Rising Insecurity and Development in Nigeria

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Abstract: **Nigeria returned to democratic rule 1999 after many years of military autocracy. Since then, the country has come under array of complex security threats. This paper, therefore, examined these security threats like insurgency, terrorism, banditry and cattle rustlings, pastoralists/farmers skirmishes, militancy and communal conflicts among others and their profound repercussions on national security and development. Adopting the multi-disciplinary approach, this study revealed that at the root of these emerging threats lie mass misgvings over the perceived political thuggery, poverty and hunger, unemployment, lack of government responsibility, collapse of social infrastructure, and corruption within the system. The findings of the paper showed that the insecurity with its frightening and unprecedented dimensions had serious adverse effects on the State's security architecture, personal safety, national stability and development. It recommends among other things, that priority attention should be focused more on people-centred measures that could more easily deliver the good life to the entire citizenry than on military hard ware and institutions.**

Key words: **Security, Insecurity, National Development, Insurgency, National Stability.**

I. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria returned to democratic governance after many years of military rule and authoritarian dictatorship. Since then the country has persistently continued to witness diverse manifestations of array of complex security threats on daily basis despite its many governance challenges. While it is unarguably true that insecurity has reached alarming dimensions, it is historical that Nigeria has never experienced security challenges before the transition to civilian rule. Corroborating this position, Nigeria's former Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen Abdulrahman Dambazau (rtd) documents:

> We (Nigerians) have, as a nation, always been confronted with security challenges since independence in 1960, and sometimes so threatening that one would expect total collapse, but for some unexplained reason it appears that Nigeria has developed some resilience in her ability to bounce back whenever it was almost knocked down by these challenges. (Dambazau, 2013 p. 1)

Thus, there is no pretense to the obvious fact that due to negative legacies of prolonged military dictatorship in the decades of the 1980s and 1990s virtually every geo-political zone of Nigeria is always been confronted with the phenomenon of insecurity in contemporary times. The evolving intensive and disturbing wave of insecurity that is threatening the very foundation of the country's existence, unity and stability takes various forms in different parts of the country. In the South – South, there is the renewed Niger Delta militancy, in the North East, the Islamic inspired Boko Haram terrorist organization have taken over and the shiah in parts of the North – West. The Benue Region is crises – ridden with rural cattle rustlers, and herders. The North – Central and Northern Region have border bandits who operate with impunity while in the South-East and South-West, the spate of ethnic militias, kidnapping and armed robbery attacks is fast becoming a norm also Farmer's skirmishes which is now almost a way of life (Adeyeri, 2011; Eme & Onyishi, 2011). Whether it is acceptable or not, these emerging widespread and diverse manifestations of security threats had serious implications for adequate national security and development. Thousands of citizens and non-citizens of Nigeria are being killed on daily basis while property worth millions of naira is constantly loss to security threats.

Given the critical place occupy by security as the brain box for socio-economic and political leaders in Nigeria since they mounted the saddle of democratic leadership have never handled security matters with kids gloves. It has been a frequent policy of government to prioritize security as a first order value so as to ensure the protection of all citizens' lives and property. Nigeria security always gulped the highest chunk of the country expenditures even at the expense of other alternatives such as health, education and infrastructure. For instance, the present democratic dispensation has allocated the sum of ₦6trn on Defence in eleven years. That's from 208 to 2018 (*Vanguard News,* retrieved on 20/08/2019). The stark reality is that all those huge public expenditures on security measures, hard wares and institutions have not significantly contain, combat and manage the current dangerous tide of insurgency and terrorism or effectively address its root cause.

This paper which examines and evaluates the historical evolutions, causal bases and dimensions of the rising national security threats confronting Nigeria as well as its imperatives for national security and development is fragmented into four closely knitted sections. Section one which on-going is the introduction. The second section which follows the introduction defines the conceptual pathway by reviewing the key terminologies in the work. Section three examines the historical roots, cause and the manifestations of the evolving security threats. Section four assesses their implications for Nigeria's Security and development while the last Section concludes the paper with some solutions to weather the security storms.

Conceptual pathway: Security, and Development

There are two key concepts that need to be defined and understood for a deeper understanding of this work. They are security and development.

Security: Like other concepts in the Humanities and Social Sciences, security is an ambiguous and multi-dimensional phenomenon, involving a component of a mixture or compound of Defence in a way that it has to do with the methods for attaining and protecting something. Indeed, there are so many definitions of security without a precise definition. For example, Imobighe (1992) sees security as "freedom from danger or with threats to a nation's ability to protect itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests and enhance the well-being of its people". He further stipulates that internal security means "freedom from danger to life and property and the presence of a conducive atmosphere for the people to pursue their legitimate interest within the society" (as cited in Wapnuk, 2011 p. 669). For Braith Waite (1992) security "is more than territorial defence. It focuses on the physical, social and psychological quality of life" (cited in Katsina, 2017 p. 1980). For Wolfers (1962, p. 150) security, "in any objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence". Tedheke (1998, p. 2) insists that "security can be understood as the overall socio-economic well-being of the society". Security, therefore, can be viewed as a synonym to safety, happiness, freedom, and protection against danger, risks, or loss. Lack of containment of threats and the prevalence of tension and conflicts in which the existence of the state is in imminent danger could serve as measuring indexes of the level of security.

Fundamentally, there are two basic strands of security: The human and national security which are the emphasis of this work. They are interwoven and contributory to each other. Periods before the conceptualization of human security, especially during the Cold War era, security was mainly viewed in the military context. This misleading traditional notion and perspective often emphasize the defend of a nation's territorial and sovereign integrity or the build-up of military hard ware and institution above other aspect of the national life. One of the scholars who holds this idea of national security is Lasswell (1950). According to him, national security is the "best balance of all instruments of foreign policy, and hence in the coordinated handling of arms, diplomacy, information, and economics, and in the proper correlation of all measures of foreign and domestic policy" (Lasswell, 1950 p. 75). National security lies on the capability of the military forces to protect certain values and defend the nation against any form of external threat or aggression.

