

Implications of Insecurity on Nigeria's Development, 1999 to 2022

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Abstract

Development in Nigeria has been hindered by the disruptive influences of insecurity. This paper attempts to examine the effects of insecurity on Nigeria's development from 1999 to 2022 and to set the conditions necessary for change. The paper contends that there exists a strong tie between security and development because development cannot be attained in an atmosphere of insecurity. Hence the paper conceptualizes development and security as two distinct but interrelated ideas that influence one another. The study adopted qualitative and quantitative research design using historical method of analysis, and largely, secondary sources of data were employed. Therefore, the paper recommends that, if development is to be achieved in Nigeria, constitutional as well as policy measures should be adopted. Besides, a collective measure that comprises all stakeholders such as the local, state and federal government as well as the international agencies are required to tackle this issue of insecurity which is wreaking havoc on the nation.

Keywords: *Economy, Corruption, Insecurity, Development, Government*

Introduction

The concept of security existed before the state, and the state was established in order to fulfil the function of providing security. The state is primarily responsible for ensuring its citizens' safety (Hobbes, 1996). The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, *chapter 2, section 14* as amended explicitly spelled out that "the security and welfare of the people should be the primary objective of government" although regrettably, the government has not been able to fulfilled its constitutional obligation to ensure a secure and risk-free environment in which people's lives, their property, and the operation of businesses and other economic activities can take place. The alarming rate of crime in Nigeria is a primary contributor to the country's alarmingly high insecurity, which in turn has reached its precipice, rearing its ugly head in a variety of aspects of our national life. Every day, people are losing their lives, the population is decreasing, businesses are going bankrupt, investments are plummeting, international corporations are shuttering their stores and leaving the country, unemployment is skyrocketing, and the populace is living in constant fear.

Since Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999, the rise of insecurity has stirred considerable concern and which continues to pose a risk to development. With the seeming inaction of the government, individuals in their various rights, work places, and houses spend significant amount of money to provide security for their personal lives and properties. This is despite the fact that governments are incurring ever-increasing recurrent expenditures on internal security at both the national and state levels. In spite of all of these measures, the cancer of insecurity keeps eating deep into the nation and rearing its ugly head which has further seen Nigeria receive a Global Peace Index score of 2.71 in 2021 which is a further decline compared to 2012 to 2021. (GPI, 2021, Knoema <https://knoema.com/>Nigeria>topic>)

Nigeria is facing a number of daunting developmental challenges in addition to the worsening security situation in the country. These challenges include widespread poverty in both rural and urban areas, a high rate of unemployment, low industrial output, an unstable and deteriorating exchange rate, a high inflation rate, inadequate physical and social infrastructure, very large domestic debt, and rising stock of external debt. The last available data from The National

Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2020 reports that the unemployment rate in Nigeria is as low as 15 percent. The underemployment rate is at 22.8%, and the unemployment rate among young people is at 42.5% which indicates that the current state of social insecurity has reached an alarmingly high degree. As a consequence of this varying degrees of insecurity present in virtually all areas of the country, this paper seeks to look at failure to track budgetary spending on security over time from 1999-2019 and the implications of insecurity on Nigeria's development.

Security

Different ways of thinking can be taken while attempting to conceptualize security, which is the antonym of insecurity. As a result, this article seeks to examine the concept of security in order to provide a solid foundation for comprehending the concept of insecurity. Nwozor (2019), explained that the definition of security is often associated with certain complexities which he grouped into three (3):

- The first definitional complexity of the concept of security resides in the fact that it can be applied to a wide variety of subfields, each of which has its own unique nuances that, rather than converging, tend to go in different directions.
- The second part of this complexity is that security seems to be able to cover a wide range of threats to human existence. He further explained by stating that in recent years, these threats have come from things like weak and failing states, pollution that causes climate change, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, natural disasters, growing global inequality shown by food crises and poverty, and a growing population
- The third characteristic of the complexity of security is its broadness, within the scope of this broadness, he identified security as encompassing physical and national security

The concise definition of security was given in the Human Development Report (1994) by the United Nations Development Programme, which defined security as the improvement of the existential conditions of the people, which can be accomplished by ensuring their safety and offering them the chance to live a life that is both meaningful and valuable, the freedom to make choices and the ingrained confidence that opportunities which has to do with the welfare and social security of citizens will continue to be available in the future (UNDP, 1994). However, Nnoli (2006), is of the opinion that security has both objective and subjective parts, even though it means "freedom from threats, anxiety, or danger." He further explained that the difference between objective and subjective security is that objective security is based on being able to measure security indicators, while subjective security is based on how people feel about the lack of threat, anxiety, or danger based on their values and expectations.

