

Security-Development Nexus: A Review of Nigeria's Security Challenges

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Abstract

The article investigates the nexus between security and development in Nigeria. It reviewed some security challenges in Nigeria and examined how they undermine the developmental aspiration of the country. Security of life and property is tied with the fundamental human rights partly because both security and freedom are indicators of development and partly because lack of individual and group freedom is squarely implicated on their ability to do everyday life activities within the context of all social structures- political, economic, socio-cultural, and religious. The paper adopted Conflict theory and Amartya Sen's² 'Development as Freedom' thesis to explain the nexus between security and development in Nigeria. The article finds that there are different cases of security challenges in Nigeria, such as kidnapping, terrorism, cultism, political violence, and assassination of some serving and retired political leaders, as well as religious priests. The nexus between the two concepts is practical because the absence of security in a country will not allow a country to develop. The article concludes that the developmental challenges of Nigeria can be attributed to the myriad security challenges in the country. Thus, the article recommends that policy formulations on national development should not focus only on increasing Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country's economy as strategy for development but should design security measures as criteria for national development.

Keywords: Security, development, security challenges, security-development nexus.



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² Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 1999).

I. INTRODUCTION

Security and development are two different concepts but closely knitted and inseparable in significance and practice. The practical nexus between the two concepts is crystallized in the manner through which the development of individuals, groups and nations is largely dependent on the latitude of security they enjoy in space and time. As Thomas Hobbes reminds us, without security: “there is no place for industry... no arts, no letters, no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short”.³

The inseparability between security and development is further affirmed by the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, in the following quotation:

*Development and security are inextricably linked. A more secure world is only possible if poor countries are given a real chance to develop. Extreme poverty and infectious diseases threaten many people directly, but they also provide a fertile breeding ground for other threats, including civil conflicts. Even people in rich countries will be more secure if their governments help poor countries to defeat poverty and disease by meeting the Millennium Development Goals.*⁴

In addition, the integration of human rights into development practice was given significant attention during the cold war period because it was flagrantly compromised in that period. Whilst the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights emphasized the universality of rights, the collective goal for humanity of realizing those rights and the range of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all, ideological divisions between Western liberal democracies and the Eastern bloc led to a separation of human rights activities within the UN itself and between countries.⁵

In 1966, two separate international conventions (through which the states' accountability for human rights obligations was established in international law) were agreed; one referring to civil and political rights (CP) and another to economic, social and cultural rights (ESC). CP rights refer to the right to life, liberty and security, for example, the right to vote, to a free press and freedom of speech and on legal rights such as to due process of law and the presumption of innocence until proven guilty. ESC rights include the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to education, to work and equal pay, and the right of minorities to enjoy their own culture, religion and language. In short, Western countries emphasized CP rights and work towards the ratification and inscription of these

³ J. Jackson-Preece, *Security in International Relations* (London: University of London, 2011), 14.

⁴ Annan, cited in Maria Stern and Joakim Öjendal, ‘Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?’, *Security Dialogue* 41, no. 1 (1 February 2010): 5.

⁵ Jennifer A. Elliot, ‘Development and Social Welfare/Human Rights’, in *Companion to Development Studies*, ed. Vandana Desai and Potter Robert (New York: Routledge, 2014).

into constitutional and legal frameworks. In contrast, socialist countries (and many developing nations) prioritized ESC rights, emphasizing economic and social development and self-determination.⁶

From the foregoing, it is obvious that security of life and property is tied with the fundamental human rights partly because both security and freedom are indicators of development partly because lack of individual and group freedom is squarely implicated on their ability to do everyday life activities within the context of all social structures- political, economic, socio-cultural, and religious. For example, the various security challenges confronting Nigeria today are threats to the lives and properties of the Nigerians and, by implication, inimical to the development of the country in general. Akinyetun⁷ explained the challenge and obligation of state to anticipate youth cybercrime through Cyber Advisory Council's law and policy. In the southern part of the country, the security challenges include militancy and oil bunkering in the Niger Delta, cultism, political violence, kidnapping and assassination of some serving and retired political leaders, as well as religious priests.

In the northern part, the security challenges include the decade old battle with the terrorist activities of *Boko Haram*, a terrorist group with stronghold in the north-eastern Nigeria, but it has connection with Islamic State (IS) and other global terrorist movements and the group led to destruction of dozens of thousands of lives, displacement of thousands families and loss of properties worth billions of Naira. In the northern part, also, kidnapping for ransom, armed banditry; fatal clashes between tribal and religious groups and farmers-pastoralists conflicts are rampant in the north-western and north-central parts. In this climate of insecurity, the ideally inalienable freedom (fundamental civil and human rights) of individuals and groups cannot be guaranteed. This is because the atmosphere is bound to replete with high level of political and criminal violence, and absence of political freedom and civil liberties, which create environments non-conducive to the growth of economic opportunity. Consequently, the developmental prospect of the country is unforeseeable.

In view of this background, the article will investigate the nexus between security and development. To do that, the article will review some security challenges in Nigeria and to examine how they undermine the developmental aspiration of the country. The paper is divided into six sections: section one introduces the article; section two conceptualizes the key terms (development and security); section three provides a theoretical framework; section four is a review of Nigeria's struggle with insecurity; section five deals with nexus between security and development; section six concludes the paper.

⁶ Elliot, 67.