However, the post – Cold War era has witnessed a pragmatic paradigm shift from the traditional security perspective to national security which places much premium on human security. The modern day thinking of national security emphasizes human-centric or people-centre approach (i.e. human welfare and security) as the goal of all governments instead of the old conception of security as State power. In other words, national security today, which is not a new invention, goes beyond military components or security doctrines as well as strategic considerations and embraces economic, social, environmental, psychological, political and other important human based variables. Buttressing this conceptualization of human security as popularized by Mahbub al Haq, a Pakistan economist in 1994, the Human Development Programme (UNDP) affirms: "human security is a child who did not die, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons – it is a concern with human life and dignity" (*Human Security Journal,* 2007 p. 2). Also, stressing the concept of 'human security' is Mc Namara (1968, p 142-6):

> Any society that seeks to achieve military security against the backdrop of food shortage, population explosion, low level productivity and per-capital income, low technological development, inadequate and in efficient utilities and chronic problems of unemployment has a false sense of security.

Pointing out that development is a *sine qua non* to national security, he stresses:

> In a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it; security is not military force, though it may involve it; security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development, and without development there can be no security.

Explaining the critical nexus between security and development, he poignantly notes:

> As development progresses, security progresses, and when people of a nation have organized their human and natural resources to provide themselves their human and national resources to provide themselves with what they need and expect of life, and have learned to compromise peacefully among competing demands in the larger national interest, then their resistance to disorder and violence will enormously increase.

Arising from this new thinking, "national security" is seen as the integrity of the national territory and its institutions which involves a conglomeration of measures undertaken by the government in providing assurance of national safety to the collective population (Adejo, 2017 p.1). ON his own part, Tyoden (2005, p. 173) explains that national security is the "readiness and capability of a country to contain internal and external threats to its existence and well-being and ensure the socio-economic welfare of its peoples". Within the purview of this paper, national security entails all the abilities of a state to promote the pursuit and attainment of the basic wants and important interests of the individuals and society, and to secure or safe them from all kinds of threats which may take the guise of poverty, disease, shelter, national

disaster, hunger, inequalities, injustices, and other variables that could trigger off human insecurity. It also embodying essential attributes needed for survival and well-being of the citizens of a State. It is sad to note that the security need of Nigerians which is one of the fundamental pillars of development, has been trivialized and neglected by successive Nigerian governments.

Development: This is yet another elastic and fuzzy concept that has been given doses of different interpretations. Omokerhraye (1994, p. 20) sees development as a "profound transformation of the entire economic and social structures of a community be it regional, national or international. Nnoli (1981, p. 192) conceives development as a process leading to man's progressive and qualitative self-improvement". To Rodney (1972, p. 2) development implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Ibube (2008, p. 6) states that developments is:

> The manner in which individuals cooperatively cultivate the capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships to bring about growth in the quality and quantity of goods and services that are readily available in a country for the enhancement of the living standard of its people.

Extrapolating from the above conceptual exploration, development is a broad and comprehensive terminology desired to satisfy the fundamental needs and aspirations of the people. This is reinforces by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which reveals that development aims at creating "an enabling environment for people to live long, healthy and creative lives" (UNDP, 1990 p. 10). In essence, development in this study refers to the promotion of the general well-being of the people of a state, both in the qualitative and quantitative spectrums. This includes the delivery of the good life to the people by providing quality education, good motorable road, constant electricity supply, improved and effective medical facilities, decent housing facilities, equitable distribution of national income, gainful employment and so on.

Instructively, there is a great deal of nexus between national security and development. The citizens of a state constitute the bedrock on which national development is structured and fashioned, just as security forms the fulcrum upon which economic growth and development can be achieved. Security is one of the major objectives and indeed the foremost responsibility of every responsive government and strong State. A secure nation is one that is able to protect and develop the potential of its people. Security is a very essential pillar and element in the survival and development of any nation. It provides the congenial environment for self-actualization which ultimately translates to development, No doubt, the absence of adequate security of lives and property, the society will be rife with anarchy, lawlessness, chaos and instability which are antitheses to national development. The

onus national threats, its core values, interests and sovereignty (Nwolise, 2006; Omede, 2011).

II. CAUSES AND DIMENSIONS OF THE EVOLVING NATIONAL INSECURITY

It is discovered that the root causes of the widespread dimensions of the security challenges confronting contemporary Nigeria are interwoven, inter connected and emanated largely from internal other than external sources. Though, experiences have shown that most times the external forces strengthen the internal factors. At the inauguration of the fourth republic, the political leaders at all the three tiers swore an oath that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government (*The Nigerian Constitution*, 1999, section 4(b). Overwhelming available facts have shown that the primary of the security and economic needs of the citizenry is no longer the priority and purpose of the government. With the advent of the nascent-democracy, it was hoped that development, security, peace, unity, tranquillity and stability would be the dividends of democracy in Nigeria.

Currently, most citizens of the country lack basic necessities of life like safe drinking water, housing, access to quality education and effective health-care, gainful employment and other good things that would make them fell secured and have a sense of belonging. The people also feel mass misgivings over the perceived political thuggery unbearable marginalization, systemic injustices and endemic corruption within the system. The trickledown effect is that a pool of poverty looking and hunger stricken as well as frustrated people who are easily ignited by any event to be violent is produced. Understandably, the failure of governance as a result of "corruption and inefficiency" (Hassan-Kukah, 2012 p. 10) drove the productive segment of the country's population – the youths – to embrace all forms of criminality, crime and violent activities. A few of them are kidnappings, armed and highway robberies, prostitution, drug abuse, drug trafficking, terrorism, banditry, internet fraud, banking scam, trading in fake currencies, ritual killings, theft, thuggery and political assassinations, oil bunkering, rebel militia, inter-communal and inter-ethnic strife, among others are rampant across the length and breadth of the country, signalizing the feelings and expressions of frustration and hopelessness.

