

Insecurity and the Challenges of Economic Development in Nigeria

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Introduction

The return to democratic rule in Nigeria on May 29th, 1999 presented Nigerians with fresh hopes and latent optimism. This is because the people were of the hope that democracy could guarantee freedom, liberty, and equity and enhances the security of lives and properties which are the panacea for the much needed sustainable growth and development of the nation. Fourteen years after this fresh hope was offered, the realities on the ground suggest that the hope and optimism has remained a mirage. According to figures from the National Bureau of Statistics, over ten million Nigerians were unemployed by March 2009. As Otto and Ukpere, (2012) observed, the figure on unemployment keep increasing geometrically yearly with less realistic effort by the managers of the state to abate the rampaging unemployment problem. Nwanegbo and Odigbo, (2013) agreed with the view above when they further opined that majority of the population seem to lack access to pipe borne water, health care facilities, electricity and affordable quality education.

This scenario painted above aided the Nigeria security situation to deteriorate drastically. Since the return to democratic rule in May 1999, Nigeria has witnessed a number of security challenges associated with militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery, political assassination, arms proliferation, piracy and ethno-religious conflicts. The security challenges have assumed a formidable dimension forcing the country's political and economic managers and, indeed the entire nation, to rue the loss of their loved ones, investments and absence of safety in most part of the country (Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim, 2013). The various governments since May 1999, has tried different methods aimed at ameliorating the devastating effect of insecurity without any useful result. When it seems that the government is achieving good result in one, another will rear its ugly head. The reason for government failure to address this issue of insecurity satisfactorily may not be unconnected with government failure in meeting the developmental needs of the people which has forced them into forming alliance in different forms that has succeeded in breeding what Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim,(2013) refers to increasing ethnic hate, religious bigotry, political rivalry and a growing

population of disgruntle citizens in the country who feel they have been short-changed and given very limited or no access to the common patrimony. This is consistent with the findings of Egwu, (2001) who observed that the primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence, the perennial eruption of various ethnic militias and the preponderant religious fundamentalism in place, given expression to by some sections of the dominant religious establishment in Nigeria, have inevitably aggravated the scale and propensity of insecurity and widened its scope in various ramifications.

The effect of insecurity is very obvious as it presents itself in the destruction of few available infrastructures needed for the industrial growth and development of the nation. No country of the world can develop without the needed prerequisite for growth and development. With the huge outlay of government resources spent on curbing the menace of insecurity and the attendant destruction of the few existing infrastructure, one can assume that the challenges that insecurity posed to development is enormous.

Armed with this fact, this study attempt to address the interface between insecurity and the challenges of economic development in Nigeria. It seeks to show that insecurity is a major challenge in achieving economic development in Nigeria. This study is divided into six (6) sections: following the introduction is the conceptual explanation of insecurity and economic development, the various areas of Nigeria security challenges, the theoretical link between security and economic development, implication of insecurity to economic development and the last is conclusion and recommendations.

Conceptual Explanation of Insecurity and Economic Development.

Insecurity

The concept of insecurity is not alien to societies, as it has existed even in the primitive societies of the world. To be able to give an all-encompassing definition of insecurity, it is important we have a brief look at what security is. The social contract in which the people willingly surrender their right to the government who

oversees the survival of all is necessitated by the need for security. According to Nwanegbo and Odigbo, (2013), with the end of the cold war, there have being attempt to shift conceptualization of security from a static centric perspective to a broader view that places premium on individuals, in which human security that embodies elements of national security, human rights and national development remain major barometer for explaining the concept. At the heart of this debate is an attempt to deepen and widen the concept of security from the level of the states to societies to individuals, and from military to non-military issues (Krahmann, 2003). In the opinion of McGrew, (1988), the security of a nation hangs on two important pillars which are (1) the maintenance and protection of the socioeconomic order in the case of internal and external threat and (2) the promotion of a preferred international order, which minimizes the threat to core values and interests, as well as domestic order. Security is an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces; that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military-

police and the people themselves; that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals such as unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution cum socioeconomic injustices. Dike (2010) and Omede (2011) extended the view expressed above by saying that, Nigeria's security should be based on a holistic view which sees the citizens as the primary beneficiaries of every security and developmental deliverable that the state can offer. In the view of Nwanegbo and Odigbo, (2013), Nigeria's security will involve efforts to strengthen the capacity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria so it can advance its interests and objectives to contain internal and external aggression, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth and improve the welfare and quality of life of every citizen.