⁷ Tope Shola Akinyetun, 'Poverty, Cybercrime and National Security in Nigeria', *Journal of Contemporary Sociological Issues* 1, no. 2 (31 August 2021): 104.

Conceptualization

The Concept of Development: Development is a concept that goes through gradual process of expansion over time. In simple terms, development signifies progress in human well-being, used to be equated with economic growth, but it is now widely acknowledged that this is a very inadequate characterization. As long noted, average per capita incomes are one important means to achieve such progress, but not the only one. Not only does average income fail to capture distribution across households, but it also may not be a good indicator of many important aspects of human well-being, such as people's health, education or their security.⁸

One of the earliest development indices that provide alternative to the above definition is the PQLI (Physical Quality of Life Index). Sen has suggested that the development objective should be the enhancement of people's capabilities, or the opportunities open to people of being and doing a variety of things. UNDP's Human Development Report defined the objective succinctly as enlarging people's choices in a way which enables them to lead longer, healthier and fuller lives.⁹

These are important advances, but do not explicitly incorporate security as an aspect of development. People may have the potential to do and be many things, yet this potential may be cut off, or people's sense of well-being may be seriously adversely affected with high levels of insecurity. Such insecurity includes the possibility of economic vicissitudes, health crises, and injury or death as a result of criminal or political violence. Sustained political violence may lead to the break-up of communities and families, forced migration and the need to re-establish lives in strange and alien environments, or even a suspended existence in refugee camps. There is no question that if such events are widespread, they have a serious negative impact on many people's lives, and therefore adversely affect the achievement of development. The UNDP developed the concept of 'human security' to encompass not just the achievement of minimal levels of material needs, but also the absence of severe threats to them of an economic or political kind: 'Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime – these are the emerging concerns of security all over the world'.¹⁰

Therefore, development is a multi-dimensional concept. Therefore Mukhtar, Mukhtar, Muhammad & Abdullahi¹¹ argued that it is an evolutionary concept involving significant changes or transformation in social, economic, psychological, biological, physical,

⁸ Frances Stewart, 'Development and Security' (Fifth Annual Global Development Conference Security and Development Workshop, Security and Development Workshop, 2004), 28.

⁹ Stewart.

¹⁰ Stewart.

¹¹ Umar Mukhtar dkk., "Effects of Hurricane and Tornado on Socio-economic Development," *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 4, no. 4 (1 November 2014): 417–28.

political, educational realms. According to Goulet¹² development can be defined in five different ways. These are:

- i. An economic component dealing with the creation of wealth and improved conditions of material life, equitably distributed;
- ii. A social ingredient measured as well-being in health, education, housing and employment;
- iii. A political dimension including such values as human rights, political freedom, enfranchisement, and some form of democracy;
- iv. A cultural dimension in recognition of the fact that cultures confer identity and self-worth to people; A full-life paradigm, which refers to meaning systems, symbols and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life and history; and
- v. A commitment to ecologically sound and sustainable development so that the present generation does not undermine the position of future generations.

The Concept of Security: To varying degrees, we all have a concern for our well-being. These concerns extend to our family, friends, colleagues, the environment, and the world we occupy. These concerns and the need to address them is generally labeled security. The concept of security takes numerous forms within the wide spectrum of society.¹³ Unlike the assertion of Gill¹⁴, who argues that security is a subject with utmost important but less devoted by social scientists due to dearth of literature, the above statement proved that there is increasing bombardment security science literature. Gill¹⁵ states that:

It is possible that on a list of all the topics of central importance to our well-being and yet have been subjected to a low amount of scholarly research, security would appear near the top. Indeed, there have been few good attempts to develop the science of security, not because there are not good scientists interested in security, but it is more that by and large they have written different types of books.

Yet, the meaning of the concept of security is one of the controversial issues in both international relations and domestic or homeland security literature. Obviously, this definitional bone of contention is created out of the variation of views of what the term

¹² 1992, as cited in Rt Odoh and Okechukwu Eme, 'Role of the Youths in National Development', *Singaporean Journal of Business, Economics and Management Studies* 3, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 164–81.

¹³ Clifton Smith and David J. Brooks, *Security Science: The Theory and Practice of Security*, 1st edition (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2013).

¹⁴ Martin Gill, 'Foreword', in *Security Science: The Theory and Practice of Security*, ed. Clifton L. Smith and David J. Brooks (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2013), xiii–ix.

¹⁵ Gill, ix.

“security” stands for as either a condition or state of being¹⁶, strategy or subject of study, i.e., as a social science subject. In this paper, security is conceived to be both the strategies for maintaining law and order and the state of peace, absence of threat and risk in the lives of the people and their properties in Nigeria. Both forms of security are needed for the development of the country.

Theoretical Underpinning

Development scholars and security scholars have given different views on the relationship between security and development, but there is a consensus that security is an enabler of development.¹⁷ According to Stern & Ojendal¹⁸, the nexus between security and development matters, because:

The notion of a ‘nexus’ seem to provide a possible framework for acutely needed progressive policies designed to address the complex policy problems and challenges of today. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, an ever-growing number of economic resources and political will is being poured into the ‘security–development’ nexuses and the attendant revamping of national and multilateral institutions and actions designed to address it.

Security policies include explicit references to development and poverty reduction in the globalized fight against terrorism.¹⁹ However, like development, security is multi-dimensional, cutting across political, environment, political, and social freedoms. In view of this, the paper will adopt Conflict theory and Amartya Sen’s²⁰ ‘Development as Freedom’ thesis to explain the nexus between security and development in Nigeria.

