

# Human Security Challenges and the Developmental State: The Nigerian Experience

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**Abstract-** This paper examined the security challenges as it affects the developmental growth of the Nigerian state. The choice of Nigeria as a case study is informed by at least two major factors. First, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Therefore, its security is a matter of vital strategic implication for the continent. Second, the failure by the Nigerian state to harness and utilize its vast human and material resources is a challenge that continues to stupefy many. The paper used content analysis method to contextualize security and development and emphasized that the maximum level of national development determines the level of security of a country at any particular time. To demonstrate this, the study argued that, there is a nexus between security and development. In the end, the study concluded that, the Nigerian experience typifies the prevalence of insecurity made manifest in the absence of protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives. Policy recommendations were made to ensure enthronement of peace, safety, happiness, and the protection of man in the society.

**Index terms-** Security, Conflict, Challenges, Developmental State, Nigerian Experience

## INTRODUCTION

The quest for security is a basic pre-occupation of every nation and indeed of every one. This is because security affects not only the satisfaction of human needs, but also the fundamental issues of the survival of the human person. Therefore, as important as security is, most human beings make deliberate effort to breach its existence. Issues such as, armed robbery, drug trafficking, money laundering, illegal arms trafficking, smuggling of all kinds (contraband, stolen cars, fire arms), theft, advance fee fraud known as 419, kidnapping, riots, activities of cultism, private security outfits and religious fundamentalists among

others, can at best explain how human efforts overtime deliberately breach security.

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa (Kastina, 2012). However, while the Nigerian-state strive to maintain security, more of our actions tend towards insecurity. In spite of the huge money and human resources expended on security by the Nigerian state over time, people still remain unprotected and apprehensive of the activities of the emerging terrorist groups: Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen, and others as increasing armed banditry. Thus, the concern for stability and development is, without doubt, explained why it is only under a secure atmosphere that individuals within the state can engage in productive activities to meet their needs; at the same time, mobilise its human and material resources for meaningful development.

Hence, a thorough discussion of security requires an indepth understanding of all the internal and external dynamics that impact negatively or positively on the freedom from fears and freedom from want of Nigerians. Even though State Actors have the mistaken belief that they could corruptly build an island of prosperity and security for themselves and families and close associates in an environment of total neglect of the plight of the generality of the people, or in a society ravaged by unemployment, hunger, disease and poverty, kidnappings and so on, which of course reflect here how counter-productive national security management methods are.

In the state of affairs of nations, many issues would usually contend for government and popular attention often at the same time, and one of the most engaging of such issues globally is security (Azazi, in Bassey and Dokubo, 2011: 90).

## RETHINKING THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

Although the concept of human security has gained currency recently, the idea is not fundamentally new. However, the ontological and epistemological assumptions that have underpinned previous orthodox security and policy formulations simply did not recognize, include or value it. The word security emanated from the Greek word “se-cura”, meaning “to be in a state of no fear”. This state of being free from any threat within or without underscores the importance of putting in place actions and structures that has attracted a rapidly growing interest and concern among scholars (Uwa & Anthony, 2015: 13). Quashigah K. E. (2017: 210-211) argued that, the concept of human security in its modern conception could be perceived as evidence of a growing disenchantment with “Statism”. In statism, he further argued, the interest of the state was the dominant consideration in all things. Human security in its modern conception refocuses the purpose of national and international institutions and their actions towards improving the welfare of the human beings. This carries the inherent implication that “human security” accords moral priority to the security of individual human beings, and rejects the Cold War view that sovereign states are the paramount moral community of international society worth preserving. The protection of the interests of people is what is now paramount.

The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report is often credited with genesis of the concept. The report however called for a paradigm change in world conception to human security, such as (i) security of territory from external aggression, and (ii) of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust to include threats in seven areas of life, which are as follows: (i) economic security, (ii) food security, (iii) health security, (iv) environmental security, (v) personal security, (vi) community security and lastly (vii) political security.

The UNDP Report therefore focuses on two major components of human security: Freedom from fear and Freedom from want. These two components however promote the underlying principle and objectives of the United Nations and the Human Rights movements as a consequence of the Second World War.

