what was meant for only 100 people in 1979 remain the same quantity available to 1million people in 2019. This explains why agitation by different ethnic groups become the order of the day. This ultimately throws up politics of security in Nigeria.

Promoters of politics of security, adopt manipulative tactics as the best way of keeping the system under their control for the benefit of their disciples. Ultimate way to preserve the status quo is by causing unnecessary havoc which will permanently keep the mind of people away from developmental issues (Michael, 2022). This can be done when insecurity ravages the whole system. It is when the peace is assured that the people will remember social amenities that will make life more meaningful to them.

Since 1999, politics of security has shut out Nigerians from asking leaders requisite question about the campaign promises made during elections. The focus of people is how to achieve relative peace in their various community. Different agitations that were so strife in various communities had graduated to major towns in recent times. No major high way is free now, both lower and middle class, including the so called political actors are no longer safe. The politics of security does no one good, except we all adopt ideal rule that will give the country security of politics for the betterment of everyone living in different regions of Nigeria.

A System or Pattern of Government in Plural Societies

Total inclusiveness of all stakeholders in governance brings about security of politics. Plural societies require total adherence to a particular acceptable formula to all stakeholders. Good governance devoid of conflict cannot be achieved without inclusiveness. The elites must have the ability to accommodate the divergent interests and demands of subcultures. This requires that they (elites) have the ability to transcend cleavages and to join in a common effort with the elite of rival subcultures. This, in turn, depends on the acceptable system with adherence to its rules and regulations that will help in the improvement of its cohesion and stability.

In plural societies like Nigeria, consociationalism or consociational democracy, also known as *Konkordanz-demokratie* is a form of democratic power sharing or one which has major internal divisions along ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines, but which remains stable due to consultation among the elites of these groups (Rudy, 2015). In other words, consociational states are often contraposition with states with majoritarian electoral systems. Consociationalism could be the best form of government to manage the diverse nature of Nigerian politics (Remi & Tunde, 2007, p.34). It is a common knowledge in Nigeria that the three dominant ethnic groups, Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo, are more dissatisfied and dissension in the country amongst themselves than minority groups. However, it is obvious that few elements within the dominant groups who are engaged in political game are the ones stoking the fire of fragmentation to gain economic resources in the name of their respective ethnic groups. This is done deliberately to keep economic resources within their control at the expense of vast majority who are being used as cannon fodders. Actually, what affects societies differs, while ethnicity and religious sentiments play key role as a social cleavage in Nigeria. Some other societies are more divided along such lines as ideology, religion, etc.

To manage the cleavages, consociational democracy which seeks political stability on the basis of power-sharing arrangement in societies characterized by deep social cleavages should be the best option. In view of the foregoing, Lijphart contends that:

The relevance of the elite group in the adoption of a consociational arrangement is not lost on the theorist. He further says, in a consociational democracy, the centrifugal tendencies inherent in a plural society are countered by the co-operative attitudes and behaviour of the leaders of the different segments of the population. Elite cooperation is the primary distinguishing feature of consociational democracy... However, this can be achieved when the elites are able to concede a considerable level of political representation to the various leaders from different major ethnic groups and minority groups within the state (Remi & Tunde, 2007, p.34).

The key objective of this arrangement is to set coalescence of the powerful elite, because the political stakes are often high in plural societies. It is advisable not to conduct politics as if it were a game: a grand coalition is therefore more appropriate than the government-versus-opposition pattern. The examples of states that had adopted this system could be traced to Lebanon and Malaysia. They have made successes of their consociational democracy between 1943 and 1975, and 1955 and 1969 respectively (Remi & Tunde, 2007, p.39).

In view of the foregoing analysis, there is urgent need for the political leaders in Nigeria to re-examine the Parliamentary model of 1960 – 1965 which gave every segments opportunity to participate in the governance. The Presidential system throws up executive model which

makes an individual more powerful in the settings of government. This brings farce opposition which is not a good idea in a plural society like Nigeria.

More importantly, to prevent the applicability of tragedy of commons theory by the political actors in our governance, consociational democracy would prevent and manage the greedy that winner takes all politics spread in the polity. A good governance that spur development will be seen and felt by people. There will be a rancour free society and there will be less agitation from different ethnic groups on scarce resources. Having sense of belonging in the distributions of resources bring about harmonious relationship.

Conclusion

Political security is the mainstay which every citizen is yearning for irrespective of language or ethnic group affiliation. This is what the political leaders must ensure in a cosmopolitan state like Nigeria. The sense of belonging must be given to everyone through good governance and proper allocation of resources. No nation has attained development in the state of chaos or anarchy. A proper political structure with collective responsibility is the only panacea for meaningful development.

The system of government that will bring consciousness on the part of people to have a trust in the leader must be initiated and equalization in term of political office will go a long way to assuage the warring factions who are feeling that they are been cheated or relegated in the arrangement of politicking. To achieve greater height among the comity of nations, our national resources must be seen as individual resources (inheritance) with protection, the idea of seeing national resources as national cake must be discarded. This is the only way; the nation can eliminate the tragedy of commons theory ravaging the entire society with the mindset of “let me grab my own”.

Lastly, if Nigeria can adopt consociational government by a grand coalition of the political leaders of all segments and bolstered by complementary devices such as “the mutual veto or concurrent majority rule”, “proportionality” and “a high degree of autonomy” in the country, there will be less rancour in the management, sharing and allocation of resources and values. This will go long way to suppress all forms of agitations that could trigger conflict or crisis amongst people within the country.

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