Championed by Karl Marx²¹, conflict theory argued that all explanations of social phenomenon can be reduced to class conflict. Marx believed the unequal division of society into classes (class of bourgeoisie and proletariat) based on differential relationship to economic resources creates an everlasting contradiction that determines all aspects of social

¹⁶ Philip P. Purpura, *Security: An Introduction* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2011); Jamilu Ibrahim Mukhtar, Suleiman Mohammed Isyaku, dan Ibrahim Sani, “Poverty, unemployment, and the challenges of security in Nigeria-The nexus,” *Journal of Political Inquiry* 2, no. 2 (2016): 236–44.

¹⁷ Stewart, ‘Development and Security’; Stern and Öjendal, ‘Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?’; Otiye Igbuzor, ‘Strategic Oriented Policing’ (Police Service Commission Biennial Retreat on the Challenges of Policing in a Democratic Society in the 21st Century and Beyond, Uyo: Akwa-Ibom State, 2010).

¹⁸ Stern dan Öjendal, “Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?” 6.

¹⁹ Stern and Öjendal, ‘Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?’

²⁰ Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

²¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London: Communist League, 1848).

life. Conflict theory believed that the economic structure of the society can influence the behavior of individuals, i.e., capitalism that encourage the exploitation and domination of the proletariat can push individuals from the class to revolt.

The nexus between security and development can be rooted in economic structure. Based on conflict theory, any economic structure that paves way for economic inequality and social injustice create conditions (like poverty, unemployment) that promote radicalization, violence and subsequent underdevelopment.²² posited that it is important to note the possibility of establishing peace and order in a system which contains fundamental contradictions in its economic structure. More often in the third world nations, these contradictions manifest into strong feelings of alienation, marginalization, frustration and resentment among the lower-class individuals, which largely translates into anger, radicalization and violence.²³ Somewhat like Oyeshola²⁴, Aliyu²⁵ specifically captured the situation in Nigeria. He believed that when the masses are convinced of the ability of their country to develop and transform their miserable conditions of living, but is unwilling or incapable to do so, the people will lose their patriotism and will generate resentment among the alienated majority against the state and its institutions. Based on conflict theory, the wellbeing or progress of Nigeria and its institutions (development) are threatened by its economic structure that creates economic inequality and social injustice which promotes radicalism and violence (insecurity). Thus, security is seen as a product of socioeconomic equality and a prerequisite for societal development.

Contrarily, Sen's influential work cuts across theoretical, philosophical and practical development domains, to espouse the powerful message of 'development as freedom'. This freedom is, in part, to be indexed by a capability approach to human development, where capabilities are more than skill sets, but rather speak to 'valuable beings and doings' that agents have reason to value and, most critically, are free to choose. This focus on capabilities or 'capability freedom' is represented as the key departure from utilitarian thought, and neo-classical strands of economic thought steeped in this tradition, where the focus is placed on either subjective desires and mental states of being, such as happiness, pleasure and desire fulfillment in the assessment of well-being.²⁶

The capability approach to human development, is also distinguished from early growth and modernization theories for development and Rawls's theory of justice, since these other approaches to the development problematic tend to focus more on the commodities that can be marshalled, through a process of market driven growth, to support

²² Dokun Oyeshola, *Conflict and Context of Conflict Resolution* (Ile-Ife: OAU Press, 2020).

²³ Oyeshola.

²⁴ Oyeshola.

²⁵ Aliyu Mukhtar Katsina, 'Nigeria's Security Challenges and the Crisis of Development: Towards a New Framework for Analysis', *International Journal of Developing Societies* 1, no. 3 (2012): 107–16.

²⁶ P. Northover, 'Development as Freedom', in *Companion to Development Studies*, ed. Vandana Desai and Potter Robert (New York: Routledge, 2014).

either consumption desires and needs or baskets of primary goods and resources. However, as Sen has continuously emphasized, income is not necessarily correlated with well-being. In an earlier essay, where development was seen as capability expansion, Sen²⁷ noted, for example, that income rich South Africa scored poorly in terms of quality of life for its citizens, as evident in lower life expectancy, while income poor China did much better on this development score. Although the later Sen²⁸ seeks to set a higher development standard for China with his shift to the view of 'development as freedom', he has consistently sought to bring attention to the issue of *human well-being*, as the *quality of life* enjoyed through a specific set of *valued activities* for *individual agents*.²⁹

In line with these conceptual and philosophical orientations, Sen thus emphasizes what he refers to as instrumental freedoms, five in all, that are vital to the project of promoting 'Development as Freedom'.³⁰ These instrumental freedoms are (a) political freedoms, (b) economic facilities, (c) social opportunities, (d) transparency guarantees and (e) protective security.³¹ These are conceived of as 'distinct sets of rights and opportunities' that help to 'advance the general capability of a person'.³² All in all then, Sen advances his thesis of 'Development as Freedom' by advocating that the expansion of freedom is not only (a) the primary end but also (b) the principal means of development.³³ In his belief, Sen argued that agitation for rights alone is not sufficient to prevent human catastrophes. This has been discussed in his analysis of famines.