Similarly, Imobighe submits that security has to do with freedom from danger, or with threat to a nation’s ability to protect and develop itself, promote the cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people. Internal security could be seen as the freedom from or absence of those tendencies, which could underline internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core value and socio-political and economic objectives as well as meet the legitimate aspiration of the people. This also implies 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. Accordingly, the problem which still confronts humanity today is that of finding a more realistic way of managing national security. This problem is even more worrisome to us in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, given our relative technological backwardness which has tended to impose additional stress on our economies in our effort to seek our national security through military build-up (Imobighe, 1998: 224).

McNamara (2000: 37) equally submits that in a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military force though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity though it may encompass it, security is not military hardware though it may include it. Security is development and without development, there can be no security.

Obasanjo (2001: 8) in his Grand Strategy for National Security, stated that “the primary objective of National Security shall be to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interest and objectives, to contain instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, improve the welfare and wellbeing and quality of life of every citizen. Although, the first and second elements of the grand strategy have implications for national defence. The nation can be strengthened through defence, diplomacy and economic development. Nigeria’s interests and objectives could be advanced through defense and diplomacy. The defence component of National Security is executed by the Armed Forces.

The Armed Forces of Nigeria hold in trust for the Nigerian people the military power of the nation. It is in this regard that Samuel Huntington stated that: “the state which desires peace must be well armed to

enforce its desires. He stated further that, “Weak states invite attack” (Huntington 2001: 36). In a related development, Aliyu Mukhtar Kastina argue that, the link between development and security usually takes one of the following two forms: it can be preventive. Alternatively, it can be promotional. Preventive linkage means prevention of the causes that generate conflict in any particular human society, while promotional linkage refers to creating the conditions that generate peace in the society by addressing the structural imbalances in the socio-economic conditions of the people, which traditionally are the sources of conflict. In this case, the emphasis will be in identifying and removing the root causes of conflicts in the society such as inequality and mass poverty.

Arguing further, Kastina notes: in trying to establish a connection between security and development, there is need to remember the impossibility of establishing peace and order in society in which there existed fundamental contradictions in its economic structure. It is these contradictions, more often in the third world, that provides the manure that nurture and sustain feelings of alienation, marginalization, frustration, and resentment among the poor class of the society, and which ultimately translate into anger, radicalization and violence. Kastina provides an excellent analysis of how development is synonymous with security because “any country that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level of productivity, fragile infrastructural base for technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment, has false sense of security”. (Kastina, 2012).

Similarly, Caleb and Okafor Gerald, identified in their study that, from the British industrial revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the world has experienced increase in production of goods and services which has ensured the creation of two distinct classes in the international economy – the upper class of industrial/landed property owners and the lower working class who eke out their existence from the drudgery of industrial production that the economy of the industrial era provided. The repercussion of this evolutionary history saw the emergence of men of means and wealth who indulged in conspicuous consumption and materialism and equally

impoverished human category (Ayuba & Okafor 2015: 76-85). This of course explains why Rodney Walter noted that, it is this life of indulgences engaged in by the rich that spurred the poor who are now sequestered in urban ghettos to envy. This development has negatively impacted on crime wave bordering on robbery, kidnapping and the fraudulent exploitation of man by man at both the communal and international political economy levels in general (Rodney, 1976).

It is against the background of these unfolding issues that Theophilus O. Adejumo buttressed by the fact that Nigeria is riddled with abject poverty, high unemployment rate, social deprivation and injustice, pollution and underdevelopment. Synergy between the aforesaid has created a breeding ground for non-state armed groups, organized crime and illicit trafficking and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Put differently, because the Nigeria youths remain permanently agitated and anxious about the future, they resort to “any means possible or available” to eke a living. This, anchored on a general culture of impunity and crass materialism, heightens crime, especially amongst a young generation that feels hopeless and helpless. It is precisely in this scenario that, the search for an acquisition of arms is construed as the sure means of opening doors to a better tomorrow by these frustrated and misguided youths.

He further buttressed, “The case of Nigeria, where economic crisis is more acute, and the state risks failure of its institutions of governance, urban crime usually takes secondary stage in relation to the emergence of other violent anti-state groups that seek to supplement the state in obtaining loyalty from the people. The ensuing competition, often violent and bloody, provides the most ample evidence of how (in)security and (under)development complement each other in all human societies (Theophilus, 2019: 4).