The antithesis of security is insecurity, which can be seen as the absence of security as discussed above. The common description of insecurity is uncertainty, hazard, danger, want of safety, want of confidence, state of doubt, inadequately guarded and

protected, lack of protection and being unsafe, instability and others. In the words of Achumba *et al*, (2013), the common descriptors outlined above point to a condition where there exists a vulnerability to harm, loss of life, property or livelihood. To them insecurity is state of not knowing, a lack of control, and the inability to take defensive actions against forces that portend danger or harm to an individual or group, or that make them vulnerable.

Economic Development

The concept of development seems to be in a state of flux since the end of the Second World War. In the early 1940s the ideological differences between the socialist east and the capitalist west appears to have influenced the meaning of and the conceptualization of the term. The challenge of economic development is very different. There is no divorce between theory and observed facts. The mainsprings of growth and development are well known: increase in the quantity and quality of resources of all kinds. Countries are poor because they lack resources or the willingness and ability to bring them into use. The problems posed by underdevelopment cannot be solved without cost. It would be

reassuring to think, however, that advances in growth theory, coupled with more detailed knowledge of the source of growth and the refinements of techniques for resources allocation, have increased the possibility of more rapid economic progress than hitherto. To Thirlwall, (1999), development implies change, and this one sense in which the term development is used, that is to describe the process of economic and social transformation within the countries. This process often follows a well ordered sequence and exhibits common characteristics across countries. But if development becomes an objective of a policy, the important question arises of development for what? A concept of development is required that embraces the major economic and social objectives and values that the societies strive for. This is not easy. One of the best attempt at conceptualizing development is that of Goulet (1971), who distinguishes three basic components or core values in this wider meaning of development, which he calls; life-sustenance, self-esteem and freedom. According to him, life-sustenance is concerned with the provision of basic needs, self-esteem is about feeling of self-respect and independence, as no country can be regarded as fully developed

if it is exploited by others and does not have the power and influence to conduct relations on equal terms, and freedom which refers to freedom from the three evils of want, ignorance and squalor so that people are more able to determine their own destiny.

Rostow (1952) and Harrod (1959) and Domar (1957), among other theorists proposed models of development, generally identifying structural changes, savings and investments as the source of economic development. This was done because development is perceived as the outcome of economic growth. This position approximate Ake (2001), position that, the ideology of development itself became a problem for development because of the conflict between its manifest and latent functions. The underlining assumption here is that, infrastructural development that guarantees better living condition of the people is an off-shoot of the fund generated by economic growth for investment infrastructure.

International concern over extreme poverty has moved near the top of the world agenda for the first time since the 1970s. The reason for this move is because economic growth in most

developing and underdeveloped societies especially in the latin America and Africa do not provide corresponding social goods. As observed by Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013), economic growth that could not significantly address the spate of unemployment, poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy and ever increasing crimes and wars is not economic growth in the right perspective. This seems to have necessitated the new dimension of thought of redefining development from economic growth centred perspective to human centred approach. This position informs Rapley (2007), position that post development thought has called for a return to the stress on people as both measures and determinants of development. Development has been redefined, taking the emphasis away from traditional economic indicators of Gross Domestic Product and trade and broadening out the concept to take into consideration the psychological and material factors related to the measurement of human well-being (Chandler, 2007). There are many faces to development and all this is centred on man the ultimate beneficiary. The individual and the society interact with nature for the ultimate aim of transforming the environment for the betterment of the individual

and the society at large, which in turn transform humanity in the process. The whole essence of development is to improve the potentials and capacities of man to be able to overcome the multi-faceted problems he faces like; poverty, inequality, penury, unemployment and to generally enhances the conditions for human existence and self-reproduction.