In 'Development as Freedom', Sen argues for development as the expansion of the 'real freedoms' that people may enjoy and have reason to value.³⁴ In the text, he rehearses his longstanding challenges to competing views on the meaning of social welfare and development and offers his work as a better analytical frame, than, for example, Utilitarian, Rawlsian, Marxist, or rights centric libertarian standpoints on development.³⁵ Indeed, Sen posits that this framework of 'Development as Freedom' should act as a foundational and universal principle for all people in order to better facilitate the aims of the many-sided forms of social contestation, protest and resistance against inequality from race to de-colonial and popular uprisings for local and global social justice.³⁶

The development as freedom thesis is relevant in explaining the nexus between security and development in Nigeria. This is because Sen has conceptually and

²⁷ Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

²⁸ Sen.

²⁹ Northover, 'Development as Freedom'.

³⁰ Northover.

³¹ Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 38–40.

³² Sen, 10.

³³ Sen, 36.

³⁴ Northover, 'Development as Freedom', 73.

³⁵ Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

³⁶ Northover, 'Development as Freedom'.

methodologically assessed and value human well-being in practical and political senses. Thus, Sen's message in the development as freedom thesis had an enormous impact not only on the development industry but also in the security political enterprise. In the aspect of development, for example, his work has helped to "underpin the rise of new development indicators, such as the Human Development Index, and the Human Poverty Index, championed and developed through the UN Development Program (UNDP), and promoted through their *Human Development Reports*"³⁷ In other words, development is not complete if types of freedoms are removed, and people are left with little choice and little opportunity to enjoy their unalienable rights.

Freedom from fear, anxiety, and threat can therefore bring actual development. Conversely, insecurity is an automatic deprivation of the people's freedom and therefore the question of development is hanging in the country. Using the development as freedom thesis, therefore, it could be argued that security is an unalienable right or freedom that every Nigerian should have. But given the level of insecurity in the country and, by implication lack of freedom, Nigeria is said to be under-developed country until the time the citizens will have the freedom of living without threat to their lives and cherished values.

II. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. *A Review of Nigeria's Struggle with Insecurity*

Nigeria has been struggling with many security challenges for more than half a century. Reflecting from the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) to date, the country has witnessed stagnation of development due to insecurity posed by different types of violence and inter-group conflicts on the basis of resource control or religion. Since 1960s, militia groups began to be formed in different parts of Nigeria, mostly on ethnic sentiment, but disguised to provide security (e.g. *Bakassi Boys*), self-determination (e.g. Movement for the Actualizations of Sovereign States of Biafra), and to gain advantage for their own ethnic group (e.g. Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People). *Maitatsine* uprising of the 1980s was on religious radicalism. Also, kidnapping, vandalization, and hostage-taking by members of Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) were because of environmental injustice on the people of the region by the government.

International Crises Group ³⁸ and 2015, Kaduna and Kano states underwent numerous *Boko Haram* bombings and shootings, most notably the 20 January 2012 attacks in Kano city that killed about 185 people. In 2011, after the then opposition candidate,

³⁷ Northover, 73.

³⁸ International Crisis Group, "Violence in Nigeria's Northwest: Rolling Back the Mayhem" (Brussels, Belgium, 18 Mei 2020).

Muhammadu Buhari, a Muslim from the far northern Katsina state, lost the presidential election to the incumbent, Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian from the Niger Delta, protests in fourteen northern states (including all seven north-western states) worsened into ethnic and sectarian riots that led to the death of over 1,000 people and 74,000 people displaced. In southern Kaduna state, a historic clash between the Hausa and Fulani, on one hand, and several smaller ethnic groups, on the other, over political offices, economic resources and the fruits of government spending has resulted in persistent violence, often with significant fatalities. More recently, starting in 2011 and accelerating since 2014, the North West has also suffered a surge of violence largely in rural areas, between pastoralists and allied armed groups (bandits), on one hand, and farmers supported by community and state-sponsored vigilantes, on the other. The violence has spread from its epicentre in Zamfara state to Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi and Sokoto states in the North West and into Niger state in North Central Nigeria. Accurate fatality records are unavailable, but several reports indicated that at least 8,000 people were killed from 2011 to date, predominantly in Zamfara state and mostly over the last five years. Strangely, the report also shows that Jihadist groups are gradually stepping up their presence in the region, taking advantage of the security crisis and surge in criminality.³⁹

Some of the crises have taken place for some decades back, but the story of Nigeria's present security challenges is not complete without mentioning *Boko Haram*.⁴⁰ The *Boko Haram* insurgency is not the problem of Borno, Yobe or Adamawa alone, but a national jeopardy. Different parts of the country, especially the north have received their fair share of assault due to *Boko Haram*. For example, multiple explosives have taken place in different occasions in Kano State, in the usual manners of similar attacks by the members of *Boko Haram* sect in Maiduguri, Damaturu, Potiskum, Gombe, Abuja, Jos and Madalla in Niger State.⁴¹ *Boko Haram* attacks were spread across Police stations, Army barracks, churches and mosques, markets, bars, media houses, prisons, tertiary institutions of learning as well as United Nations Office and so on. According to World Report⁴² the government's armed conflict with the Islamist extremist armed group *Boko Haram*, now in its 11th year, has left over 7.5 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. A Human Rights Watch researcher Mausi Segun interviewed some few girls who escaped from *Boko Haram* and were courageous enough to share their experience. She noted that:

³⁹ International Crisis Group.

⁴⁰ Ibrahim Bello and Jamilu Mukhtar, 'Media Influence on Terrorism: Analysis of Boko Haram as a Product of Postmodernism', *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization* 59 (1 January 2017): 139–47.

