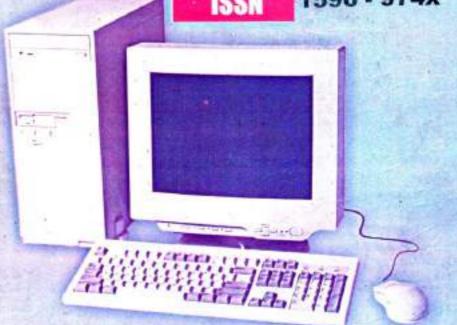


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INSECURITY AND CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper examine how insecurity becomes a problem for the peaceful coexistence in Nigeria and how other socio-economic and political problems, form a challenge for national development. Among other challenges of national development, Nigeria is suffering from colossal corruption, selfish leadership, poor economic policy and dependency on foreign aids. As a multi-ethnic country, there are mutual hostilities among different ethnic groups that make up the country. Nigeria shall utilize this as an impetus for development, but the reverse is the case because of incessant conflicts between the device communities. These factors have continued and culminated in widespread unemployment, poverty, inter-tribal and intra-tribal conflicts, formation of youthful violent groups and insurgencies. No matter who initiated the problem what matters is how much effort a country exerts to find solution to its developmental challenges. The paper suggests that, the solution to these problems is to establish justice, equity and equality, fight corruption and make jobs available for the youthful population in order to achieve peace and national development.

Keywords: Development, Insecurity, National Development, Security.

Nigeria has been described as one of the richest countries of the world in terms of natural and human resources, yet one of the poorest nations judging by the living conditions of the vast majority of her citizens. Indeed, it is a paradox that the country which is the eight largest exporter of crude oil, endowed with human resources, still has majority of her population living below the poverty line, largely as a result of corruption and economic mismanagement. While some socio-economic and political problems confront Nigeria due to globalization forces, there are many other internally home trends that also constitute challenges to national development. Perhaps, the most alarming problems are corruption and bad governance (Aremu & Ahmed 2011) and both seem to be the impetus for prevalence of the national insecurity which manifests through religious radicalism, terrorism and or insurgency, armed robbery, rape, kidnappings, cybercrimes (Ani, 2010) youth political thuggery and transformers crimes (Asiwaju, 2005).

From historical and socio-economic perspectives, Ogbeide (2012) discussed the role of the political leadership class in the entrenchment of corruption in Nigeria. This article shares this notion in that history. Social and economic factors led to the lingering insecurity in Nigeria in which by implication, makes achieving the goal of development a mirage. Of course, the Nigerian government failed to tackle the menace of insecurity and many attempts are been made but the real problem is not squarely addressed. The solution lies in good governance, visionary leadership, and building unity and practical equality among diverse religious and cultural groups. It is from this background that this paper discusses the developmental challenges that made insecurity inevitable and how insecurity

equally forms a challenge to national development in Nigeria.

Conceptual Issues: Security, Insecurity, Development

Most writers agree that security is a "contested" concept (Baldwin, 1997; Bayhs, 2008, Naidoo 2008) but there is a consensus that it implies freedom from threats to core values (for both individuals and groups). Another bone of contention also situated in where the main focus of inquiry should be - on the individual. "national" or "international" security (Bayhs, 2008)

Security is a measure that ascertained the safety of people's lives and property. Security is, therefore a concern of every individual, group, community or nation because security is the means for which people attain peaceful coexistence, satiability, orderliness which are the sine qua non for life without fear, theat or anxiety and tension. Arnold (1962) quoted in (Olayimola 2013:30) says "Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective

sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attached.

It is pertinent to note that security transcends ability to protect national territories or national defense promise by power of military. It is also not limited to poling of the domestic activities of citizens. Security is multifaceted concept as to involve the assurance of the complex human needs and prevention of anything that can constitute a threat or nuisance to some or all members of the society. Thus, the typology of security includes, political security, regional and international security, national security, state security, community security and domestic security. For the purpose of this paper, national security, as defined by Dambazau (2011) is the aggregate of the security interest of all individual, communities, ethnic groups, political entities, and institutions which inhabit Nigeria as a territory. Acknowledging that, security can be communal, regional or national. Dambazau (2011) defined the national as safeguarding the interest of the population of a country that constitute the citizenry and providing them with a type of atmosphere that is free from threats or anything capable of inhibiting these citizens from the pursuit of good. From the legal perspective, national is about the process and measures required to preserve law and order.

Insecurity, on the other hand, is the sense of vulnerability to danger or risk because it produces fear, tension and anxiety and threat, security or insecurity is multi-dimensional, this national security and insecurity can also be subdivided into: personal security, community security, economic security, political security, food security and environmental security. Security is therefore, a very vital objective of all societies. Security is an essential component of good governance and sustainable

development.