Lawrence Onoja (rtd), in a keynote address on “Situation Analysis of Nigeria’s National Security: Narratives on Threats”, delivered to the Eminent Persons and Experts Group meetings, organized by National Institute for Policy and Security Strategic Studies Kuru, stated that, there is no time in the history of Nigeria that policy makers, public administrators, media and ordinary citizens grappled with the issues of security than now. This collective

concern, in his analysis, stems from contesting whose security and whose interest should national security serve? Accordingly, he analysed further that, the State and Dominant Class Interests clearly eclipse National Security in Nigeria. As such, “security thrust is directed towards the interests of the governing classes and their propertied allies, while most Nigerians are alienated from the security process that ironically turns on them from time to time” (Onoja, 2013: 1-20).

#### SECURITY VERSUS INSECURITY: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

Corroborating Lawrence Onoja’s analysis, Walnskak Alheri Danfulani, in an attempt to answer questions pertaining to why the standard of living of the average Nigerian continue to dwindle, believed that, as the inequality between the rich and the poor continue to widen, citizens continue to explore for the quickest way out of poverty through whatever means they can even if its reflection may become violent. Therefore, poverty threatens development and always portends insecurity as people search for a decent livelihood and survival (Danfulani, 2018: 3).

Attempting to assess the security situations in Nigeria, Dele, Kankara & Ukeaja (2018) argued that, security in Nigeria can be compared to an individual who put iron bars across his or her windows which aimed to protect, only turn around to prevent the individual from escaping a fire outbreak. To this group of persons, the only condition for the maintenance of peace and the guarantee of security is by upholding law and order. By this, state could be secured against threats which may include low-level civil disorder, crime, organized violence and armed insurgency among others. However, in an article credited to Nigerian Orient News, Nigeria in recent times has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. This has made national security threats to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the National Budget to security. Put differently, with the lingering security challenges and the inability of the security apparatus of the government to guarantee safety and security in the country, the question that borders everyone in Nigeria today is, “can there be security? Is security of lives and properties achievable? The report of the Orient News further observed that, government at all

levels have not done enough by not confronting frontally the situation head on and dealing with it decisively. Further still, that the situation has a political undertone or inclination calculated to serve the interest of certain political gods, who have been dissatisfied and disgruntled about the political manifestations in the country (Nigerian Orient News, 2016).

Lamenting on the level of security deterioration in the country, Falana (SAN) in Dele *et al.* (2018) blamed the level of insecurity on the government, in which he recommended that;

The Federal Government should equip the security personnel before getting them deployed to fight against insecurity in the country rather than shedding crocodile tears for the victims of insecurity. In his argument, the conditions of less-equipped policemen and soldiers who were being deployed to fight terrorists that were armed with modern and sophisticated weapons is more worrisome. It is inexcusable to deploy ill-trained, ill-equipped and ill-motivated soldiers and policemen to war zones, armed with only AK 47 rifles without bullet proofs, serviceable vehicles, communication gadgets to fight suicide bombers with more sophisticated weapons (Dele *et al.*, 2018: 5)

As argued elsewhere by Raheem Sadiq Olasile, the inability of government agencies to provide the needed security was a factor that compelled citizens to look for an alternative. Literatures studies have shown that, lack of confidence in security forces, understaffing or sometimes simply the inability of security agencies to carry out their duty effectively to the Nigerian state and her people, informed the strong need by citizens to acquire arms in order to protect themselves and their property from armed violence. Olasile’s argument shows that, in the last decade, the Nigerian state has demonstrated visible weakness in controlling the use of violence within its territory. As a result, its monopoly on the legitimate use of violence is increasingly up for grabs by criminals, militants, warring communities and other forms of Non-State Actors. Therefore, consequence of the failure of public security, is the intermittent outbreak of violent conflicts in recent times (Olasile, 2015: 16-37).