⁴¹ Adagba Okpaga, Ugwu Chijioke, and Okechukwu Innocent, 'Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria', *Oman Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* 1, no. 9 (1 January 2012): 77–99.

⁴² World Report, 'Nigeria: Events of 2020', in *World Report 2021* (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

The government's effort to protect the local population, including women and girls, from Boko Haram's attacks have been inadequate. The problem is so serious that in the remote parts of Borno State, Nigerian families sometimes send their daughters far away with little means of protecting themselves and little money because their families don't want to be Boko Haram's next victims.⁴³

The activities of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), an irredentist movement in the southeastern Nigeria represented another developmental challenge in the country because unity is necessary for national development. Crude oil, which is the major source of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings, is also not secured. Innocent, Nwachukwu and Olise⁴⁴ lamented the incessant cases of illegal bunkering and oil theft during which both the crude and refined or processed products are regularly stolen. Accordingly, they stated that Nigeria loses about 105 billion naira to pipeline vandalism annually. Lately, the supposed leader of the Niger Delta militant opined that:

The military that ought to protect properties has turned themselves into militaries of killing, raping and maiming innocent individuals and rendering our youths jobless. So many others have decided to treat us in the same manner. Don't worry because we are coming to destroy all your infrastructures in Abuja and Lagos. Even to the oil companies operating in our region that have decided to undermine our people, be rest assured that your days will soon catch up with you.⁴⁵

More recently, there were some scenarios that exacerbated the security situation of Nigeria and thereby led to serious developmental retardation in the country. The phenomena of kidnapping, armed robbery, cattle rustling, rural or armed banditry is seriously affecting agriculture and rural development. An arrested kidnapper provided how he started involving in the act and places of operation. According to Usman⁴⁶:

I was once a farmer. I began with cattle rustling before graduating into kidnapping. I joined a kidnap gang last year. There are five members in the gang. I voluntarily joined kidnapping because I have no father or mother. Since I joined, my gang has carried out kidnap operations in Kushemakaranta, Rafinkinba, Kuditlri, Kwei, along Nasarawa express road and Kurumikari, all in Kaduna state.

⁴³ Mausi Segun and Amy Braunschweiger, 'Interview: Life After Escaping Boko Haram's Clutches' (Human Rights Watch, 27 October 2014).

⁴⁴ Tochukwu Stephen Nwachukwu and Charles Nnamdi Olise, 'Security Threats in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition', *International Journal of Philosophy and Social Psychological Science* 3, no. 1 (2017): 21–39.

⁴⁵ Nwafor Sunday, 'Niger Delta Militants Return, Vow to Destroy All Infrastructure in Lagos, Abuja', *Vanguard News*, 24 February 2021, para 3.

⁴⁶ Evelyn Usman, 'Crime Guard: Why We Don't Kidnap Women — Kaduna Bandit', *Vanguard News*, 16 October 2021, para 5.

The agitations for the resignation of the current president from the office in the guise of *EndSARS* hash tag (#EndSARS) constituted another emerging security threat that resulted in the killing of some innocent people and the agitators, as well as the destruction of valuable properties in Lagos, Kano and Abuja. Igbini⁴⁷ captured the security challenges in the northern part of the country, which is most affected by the insecurity, thus:

*Of all these problems bedevilling the nations' socio-economic development and image abroad, religious extremism of the Islamic jihadist movement with its extreme form, terrorism, in the form of Boko Haram and ISWA on the one hand, and banditry, Fulani herdsmen attacks and other forms of attacks from criminal gangs on the other hand, have been identified as the most frightening challenges confronting the country presently. Following these upsurges of insurgency, especially in the north-east, businesses are now frizzling out, citizens displaced from their homes and unemployed, thus leaving majority of them destitute.*⁴⁸

B. Security-Development Nexus

As pointed out by Igbuzor⁴⁹, “It is well known and established all over the world that peace and security of life and property is a necessary pre-condition for development.” There is a seeming consensus that ‘security’ and ‘development’ are interconnected, and that their interrelationship is growing in significance given the evolving global political-economic landscape.⁵⁰ UNDP progressively in its Human Development Reports (HDR) since the 1990's; and the World Development Report 2000-2001 by the World Bank have significantly extended the parameters of poverty to encompass security in daily life, empowerment as a human agency; and the ability of people to exercise control over their lives have a political choice.⁵¹

There are some obvious development costs of insecurity. During conflict, for instance, people who join the combatant groups, who are killed or flee, can no longer work productively; schools, power stations and/or roads that are destroyed reduce the productive

⁴⁷ Mevayerore Daniel Igbini, ‘Insurgency in Nigeria: The Prognosis and Its Effects on the Nigerian Politics’, *Journal of Danubian Studies and Research* 10, no. 1 (24 September 2020): 440–61.

⁴⁸ Igbini, 444.

⁴⁹ Igbuzor, ‘Strategic Oriented Policing’, 2.

⁵⁰ Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice. A New Concept in the Theory of Development* (New York: Atheneum, 1971); Stern and Öjendal, ‘Mapping the Security—Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?’; Des Gasper, ‘Ethnicity and Development’, in *Companion to Development Studies*, ed. Vandana Desai and Potter Robert (New York: Routledge, 2014), 459.