Development is also a widely debated concept. As a multidimensional concept, development is defined by Rodeny (1972) as many-sided process. At the level of the individual it implies increase in skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity , self-discipline, responsibility and materials well bring. Hence, development is not limited to population growth nor is it based on strength. Hence Mukhtar & Afdullahi (2014) contended that development is an evolutionary concept which can take the form of biological, social, physical and even structural changes or transformation. Development in this context is the national development in terms of political, economic and other aspects related to social existence like peace and security. This is because the political economy of any nation owes much to the peace and security. Without the peace it will be difficult for country to achieve progress or development

Theoretical Framework

The collective security theory and the underdevelopment theory are instrument for understanding why developing nations such as Nigeria, are facing challenges of security and development. This is experienced by underdevelopment in developed and developing countries. It should be noted that, collective security approach and underdevelopment theory are all explaining the conditions of countries from the perspectives of international relations, one of interstate was and the other on global inequality and the plight of least Developed countries.

The collective security approach has its origin in 1914 during the 1st world war although historically it began with the idea of Kant (1724-1804) who first proposed an alternative to just war theory based on ethical obligations toward initial disarmament and renunciation of aggression. Even before Kant, Hugo Grotius (15833-1645) could also been seen as having made some philosophical contributions in this direction. Talking further back enough the ancient Greek stoics could be

mentioned for their "international citizenship" concept.

The basic tenet of this approach is that, a peaceful arrangement can exist among nations if each accepts that the security of one is the concern of all also, collective security approach sees national security as a side benefit of world order to be managed by some transcendent authority from above. Kupchan and Kupchan (2011) also buttressed this their "the promise of collective security. It is upon this basis of collective security theoretical framework that such international organizations known as the league of Nations and the United Nations were built. It is important to note that the United Nations is major example of collective security at work, not an embodiment of it. It rejects the notion that alliances and neutrality can work, and substitutes the ideas that "an attack against one is an attack against all".

The basic idea is to relieve nation from the burden of having to provide national security by themselves because weaker nations cannot possibly defend themselves, and stronger nations often become involved in never ending arms races which usually detract from their security over the long team. It tries to encourage cooperation and peaceful change, and as such, is a peace theory that can be distinguished from the notion of "collective defense" which it is often confused with. Organizations like NaTO are collective defense institutions (which protect members nations from outside threats) while organizations like the UN are collective security institutions (which protect members from

inside threats)

A fundamental collective security principle is that violence in pursuit of change should be a last resort, and any demands for change should first have their perceptions of interest and claims of justice expressed peacefully in some kind of world forum. If this peace process does not work or proves impossible, the status quo must be respected and far more important is the pledge that nations

make to one another in the name of collective security.

- However, this study has a stance on the evolution of international organizations especially that of the most "giant" United nations. Indeed, the developing nations are in need of support from the international community, but such support should be altruistic and free from any ulterior motive. For instance, because of its military might. Barnet (2005) described the US as the modern leviathan (giant without match). But perhaps the borde-sharing some lesser powerful countries, such as Niger and Cameroon played more significant role in the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency.

In a nutshell, this theory assumes the existence of a world in which every state is so limited by the distribution of power, the reduction of military power levels by a disarmament programme, and the lack of economic self-sufficiency. Any state which may develop aggressive indignations can be held in check by methods which probably need not include the large scale use of force (Clausde,

1984).

The collective security theory is important in explaining the possibility of getting the acceptance by states of theoretically formidable responsibility for enforcing the peace, only because it assumes the improbability that it will be necessary to invoke the performance of the most drastic enforcement duties. It will also be used to justify the effort made by the international community to help Nigeria fight the insecurity due to the current insurgency. But the theory is not without criticisms. The easy criticism is that a lot of states do not like the idea of giving up their sovereign immunity to some international body like the U.N. particularly when that organization has not lived up to its ideals and promise. One of those promise is that short notice would be needed to act in the name of collective security. As Morgenthau (1948) noted, a pre-requite for collective security theory to work is that the system must be able to quickly assemble a military force in strong enough numbers to deter an aggression. Another promise is that victims would be made stronger afterwards, presumably through humiliation interaction. The idea of the UN having timely, flexible interventions has not yet been achieved. Some successes exist, however, in getting nations to not take sides in conflicts or at least participating in peace processes as a prelude to conflict.