Meanwhile, it is sheer difficult to examine all their manifestations, aims and objectives in this little volume. However, the most organized, dreaded and violent security threats are considered here. They include:

Boko Haram: It is a truism that the *Boko Haram*, which came into existence in 2002 in the town of Maiduguri, Borno State capital and resurfaced in 2009, is the most dreaded Islamic terrorist sect that the independent Nigeria had ever had. The group, which has since spread to other Northern and Central Nigerian States was officially known and addressed in *Arabic as Jama' atu Ah his Sunna Lidda' a wati Wal-Jihad* (literally meaning people committed to the propagation of the prophet's

teaching and Jihad). The residents have aptly referred to the sect as Nigerian's *Taliban* and *Boko Haram*in sharp reference to its hatred for western style values and much emphasis place on Islamic religion. The term *Boko-Haram* is a combination of the Hausa work book which metaphorically means "western education" and the Arabic work *Haram* which figuratively connotes "sin" and literally means "forbidden". Thus, *Boko Haram* has been generally translated as "western or non-Islamic education is a sin or "blasphemy".

Founded by Mohammed Yusuf, *Boko Haram* is an Islamic militant movement whose philosophical underpinnings and motive is to strongly and vehemently oppose man-made laws and seeks the imposition of *Shariah* rather than the secular laws in the Northern States of Nigeria. Differently put, Mohammed Yusuf was desirous to form an Islamic nation in Nigeria. In 2004, Muhammed transferred this operational base to Kanama in Yusufari Local Government Area of Yobe State and renamed it "Afghanistam". He was able to mobilize large followers mainly from the dregs of the society like the illiterates, the school drop outs, the never – do – wells, the unemployed, the poor, and the hopeless youths, enticing them that their precarious conditions were consequent upon political corruption and decades of neglect. The membership of *Boko Haram* is also drawn from Niger Cameroon and Chad, Nigeria's neighbouring countries (Paden 2015). The militant movement has its stronghold in four North – East States: Yobe, Borno, Kano and Bauchi, interestingly, few members of the sect who acquired certificates in western style education were reported to have burned theirs in the conviction that true and sure salvation lies in Islamic learning (Ityonzughul, 2017). Flowing from the above, it is safe to infer that *Boko Haram* insurrection is the net effect of lack of responsibility on the part of government and frustration with corruption and the concomitant social uneasiness like poverty and unemployment prevailing in the nascent democracy (Obiyan & Usman, 2013; Omude, 2011; Usman, 2014). In the words Hassan-Kikah (2012 p. 10). It is "the failure of governance and it is a symptom of what happens when the architecture of state are weightened down and destroyed by corruption and inefficiency".

The extra judicial killing of the leader of the Islamic fundamentalist, Muhammed Yusuf, in 2009, that sparked off the fearsome and awful activities of the organization and escalated the crisis to the world's attention. In 2009, there was government clampdown on the faction during which nearly 800 people lost their lives and Yusuf was alleged to have died while trying to escape from the police custody (Ulmer, 1998). Curtly after the murder of their leader, the militant movement went clandestine and "fled to Sambisa forest, the extremist group mobilized and consolidated more support, logistics and finances from other international Islamic terrorist power houses like the *Al-Queda*, in the Islamic Maghrib, *Ansar Dine* in Mali or *Al-sabaab* in Somalia (Osagwe & Atunbi, 2017). In what seems to be a retaliatory action against what the group

perceived as extra-judicial killings of its supporters, leader, and members it departed from its largely peaceful operations to launch coordinated remarkably and daring attacks under guerrilla war fare against the State (Paden, 2015).

With the inspirational leadership provided by Ima Abubarkar Skekau, former deputy to Yusuf who was widely believed to have died in the sect's clash with the security forces in 2009 coupled with the acquisition of sophisticated weapons like AK 47, LMG, Machine Guns, Rocket Launchers, Improvised Explosive Device (IED), Tankers, to mention but a few the terrorist group began its clandestine operations and continues to wage a brutal insurgency against the Nigerian country. Its strategic includes, kidnappings, hostage – takings, assassinations, and assassination attempts of non – citizens, high profile citizens and ordinary citizens, suicide bombings, raping, maiming, destruction of villages, houses, families, burning and destruction of schools, government and school infrastructures. The terrorist group over the years has unleashed various gruesome and violent attacks on regular basis in mosques, churches, security personnel and establishments, government establishments, market and so on with huge human casualties. From the first calculated attack in Borno in January 2010 at Kala Alanderi ward in Maiduguri city, which led to the death of four people, the extremist sect bombed the Alanderi ward in Maiduguri city, which led to the death of four people, the extremist sect bombed the Louis Edet House, Police headquarters in Abuja on 16th June, the private residential house of former vice president, Muhammed Namadi Sambo in Zaria, Kaduna State, on 26 August, the United Nations office complex and St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madalla in Niger State on Christmas Day all in 2011. Also, in 2012, Jaji College, Kaduna was attacked severely. From 14th – 15th April 2014, over 276 teenage school girls were abducted by the group from Government Secondary School Science and Technical, Dapchi Chibok, in Borno State.