Dimensions to Insecurity in Nigeria

The Nigeria security challenges have manifested itself in various dimensions like economic, social, political and religious since independence. Embedded in this dimensions are its presentations in the form of militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery political crises arms proliferation, piracy, tribal crises and ethno-religious conflicts. This is because according to Orok (2000), the Nigerian state is a confluence of nationalities made up of unreasonable people associating involuntarily in the pursuit of uncommon interests. It is characterized by the absence of justice and it is held together with impunity by its armed forces, which are controlled by elements from two principal nationalities, bound together by a common agreement, sharing the national cake on a certain unwritten principle. This scenario has prompted various

ethnic, regional and religious grouping that has later metamorphous into militia groups and constituting a security threat to the nation. A lot of literatures abound on the issue of insecurity in Nigeria. This present study is not an attempt at duplicating what has been done already, but selected cases of insecurity in the country shall be treated with purpose of exposing the challenges it poses to the economic development of the nation, Nigeria.

Economic Dimension

a) Resource Control and Underdevelopment - The Niger Delta Crises

The genesis of the Niger Delta crisis can be traced to the disenchantment that arose between the representative of some Niger Delta minority ethnic groups and the multi-national oil corporation operating in their land over the exploitation of their God given treasure without adequate compensation. This scenario precipitated ethnic and political unrest that permeated every facet of the Niger Delta even to the time of enthronement of democracy in 1999. The sole aim of this agitation was to control their God given resources. At the centre of the Niger Delta

agitation is the issue of resource control. As Urim (1999) observed, the competition for oil wealth in the region gave rise to agitations, violence and subsequent extra-judicial killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the nine Ogoni leaders by the Abacha regime. This extra-judicial killing of the Ogoni leaders by the Abacha regime received wide spread condemnation from both within Nigeria and by the international community and laid the foundation for the wave of insecurity that engulf the entire region . As Nwagboso (2012) observed, the inability of the government particularly during the military era to address the root causes of the agitations (environmental problems, poverty, unemployment, lack of basic amenities, etc.) in the Niger Delta region, resulted in the spawning of ethnic militias of the Niger Delta origin leading to the militarization of nearly the entire region. The government of Nigeria in recognizing that the insecurity situation in the Niger Delta region is as a result of government inability to provide the region with the basic social amenities, has established some institutions or agencies to help ameliorate the hardship faced by the people of the region. Some of this agencies are; Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Oil Mineral Producing

Areas Development Commission. Despite the effort of government in this direction, the security situation in the region worsen with the emergence of more agitating groups like the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom and the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force led by Mujahid Dokunbo-Asari. The two groups operated with strong affiliation to the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. As Nwagboso (2012) noted, these groups purportedly joined the struggle to address the injustice by the Federal Government against the region and this move exacerbated the security problems not only in the region, but also in the entire nation. In addition to this known groups, there are more than one hundred other smaller militias operating in the Niger Delta region that are made up of disaffected young men from the various cities and town within the Niger Delta region. Considering the loss of revenue and lives as a result of the insecurity of life and properties posed by the activities of the militias, the Federal Government under President Umaru Yar'Adua proposed amnesty for the militias operating within the region and after acceptance of the proposal, he granted amnesty and unconditional pardon to the militants in the region in October

2009. The amnesty programme reduced the rate of militancy in the region and as Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim (2013) observed, the incessant kidnapping which was one of the product of the militancy in the Niger Delta eventually spilled over into some states in the South-East geo-political zone of the country.

b) Kidnapping Precipitated by Unemployment

Kidnapping was defined by Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim (2013), as the act of abducting somebody and keeping him/her as prisoner in order to get a ransom for his/her release. This dangerous trend which was seen as a spill-over of the Niger Delta crises which got rooted in the South-East states of Nigeria because of its economic attraction to the many unemployed youths within the region. The hold of the black economy was more in Abia and Imo states where prominent people of the area were the target of the perpetrators of the heinous crime. The reserved army of unemployed youth, which were used as political thugs in the 2007 general election, had readily available the tools for the black business. These thugs diverted the guns given to them by politician and the skills they acquired in political thuggery into the business of kidnapping after the election. These thugs were abandoned after the election