Explaining further, Theophilus (2019: 830-837) amplified the argument that the failure of public security in Nigeria has led communities to indulge in

different forms of “self-help” security measures, ranging from vigilante groups to community-owned arms stockpiling. Having lost confidence in the Nigerian state, parties to some of these conflicts have become entangled in security dilemma. The quest to procure more arms to guarantee personal and community protection from perceived and real enemies is fuelling the domestic arms race; hence, breaking the chain of small arms and light weapons circulation has remained a major challenge to the Nigerian government. Equally, Hazen Jennifer and Horner Jonas noted that, the government’s inability to prosecute persons arrested in respect of various religious and ethnic crises fans violence and its continuity, while the weakness of law enforcement exacerbates the culture of impunity and robs the criminal justices system of the deterrence role. The Nigeria security forces suffers from poor training, lack of equipment, corruption and other inherent and extraneous handicaps. Criminal and dissidents are often better equipped than the security agencies thereby making the security personnel incapable of repelling attacks and unable to defend the public from criminals, terrorists, ethnic militias among others. Most recorded incidences of armed violence occur without the intervention of the security personnel, a situation which the public perceives as lack of willingness on the part of the former to engage armed groups and wilfully putting their lives in danger (Hazen & Horner (2007: 53-77).

The Report of the Human Rights Watch in 2005 shows that, the inability of government to provide the needed security, forced entities to rely on private security companies and vigilante, possession of guns and installation of security gadgets, thereby increasing the demand for arms. Moreover, some vigilante groups often enjoy tacit support and encouragement from political establishment and public office holders. Thus protected, they commit flagrant and gross human right violations against persons including extra-judicial executions of perceived criminal or enemies without being called to account for their actions. This scenario according to Ginifer and Ismail, equally develops into a vicious cycle where civilians and various armed groups and criminals acquire more arms to outweigh each other (Ginifer & Ismail, 2005: 1-55).

Thus, the internal security challenges in Nigeria since the enthronement of democracy in 1999 has received

mixed reactions within and outside the Nigeria’s political environment. However, the increasing spate of ethnic militias, kidnapping, drug trafficking, armed robbery, the activity of religious fundamentalists, Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, the aggressive posturing of Oodua People’s Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra (MOSSOB), politically motivated killings by unscrupulous groups, incessant bombing among others question the capacity of the Nigerian state to maintain security.

A. J. Omode in his analysis of the security challenges confronting the Goodluck Jonathan administration, acknowledged that the spate of insecurity reached its crescendo on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010. It was the day Nigeria marked her 50<sup>th</sup> independence anniversary. While the Independence Day celebration was going on at the Eagle-Square in Abuja (Federal Capital), there was an explosion of twin bomb blasts within the capital city. The blast left about 140 people dead and several others injured. The Niger Delta Militant (MEND) claimed responsibility; However, since 2010, the spate of bombing embarked upon by militant groups, especially the Boko-Haram sect has become innumerable and the killings and destruction of lives and properties accompanying it (Omede, 2011: 90-101).

In the words of Matthew Hassan Kukah, the Metropolitan Bishop of Sokoto Diocese, at the funeral mass of slain seminarian Michael Nnadi of Sokoto Diocese, who was killed by kidnappers on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2020 of the Good Shepherd Seminary Kaduna, while examining the depth and impact of the tragedy of the death of Michael to the entire Catholic community in the province, lamented that:

The Nigerian state is like a ship sitting on the high sea, rudderless and with broken navigational aids. Lamenting further, he noted that, our years of hypocrisy, duplicity, fabricated integrity, false piety, empty morality, fraud and pharisaism have caught up with us. Nigeria is on the crossroads and its future hangs precariously in a balance (Matthew Hassan Kukah, 2020)

Examining the effect of the depth and impact of violence associated with insecurity in Nigeria, Amnesty International noted that insecurity in Nigeria has taken its toll on both the people and the government. Accordingly, an estimated 800 people