The activities of the dreaded *Boko Haram* Islamic terrorists constituted serious threat to national security and development as it has crippled the religious, economic and political lives of the people. In spite of thousands' of people held hostage in their "safe haven", *Boko Haram* insurgents has sent hundreds of thousand innocent and non – suspecting citizens including the men and officers of the military and the Nigeria Police Force alike to their early graves. The number of deaths in cities like Kano, Borno, Adamawa, Taraba, Yobe, Kaduna, Kogi, Bauchi, Gombe States to mention but a few are numerous and dozen hospitalized. In their summation on Human casualties, Bawa and Zakari (2017, p. 275) submit:

In 2012 alone 792 people were killed by *Boko Haram* sect. In 2013, due to the escalation of Boko Haram hostilities, 1,000 people lost their lives to the sect, by 2014 the number of people killed by Boko Haram group in North-Eastern Nigeria was put at 10, 549 people. Holistically, it is estimated more than 20,000 people were killed by *Boko Haram* sect in the period "between" 2009-2016 in North-

Easter Nigeria. Apart from the loss of lives, properties (sic) amounting to $85.9 million have been destroyed. Out of this $3 million are in housing alone. Indeed, the *Boko Haram* attacks occasioned high degree of loss of lives and destruction of properties (sic), infrastructures through bombing, assassination and genocide. This development has not only led to the decrease in the population of the people full of dreams of their own wound have been in the development of North-Eastern Nigeria but also have discouraged investment in the area (in particular and Nigeria as a whole).

The Shi'ah: Closely related to the mission and *modus operandi* of the *Boko Haram* is the Shi'ah Muslim movement. Though the Shi'ah sect is more imbue with political and religious motive, the main ideology of this religious group is that the Ali bn Khattab and his descendants (*AW at Bayt*) are the only people that are largely empowered to control the Islamic caliphate. The term Shi'ah, according to Sallabay (2005), literally refers to supporters. Technically, the term is used to mean a group involving the mainstream Muslims and the companions of the prophet (S.A.W.). The Shi'ah movements have different appellations. A few of them are *Imaamiyyah Sabariyyah, Isma'illiyaa, Zaidiyyah, Ghurabiyyah, Babiyyah* and so on.

Phenomenally, the Shi'ah Muslim sect perforated into Nigeria in the 1980s under the headship of Sheikh Ibrahim EL-Zakzaky with the banner of *Ikhwanul Muslimun* (meaning Muslim Brothers). Corresponding to the ideological underpinnings of the Boko Haram, the Shi'ah also aim at establishing an Islamic State in Nigeria despites its secular nature (Nasidi, 2017). Contrary to expectation, it fell out with other Muslim Brotherhoods in Nigeria. Notwithstanding, the body professed that the Muslims out not to be govern by *infidels* (unbelievers) in any democratic arrangement. Hence, the Shi'ah declared that the constitution and political campaigns in Nigeria are its anthem antithetical to Islamic practice and its professed beliefs. It is a fact worth of attention that the Shi'ah was the pioneer Muslim sect to openly declare that *Boko Haram* (Western education and values) is *Haram* (prohibited). Its confrontational and violent posture made them to collide with the security forces in the 1990s and 2016 which culminated in the deaths of many Nigerians, leaving scores injured. The most recent clash with the security agencies ended in the ignominious incarceration of its leaders in jail. Indeed, the *modus operandi* of the Shi'ah goes a long way to indicate that the unity, peace and stability of the country is threatened and insecurity is imminent.

*Pastoralists/Herders and Farmers' Skirmishes***:** This is one of the foremost pressing contemporary challenges confronting Nigeria. The ceaseless bloody and grisly clashes between those groups especially in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria is causing untold havoc on Nigeria's security psyche. In recent times, there has been an upsurge in the headers (mostly Fulani) and cultivators (particularly non-Fulani) frictions in most parts of states like Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau, Adamawa,

Borno, Kaduna and Gombe. The militant group has also extended its venomous operations into Eastern and Southern parts of the country. They adapted the guerrilla warfare tactics; hitting at their targets and running, killings, raping, maiming, burning of settlements and communities, pillaging, displacing victims and using the psychological weapon of fear to subdue the unsuspecting farming villages and communities at will in these parts of the country. Their major and commonly used weapon is the AK 47, Machetes, dagger and assorted knives. Little or no surprise that Wole Soyinka, a literary icon, describes the Fulani pastoralists as "Marauders" who "swoop on sleeping settlements" and whose "weapon is undiluted terror" (Nigeria herdsmen – crisis, retrieved, 20/08/2019).

The Fulani are a major ethnic group found in most West African countries. They constitute the largest ethnic group in the Sahel with a population numbering nearly 20 to 30 million. In the plane of occupation, the principal activity of the Fulani people, who are mostly concentrated in the Northern part of Nigeria, is cattle grazing. Essentially, as semi-nomadic herders, they mostly graze their cattle in the north and occasionally in other parts of the country. For the past few years ago, a combination of factors forced the Fulani herders to travel long distances along grazing routes for greener grazing areas across the nation-state. Among the propelling and motivating factors that forced the Fulani herders to pour out, are proliferation and wide spread small weapons (SWs) and light weapons (LWs), drought, farming along grazing land, lack of funds to finance suitable grass land for grazing, rapid population growth, extreme climate variations, land degradation or desertification, political instability, to mention but a few (Bonkat & Akume, 2017, Chukuma & Atelhe, 2014; Yusuf, 2017).

Ostensibly, the meeting together of these occupationally diverse peoples caused serious security crises over the limited land. This was exasperated by the encroachment of the herders into cultivators' farmland to graze their livestock the frequent complaints that the pastoralists' cattle had destroyed their crops or the farmers had murdered their cattle often provided the generative force behind the genocidal acts. Apart from resource scarcity, the clashes are fuelled and worsened by the groups' religious and cultural differences. The Fulani pastoralists belong to the Islamic religion and adapt the nomadic culture while majority of the Nigerian farming population are mostly Christian by faith who are used to sedentary lifestyle. The Fulani attacks on farmers have always occur and re-occur during the months of autumn, dry or harmattan season of the year. These are the periods in a year where there are intense competition for suitable grazing land (Blench & Dendo, 2003).