without adequate compensation, and to make the matter worse, the guns given to them for the purpose of the election were never retrieved from them. As Nwagboso (2012) noted, confessions of apprehended kidnappers indicated that some politicians in the South-East states supplied guns to some youth for the purpose of rigging the 2007 general elections. Unfortunately, these guns were not retrieved at the end of the elections. Consequently, kidnapping transmuted into a profitable business mostly among the youths in Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, and other states in the zone. Prominent indigenes and business men in these areas were the target of the kidnappers. Attempt was once made at kidnapping the Governor of Abia State, Chief Theodore Orji in 2008, but this was foiled by security agencies. With an attempt at kidnapping the Governor, other indigenes and business men has no option than to be jittery, which led them into relocating most of their businesses out of the state to neighboring states like Enugu and Anambra (Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim 2013). Other targets of this black business were; traditional rulers, school children and Christians leaders. This case of kidnapping school children was so touching that commercial Banks in the areas closed down for

several days to protest the ugly trend as observed by Nwagboso (2012). The government has made several attempts at stopping the crime in the area and this can be seen in the deployment of soldiers on the invitations of the various state governors. As Sampson (2010) observed, through direct intensive attacks by the military on the various hideout used by the kidnapers, the menace of the crime has reduced in the South-East states. As the government seems to be achieving successes in some states, the criminals keep relocating to other states to continue with their black business. The second and third quarter of 2013 in Edo State witnessed upsurge in this criminal activities of kidnapping with people assuming Edo State to be the new headquarter of the black economy.

Social Dimensions

a. The Jos Crisis

The complexity involved in the Jos crisis is unfathomable, as it carries with it the features of ethnic, religious, socio-political and economic crises. The Jos crisis is another fundamental security challenge that first started as a sectarian violence but has mutated into very radical and ugly shapes in 1999 (Onifade,

Imhonopi and Urim 2013). As Nwogboso (2010) observed, the root causes of the Jos crisis can be seen from the point of view of the inordinate desire by Muslim faithful to forcefully convert Christians in the area as Muslim faithful. This has resulted in unimaginable confrontations, killings, bombings and other forms of violence. Another school of thought has attributed the Jos crisis to the issue of land dispute and cultural differences that existed within the people co-inhabiting Jos. Another school of thought also hold the view that crisis has to do with ethnicity and the issue of citizenship in Nigeria. As Egwu (2007) rightly observed, that at the core of the crisis of citizenship in Nigeria is the central place of ethnic group identity in the definition of citizenship. It is amply demonstrated in the dichotomy between “national” and “local” citizenship in the Nigerian discourse, or the division between “natives” and “settlers”, or between “indigene” and “non-indigenes”. The core of the Jos crisis is based on the idea of natives and settlers syndrome and it has succeeded in tearing apart the Jos people with dire consequence for national unity, democracy and economic development.

Religious Dimension

Religious violence has taken the front burner in contemporary discourse on Nigeria's democracy. Since the commencement of democratic rule on May 1999, religious violence has come to occupy the center stage (Adejoh, 2010). Some of the significant religious violence that has occurred in recent time especially since the return to democratic rule in 1999 are: the conflict between the Yoruba traditional worshipers and the minority Hausa group in Sagamu, Ogun State in July 1999, the clash between the Muslims and Christians in Kaduna metropolis over the proposed introduction of Islamic criminal law on February, 21 and 22, 2001 and the clash between Muslims and Christians in Tafawa Balewa local government of Bauchi State on 19 June and 4 July 2001. Others are; the religious mayhem in Kano over the United State led military action in Afghanistan over asylum granted to Osama Bin Laden on 12th October 2001, the clash between Muslims and Christian in Kaduna over Miss World beauty pageant and the Newspaper publication making reference to Prophet Muhammed on 22nd November, 2002. The list is not exhaustive, as many other violent disturbances are not recorded. This study wants to concentrate on the current and prevailing religious violence

caused by the Boko Haram terror machine as other are almost nip in the bud almost immediately.