According to Onifade C. (2013), security is the condition that is present as the result of putting in place measures for the protection of persons, information, and property against hostile persons, influences, and acts. Security refers to a circumstance in which people occupying a certain space, whether it be natural or man-made, are free to move about without being subject to any dangers, actual or imagined, to their lives or properties (Ozoigbo, 2019). For the purpose of this article, security will be viewed in this context.

Insecurity

Furthermore, according to Beland (2005), insecurity involves a lack of protection from crime (being unsafe) and a lack of freedom from psychological harm (unprotected from emotional stress resulting from a paucity of assurance that an individual is accepted, has opportunity and choices to fulfill his or her own potentials including freedom from fear). In other words, being unsafe and lacking freedom from psychological harm are both examples of insecurity.

The concept of insecurity can be interpreted to mean a number of different things, including the absence of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, lack of protection, and a lack of safety. Achumba et al. (2013) defined insecurity using two different ways: first, he defined insecurity as a state of being open or subject to danger or the threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury; and secondly, he defined insecurity as the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague uncomfortable emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. From this definition, it can be said that those who are affected by insecurity not only do not know what will happen or are uncertain about what will happen, but they are also unable to stop it or protect themselves when it does happen. For the purpose of this paper, insecurity will be viewed in this context.

Origin and Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

The intrusion of the military into civilian government and the subsequent imposition of a military command structure in a federation set the stage for Nigeria's federalism to become distorted. Although the application of federalism in Nigeria has undoubtedly been warped as a result of the overwhelming dominance of the federal government, which doles out national resources to lower level governments according to its irrational thinking (Ewetan, 2011). Since the country's independence, several nationalities and ethnic groups inside Nigeria have persisted in their calls for genuine federalism as well as political and financial reforms, these agitations have led to violent rebellious reactions by dissatisfied ethnic groups in the country, putting Nigeria's safety, unity, and even existence as a single country in jeopardy. Therefore, the causes of the country's current security problems can be traced back to the early years of military rule, during which large quantities of weapons were brought into the country for use by the military both during and after the Nigerian Civil War, which took place between 1967 and 1970. (Adagba et al., 2012). Soon after the end of the Civil War, citizens and ex-military men began using these weaponries for devious reasons in their communities.

However, recent events including acts of violent extremism, insurgency, and other forms of militancy have made the security situation a great deal and more precarious (Adagba et al., 2012). In addition to militancy is terrorism which is seen as organized violent attack on a target with the aim of undermining a lawfully constituted authority and to cause fear among the populace in furthering of some socio-political objectives. It is an act that has been bedeviling Nigerian state since 2003 and the adverse effect of these act on Nigeria has been a heavy humanitarian crisis on one hand, and challenges on insecurity on the other hand. Despite the enactment of the terrorism provision act in 2011 which was enacted to prosecute, punish those citizens that will be engaging in the act of terrorism in Nigeria and finally prevent such act, quite a number of Nigerian citizens still engaged in the act of terrorism.

Ezeoba (2011), identified some causes of insecurity in Nigeria:

Ethno-religious Conflicts: The term "ethno-religious conflict" refers to a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a society that is both multi-ethnic and multi-religious is characterized by a lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation (Achumba et al. 2013). A significant obstacle to Nigeria's national security is posed by the country's protracted history of ethnic strife as well as the theological tensions that have arisen between the country's two major faiths, Islam and Christianity. It would appear that Nigeria has been plagued with ethno-religious conflicts ever since it gained its independence, these conflicts have arisen as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity, which are frequently constructed around ethno-religious identities (Ibrahim and Igbuzor, 2002).

Porous Borders and Arms Proliferation: The spread of weaponry has led to an increase in insecurity in the country, which has resulted in the deaths of over 80,000 people and the displacement of 3 million people within the country, despite the fact that the country is not currently engaged in a state of war (United Nations refugee agency and the Council on Foreign Relations 2021). It is believed that there are around 6,145,000 small guns and light weapons in the possession of non-state actors and civilians in Nigeria, this is in comparison to the 586,600 firearms that are in the possession of the Nigerian armed forces and law enforcement authorities (The Institute for Security Studies 2021). The security forces have been overpowered, which has made it possible for terrorist organizations to operate with little or no resistance, mainly in vast swaths of territory that are ungoverned in order to develop their own influence over local communities and ensure the continued existence of their groups, violent extremist organizations will use local problems to their advantage. As a direct consequence of this tragic circumstance, a wide variety of persons as well as guns make their way into the country. On numerous times, criminal elements have crossed the boundaries of Nigeria to engage in criminal acts and then successfully returned to their home countries. An example are undocumented migrants from neighbouring countries such as Niger, Chad, Benin, Mali, and Niamey who terrorist troops from these countries have invaded the northern region of this country at different occasions (Adeola and Oluymi, 2012). As a direct result of the porous borders, criminals within the country have unrestricted access to a wide variety of weapons, including both heavy and small weaponry (Hazen and Horner, 2007).