The point to note strongly and significantly too is that over the past few years, the lethal hostilities have become the dominant security concern in the country as both sides formed well – armed 'self-defense' militias. In fact, the prevailing sporadic situations to degenerate. The fear alone

that accompanied such attacks had enormous negative consequences on the socio-economic and political lives of the people concerned. It is instructive to comment here that the herders and farmers "between" 2010-2013, the Fulani militants in the cloak of cattle herders obliterated 80 people, the pastoralists again wiped out 1, 229 in 2014. Out of these figures, Borno, Kaduna, Nassarawa, Plateau, Benue and Taraba States recorded 847 deaths (Ityonzughul, 2017). The gory and brutish murder made the Global terrorism index to identify them as the fourth deadliest terrorists group in 2014, revealing that they used machine guns and other assorted sophisticated weapons to attack communities and intimidate the local farmers.

The International Crisis Group, IGG, reports that the horrible clashes between herders and farmers in Nigeria had claimed six times more lives than the *Boko Haram* insurgency in 2018 alone, adding that 1, 3000 people had been killed in attacks in the Middle-Belt, with 300, 000 people displaced. ICG maintains that the rising spate of violence in 2018 is due largely to growing number of ethnic militias with dangerous illicit and Sophisticated arms, failure of the government to prosecute perpetrators, introduction of anti-grazing laws, and climate change among others (*Vanguard news on line*, retrieved on 2018/2019).

*Proliferation Of Small Arms (Sas) And Light Weapons (Lws)***:** Present-day Nigeria, especially from 1999 when the country returned to democratic rule, has been faced with the challenge of high level of degree of illegal importation, rapid multiplication and widespread use of illicit dangerous SMS and LWs as well as ammunition. This remarkable development is hinge on the express desire for safely or protection and for criminal purposes. The porosity of borders coupled with the weak security network also enabled deadly weapons and unwanted migrants to pour into the country with ease. These foreigners are mostly unemployed youths, hence prone to criminality and other negative tendencies. In 2016, it was speculated that Nigeria played host to almost 70 percent of over 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa (Security challenges in Nigeria, retrieved 20/08/2019).

The possession and use of both LWs and SWs by Nigerians and others living in the country is a major source of much larger security menace in the country as they used them to achieve personal selfish ends, sectional/ethnic interests, religious motives and political desires. The root causes, availability and wide circulation of arms is linked to several factors like unemployment, political rivalry/thuggery, ethnic – religious conflict, corruption among government officials, commercial elite, "do or die" politicians, poverty and hunger in the country, and so on. It is not an exaggeration of fact that the illegal possession of arms consciously and consistently spurred the increasing wave of insecurity in the country. Truly, the proliferation of dangerous weapons makes the operations of armed and high way robbers, secret cultists, bandits, ethnic militias, terrorists, insurgents, pirates, assassins, herders, farmers militants, rioters, demonstrators, hijackers, kidnappers, hostage – takers, cattle rustlers and other criminals very easy and attractive.

The vandalization of oil pipelines, oil installations, abduction of oil and gas workers, and even oil bunkering by the Niger Delta militants would have been sternly resisted by the security forces but for the possession and use of sophisticated arms like Rach of *UK – 68s* (General purpose machine guns), Russian made AK – 47s, G – 3s, Beratta automatic rifles, pistols and bazookas procured from international arms brokers through the exchange of bunkered oil at the ocean (Adeyo, 2004; Gowon, 2005). Tell (24th March, 2008 p. 23) discloses that in early October 2006, a South African based business man unloaded a vessel full of arms in the creeks of Niger Delta in exchange for bunkered oil (cited in Lloyd, 2011). Speaking on how the proliferation of dangerous weapons stored and stimulated herders and farmers conflicts, Yusuf (2017 p. 414) reveals:

> Proliferation of arms comes as a result of insecurity on both sides. Herders stock arms for protection because they feel they are not save along grazing routes or tracks. Many times they have be molested, beaten and worse killed by farmers for trespassing and allowing their cattle to feed on farm crops. Secondly, they use dangerous weapons on the farmers in order to forcefully carve our grazing reserve for themselves… Another reason why the herders carry arms around while grazing is for the purpose of intimidation and to defend their cattle from rusting. While the farmers on the other hand also accumulate weapons for the purpose of defense against the herders and to take over their lands that were taken away from them from (by) the herders.

The sources of the availability and wide circulation of these weapons, both LWs and SWs are not far-fetched. Greedy corrupt, and unpatriotic Nigerians in connivance with their foreigner/arms brokers smuggled arms and ammunitions across the insecure and proliferous land and sea borders of neighbouring Benin, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon into Nigeria. For example, arms depots allegedly controlled by Chadian rebels are situated at Tibesti region on the border between Nigeria, chad and the Niger Republics. Arms and ammunitions are concealed in caves from where they are transported our through camels to Nigeria for sale, again, the porosity of the border assisted arms traffickers who allegedly import arms into the country by cleverly concealing them in clothings, vehicles, or kitchen utensils. The officials of the Nigerian customs and excise in first week of August 1999 intercepted six nationals of a West African country in a canoe in Lagos with 75, 000 rounds of ammunition and bags containing riffles. In December 2001, the customs also intercepted 10, 000 magazines in Ikeja, and equally large haul in some border station in February, 2002. In March 2002, customs made another large haul at Tabido/Budo in Kwara State (Lloyd, 2011)

III. KIDNAPPING AND HOSTAGE-TAKING

The twin events of kidnapping and hostage-takings in Nigeria and the world over are fast becoming frightening drivers of contemporary security threats. Though rooted in antiquity, the hydra headed vices are everyone's nightmare today. What is kidnapping? Funk & Wagnalls (1989, p. 700-701) see it as "to seize and carry off, (someone) by force or fraud, usually so as to demand a ransom". The further elaborate that it means stealing a child. To Stewart (2006) kidnapping is the crime of unlawful seizing and carry away a person by force of fraud, or seizing and detaining a person against his or her will with an intent to carry that person at later time. For the purpose of this paper, kidnapping will be seen as the act of taking away someone against the person's will, usually for ransom or in furtherance of another atrocity.