a. The Boko Haram

Boko Haram is another major security challenge that has bedeviled the Nigerian state since 2002. It is a controversial Nigerian militant Islamist sect whose major aim is to impose Sharia law or its radical interpretation of Islam on the northern states of Nigeria and to the other part of the country. The word “Boko” is a Hausa word meaning “western” otherwise non-islamic education; and the Arabic word “Haram” figuratively means “sin” or literally something “forbidden”. In the view of Duma (2010), the group is not only opposed to western Education, but also western culture and modern science. The ambiguous goal of the group became evident when they kicked against the scientific opinion that the earth is spherical in shape and another scientific opinion that rain comes from water evaporated by the sun (Nwagboso, 2012). As it was reported on the BBC News Africa (2010), the group promotes a radical form of Islam which makes it “haram” or forbidden for Muslims to take part in any political or social activities in the society. This includes voting in election, wearing

of shirts and trousers or receiving secular education. The killing of the founder and leader of the group, Ustaz Muhammed Yusuf in 2009 turned the group into a killing machine that has put paid to the economic development of the Northern geopolitical zone (Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim 2013). The group is believed to have a link with Al-Qaeda and have succeeded in causing serious security breach in the Northern part of Nigeria. As Nwagboso (2012) observed, the activities of this group which ranges from guerilla warfare to suicide bombing has not only paralyzed economic and social activities within this region, but also made Nigeria unsafe for investment and tourism. In recognition of this, the President declared a state of emergency in June 2013 to give the security agents permission to use maximum force to quell the uprising. The state of emergency seems to have achieved the desired result with flashes of violence in the first two months, but the renewed hostility from the last two weeks of September, 2013, especially the attack on the College of Agriculture in Yobe State that left 50 people dead and many injured had dealt a blow to the earlier recorded successes of the operation. As Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) observed, Boko Haram seems to be a

destructive political tool with a cosmetic pretension of being religious. The bombing of the Nigeria Police Force Headquarters in Abuja on June 16th, 2011, the U.N house in Abuja on August 26th, 2011, and other high profile killings attest to this assertion.

Political Dimensions

a. Political Assassination

Insecurity situation that is associated with the fundamental human rights of the electorates as well as freedom from systematic torture, ill treatment and coercion are termed political insecurity. Since 1999, politics in Nigeria has been characterized by violence and election related assassination. Some of such cases are the assassination of the former Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice Chief Bola Ige on the 23rd of December, 2001, the assassination of the national Vice Chairman for the south-south of All Nigeria Peoples Party Chief Harry Marshall on March 5th 2003 and the former Nigerian Bar Association Chairman, Onitsha Branch, Barnabas Igwe and wife were gruesomely murdered on September 1st, 2002. Others are the assassination of Engr. Funsho Williams and Dr. Ayodeji Daramola former gubernatorial candidates of PDP in Lagos and

Ekiti State who suffers the same fate of political assassination in Nigeria since 1999, (Iduh, 2011). In 2012, a serving Senator from Plateau State, Senator Dantong Gyang Daylop, the minority leader of the Plateau State House of Assembly, Hon. Gyang Fulani were gruesomely murdered while many were left injured during a funeral in Plateau State by unidentified gunmen (Sun Newspaper, July 9, 2012). In the opinion of Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013), incessant political violence in Nigeria could be attributed to over-zealousness and desperation by political gladiators to win elections or remain in office at all cost. A good example is a statement credited to former President Olesegun Obasanjo that the 2007 general elections would be a 'do or die' affair. Such remark does not only endanger political developments but also connotes a violent call for everyone to augment the political arsenals for contest.

b. Election protest and Violence

Electoral violence has always been part of the political process. It is a means of showing grievances which on the long run culminate into the destruction of life and properties. As Enajo (2010) opined, violence or the threat of violence during elections

is a universal phenomenon. Individuals and groups throughout history, have, in one form or another, resorted to electoral violence as a tactic of political action to achieve some political gains. Nigeria as nation has had his own fair share of violence before, during and after the election. The protest that followed the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election, the general condemnation and protest that follows the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general election and the 2011 post presidential election crises that erupted in the Northern part of Nigeria which led to the lost of precious lives and properties worth millions of naira. The implication of this scenario is a breakdown of law and order which has dire consequences for sustainable economic development of Nigeria.

The Theoretical Link between Security and Economic Development

In this work, two theories have been adopted to provide explanation to the concept of security and economic

development. The two theories are: social conflict and Neo-Malthusian theories.

