Sustainable Development and Emerging Multidimensional Insecurity in Nigeria: Commonalities and Differences among the Northern and Southern Region.

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ABSTRACT

Peace is the main necessity and most essential element in the realization of sustainable development. Insecurity spurs man towards seeking and safeguarding modern goals, depleting the required resources and energy towards attaining modern development. Insecurity makes improvement of human condition illusive. Notwithstanding, developing societies Nigeria inclusive are replete with budding civil conflicts, militancy, terrorism, and banditry etc. In this paper, we contend that the nexus of insecurity and sustainable development lies on the crux of specific type of insecurity within a region. First, empirical data and policy discuss on insecurity and development connection were reviewed, then we explored how the connection ensue within different regions in Nigeria. In the third and main section, we reviewed the types of insecurity in different regions in Nigeria examining their differences and commonalties, consequently x-raying its influence on development. The paper finally concludes with considerable evidence that though Nigeria is generally not a safe nation however, the nature of insecurity differs within regions with divergent implications on development as such one side-fits all mechanism towards abating insecurity in Nigeria will remain futile. We therefore recommend multi-dimensional strategy to help ameliorate the dual dire challenges of insecurity and underdevelopment in Nigeria.

Keywords: Insecurity, Development, Underdevelopment, Differences, Commonalities

INTRODUCTION

Historically, human society has been embedded with one form of conflict or order. Insecurity has been a recurring incidence as man struggles to contain its existence. Insecurity from wild animals forced men to fabricate stone weapons, bows and arrow spares, etc. Again, there was the adverse climatic conditions that led man to build shelters as home to shield from environmental insecurity (Roberts and Okpan, 2022). For the lack of space, we would not devote much time to the Peloponnesian War which occurred after Athens and Sparta had joined forces to defeat Persia, see (Nye and Welch, 2011).

However, the above-mentioned war instrumentally points to the fact that despite signing a truce for peace, when state and personal interests clash, war and insecurity becomes inevitable. This is why Ikezue and Ezeah (2017) affirmed that more often than not, persistent conflict and insecurity are caused by competition for scarce resources. Besides several insecurity challenges that have crippled the sustained development of Nigeria before and after independence, was as pervasive as the Boko Haram lead insurgency. The insurgent group Boko Haram brought an international dimension to insecurity in Nigeria. For instance, it was the insurgent group that first introduced suicide bombing in Nigeria, an incident carried out by Mohammed Manga who attacked the Nigerian Police Force headquarters in Abuja on June 16, 2011, by bombing

himself in a car killing about five people, including a police officer and many cars destroyed in the attack (Salkida, 2011).

The presence of insecurity in any environment constitutes threat to lives and properties, hinders business activities, and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which stifles and retards socio-economic development of a country. Without an enabling environment, production, industrial activities and trade will come to a halt and there will be no investment. As a result of this, development would forever remain elusive. This is because funds meant for developmental agenda are channeled into curbing in security problems. Secondly, foreign investors feel threatened to invest in insecure countries. The objective of the paper is to interrogate insecurity and sustainable development in Nigeria with a special focus the nature and outcome of conflicts and insecurity in different parts of Nigeria. Trying to demonstrate the sociological diversity in nature of conflicts that could permeate human society since not all conflict or insecurity situation have similar outcomes. Using secondary data from literature and theory driven the study explored different types of insecurity occurring in different parts of Nigeria with its peculiar impact on development of the region.

CONCEPTUAL LITERATURE

Insecurity

The concept of insecurity implies different meanings such as absence of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, and lack of protection. Beland (2005), defines insecurity as the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection. It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. Achumba, Ighomereho, Akpan-Robaro (2013) define in security from two perspectives. Firstly, he viewed insecurity as the state of being open or subject to danger or threat, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. These definitions of insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only unaware of what would happen but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur. It is a breach of peace and security on, religious, social, civil, economic and political platforms that contributes to recurring conflicts and leads to destruction of lives and property. Those affected are not able to stop the attack or protect themselves when it happens. Insecurity refers toa condition that exists due to lack of effective measures put in place to protect individuals, information and property against hostile persons, influences and actions. This is a typical scenario in Nigeria.