died and 65,000 others displaced in 12 states of the North alone as at 2016. This however explains why the impact of these attacks (killings, kidnapping, bombings among others) are ominous. It constitutes a major threat to the nation's internal cohesion. It has the potential of warding off foreign investors and create negative image about Nigeria. To be sure, it retards economic development and spiral the level of violence to dizzying height of unprecedented levels of armed robberies especially bank robberies, car hijacking and attack on individuals with sophisticated weapons. The series of bomb blasts and its accompanying effects of deaths, destruction of properties and the disruption of day-to-day activities constituted a high-level threat to the National Security and corporate existence of Nigeria (The Nation, May 17, 2011: 1). Another variable that has compounded insecurity situation in the country is the problem of climate change, especially with the level of desert encroachment in the northern parts of the country. The impact of this phenomenon is the mass movement of people southward and the incidences of perennial clashes between sedentary farmers and nomadic pastoralists, as have become the yearly event. One of such notable conflicts is the perennial Tiv-Fulani conflict in the River Benue valley. Several panels set up in the past and presently to investigate violence in different parts of the country have not come up with tangible causes of violence nor made recommendations on how to curtail violence across the country. The terms of reference of all the panels/committees established by the government on insecurity and violence does not include certain fundamental issues, such as (i) why security failure? (ii) why are intelligence reports on the activities of those terrorist groups not used to apprehend the culprits of those dastardly acts? (iii) why have those who lost their lives and properties not been properly compensated? (iv) Why non-prosecution of culprits responsible for the carnage and mayhem. (v) Why the problem of inter-agency rivalry and inability to share intelligence information among the police, army and the state security services. (vi) why do states fail or collapse? It is in looking at this issue broadly that one will be able to understand and appreciate the enormity of the challenges at hand and proffer solutions.

#### THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

This paper is anchored on three different theoretical foundations. They are: (i) the relative autonomy theory, (ii) Frustration-aggression theory and (iii) The failed state theory.

##### 1 The Relative Autonomy Theory

The State Relative Autonomy Theory is situated within the ambit of the neo-Marxist political economy paradigm. The theory however depicts the level of detachment or aloofness of the state in the discharge of its duties such as mediating inter-class struggle. Thus the theory presupposes that in any state or political society, there are two levels of contradiction, namely primary and secondary contradictions. Primary contradictions is inter-class struggle between two antagonistic classes such as the ruling class and the ruled, or the bourgeoisie class and the proletariat (working class). While the secondary contradiction is intra-class struggle denoting class conflicts within the ruling-class. Marx and Engels demonstrate this intractable phenomenon of class struggle in the "communist manifesto, that the history of all the hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Explaining further, Marx and Engels argued that, a state can either exhibit low or high relative autonomy. A state exhibits high autonomy when there is high commodification of capital or excessive penetration of capital into the economy such that the bourgeois class indulges in accumulation of capital through direct exploitation of the working class or appropriation of surplus value when they enter into social relationships of production (i.e. private capitalism). Here, the state is not interventionist; in other words, it does not intervene in the domestic economy like participation in the productive activities (i.e. public/state enterprises) or controlling or nationalizing means of production. The role of the state here, therefore, is to regulate. As such, the state is relatively an impartial umpire mediating inter-class and intra-class struggle through harmonization and reconciliation of class interest. The developed capitalist states of the West are, therefore, considered to exemplify this high relative autonomy, and as a result, exhibit high level of human rights observance and protection (Marx & Engel, 1977).

This kind of thinking made Claude-Ake in Uwa and Anthony's "Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) Proliferation and Problems of National

Security”, to submit that, a state however exhibits low autonomy when there is low commodification of capital or low penetration of (private) capital into the economy in such a way that the ruling class constantly engages in primitive accumulation. The state is thus interventionist for engaging in productive activities or means of productive activities (i.e. public corporation) by nationalizing of major means of production. The state does not limit itself to regulatory rule and is hence compromised, such that instead of rising above class struggle, it is deeply immersed in it.

The Nigerian-state like other developing states exhibits a low level of autonomy of the state as a result of low commodification of capital. Under the electric mixture of mixed economy, Nigeria experiences the phenomenon of lack of penetration of (private) capital into the economy creating a parasitic petty bourgeois class whose major source of accumulation of capital is the state.

Hence, the Nigerian state becomes the only avenue for primitive accumulation of capital through which the governing class (i.e. petty bourgeoisie) produce and reproduce their dominance. The implication of the low autonomy of Nigerian state is that, it is immersed in the class struggle rather than rising above it, leading to intense struggle for the control of state for primitive accumulation and marginalization of everything (Uwa & Anthony, 2015: 14).

## 2. The Frustration Aggression Theory

Frustration-Aggression theory was first propounded by John Dollard and Neal E. Miller in 1939 and popularized in 1969 by Leonard Berkowitz. Frustration is a feeling of annoyance when one’s actions are criticized or hindered. It is a condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference such as unemployment, poverty, weak judicial system or corruption; while Aggression simply means the act of initiating hostilities or invasion (The practice or habit of launching attacks). The theory believed that social movements occur, for example the formation of ethnic militias in the country to fight the Federal, State and Local Government due to their failures to oblige the social contract obligation.