The Social Conflict Theory

The social conflict theory draws attention on the class differentiation and the misery of the working class that was attendant upon the growth of capitalism. It is a synthesis of German philosophy, English political economy and the French socialism, built on the idea of historical and dialectical materialism – class struggle and the classless proletarian society. According to the proponents of this theory, it provides theoretical explanation for competition among social classes, state actors and non-state actors in their attempt to protect their selfish interest. This class struggle leads to the acquisition of weapons and ammunitions for self-preservation thus leading to social conflicts and threats to the national security and sustainable economic development (Adebakin and Raimi, 2012). These opinions expressed above approximate Marx and Engel (1848) assertion that, the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word,

oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, in a common ruin of the contenting classes.

The political elites are always in the business of controlling both the political spheres and the economic resources of the state, but the poor are always in continuous struggle with the elite of such control. In addition to this is the clash of interest that exist between the police and armed robbers, ruling party and opposition parties, majority and minority ethnic group, one religion over the other et cetera, which justifies the existence of social conflict in human society.

The emergence of political institutions, economic organs, legal institutions, traditional institutions et cetera as forms of social structure are products created as a result of conflicts between groups with conflicting ideological interest with the sole aim of controlling the resources of the society. The social conflict theory sees threat to security as motivated by the struggle among rival social classes or groups in their quest for group economic

interests, relevance and political dominance. In the words of Adebakin and Raimi, (2012), the import of the two strands of social conflict theory is that, in a society where exploitation of one class or group by a dominant class or group exist, if this dysfunctional relation is not addressed, it results in armed struggle and full scale warfare. This situation is capable of eroding the developmental effort of the people. That is to say, peace is a panacea for economic development in any society.

The Neo-Malthusian Theory

The views expressed by the Neo-Malthusians are similar to that expressed by Malthus in his theory of population which focuses on the relationship between population growth and food required for subsistence. Prominent among the Neo-Malthusians are Garrelt Hardin and Paul Ehrlich. The theory outlined the implications of the continuing population growth with reference to the modern societies where the states are committed to a social welfare ideal. Most individuals within modern societies depend on the state for common welfare services such as education, health, police protection and some cases a minimum income. Hardin (1968) therefore argues that “to couple, the concept of freedom to breed

with the belief that everyone born has an equal right to commons is to lock the world into a tragic course of action". Hardin is of course referring to the conflict between available resources and population and he holds the view, like Malthus did, that people are not likely to voluntarily limit their fertility before it is too late. Ehrlich (1968) summarized his position thus; too many people, too little food and environmental degradation. Homer-Dixon (1999) extended the view of Ehrlich (1968) that, the resulting scarcity of resources historical often triggers cut-throat competition among divers' actors, which eventually leads to social conflict that threatens national security because of escalation of grievances among interest groups, parties, actors and nations. The import of this theory as observed by Adebakin and Raimi, (2012) is that, rising population combined with scarce natural resources threatens national security as a result of cut-throat competition among the survival of the fittest race among interest groups in society. This diverse social group uses both legal and illegal means to gain control over scarce natural resources. This theory succinctly explains the reason for agitation for control of resources in the Niger-Delta as well as violent agitation by Boko

Haram for the establishment of shari'ah states in the Northern Nigeria.

Implications of Insecurity to Economic Development

One of the greatest challenges facing government all over the world is insecurity. According to the social contract theory of state, there is a social contract between the state and the individual making up the state. Individuals surrender their rights to the state and the state guarantees their protection and security. This makes the protection of life and property paramount to the state. Also, given that production and economic improvement can only take place within an atmosphere of harmony and tranquillity. Therefore, insecurity must be curbed by all available means.

Nigeria as a country has had its share of the prevalence of cases of insecurity. The causes of insecurity vary from country to country and are of different dimensions and perspectives, for example, religious, political, economic, social et cetera. In Nigeria, cases of breach of security have become a daily occurrence even with the democratization of the country's political process and institutions. In Nigeria, violence and crisis

have erupted as a protest of government neglect in the Niger Delta region, religious bigotry in the north, ethnic and tribal sentiments among others.