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is a two-way relationship between development and environment. Sustainable development is maintaining a delicate balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend. Ashford and Hall, (2011), referred sustainable development as achieving economic and social development in ways that do not exhaust a country's natural resources. However, we defined sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Dimensions of Insecurity in Different Parts of Nigeria

There is a dramatic increase in violence, terrorism and the like, in Nigeria today. We hear of series of bombings, shooting and killings, kidnappings, armed robbery, arson and so on (Udoh, 2015). These take place from north to south, east to west and almost on daily basis.
It is pertinent to clarify the fact that not all forms of conflict resulting into insecurity within society are motivated by similar reasons. This is important considering the fact that in most instances there is usually a

misconception of what motivates social group into advancing agitations that at some point poses insecurity. The inability of agencies in Nigeria to strongly speak against insecurity and its motivating factors perhaps remain one of the reasons for continuous protracted forms of insecurity in some parts of the nation. Consequently, our analysis of insecurity will be drawn from the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria which includes North central (NC), North East (NE), North West (NW), South West (SW), South-South (SS) South East (SE) respectively.

The South-South Geo-Political Zone

The South-South zone of Nigeria, spanning the Niger Delta geographical space, has been a vortex of violent social conflict resulting to a crisis of underdevelopment. A survey of these conflict developments reveals a disturbing pattern of accelerated rise in the intensity of violence arising from dwindling capital resources, demographic explosion, environmental degradation, social fragmentation and decay, economic marginalization and political repression. The South-South insecurity situation is dominated not only by the opposing forces of government and militant groups (MEND), but also by a spectrum of bounty hunters and other contending actors. These include pirates, organized militias, warlords, criminals' gangs, drug cartels, mercenaries, and oil bunkerer. These are the driving force behind the criminal activities which sustained the horrors experienced by the civilian population: bunkering, illegal refineries, kidnappings, bank robberies, and vandalization of power stations and transmission complex (Efem, 2015).

North Central Geo-Political Zone

Nigeria's north central region, hosting the city of Abuja and six other states, is home to several minority ethnic groups. More than 200 languages are spoken there. The region is vulnerable to several forms of conflict – between ethnic and religious groups; who have lived there farming for some time. A recent study by Oluwole (2021) summarized the nature of conflict and violence in North Central Nigeria as the rise of criminal groups and criminal activities with an index of 2.93 on a scale of 5. Other causes were increased drugs smuggling, trafficking and consumption (2.90), and failure of authorities to bring those responsible for violence to justice (2.88). Furthermore, a total of 72 incident of battles were recorded from 2009 to 2018, and 42% of the incidents were recorded in the 2018 alone in the rural area. Between 2009 and 2018, the study posited that 538 incidents of violent conflicts occurred in the urban areas. Seven factors were identified to explain community resilience. These were: indigenous conflicts management measures, political measures, economic measures, traditional justice system and community policing, civic education, and non-governmental interventions.

North West Geopolitical Zone

The scope of insecurity in North-West is based on the analysis by Oluwole (2021) who asserted that the rising insecurity in the northwest—were being described by state officials as banditry. However, further evidence suggests that the government is simplifying the dynamics. In actuality, northwestern Nigeria has become the safe haven of increasingly active terrorist groups, including the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS); Jama'at Nusrat al Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM); Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb; a splinter of Boko Haram popularly referred to as the Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP); and the Fulani herdsmen of West Africa once rated the fourth-deadliest terror group in the world.

The recent Kankara abduction bears the operational footprints of the Boko Haram group that has perfected the act through previous abductions of schoolgirls in Chibok and Dapchi in northeastern Nigeria. While Boko Haram maintains a coordinating center in the Lake Chad Basin, ISWAP operates from southwestern Niger. However, the northwest region is highly susceptible to violent attacks by the various terror groups due to a combination of mutually reinforcing factors. Primary factors include:

- **Porous Nigeria-Niger borders and difficult terrain.** Nigeria's border with Niger spans 1,497 km and is poorly policed by the Nigeria Custom and Immigration Services. The porous nature of these bordersheightens the potential spread of terrorist activities into northwest Nigeria from Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger. The vulnerability of the border to the infiltration of terror groups is compounded by the forestreserves, the vast, rugged terrain, sparse population, and dense vegetation. These make surveillance difficult. Furthermore, the forested landscape constitutes ungoverned spaces, where the presence of the authorities is either nonexistent or, at best, sporadic.