A hostage is "a person held as a pledge, as in war, for the performance of some stipulation" (Funk & Wagnalls, 1989, p. 611). Hostage-taking, according to Mba (2008, p. 15), "is the forceful and unlawful seizure or detention of a person with a threat to kill or inflict bodily or psychological harm (on the seized person) or continue detention indefinitely in other to compel a third party 9in his family, state or other natural or judicial person) to do or abstain from doing any act (including the payment of ransom) as a condition for the release of the hostage". By deductive reasoning, both kidnappings and hostage-takings are concerned with holding someone captive by brute force for ransom against his/her consent, and threatening the relatives, employer, law enforcement and/or government to fulfil the abductor's bidding. *The Nigerian Constitution*, section 364 seriously frowns at kidnappings and hostage-takings and prescribes ten years imprisonment for offenders found guilty by competent court of jurisdiction.

The Niger Delta Region was metaphorically set ablaze with the incidents of kidnappings and hostage-takings in the 1990s and 2000s. Initially, the militant groups mostly the Movement for the Emancipation of the People of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Martyrs Brigade claimed that they took to hostage taking so as to force "the federal government to recognize the aspiration of the people of the oil-rich producing region for a better deal from the revenue realized from the resources being produced from their areas" (*Tell*, 6 March 2006, p. 29 as cited in Lloyd, 2011 pp. 202-203). For a long time, the region has been suffering from the paradox of plenty. While the huge oil revenue derived from the region translates Nigeria into position of wealth, the oil-rich region still suffers under-development, deprivation, poverty and exploitation due to decades of federal government's and oil and gas companies neglect and lip-services.

Kidnappings and hostage takings in the region was expanded after the General Elections in 2007. After the elections, the "do or die" politicians in the region refused to fulfil their promise to the jobless youths whom very have armed to rig and manipulate elections in their favour. The "used and dumped" political thugs later turned the barrels of the guns bought for them by the greedy politicians on them. From then influential politicians, their offspring and relatives became their man targets. high-profile indigenes of the region, opinion leaders, chiefs and so on alleged to have received gratifications from the oil and gas companies operating in the area, thereby circumventing the good life of the mass of the people were also attacked (Agreen, 2008; Vincent & Duruighbo, 2008). Kidnappings and hostage-takings were later commercialized in the region due to it lucrativeness as a ransoms were running into millions of naira for any individual or group that claimed responsibility. The armies of unemployed youths cashed in on this despicable act as an easy way of making and guaranteeing quick money. The profile of kidnappings and hostage-takings during the period under review is indeed inexhaustible and can detain us here. Suffice to note that the first abduction case occurred on 11 January 2006 and was neatly carried out by MEND. Four expatriate oil and gas workers in Bayelsa State were the first victims. ON 18 February 2006 nine expatriate workers: three Americans: Makan Hawkings, Coydy Oswalt, and Rospel Spell; two Britons: John Hudspith and Shadelty Senary. Other victims were a Filipino named Anthony Santos; two Thais: Arak Suswama and Sonsak Mohadmhu: and Egyptian, Feisal Mohammed (Lloyd, 2011). By 2009, more than 200 foreigners residing in the Niger Delta have been kidnapping (Philip, 2009).

Spiraling unemployment, bad reward system, corruption and ineffectiveness of the security agents make kidnappings and hostage-takings a country-wide business. Thereby making Nigeria one of the prominent Kidnapping capitals of the world. As a matter of fact, most states in the federation are hot spots for the illegal enterprise. It has to be emphasized that the victims of this ignorable act have metamorphosed from being predominantly expatriate oil and gas workers to Africans and citizen of the country from all walks of life. A few of them were the law enforcement personnel, the aged, clergies, lecturers, doctors, top business executives, lawyers, and others capable of coughing out reasonable ransom. This could be exemplified in the abduction of two judges: Ali Okeme and Timothy Ali in Kogi State on May 19, 2016. Colonel Samaila Inusa of the Nigerian Army School of Infantry, Jaji, Kaduna State was kidnapped on 27 March 2016 in Kaduna State. Also, Rev. Fr. John Adayi, the Vicar General of the Catholic Diocese of Otukpo and priest in charge of St. Bernard Catholic Church in Okpoga, was kidnapped (Ftonzugnul, 2017). There is no gainsaying the fact that the twin-sinister endeavours have assumed an alarming and up-setting proportion which badly impinge on the country's national security and development.

The Biafran Agitation: MASSOB and IPOB: Two highly rated secessionist groups campaigning for the resuscitation of the defunct Biafran republic in the South-East Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria during the period under review and that merited our attention are the movement of the actualization of the

Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). As a separatist movement, MASSOB was established on the 13th September, 1999, barely three months after inauguration of democratic rule, with the basic aim of imparting new life and vigor to the Biafran Republic which came into being in 1967 and terminated in 1970. The leader of the ethicized organization is Ralph Uwazuruike, a lawyer by profession. The body claimed to use the ideology of non-violent in pursuing its demand.