As a result, their frustration leads to collective and more often than not leads to aggressive behaviour. Frustration has a variety of sources and can take two

forms. First, it can be Absolute which happens when people do not have enough to survive; second, it can be Relative, when people have enough to survive but have less than those around them. This explains the true situation of the Nigerian society today. The gap between the rich (haves) and poor (have nots) are getting wider on daily basis.

Thus, the theory is of the considered view that Nigeria’s national security and development should be people-driven with heavy dosage of socio-economic consideration or bias to the social security of the nationals.

## 3. The Failed State Theory

“State failure is largely man made, not accidental” (Robert I Rotberg, 2003: 1)

According to Szuhai Ilona (2015: 100), “the literature on state failure has two main strands; the first is the view that a failing state contains a set of institutional structures that deviate from a modern Weberian bureaucracy; while the second view is represented by the so-called functionalist theorists who argue that, it is pointless to measure failure. The implication, according to Szuhai, is that, the wellbeing of nations depends on the institutional structures. The politics and political institutions determine the economic institutional system (i.e. how effective the state is; if the economy is stable and inclusive, it stimulates the economic development that means prosperity. If the economy is extractive that gives barriers to development).

This concept has been criticized on theoretical, normative, empirical and practical ground. The most serious problem with the concept of failed states is the problem of definition. The concept however simply means a state that can no longer perform the functions required for them to pass as states (Zartman, 1995: 5). In another instance, Anyanwu (2005) conceptualise the term “failed state” as often used to describe a state perceived as having failed at some basic conditions and responsibilities of a sovereign government. A failed state is one that has shattered social and political structures. For example, common characteristics of a failing state is when a central government is so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over much of its territory, non-provision of public utilities or services, widespread corruption and criminality, refugees and involuntary movement of populations, and sharp

economic decline, kidnapping, terrorism, arms proliferation, sexual abuse, killings, maiming, forces conscription, use of child soldiers and other atrocities, such as the State of Colombia, East Timor, Indonesia, North Korea, Cote d'Ivoire, Haiti, Iraq and the Sudan, and most likely the Nigerian State.

The failing states are invariably the product of a collapse of the power structures providing political supports for law and order, a process generally triggered and accompanied by anarchic forms of internal violence. It is the collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos, not only are the functions of government suspended, but its assets are destroyed or looted, and experienced officials are killed or even flee the country.

Based on these indicators, conclusion may be reached that, this situation in Nigeria, and subsequent growing concern about other similar states in the sub-region only intensified concern about the role of "failed states" in harbouring or aiding terrorism. As Fukuyama stated, "the chief threats to humanity and to world order come from weak, collapsed or failed states. Weak or absent government institutions in developing countries form the thread linking terrorism, refugees, AIDS and global poverty" (Fukuyama 2004: 250).

The bottom line in the conception, according to HOUT, is that "failed states come to be seen as a potential incubatory of state collapse, which would result in the creation of ungoverned spaces, where crime and terrorism could develop" (HOUT, 2010: 141). However, in the words of Rotberg, security is a key indicator. Failed states typically endure widespread violence against the existing regime, conflict between communities within the state, an inability to control territory and borders, the growth of criminal violence and a tendency by the authorities to "prey on their own constituents" (Rotberg, 2003: 4-6).

There is no gainsaying the fact that most of the cases of threats to peace, security and development in the country are buildup of prolonged periods of state failure and neglect towards the socio-economic conditions of the citizens. This is so because of the wanton plunder of the public treasury by few individuals through corruption practices and weak institutional structure of the state. These incidences

of primitive accumulation of wealth at the expense of our commonwealth of course explains the impossibility of establishing peace and order in society in which there existed fundamental contradictions in its economic structure. It is this contradiction that nurtures, sustains and creates ungoverned space where crime and other atrocities could develop leading to state failure.

#### METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The method adopted in the course of this research is content analysis using mainly secondary data. The secondary data include existing literature on the topic such as books, journals, conference paper, magazines and newspapers, and other related documents. In the course of the study, I consulted the internet, University of Calabar e-library and United Nations publications on the policies of the various tiers of government as they affect security and the developmental plans of the Nigerian state.