Underdevelopment theory is also instrumental for explaining insecurity and underdevelopment in Nigeria. One of the ways of measuring underdevelopment is to use statistical index. Based on this criterion, Ujo (2008) rates underdevelopment through three variables namely:

- i. Economic indicators
- ii. Demographic indicators and
- iii. Cultural and political indicators

Of all the indicators above, none could be disregarded in understanding the level of Nigeria underdevelopment because the GAP per capita might be high, but it remains deceptive due to not only the paradox, but also due to the inherent failure of the economic indices to explain the extent to which the distribution is grossly unequal; one or two individuals can have the wealth of seventy million of other people in the same country. Demographically, Nigeria has high, fertility rate (from 2006 census to 2015, the country has population increase of about 60 million i.e. 120 million to 180 million). There is also high expectancy (Osain, 2011). In terms of cultural and political indicators, the scenarios in Nigeria are evidence that youth are trapped in demoralization due to cultural and moral breakdown, identity crises and democracy but fails to adapt to the democratic culture, ethnic and etiquettes.

Underdevelopment using cultural and political indicators is characterized by the following factors.

- i. High degree of illiteracy
- ii. Child labour
- iii. Wide gap between the rich and the poor
- iv. Women occupy inferior position
- v. Predominance of traditional values and
- vi. Political instability

Kwame Nkrumah as one of the advocates of dependency theory, an impetus for underdevelopment theory blamed the retrogression of certain parts of the world to the exploitation of some world powers. Nkrumah argued that underdevelopment in third World countries is due to neo-colonialism. According to him, neo-colonialism is not continuity of reciprocal relationship between two equal nations, but an asymmetrical or unequal power relations just like the colonial days (Nkrumah, 1971 quoted in Ujo, 2008:491) of the two theories the underdevelopment theory is adopted in this paper, because it speaks volume about the Nigerian condition. In addition, virtually all of the features of

underdevelopment identified by the theory are evident in the country, and prevalence of some, if not all of them is ringing the alarm of potential insecurity situation in Nigeria. Leaders of neocolonial states derived their authority to govern not from the will of the people, but from the approval of their whims and caprices. This assertion is true with Nigeria because most of the country's policies are formulated and decisions taken without consultation and popular support of the ordinary citizen.

Insecurity and the Challenge of Development in Nigeria

Development is achievable when people are allowed to live peacefully and without any threat to their lives or property but developing societies of Africa are shackled with perpetual insecurity, because of poverty, injustice, unemployment, lack of vision and disunity among the multiple ethnics Soyinka denounced African government (Quoted in Owoye and Bissessar (n.d.13-14). There is an institutional collapse, elite disorientation, gaps in rational resources allocation and ineffective internal control system and administrative process in Nigeria. All these factors have exacerbated a situation that has led to corruption at every level of government because there is no effective leader to chart the course that will lead the nation to prosperity (Mgbeke, 2009).

One of the multi-dimensional aspects of terrorism is state sponsorship. Macionis (2009) made this note government use violence within its own territory to suppress political opposition. So when we cry for all the riggings, killings, scandalous electoral malpractices and fraud we cry of high level of corruption of governance that has made politics and elected positions the most lucrative job in most developing countries the world including Nigeria (Illu, 2009). This has been the reason why the current Boko Haram insurgence is linked with unscrupulous and corrupt governance. If it is not directly linked with the governance, it would be indirect signal of failure by the government because it

fails to provide job opportunities for youth and establish justice in the country.

Zumve et al (2013) depict the contemporary Nigeria as a theatre of genocide, bloodshed and insecurity over the past three years due to the carnage activities of terrorist groups of various groups and camps. This, they observed, unleash havoc on the Nigerian populace. Through these groups (largely involving youth) are numerous, the most noticeable and deadly are the Boko Haram sect and Niger Delta militants two decades ago, being a country inhibiting multiple religions and several tribal and ethnic groups, Nigeria had experienced massive ethno-religious, sectoral and political violence which led to enormous socio-economic and political consequences on the nation's development aspiration. These conflicts have led to the destruction of lives and property and also brought untold sorrow on the people in the last fifty years of our nationhood. Today, there is a tragic extinction of credible and charismatic leaders at all levels in every geo-political configuration as a result of violent conflicts and political instability in the political system which has made the country lack nationalistic and patriotic leaders who have the interest aspiration. These conflicts have led to the destruction of lives and property and also brought untold sorrow on the people in the last fifty years of our nationhood. Today, there is a tragic extinction of credible and charismatic leaders at all levels in every geo-political configuration as a result of violent conflicts and political leaders who have the interest of the people at heart (Afegbua, 2010). Radda (2008:6) examined the situation of Nigeria and remarked that government is the sole body responsible for safeguarding the well being of the citizenry because it is a binding contract between the government and the citizens, "thus the essence of government is to improve the general welfare of the populace. In specific terms, government are formed to offer security, protection and enhance quality life to the citizenry: and government enjoys the monopoly of weapons of coercion to be deployed in the interest of the good which gives it legitimacy. People under a legitimate government have agree to give it the right to police state activities for the promotion and protection of their rights. They are not surrendering their rights perse: it is a social contract between

the government and the governed."