A leap into the chronological sequence of the activities of the MASSOB has shown clearly that the escalating manifestation of its ethnic agitations for autonomy have had deeply adverse impacts on national security vis a vis national development. The fierce face-off between MASSOB and the Nigerian State had often resulted in widespread killings and the destruction of property including settlements/houses. The action of the group which posed the greatest threat to national security and stability of the country came on 27th May, 2000. On that aforementioned data, Ralph Uwazurike mobilized over ten thousand Igbo people in the commercial city of Aba in Abia State and made frantic attempt to launch a Sovereign State of Biafra with its national anthem, currency, flag and constitution to regulate the affairs of the republic. The effort was thwarted by the security forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Another bold attempt to challenge the powers of the federal government was on 26th August, 2004. MASSOB leadership body asked Igbo people residing in all states of the federation to embark on "stay at home" civil protest to mark their Biafran movement. The incendiary call was somehow obeyed by majority of its supporters across the country and all business activities suffered a serious setback. In the course of the protest, Biafran flags were successfully tied to the tops of huge mass communication masks and trees and conspicuously displayed a strategic place in States other than theirs (Tamuno, 2008).

Perhaps it is for these traitorous offences that MASSOB leadership and their ardent supporters were arrested and detained in 2005. This was followed by mass protestations in various top Nigerian cities with large MASSOB followers, demanding the immediate and unconditional release of their leaders and members. Ralph was subsequently released in 2007. In 2011 he was rearrested with almost 280 loyalists but they were later released on the order of the President Goodluck Jonathan days later. Adeyeri (2011, p. 658) correctly documents the seditious activities of MASSOB thus:

At various times, MASSOB enforced rules on residents of states considered to be Igbo states or Biafra territories. For example, it enforced the official price of fuel in filling Stations within Igbo States. It pegged house rents for landlords in the commercial city of Onitsha where house rents were becoming increasingly exorbitant. Landlords who defaulted were advanced and severely beaten. It also enforced sanitation laws in Onitsha, and disobedient residents were thoroughly punished. In 2006, MASSOB outlawed the census exercise in many areas of the Igbo-speaking States, arguing that-these were Biafran territories and therefore Igbos (sic) should not be counted as Nigerians. Igbos (sic) who defied this order were thoroughly beaten. Many Igbos (sic) in non-Igbo speaking States solidarised with MASSOB by refusing to be counted. Lastly, the militia took on the maintenance of security in Onitsha, and the settlement of disputes between warring groups across Anambra State.

In like manner, IPOB also developed a clear Igbo ethnic agenda. The Nnamdi Kanu led group is driven by the cardinal objective of clamouring for self-determination and the restoration of the State of Biafra as distinct from the Federal Republic of Nigeria. IPOB is calling for secession due to purported internal colonization, marginalization, and alienation. To achieve these lofty aims, various protests have been organized by the secessionist group within and outside the country to lobby for both local and international support. The democratic government, without much ado, reacted to these moves by declaring the organization as an illegal entity and the secessionist bid unlawful. By selfishly pursuing its ethnic interests at the expense of the federal union, both MASSOB and IPOB gravely undermined the unity, integration and legitimacy of the Nigeria Federal State.

IV. IMPLICATIONS ON NIGERIAN NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

At this therefore, it is important to assess the impact of emergency national security threats on Nigeria's security architecture and development. It should be noted, however, that these security challenges dated back to pre-democratic era but became more unimaginable alarming, freighting and sophisticated in recent years. On the positive side, national insecurity and instability in the country have pointed up the high level of corruption in the political system, inequitable distribution of national resources and the exclusiveness of the component units, especially the numerically les significant ethnic groups. In fact, the rising tide of militancy, kidnapping banditry, insurgency, and terrorism across the country is a true reflection of man's inhumanity to man that the modern philosophy of governance has lost its relevance in a much as this study does not seek to support or encourage violence under any guise to negotiate space in the system, it, however, argues that security challenges thrown up recently in the country so far should represent a perpetual and emphatic admonisher to the federal authority on the urgent need to mitigate the basic injustices and inequalities in the federation, Nigeria should also note that the threat to security posed by a group in spite of its size and population is a threat to national security in all its ramifications.

Beyond the above coincidental beneficial effects, insecurity in all its forms and dimensions has profound implications for the country's security and development

process. It is debilitating to the development of Nigerian as it impinges directly on its resources, safety and time. As stated from the outset security is a very important parameter in the survival of any nation inhabited by human beings. Without adequate security of lives and property, there would not be peace, happiness, and safety. And where these variables are lacking or absent, development will be a he cry because the system will be rife with lawlessness, chaos, and eventual disintegration. Thus, security and development are complementary indices rather than antagonistic variables.

On security development, the incessant spate of security challenges going on are strong indications of the nation's security lapses and the weakness of security agencies saddled with the statutory responsibilities of ensuring the preservation of the sovereignty of the Nigerian State as well as the security of life and property of the citizenry. Major developments of national threats as exemplified above are not promptly responded to. The usual government reaction is that 'we are on top of the situation, and to set up investigative commissions that never lead to any meaty melioration on the pathetic security situation (Ayeaba, 2017).

Nigeria in the face of all these has spent huge amount of defence to counter insurgency and confront general security challenges. The Federal Government, for example, spent ₦6trn on defence in 11 years apart from some unbudgeted spending on the military and allied agencies. This can be illustrated in the case of $9.3 million (about ₦1.5 billion) cash illegally taken into South Africa to procure arms for Nigerian Army from black market which was seized by South African authorities in 2014. Additionally, the office of the National security Adviser between 2011-2015 got a capital allocation of ₦240 billion while the Defence Ministry got ₦206 billion making two capital alleviations to office of the National Security Adviser higher than that allocated to the entire Defence Ministry, which includes the Army, Navy and Air force "(*Premium Times Nigeria,* retrieved 20/08/2019).