Secondly, I employed the use of content analysis involving security agencies. The Nigerian Immigration, Nigeria Army, Nigeria Navy, Nigeria Airforce, Nigeria Police, Nigeria Customs Service including the Civil Society spokesperson and some leading members of armed groups further illuminated the various perspectives on government's role in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria.

#### EFFORTS AT ADDRESSING THE MENACE OF INSECURITY BY THE NIGERIAN STATE

In recent decades, internationalization has emerged as one of the defining issues of security and safety globally. Internationalisation is of growing significance worldwide, with economic, political and social changes driving an increasingly global knowledge economy (Ndum and Udoye, 2020).

The Nigerian state faces numerous security challenges. Some of these challenges are self-imposed and reinforced through greed-based behaviour, while others are as a result of poor institutional capacity and the complexities of addressing widespread crimes and the general situation in Nigeria. For instance, the challenges posed by trans-border activities are signs of substantial danger to the political, social and economic stability of the Nigerian state. The extent of



these crimes committed lead to the widespread fear, violence and crisis. However, the defence and security arrangement of Nigeria has much to do with its borders. When borders cease to function effectively, different forms of crime will befall the country and the security of the country will be challenged. Such is the experience of the Nigerian state in recent times.

The activities of terrorist groups (Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen), armed militia (Niger Delta militants, Odua People's Congress, Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra, the Bakassi Boys), armed bandits, kidnappings, drug/human trafficking, killings, robbery, inter and intra-community conflicts, boundary disputes, money laundering, oil bunkering, urban criminality, among others, combined with considerable logistical and capacity constraints as well as weaknesses in existing legal and institutional mechanisms, are hampering Nigeria's fight to address the menace of insecurity (Theophilus, 2019).

To foster a sustainable solution to the problem of insecurity and address the root causes, the Nigerian state made several efforts in this regard:

- 1 On the issue of security, the Nigerian state proceeded to strengthen international partnerships, particularly in the multi-national Joint Task Force to consolidate collaboration with the Regional Intelligence Fusion unit. Internally, the Nigerian state initiated a major reorganization of the counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operation, codenamed LAFIYA DOLE and relocated the military command and control unit to Maiduguri in Borno State. This follows with the approval of funding for procurement, operations, training, logistics and welfare for security agencies to beef up security operations across the country.
- 2 Similarly, while considering the nexus between the economy and national security, the Nigeria state launched a four-year Economic Recovery and Growth Plan 2017 – 2020. The objective of the plan was to transform the agricultural sector, enhanced food security, improved power and sustain petroleum products, improved transportation infrastructure, job creation as well as youth empowerment and sustainably industrialized economy (Federal Republic of Nigeria Report, 2019: 1-64).

- 3 The implementation of the Bank Verification Number programme and the Single Treasury Account initiative as an aggressive measure in the fight against corruption. Equally, in an attempt to curb the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs), Nigeria is a signatory to the ECOWAS Convention on SALWS, their Ammunition and other Related Materials, and the Protocol Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Ammunition, Supplementary to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (GIABA, 2013: 49).
- 4 To promote sustainable peace in the North-East of the Nigeria State, establish the North-East Development Commission, an institutional framework for a sustainable solution to the North-East national security challenges of the 6 states in the North-East geopolitical zone. These are Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe State.
- 5 Nigeria is a signatory to ECOWAS Protocol relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment signed in Dakar, Senegal on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1979. The Revised ECOWAS Treaty not only re-enacts the free movement regime as a major objective but as an important means of establishing the common market. Article 59 (1) specially enshrines the right of entry, residence and establishment and the obligation of member states thereto. However, actions for controlling irregular movement/migration and human trafficking particularly of women and children as well as controlling clandestine migration and dismantling the mafia-like trafficking network, including information and awareness campaigns for potential migrants on the dangers of irregular migration and smuggling networks, as well as the implementation of measures aimed at facilitating the re-insertion of irregular migrants upon their return to their home countries, where strictly adhered to by the Nigerian state.
- 6 With regard to money laundering and terrorist financing, Nigeria has enacted the 2004 Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act and the 2006 Advance Fee Fraud and other Fraud Related Offences Act. These laws were preceded by the 1989 National Drug Law Enforcement Agency Act, which established the National Drug Law

Enforcement Agency as part of efforts to address drug trafficking as a predicate offence of money laundering. Moreover, the Central Bank of Nigeria issued anti-money laundering manual to guide banks and financial institutions in fighting against money laundering.