- **Arms and weapons trafficking.** The groups terrorizing northwest Nigeria are known to deploy sophisticated weapons in their operations; due to the porous Nigeria-Niger border and subsequent arms trafficking. The illicit proliferation of weapons increases the incidence of terrorists' activities in the region.

- **Poor governance, poverty, and climate change-fragility nexus**. In many instances, the rising incidentsof violent attacks are symptoms of weak, exclusionary, or exploitative governance systems in northwest Nigeria. Compounding factors include weak institutional capacity within the police; extreme inequality, poverty, unemployment; and citizens' alienation from the government.

- **Overburdened security apparatus and diminishing presence of the federal government.** The state response to the rising insecurity in the region is compromised by the, deteriorating security in the Niger Delta, farmer-herder conflicts in north-central and southern Nigeria, and Boko haram conflicts. With security forces stretched, terror groups have been able to operate with little resistance in the northwest.

Controversial peace agreements between some state governments and criminal groups.

In an attempt to stop these attacks, and of Katsina, Sokoto, and Zamfara initiated direct negotiations with these criminal groups. The governors offered the criminal groups amnesties and other incentives to end violent attacks. Some have even agreed to release all arrested persons from such groups in exchange for hostages. So far, these agreements have failed for a number of reasons: First, these criminal groups lack central command and a common goal. Second, the dialogues excluded the local communities that bear the brunt of violence and expect the state to deliver forms of compensation, justice, and protection as a condition for durable peace.

Collapsed negotiations have led to renewed attacks by the criminal groups, while the farmers and vigilantes acting on their behalf have also remained completely unaccountable.

Illegal mining activities. Competition over access to mineral resource deposits in Katsina and Zamfara states exacerbates already-existing tensions. Often terror groups control the minefields and are able to act with impunity because of the undue patronage they benefit from the authorities through connivance. The syndicates also fund banditry and cattle rustling in mining communities, displacing and inciting violence among Fulani pastoralists and farming communities.

North East Geopolitical Zone

The geopolitical zone of North-East Nigeria comprising Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe states since 1960 used to have a relative level of peace and security. Different ethnic groups in the area have been living harmoniously. People conducted themselves well because of an effective judicial system and community policing in the areas. However, this relative level of security began to deteriorate in the 1980s with the outbreak of Maitatsine riots in Bulunkutu, now Gombe State and Jimeta in Adamawa on26th October 1982 and 27 February 1984 respectively. In Bulunkutu alone, four days of fierce fighting between 26th to 29th October 1982 led to the death of 3,350 persons while estimates for the dead in Yola ranged from 700 – 1000 persons.

These, unfortunately are compounded by new forms of unconventional threats to security, as exemplified by the activities of armed bandits and proliferation of dangerous weapons (Gadzama, 2019).

Adibe (2018) observed that Lawan Abubakar, founded the Boko Haram sect. Under Abubakar, the sect was known as Sahaba. They started canvassing "true" Islamic law, anti-establishment ideologies, At Maiduguri they started building new structures, offering food, medicine and other benefits to the poor just like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East (Suberu, 2009).

South East Geopolitical Zone

In their investigative analysis Oluwole Ojewale and Freedom Onuoha noted that while no zone or state in Nigeria is immune to violence, insecurity in the South-east is particularly worrying. They correctly held that structures, institutions and personnel responsible for providing security, management and oversight at national and local levels are lacking (Ojewale and Onuoha, 2022).

Regrettably, the government has responded to separatist agitation through iron-fisted, aggressive militarization, security crackdowns and mass arrests of supporters and youths. This approach provokes further extremism. Amnesty International documented at least 115 people killed by security forces between March and June 2021, with over 500 arrested after police and military raids in response to spiraling violence in the South-east. Since 2021, the relatively calm region has taken a violent twist with frequent clashes between government forces and pro-Biafra supporters. Even as concerns about the violence and kidnappings associated with bandits and rogue herders mount, IPOB's leader, Kanu, who is now facing terrorism charges, said the group needed to protect the South-east and launched a security outfit named the Eastern Security Network (ESN) on December 13, 2020 (Ojewale and Onuoha, 2022).