The Defence sector gulped 10.51% of the $58.001 trillion appropriated in the past years of democratic leadership, justifying that security is a key concern of Government and the hefty nature of security. The periods between 2011-2015 the Nigeria's security sector witnessed an unprecedented surge in budgetary allocation to the tune of $4.62 trillion so, defence expenditure is at the expense of other public sectors like education, health and infrastructure yet, despite the upward review of allocation to the military and other allied agencies over the years, the problem and level of insecurity in the country is still high. This reinforces the bold point that huge budgetary allocations to the Defence military sector in an underdeveloped economy like Nigeria is a high colossal waste to the economy. The position of this paper is simple: if the resources spent on National Security were reduced and channelled more to improve the quality of the life of the people, human security and development could have been achieved.

The study found out that insecurity also affected socio-political development of the country, National interactions and other inter-ethnic as well as inter-regional connections are hindered by these wide-spread violent conflicts and crimes are often discouraged from residing in States or regions that are conflicts or crisis-laden. Recently, the terrorist activities of *Boko Haram* had sent hundreds of thousands of non-indigenes, especially the Igbo from the North-East. Some Hausa/Fulani people are also forced to relocate from the East and other flash points in the south and west to their States or Region. Equally, experience has shown that widespread and escalation of violence and crisis across the country impinge on national political stability and development. For instance, the reportedly hoisting of Islamic flag in part of Borno State by the terrorist *Boko Haram* sect is in a way claiming part of Nigeria's territory. Their deadly attacks negatively affected elections in Bornu State while the pastoralists and farmers clash almost disrupted the 2015 Presidential and Gubernatorial elections in Benue State on March 28th and April 14th respectively. These are serious threats to Nigeria's democracy since 1999. More so, the collapse and destruction of social infrastructure that went away with armed conflicts and generalized violence did not mean well for Nigeria's social development. Government spent huge sums of money to rebuild these essential infrastructures like hospitals, clinics, maternities, dispensaries, roads, bridges, courts, houses and so on. Vorst still, these money would had been used to finance "health security" required to isolate citizens of the country from rapid spread of infections and incurable diseases like Ebola, Hiv/Aids, Avian influenza, Anthrax, Lassa Fever, Cholera, Malaria, Dysentery, Hepatitis, and so on. It is only healthy and protected citizens of any given State that have the productive ability to readily and hugely contribute to the development of the country.

Insecurity in virtually every length and breadth of Nigeria has led to retrogressive economic development. Security challenges have indeed caused unprecedented death rate since Nigeria returned to democratic rule. Nigeria has lost scores of tens of thousands of agile, energetic and vibrant peoples to insecurity, while most people are maimed for life, dozens are hospitalized and hundreds displaced. Currently, there is the growing issue of Internally Displaced Persons (I.D.Ps) in Nigeria with no precise data base. The IDP is someone who is forced against his/her will to flee his/her homes for safety elsewhere within his/her country's territorial domain.

Just as people are displaced during violent conflicts, so also economic engagement is disrupted. Insecurities negatively influenced economic activities like potential business investment, business operations, marketing, production and human resources as skilled labour migrated out of the region. Nigeria has suffered greatly from reduction in foreign direct investment, outright closure of many enterprises, and transfer of business operations to other parts of the country and the complete relocation of business from

the country entirely. Michelin, Dunlop and several other firms forms left the country. Tamuno (2008, p. 197) neatly paints the picture of Rivers State thus: "the Garden City of Nigeria with the incessant hostage-takings, particularly in oil Rivers State, millions of displaced Nigerians as well as expatriate workers in Oil and Gas and construction industries fled to Lagos, Calabar and other cities, public works in Port-Harcourt, capital city of Rivers State, were held up for years through such flight of skilled labour".

Evidently, the Nigeria insecurity situations have drastically resulted in huge loss of national revenue owing to loss of man-hours, large-scale vandalication of Oil facilities, disruption of Oil exploration and production and widespread Oil bunkering. This is the case with the Niger Delta agitators, especially the MEND and the NDA. Their deadly attacks on Oil installations in the Niger Delta Region that belong to Oil and Gas Companies made Nigeria's Oil Production to drop from 2.2 million bpd to about 1.4 million bpd. Ultimately, these crisis situations have sent a wrong signal to the international business community that the country is not a safe and secure place to invest or do business.

V. CONCLUSION

The main kernel of the foregoing discussion is that the sparingly increased national security threats with intensity in Nigeria since 1999 is largely occasioned by decades of political and economic marginalization of some certain ethnic groups by the Nigerian State, mass misgiving over the perceived political thuggery, widespread poverty and its attendant hunger, malnutrition and sicknesses, spiralling unemployment, general failure of the democratic governance and systemic corruption in the system. Despite the unplanned and uncalculated infinitesimal gains, security challenges with their frightening and unprecedented dimensions had profound adverse effects on the country's national security vis-à-vis development. The use of arms to negotiate for space by those ethnic's militias or secessionist groups, militants and terrorist sects impinge greatly on the state's security architecture, personal safety and happiness, national stability and integration, and above all development.

Proffering solutions to the challenges of imminent national security threats in Nigeria demands coordinated and pragmatic actions by all stake-holders in the nation's development project since security is not the sole business of the State but of all. Based on the finding of this paper, the following recommendations are provided:

i. Government at all levels should, as a matter of urgency, depart from the age-long tradition of "military security and embrace the most modern revolutionary strategy of "human security", "environmental security", "cultural security" and "psychological security", among others.

ii. Urgent and adequate attention should be devoted to security intelligence, community policing, capacity

building of men of the Armed Forces of Nigeria and the acquisition of modern technology.

iii. The ethnical concept of good governance anchored on accountability, transparency, credibility, and fairness should be the watch words of those in power. They should also pursue and practice inclusive government.

iv. There should be restructuring of the federation as the various armed agitations across the country by different ethnic and dissident groups has shown.

v. Regular and intense campaigns, interactive forums, and jingoes to mention but a few should be embarked upon by all the stake holders since the business of security is for us all.

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