⁵¹ Oluyemi Fayomi, ‘Women, Poverty and Trafficking: A Contextual Exposition of the Nigerian Situation’, *Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, Spring 2009, 5, no. 1 (1 January 2009): 65–79.

capacity of the economy. More complex interactions between events associated directly with war also exist, including fighting, people's movement, deaths, destruction of physical structures, international embargoes, and military expenditures. There are also developments in the macro, meso and micro-economy which mostly lead to adverse changes in individual economic and social entitlements. For example, the production of exports may be reduced by movement of manpower, which by implication can reduce foreign exchange earnings, import potential and consequently further constraining output, leading to a decline in employment and earnings. However, we should note that there can be positive indirect effects as resources are used more fully and efficiently. These positive effects seem to have occurred in some countries in the Second World War.⁵²

The extent of the effects and their distribution depend on the nature of the conflict. More serious conflict (involving many deaths and prolonged over a long period) may, obviously, be expected to have a worse impact than smaller, shorter wars; while conflicts confined to the periphery of the country appear to be less adverse than those that range over the heartland of the economy. Conflicts that occur in rather rigid economies are likely to have more negative impact than those that occur where the economy is flexible and resources can readily be redeployed. Moreover, the social impact of conflict depends greatly on the nature of the government. When governments are strong and relatively benign, they can sustain social services (e.g., Mozambique and Nicaragua), while weak governments that are further undermined by conflict are unable to do so (Uganda in the 1970s and mid-1980s). Meanwhile, governments that lean heavily to one side may deliberately withhold services from part of the population, e.g., Sudan.⁵³

Another indicator of state failure is the growth of criminal violence. As state authority weakens and fails, and as the state becomes criminal in its oppression of its citizens, so lawlessness becomes more apparent. Criminal gangs take over the streets of the cities. Arms and drug trafficking become more common. Ordinary police forces become paralyzed. Anomic behaviors become the norm. For protection, citizens naturally turn to warlords and other strong figures who express or activate ethnic or clan solidarity, thus offering the possibility of security at a time when all else, and the state itself, is crumbling. High rates of urban crime and the rise of criminal syndicates testify to an underlying anarchy and desperation.⁵⁴

In a nutshell, the nexus between security and development is obvious and practical. Insecurity like insurgency or terrorism witnessed in Northeastern Nigeria has a direct impact on the development of the region and the country at large. The activities of criminals and terrorists in the oil producing states also affect the country's foreign exchange earnings

⁵² Stewart, 'Development and Security'.

⁵³ Stewart.

⁵⁴ Robert I. Rotberg, 'Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators', *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 4 (2002): 127-40, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20033245>.

and development at large. Other different security challenges in form of violent crimes, such as kidnapping, cattle rustling, banditry and urban gang violence are also posing great threat to the national development.

C. Security and Development in Nigeria

The numerous security challenges in Nigeria continue to serve as a ‘thorn in the flesh’ to sustainable growth and development in Nigeria. Most of the available data on the impact of security challenges on development in Nigeria are from statistical data obtained by various Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations, other data are sourced from academic research and publications. The impact of security challenges on development in Nigeria will be explained using a review of impact of insecurity on population, health, education and the economic sector.

About impact on population, the growing number of death rate signifies how insecurity affects the population of the country. EONS Intelligence reported that over 77850 deaths were recorded in Nigeria from June 2011 to June 2021 due to security challenges. These reported deaths are spread across the various geopolitical zones in the country. The report provided that 3534 deaths were recorded in the Southwest zone, 5710 in the South South zone, 3020 in the South East, 12743 in the North West zone, 10119 in the North Central zone and 44247 in the North East zone. United Nations Development Programme⁵⁵ reported that hundreds of thousands of Nigerians have been displaced from their homes, mostly living in overcrowded and degrading living conditions without access to clean water and sanitation. UNDP⁵⁶ also estimated more than 90% of conflict-attributable deaths through 2020, with about 324,000 being children of less than 5 years.

Regarding education, The Cable⁵⁷ provided that about 800 secondary school students have been kidnapped in coordinated attacks by terrorists and bandits from December 2020 to May 2021. The forum added that several states are shutting down boarding schools in violence-prone areas. According to UNICEF⁵⁸ recent estimates for out-of-schoolchildren in Nigeria exceeds 13million, of which nearly 70% are in the conflict affected Northeast region. The report also provided that an estimated 19000 teachers are displaced since 2009 and 654 killed, with approximately 1200 schools damaged or destroyed. There are also health emergencies and perplexities directly linked with insecurity in the

⁵⁵ United Nation Development Programme, ‘Assessing the Impact of Conflict on Development in North-East Nigeria’ (Abuja: UNDP, 2020).

⁵⁶ United Nation Development Programme.

⁵⁷ EONS Intelligence, ‘Analysis of Nigeria Insecurity Challenges from June 2011 to June 2021’ (Lagos, Nigeria, 2021).