The Global Fund for Peace's Failed State Index Provides insight into some of these factors. The failed state index has some indicators as presented in the table 1 below. In the year 2006, the score for demographic pressure, one of the indicators of the failed state index which measure the pressures on the population such as disease and natural disasters make it difficult for the government to protect its citizens or demonstrate a lack of capacity or will was 8 but by 2009 it has risen to 8.5 before declining slightly to 8.3 in 2011 and finally risen to 8.5 in 2013. This increase in the score of demographic pressure may not be unconnected with the unabated growth in the nation's population (see Ode, 2006).

Refugees and internally displaced person which captures Pressures associated with population displacement which strains public services and has the potential to pose a security threat was 5.9 in 2006, reduced to 5.3 in 2009 and by 2011, it has increased to 6.0 before finally increasing to 6.6 in 2013. The sudden surge in

the number of person internally displaced within the country is not unconnected with the prevalence of violence in the Northern part of the country and the accompanying migration of people to relatively peaceful parts of the country.

Group grievances which is the measure of the possibility of the existence of tension and violence between groups, the state's ability to provide security is undermined and fear and further violence that may ensue. In 2006, the score for group grievance was as high as 9.1 out of a total 10 and by 2009, it has to 9.7 and by 2011, it decreased slightly to 9.6 and by 2013, the score for group grievance stood at 9.8 out of a total score of 10. This shows that the nation has different groups who are not satisfied with the current composition of the state, allocation of resources and leadership in government. This questions the legitimacy of the state (see Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim, 2013).

Uneven development as an indicator of failed state index which measures the disparity in development that arises as a result of ethnic, religious, or regional crisis, this is because governments tend to be uneven in their commitment to the social contract as a result of crisis. In 2006, this score was 9.0 but by 2009, it has

risen to 9.5 before declining to 9.0 in 2011 and increasing slightly to 9.2 in 2013. This shows that the level of uneven development is very high in the country. This can be seen in cases where most development efforts are concentrated at the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and the capitals of regional government (State). This has resulted in agitation by residents of other areas who felt neglected by the government in the provision of social infrastructures.

TABLE 1: NIGERIA FAILED STATE INDEX INDICATORS (2006-2013)								
Year	Demographic Pressure	Refugees and Internally Displaced Person	Group Grievance	Uneven Development	Public Service	Security Apparatus	Fractionalized Elites	Legitimacy of the State
2006	8	5.9	9.1	9	8.3	9.2	9	9
2007	8.2	5.6	9.5	9.1	8.7	9.2	9.5	9.1
2008	8.2	5.1	9.4	9.2	8.7	9.2	9.3	8.9
2009	8.5	5.3	9.7	9.5	9	9.4	9.6	9.2
2010	8.4	5.8	9.5	9.3	9.1	9.3	9.4	9.4
2011	8.3	6	9.6	9	9	9.1	9.5	9
2012	8.4	6.5	9.7	8.9	9.1	9.2	9.8	9.1
2013	8.5	6.6	9.8	9.2	9.3	9.5	9.4	8.8

Source: Failed State index by Global Fund for Peace (Various years)

Public service is an indicator for the measurement of the efficiency of the government agencies in the provision of the key roles the state. It takes into cognisance the level of corruption, quality, access as well as the bureaucracy in these agencies. The score for this indicator was 8.3 in 2006 and by 2009, it increased to 9.0. In the year 2011, it remained at 9.0 but by 2013, it rose to 9.3. This shows that there is high level of inefficiency in the country's public service. Security apparatus another indicator of the failed state index measures the capability and capacity of the country's security agencies in curbing and curtailing occurrences of crimes, violence as well as all other social vices. The score for this indicator was 9.2 in 2006 and by 2009 it increased to 9.4 before declining to 9.1 in 2011 and by 2013 it rose to 9.5. This shows obviously that the state security is not in proper position to curtail crime in the country going by the very high score of this indicator. This can be seen in the frequent occurrence of crimes and various violent attacks even on the security agencies.

Fractionalized Elites measures the possibility of local and national leaders engaging in deadlock and brinksmanship for political gain, as this undermines the social contract. It includes pressures and

measures related to Power Struggles, Defectors, Flawed Elections and Political Competition. The score for this indicator was 9.0 in 2006 but by 2009, it has increased to 9.4. In 2011, it stood at 9.5 and by 2013, it declined slightly to 9.4. This shows that there is division among the elites in the country and this can be seen in the frequent occurrence of violence among various supporters of different political parties and factions within the same political parties.