- 7 In a related development, the Nigeria government, on June 25, 2009, made proclamation of Amnesty for militants in the Niger-Delta. These are groups which engage the Government of Nigeria in lethal dialogue to demand for justice, fairness and equity in the distribution of Nigeria's wealth particularly oil in the Niger Delta. The character of the Amnesty involved surrender of weapons in exchange for unconditional pardon and pecuniary benefits. There is no doubt that the Amnesty deal is a panic response to a crippling economy occasioned by the activities of the alleged militants. Such activities are observed in the blowing up of oil pipelines, vandalism of flow stations and shutting down of oil rigs, among others.

The foregoing undoubtedly leaves us with the fundamental imperative of contextualizing security challenges as it affects the developmental objectives of the Nigerian state with a view of proffering solutions to this agonizing menace. As stated succinctly by Ndum and Okey (2013), conflict and insecurity today has become part of society. This is more so in a nation like Nigeria with a multicultural and multiethnic configuration with a structure that allows two or more units or groups to share functional boundaries in achieving set objectives. In, Nigeria people with differing nature –interest, ideology, belief have to live and work harmoniously together. Hence, conflicts will always occur but a well-managed conflict will not degenerate to violence and insecurity.

#### CONCLUSION

The paper conceptualized in detail security and the developmental challenges confronting the Nigerian state. It argues that, the concern for security is a basic pre-occupation of every nation and indeed of every human community, but observed with dismay the illusiveness of security despite the general desire for and maintenance of security.

Evidence from the study shows that the Nigerian state remains largely vulnerable and susceptible to all forms of threats which are so serious as to jeopardise her capacity to survive. It situates the problem of insecurity in Nigeria within a broader view taking into cognizance both the internal and external variables such as: forces of globalization, the problem of Climate Change, Corruption, Terrorism, Ethnicity, Porous Borders, Banditry, Unemployment, activities of fundamentalists – Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen, Ethno-Religious Conflicts among others, are viewed as key elements upon which conflicts are fueled. Whereas, fractionalized political system, elite system, youth bulge, external support for local militia, and easy access of aggrieved groups to surplus arms serve as “triggers”.

The study however examines the nature of responses by the Nigerian state to cases of insecurity in the country and in the end, observed that the vacuum created by government's inability to secure lives and properties has led to cycle of insecurity/security dilemma in which every man looks after his/her own security. The study criticized the curative method being employed in tackling the menace of insecurity in the country, and therefore calls for a preventive strategy that is information-drive. It therefore recommends that, all avenues of national and international levels must be explored in arriving at decision of either the use of force, dialogue or the use of force and dialogue with contending individuals or groups in the country.

#### POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A successful resolution of the threat to insecurity in Nigeria requires a holistic approach that addresses the underlying factors that have helped raise the level of armed violence in the internal and external environment of the Nigerian state.

First, the Nigerian state should be constituted in such a way as to be proactive in dealing with the rampant cross border criminal activities that undermine its national security. The Nigerian government needs to evolve a new approach to border security; land, sea and airport using modern and sophisticated detection equipment to discourage arms trafficking through its borders.

Second, the National Orientation Agency (NOA) should partner with credible Civil Society

Organisations (CSOs) and the media to mount enlightenment and orientation programmes on the practice of security situation awareness or security consciousness critical to crime prevention. This will enable people to appreciate the importance of monitoring developments around them and to report unwholesome activities to security agencies.

Third, there is need for interventions at the national, state and local levels to be strengthened and promote peaceful coexistence amongst the diverse ethno-religious and political groups in Nigeria. This would help minimize the outbreak and persistence of violent conflicts.

Fourth, Government needs to faithfully implement existing conflict prevention and peace-building strategies contained in the national policy on peace and on the Chapter II of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Lastly, there is need for government to take the issue of intelligence/information gathering seriously. Experience has shown that intelligence reports on activities of certain groups are usually left unattended to.

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