⁵⁸ UNICEF, “Every Child Learns: UNICEF Education Strategy 2019-2030,” 2020, <https://www.unicef.org/media/63061/file/EdStrategy-2019-2030-CountrySolutions-Nigeria.pdf>.

country. UNDP⁵⁹ estimated that an additional 1.8million students are out of school, who would have been enrolled if not of the security challenges. Accordingly, more than 72% of health centres in Yobe State and 60% in Borno State have been destroyed because of the *Boko Haram* insurgency.⁶⁰ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reported that no less than 37% of primary healthcare facilities in emergency areas including Maiduguri have been shut down because of the menaces of *Boko Haram* insurgents, and more than 50% of such are yet to be opened.⁶¹

Mika Abubakar, Tanko and Aisha Abubakar⁶² used time series analysis to investigate the impact of insecurity on foreign direct investment outflow in Nigeria over the period of 2005-2015. The study found that insecurity is highly positively correlated with foreign direct investment outflow. The study provided evidence of causality running from both insecurity and exchange rate to foreign direct investment outflow. Jelilov, Ozden and Briggs⁶³ examined impact of insecurity on investment in Nigeria using analysis of Nigeria terrorism index. The Nigeria terrorism index show that terrorist activities have significant effect on the growth of the economy with t-value of 3.770935 and p-value of 0.006974396. Onime⁶⁴ examined insecurity and economic growth in Nigeria using descriptive qualitative analysis and data from secondary sources. Onime⁶⁵ provided that foreign receipts from oil declined from \$99.878 in 2011 to an all-time low cost of \$45365 in 2015, representing a 55% decrease over the figure in 2011. Through 2020, UNDP⁶⁶ found that conflict has resulted in a total cumulative Gross Domestic Product (GDP) loss of \$27.8billion.

Although the concept of development has been expanded to encompass more than just economic strength, this paper positioned development as a stage of societal progress ushered in majorly by economic growth and stability. The present Nigerian economy is characterized with low rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), high inflation rate, poverty, unemployment and fluctuating economic recession. Several attempts made by the

⁵⁹ United Nation Development Programme, 'Assessing the Impact of Conflict on Development in North-East Nigeria'.

⁶⁰ Folashade T Alloh and Pramod R Regmi, 'Effect of Economic and Security Challenges on the Nigerian Health Sector', *African Health Sciences* 17, no. 2 (June 2017): 581-91.

⁶¹ Muhammad Abdullahi, Lawan Cheri, and A Chikaji, 'The Implication of Boko Haram Insurgency on Healthcare Service Delivery in Borno State, Nigeria', *Illorin Journal of Administration and Development* 3, no. 1 (1 June 2017): 1-11.

⁶² Mika Abubakar, Saidu Tanko, and Aisha Abubakar, 'The Impact of Insecurity on Foreign Direct Investments: Evidence for Nigeria', *Sokoto Journal of the Social Sciences* 7, no. 2 (1 December 2017): 175-82.

⁶³ Gylych Jelilov, Kemal Ozden, and Sotonye Orinaemi Briggs, 'Impact of Insecurity on Investment in Nigeria', *Journal of Management, Economics, and Industrial Organization* 2, no. 2 (31 July 2018): 41-61, <https://doi.org/10.31039/jomeino.2018.2.3.3>.

⁶⁴ Bright Enake Onime, 'Insecurity and Economic Growth in Nigeria: A Diagnostic Review', *European Scientific Journal* 14, no. 4 (28 February 2018): 377-91.

⁶⁵ Onime.

⁶⁶ United Nation Development Programme, 'Assessing the Impact of Conflict on Development in North-East Nigeria'.

government to revive the economy yield no reasonable positive results. This is because most of the attempts or policies are geared towards empowerment, loan requests, devaluation and privatisation. In other words, the attempts made to revive the struggling economy that stunt national development are rather meant to address the economy directly, and not policies that will curb the widespread violence and security challenges that bedevil economic production in the country. In essence, economic growth and consequently development, will only be realized when the society is cleansed from security threats.

Both conflict theory and 'development as freedom' theses is relevant in explaining the above argument. Conflict theory argued that economic structures create harsh economic conditions like social inequality, poverty and unemployment that lead to resentment, frustration and tension that translates to security challenges and affect societal development. Based on the argument of the theory then, the path to development of 3rd world nations like Nigeria is to battle harsh economic conditions that create insecurity and affects economic growth and development. Accordingly, 'Development as Freedom' thesis positioned security as freedom and safety. For Sen⁶⁷, freedom and or safety is a resounding path to development. The solution to developmental challenges in Nigeria is rather engraved in ability of the state to ensure that individuals and groups are free and safe from fear, anxiety and threat (security), which will provide a favorable setting for the realization of their goals and aspirations (development). Hence, it is only in a security stable setting, that economic activities will have enabled environment to flourish.

D. Response to Security Challenges in Nigeria

Government Response

The responsibility of protecting lives and properties of the citizens is vested on the state. As a response to the security challenges in the country, different state governments and the central have come up with some rules. For example, while both international and national legislations have declared *Boko Haram* members as terrorists, the Nigerian Supreme Court has recently also defined armed bandits as terrorists. However, the response of Nigerian government to the security challenges is mainly through state actors. There are several security agencies that are vested with the responsibility of checkmating crimes and security challenges in Nigeria i.e., the Nigerian Armed Forces, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Department of State Security (DSS), the Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), the Nigerian Custom Service (NCS), the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) among few others. Ideally, internal security challenges are meant to be tackled by the security agencies, except for the Nigerian armed forces that are

⁶⁷ Sen, *Development as Freedom*.

responsible to fight enemy without and terrorist/insurgent groups. Thus, the complexity and density of the internal security threats makes it somewhat necessary to involve the highly trained officers of the Nigerian army.