The above remark is apparently in tune with the utilitarian position. Thomas Hobbes is one of the classic social contract theorists who held that the state authority is grounded in the consent of the governed. Without freely given consent the government is illegitimate and subjects have no moral obligation to obey its laws. People voluntarily give up to the state their natural freedom in order to have their interests served. These interests or natural rights are right to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness. Governance is cooperative enterprise that enable us to live better than we could live in an uncoordinated social situation (Poyman, 2003). But the question here is whether Nigerian government represents an organized system in the right if the citizens rights can be enhanced.

Democratic governance involved leaders and policy makers with good attitudes, motivation, disposition, and habits in a desired direction that is primarily a function of political leadership. It must be a leadership whose sincerity of purpose is so transparent as to induce people to adopt the desired pattern of behavior, and whose dedication to the developmental course is sufficiently total and selfless to inspire public confidence. But in Nigeria, people are demoralized because what is in theory seems to be disconnected from what they see in practice. According to Mgbeke (2009), leadership has to practices what it advocates. Adumesin (2011) points out that, countries that succeed started by giving security to the people-food security, shelter, basic needs and if Nigeria does not meet the needs at this level, it cannot aspire to the higher level. But for development to be achieved, the country must provide an enabling environment for people to feel secured and do their day to day activities without fear of being harmed.

Poverty is widespread in Nigeria. As reported by the World population Data Sheet (2005) 91% of the Nigerian population lived below 2 dollars perday. In a letter research USAID (2016) reported that close to 60% of the Nigerians live in extreme poverty. In 2014, World Bank Director for Nigeria, Marie-Nelly said, 100 million Nigerians were living in poverty. In the same year, the Bank's president, Dr. Kim rated the country among the World's extremely poor countries (council for foreign

relations, 2014).

This indicates the inability of Nigeria to mobilize its resources and transform these resources

into a meaningful output for the benefit of the citizens.

The prevailing insecurity has the potential for perpetuating under-development in Nigeria as a nation because the government will lose a sizeable chunk of revenue whenever there are crises in the country. For instance, tax charges and rates on varied items by local governments cannot be collected during violent crises, implying loss of revenue for development purposes. (Afegbua 2010) Therefore, insecurity alongside other problems, such as high rate of poverty and unemployment due to massive corruption by the rulers, ethnicity, religions and regional crises can pose a threat to Nigeria's developmental aspirations.

Policy Implications

In the first place, justice is arguably the best instrument for achieving peace in any human organization or society at large. In addition to that, love and tolerance, as propagated by Gulen (2004), shall replace hatred and envy. Nigeria is a plural; society due to its multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious characteristics, but multi-culturalism is not an excuse for conflict or protracted

insecurity in the country. Multi-ethnicity ought to be a driven for development as it is evident in the United State.

For the government in an initial encounter with suspects or militants in any part of the country, peacemaking technique should have been employed by the Nigerian government. The resolution with amnesty used by the former president of Nigeria, late Umaru Musa Yar'Adua to pacify members of MEND. Yielded a lasting peace in the area. But the same president took military or coercive action against the Boko Haram members and this decision turned some parts of the Northeastern Nigeria into a war-torn Zone. As International Crisis Group (2014) suggest, the federal Government of Nigeria shall stop heavy-handed military and police methods that risk pushing yet

more restless, jobless and frustrated youths into violence and extremism.

People should also be security conscious. As the rule of laws contains, nobody "is above the law". Some prominent Nigerians are alleged to be involved in the Boko Haram activities. The criminal justice shall investigate and verify the allegations, then began to check impunity (as one of the main Boko Haram demands) and investigate and prosecute crimes, allegedly committed by some politicians. Commitment to maintenance of security in the country has to be the priority of government-federal, state and local - by spending more on surveillance and intelligence. The state security services, government officials as well as business men shall be concerned and work tirelessly towards achieving security in Nigeria. Another measure that will be of help to Nigerians in the moment of insecurity situation is for them to become brothers' keepers. Through unity the prevailing insecurity that bedevils the country shall not incite disunity among Nigerians. Therefore irrespective of regional differences and ethnicity, all Nigerians should be part of anti-terrorist crusade. They should all know that the insecurity situation is the faults of any one community, but the bad eggs 'or bad Nigerians. After all it had been established that, some of the members of this terrorist movement are foreigners.

Conclusion

Conclusively, insecurity may stand out as a challenge of a national development to Nigeria, but it has its root causes - consequences and possible solutions. There are multiple causes of insecurity in Nigeria, principal among which are, corruption which lingers in the country's political and socio-economic structures. Inability of Nigerian leaders to evolve mechanism that will tackle the menace of unemployment, poverty, and disunity among the diverse ethnics that make up the country 'Nigeria' are other pressing issues. Since the independence till date, the country had been facing unity challenges which allow for other problems to creep in.

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