The legitimacy of the state measures the general acceptability or otherwise of the government. The acceptability of the state or otherwise could be judged by the process that produces the government and the representativeness of the government. In 2006, the score for this indicator was 9.0 and by 2009, it has risen to 9.2 and by 2011, it fell slightly to 9.0 before declining to 8.8 in 2013. This shows that the legitimacy of the government in power is under great threat. This is not unconnected with the usual battles (Legal and Physical) that normally greet the announcement of election results in Nigeria.

Table 2: Failed State Index Rank, Poverty and Economic Decline in Nigeria (2006-2013)
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Year	Failed State Index Rank For Nigeria	Poverty and Economic Decline
2006	22	5.4
2007	17	5.4
2008	18	5.9
2009	15	6.6
2010	14	6.9
2011	14	7.3
2012	14	7.5
2013	16	7.5

Source: Failed State index by Global Fund for Peace (Various years)

The rank of Nigeria on the failed state index and poverty and economic decline as shown in table 2 above indicates a negative correlation. In 2006, Nigeria was the 22nd most insecure country in the world while incidence of poverty and economic decline was 5.4 but by 2009, Nigeria ranked as the number 15 most insecure country in the world and incidence of poverty and economic decline increased 6.6. Also, in 2011, Nigeria ranked as the 14th most insecure country in the world and incidence of poverty and economic decline stood at 7.3 and by 2013, Nigeria was ranked as the 16th most insecure country in the world and incidence of poverty and economic decline was 7.5.

From the above, it is obvious that there is a negative relationship between failed state index rank and economic development. This

also means that insecurity negatively impact on economic growth and development. Therefore, peace and security is not only a necessary condition for economic growth and development but also a sufficient condition as well.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The fact that has become so clear in the course of this study is that, insecurity portends serious danger to the nation development. Insecurity has been found to be a product of government inability to allocate resources effectively and efficiently to bring development in the frontline sectors of the economy. Underdevelopment which present itself in the form of unemployment and lack of infrastructural facilities breed insecurity. Nigeria can overcome her insecurity situation by refocusing her policy to be more human centred. This is the fact that has been shown by the forgoing analysis.

The study therefore makes the following recommendations

- a) There is a dire need to refocus from the present curative policing to a community preventive policing in term of security issues. Insecurity is a product of underdevelopment, when we address the issues of underdevelopment like

unemployment we achieve security and sustainable development.

- b) There is the need to move from economic growth centred perspective to human centred approach. Any economic growth that cannot significantly address the spate of unemployment, poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy and the ever increasing crimes and wars is not economic growth in the right perspective. Emphasis should be on the psychological and material factors related to the measurement of human well-being rather than the traditional economic indicator, the Gross Domestic Product.
- c) There is also the need for the government to re-channel its resources to the rest frontline sectors like education, agriculture, health and construction as this will satisfy the psychological and material well-being of the people. Budgeting high for the provision of security since 1960 has failed to yield any useful result. Instead of continuing to fight against the manifestation of underdevelopment, it will be proper we address the cause of the problem.

- d) The government of Nigeria need to rise up to the challenge of distributing state resources equitable and responsibly. The Nigerian populace has lost confidence in the government of the country due high rate of corruption and misappropriation of government fund at all tiers of government. The people believe the common wealth of the nation is being siphoned by some few individuals in power and hence the agitation that is nursing insecurity in the country.
- e) The reserved army of unemployed youth provides the ready man power that support insecurity in Nigeria. There is the need for the government to put in place more poverty alleviation/eradication programme that can help keep the youth engaged in profitable ventures. Entrepreneurship skills acquisition has been found to be useful in reducing the spate of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria (Adofu and Ocheja 2013).
- f) As the government work towards achieving development which the lack of it is seen as the major cause of insecurity in Nigeria, the government also should not neglect the issue of providing security for the people as this the first

responsibility of government to the citizens. The undercover state secret service (SSS) should be strengthened with modern gadget and training in order to enhance their capacity to nip crimes and threats to national security in the bud. This is because the use of military actions to confront militants appears to be very expensive and most often escalates violence rather than douse tension.

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