Over the years, the Nigerian army perform several military operations across the country. Abdullahi⁶⁸ put it:

In addition to this, there are Operations that are Geo-Political zone- based as follows: Operation Zaman Lafiya Dole (that includes those before it like Operation Crackdown, Operation Gama Aiki and Operation Safe Corridor). All operate in the North-East to handle counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, de-radicalization and the rehabilitation of repentant Boko Haram members. Operation Safe Haven headquartered at Plateau State with the mandate of fighting the human security problem of religious and ethnic conflicts and other aberrant activities in Benue, Nassarawa, Kogi and Kwara States. Operation Saran Daji and Operation Harbin Kunama in the North-West are meant at preventing the human security problem in Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara States and the deadly herdsmen, cattle rustlers, kidnappings and armed robbery. In the South-South there is Operation Delta Safe, an operation embarked to compliment Operations Crocodile Smile and Tsera Teku aimed at dealing with Niger Delta militancy and other criminal activities. Operation Awase in the South-West is targeted at the prevention of illegal oil bunkering and pipeline vandalism. Operation Iron Fence established to fight kidnapping, armed robbery and hooliganism, among others.

These military operations are spread across the country depending on the nature of security challenge or threat, capacity of the nonstate actors or criminals involved as well as the nature of unsecured environment. Other military operations include; Operation Accord, Operation Atilogwu (Dance for Peace), Operation Ayem Akpatuma, Operation Cat Race, Operation Egwu Eke, Operation Positive Identification, Operation Rattle Snake and Operation Tura Takaibango.

Increase in concern and debate over the use of intimidation, extortion and torture by the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), the Inspector General of Police (IGP) announced the disbandment of the unit in 11th October 2020 and immediately set up a new Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team to specially perform routine patrols to fight the surge of insecurity in the country. Unfortunately, this newly established police unit is arguably invisible in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria. Other state operations employed in the fight against insecurity involve Multinational Joint Task Force and Civilian Joint Task Force. Multinational Joint Task Force was employed to fight insurgency/terrorism and involves using majorly uniformed troops and few additional civilian components from

⁶⁸ S Abdullahi A., 'Fulani Herdsmen, Crime and the Human Security Problem in Nigeria', in *Borderless War: Terrorism and Security in Africa*, ed. N. Ndukaeze, F. Attoh, and W. Adisa, 2017, 5.

Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon and Niger. Civilian Joint Task Force involves using local defence groups to provide security in vulnerable communities. It is sometimes employed by state governors to fight insurgency/terrorism, kidnapping, banditry and farmers/herders' conflict among others. However, despite the heavy involvement of the Nigerian army as well as other actors, the problem is still refusing to be addressed by combat measures. It remains paramount to devise other security strategies as well as noncombat measures to control the menaces.

Civil Societies (Formation/Response)

The security problems in Nigeria have attracted many civil societies, international and local ones, as well as the creation of others. Some of the notable organizations that have responded to the rising security challenges in the country include International organisation on migration (IOM), Amnesty International, United Nations Office on Human Right (UNOHR), Mercy Corps, Red Cross, Allamin Foundation for Peace and Development (AFPD) among others. For example, Mercy Corps have launched several programmes to lessen the trauma of victims of insurgency and prevent the recruitment of more youths into terrorism. Red Cross and Amnesty International have follow up and monitor human rights violations against detained *Boko Haram* members. Allamin Foundation for Peace and Development (AFPD) is one of the locally initiated civil society organisations that carried out important projects to enhance peace building, human rights advocacy and action against gender-based violence in Northeast and other regions.

Dike⁶⁹ captured the manifestation of the self-help method organizations that sprouted from the density of security challenges in Nigeria. According to Dike⁷⁰:

In the whirlwind situation of incessant crimes, accentuated by lack of confidence and even suspicion of the law enforcement agents, the only alternative solution seems to be self-help method. In the various ways crime manifests in the Nigerian society, commensurate self-help method has also arisen. It is clear from the way it springs up to address a particular group's security and in view of the fact that humans belong to many social groups, there is overlapping of engagement of self-help group by persons.

In essence, the rise in criminality and insecurity amidst increased lack of trust in the capacity and capability of the institutional arrangement meant to enhance peace and security has forced community members to adopt self-help method or rather vigilante

⁶⁹ Evelyn Obiageli Dike, "Insecurity and Civil Society Response in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective and Its Implications for Peace and Development," *African Research Review* 9, no. 4 (27 October 2015): 110–22.

⁷⁰ Dike, 115.

support groups to provide relative security in relevant places. Muhammad⁷¹ emphasized on the increasing relevance and demand for private security in crime prevention and community safety. Such communal arrangements are incessantly formed in several communities in Nigeria and provide security in villages, cities, houses of the affluent, markets, ceremonial centers, corporate entities like banks, churches, schools, companies and so on.

III. CONCLUSION

The article investigated the nexus between security and development in Nigeria. There are different cases of security challenges in Nigeria, such as kidnapping, terrorism, and conflict situations among others. The nexus between the two concepts is not ideational but also practical because absence of security in a country will not give atmosphere for development. In conclusion, the developmental challenges of Nigeria can be attributable to the myriad of security challenges in the country. In view of this, policy formulations on national development should not focus only on increasing GNP and GDP of the country's economy as strategy for development, but should design security measures as criteria for national development. The relevance and worthiness of emphasizing on measures to control the security challenges sprouted from the fact that the path to development can only be realized when relative security is achieved.

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⁷¹ Suleiman Isyaku Muhammad, *The Regulatory Role of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps: Private Security Guard Company and Crime Prevention in Nigeria* (USA: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2021).

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