South West Geopolitical Zone

Previously regarded as the most peaceful region in the country, the Southwest zone has literally been crippled by the destructive and murderous activities of armed herders. For instance, few years ago, Fulani herders were accused of murdering the daughter of the leader of apex Yoruba socio-cultural group, Afenifere, Pa Reuben Fasoranti, in Ondo State. The criminal tendency of the herders continued to loom large in the zone, amid speculations (Oluwole, 2019) that Yoruba spearheaded the rejection of Federal Government's proposed cattle colony for grazing across the country. In Ondo State, a senior monarch and his son were abducted and killed. The Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF), Chief Olu Falae, who is also a leader of Afenifere, was also kidnapped in his farm by armed herders. A huge ransom was paid to secure his release. Yet, the Federal Government takes no significant action. It took several media criticisms of the security agents, especially the police couple with the bad image the development portrayed the Buhari administration before the arrested victims were released (Oluwole, 2019).

Structural Functionalism Theory

Scholars like Emile Durkheim, Malinoskiwi, and Talcott Parsons among others have contributed to the development of the theory (Joan, 2015). The theory addresses the society as an organic whole in which each of its institutions work together to maintain the other. Various parts of the society are seen to be closely related and taken together as a complete system. The various security agencies like the Nigeria Police Force, Directorate of State Security Service, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, Nigeria Custom Service and Nigeria Immigration Services and even the Military work to support the existence of government's structures and machineries by providing internal security for the lives and property of the Nigerian people. Therefore, lapses in any of these security agencies of the state or government directly or indirectly impact on the well-being of the people and national development which in the long run leads to a State of general insecurity as presently experienced in the North-East. The implication of the structural functionalism is that internal security can only be guaranteed if there exists

inter-agency cooperation with the necessary synergy to ensure that units work in tandem for the overall security of Nigerians.

Frustration–Aggression Theory

Frustration–aggression hypothesis, otherwise known as the frustration–aggression–displacement theory was proposed by John Dollard esta (1939), and further developed by Neal Miller in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person's efforts to attain a goal. The theory attempts to explain why people scapegoat and the cause of violence. According to Dollard and colleagues, frustration is the "condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference," while aggression is defined as "an act whose goal-response is injury to an organism (or an organism surrogate)." This theory explained why Mohammed Yusuf recruited, Boko haram leader recruited more members and provided for their basic needs. Boko Hram later resulted to aggression against the government. Ndimele (2018) stated that this ugly incident has made it difficult for Government to achieve her goal on National Security in securing lives and properties hence this theory is adopted for this paper.

CONCLUSION

In this present state of insecurity, Nigeria needs good governance to achieve its desired objective. Usually, Good governance exists when people who are put in positions of authority are allowed and are committed to discharge their duties without fear or favour. This is when they are prepared to serve with zeal and patriotism. In all, since Nigeria is made of thirty-six states and federal capital territory, with each state having its Governor, each state should also be able to control its Security agents while the federal government controls the machinery of their operation. This if properly coordinated and controlled will definitely enhance proper security in the country and give room for advancement and development in the country. Again, instead of adopting the outed kinetic conflict resolution mechanism, Nigeria must evolve modern conflict resolution approaches such as dialogue and discreet negotiations. Internal security is the baseline of any nation's security system. Internal security must provide freedom from danger to life and property and ensure the presence of a conducive environment for the masses to pursue their legitimate interests within the society. However, this have affected deeply the peace and livelihood of the Nigerians.

RECOMMENDATION

It is therefore recommended that:

1. The Federal Government of Nigeria in collaboration with the National Assembly needs to ensure the devolution of powers to other tiers of government to enhance security.
2. Addressing insecurity involves modern technology such as drones, surveillance and CCTV camera's etc. the government must acquire these devises to equip the capacity of security agencies.
3. The Federal Government of Nigeria through the Federal Ministry of Finance should re-invigorate the anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commssion (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) to enhance the fight against bribery and corruption.
4. The Ministry of Defence and the Interior should facilitate the close collaboration of agencies involved in Counter Insurgency in the North-East.
5. The Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) could do a lot of advocacy through its agencies like the National Orientation Agency on the need to discountenance the use of indigene in government's transaction with her citizens.
6. The FGN, should ensure the setting-up of a sociological panel to unearth the origin, modus operandi and the continuous operation of Boko-Haram as an insurgent group as promised by the President in his inaugural speech on 29 May 2015.

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