Terrorism: Terrorism can be linked to religious extremism and intolerance, the primary driver of instability in Nigeria, especially in the states of Nigeria that are predominantly dominated by Islam (Achumba et al. 2013). The act

of terrorism is a worldwide problem that is wreaking havoc on every continent. Sampson and Onuoha (2011) described terrorism as "the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by an individual or group to cause fear, destruction, or death, especially against unarmed targets, property, or infrastructure in a state, intended to compel those in authority to respond to the demands and expectations of the individual or group behind such violent acts. In Nigeria, Boko Haram an Islamic insurgent group that is based in the Northern region of Nigeria which began in 2009, have been responsible for the deaths of thousands of people in the Northern region of Nigeria. Support this with numerical data, estimates of the number of deaths due to insurgency and other related Boko Haram activities since 2009.

Table 1: States most affected by Boko Haram's attacks in Nigeria from 2011-2021

Characteristics	Number of deaths
Borno	35,646
Zamfara	5,747
Zamfara	5,462
Adamawa	4,097
Benue	3,774
Plateau	3,359
Yobe	3,179

Source: See Statista website (<https://www.statista.com>statistics>)

In Nigeria, pastoralism is predominantly the occupation of the Fulani ethnic group. They owned over 90% of the nation's livestock especially cattle. (Oli, 2018:30) These Fulani herders, unfortunately are often armed and visibly moved about with dangerous weapons such as AK47, machetes, guns, cutlasses, arrows etc. Herders-farmers' conflict has led to most residents of benue, plateau, Kaduna, Bauchi, Taraba, Nasarawa, Kogi, Ekiti, Enugu etc to abandon their homes, farmlands and agricultural activities as a result of attacks or fear of attack. This has drastically reduced agricultural production. Human labour has been grossly wasted on both sides, crops and animals wantonly destroyed and labour force recruited into the militia, thus taking away labour from agricultural activities. Also, there has been massive destruction and seizure of foodstuff, livestock, crop, farmlands, and interruptions of market supplies. (Molokwu, 2019:205) Consequently, the predatory activities diminish food access and availability.

Economic Imbalance and Marginalization: the issue of economic imbalance and marginalization has led to quite a number of secessionist groups springing up from different regions of the country which has led to unrest and conflict in different regions of the country. For the first time in 1953, the north talked openly of the possibility of secession. Land locked, it feared economic strangulation by the southern Nigeria. Recently, some of this secessionist group include IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra) in the southeast and the cry in the southwest for Yoruba nation. Also this phenomenon of economic imbalance and marginalization brought about the militant groups in the south-south region of Nigeria, which has resulted in economic woes in Nigeria through loss of oil revenue as a result of shortfall in crude oil exports by the oil companies occasioned by disruption of oil exploration activities by the Niger-Delta militants.

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Corruption: According to Transparency International, "corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for personal advantage." Since 1995, the organization has been publishing a Corruption Perception Index (CPI) that rates the countries of the globe out of a possible 100 for the honesty of their public sectors each year. According to Transparency International, "people are deprived of their most basic requirements and go to bed hungry every night

because of corruption in numerous countries, while powerful and corrupt people live extravagant lifestyles with impunity" (Transparency International, 2022). Many of Nigeria's issues may be traced back to corruption, which manifests itself in a variety of ways and permeates all of the country's political institutions as well as its economic sectors (Ogundiyin, 2006). This corruption has led some of the teeming unemployed population into various social ills ranging from kidnapping, stealing etc.

Similarly, the administration under General Olusegun Obasanjo swung into action with the signing of the anti-graft law 2000 that established the ICPC and subsequently the EFCC was also formed all in the country. However, in spite of the government's stand on corruption, there were several cases of corruption in different degrees and dimension. In fact, the Nigerian experience confirms that government plagued by corruption increasing black the capacity to protect the people and witness several forms of criminality and insurrection. Despite spending billions of dollars ostensibly to fight insecurity both at the national and sub-national levels, insecurity in Nigeria continues to worsen. (Premium Times Nigeria)

Development

Development and security are two sides of the same coin. Relations between security and development work both ways, there is no development without security and there is no security without development (vice-versa). The notion of no security without development is closely recognized as 'securitization of development', whereby development is recognized for its impact on security. (<https://www.grin.com>document>) Chandler (2007) described development as a larger term that recognizes psychological and material aspects that evaluate human well-being. However, Nnoli (1981) described development as a multifaceted phenomenon that is centered on man; it is the process of empowering people to maximize their potentials and developing the knowledge capacity to exploit nature in order to meet daily human needs. An important markers of development include the transformation of society as well as the creation of new social and economic advancements (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013).

Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) established strong ties between security and development because they believed that development cannot be attained in any place where there is insecurity, crises, or wars. Hence in this article, there has been a general agreement that development and security are two distinct but interrelated ideas that influence one another (Chandler, 2007). Security is anchored on national development and on the other hand, development can be anchored on security. For instance, the case of violence such as ethnic crisis, vandalism of pipes and electrical poles, armed robberies, kidnapping among others have hindered development of some infrastructure and foreign investment. Thus, we can say that the two cannot be detached. (Igbogo, E.2015:5)

Implications of Insecurity on Nigeria's Development

The heightened level of insecurity in Nigeria has negatively affected development in Nigeria in the 21st century. This impact can be seen in the following:

Loss of Human Capital: According to a report that was published in the Punch News Paper on July 23, 2021 by Amarachi Orjiude and Sami Olatunji, at least 3,133 Nigerians were reportedly killed in Nigeria in the past three months due to violent incidents. These incidents include attacks by Boko Haram Islamist terrorists, militia herdsman, bandits, armed robbers, and other individuals. According to the research, the biggest number of people killed in Nigeria were civilians (1,772), followed by bandits (416) and Boko Haram terrorists (334). The report also stated that 296 people were killed while serving in the Nigerian security forces. The ongoing loss of the nation's human capital has been caused by the rise in the number of terrorist bombs, kidnappings, armed robbery attacks on banks, and other violent crimes. This unfavorable trend represents a significant risk to the future of the agricultural productivity and real estate sector, as well as the volume of private sector investments, the growth rate of the petroleum sector, labor, and general economic development, which in turn hinders the nation's overall productivity.

Brain Drain: the insecurity in the country has, sadly, caused a great number of our experts working in a variety of fields to leave the country which has had a negative impact on the nation. The unstable environment that is now in place is unable to guarantee the protection of these brilliant minds as they work to improve the quality of life in the country, therefore they are forced to relocate to locations that offer greater security.

Loss of revenue generation through tourism: the tourism industry, which used to be a source of revenue generation every year, from places like the well-known Argungu fishing festival, Yankari Games Reserves, the Mambila Plateau, and the tomb of Othman Dan-Fodio, all of which draw tourists from inside and outside the country, in conjunction with the various economic activities that take place within the value chain has been stopped in its tracks.

Discouragement of both local and foreign investment: Due to the actions of the Boko Haram sect, Nigeria has earned a spot on the list of nations that are considered to be terrorist havens. As a result of these activities, foreign investors who are interested in investing in Nigeria are hesitant to establish their companies in the country which has also had a negative impact on the economy. Many international investors prefer to invest in neighbouring nations like Ghana, an illustration of this may be seen in the case of the social media network Twitter, on which Nigeria has one of the most active user bases in Africa; yet, the firm decided to locate its African office in Ghana due to the unsafe environment in Nigeria. Also, the agricultural sector, which is one of the critical sectors of the Nigerian economy and is known to be engaged in by the majority of northerners due to the vast land of the north, has been hit by the bane of insecurity as a result of the activities of Boko Haram terrorists and Fulani herdsman, which have discouraged farmers because farmers no longer believe it is safe enough to go to their farms due to the risk of being attacked. Hence agricultural production is experiencing a significant decline which has grossly affected Nigeria's gross domestic product (GDP).

The last five or six years of security challenges in Nigeria is quite sad, especially in Northern Nigeria the implications are that many were killed, many kidnapped, animal rustle, property destroyed, people forced to change their lifestyles, farmers force to abandoned their farms, school's shutdown night life suspended the nation economy negatively affected. The meagre resources of the nation all channeled to security and governance made difficult.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In current era of the 21st century, insecurity is a worldwide issue that impedes the development of many nations. In the context of Nigeria, numerous forms of insecurity exist, including but not limited to unemployment, terrorism, corruption, insufficient healthcare delivery systems, and religious and ethnic violence. As a result of the significant risk that heightened insecurity poses to Nigeria's economic growth, the country's leadership must demonstrate both sincerity of purpose and undivided devotion if they are to successfully combat the issue of rising insecurity in the country. In addition, the problem of security ought to be the concern of everyone, including those in positions of leadership as well as those who are led, and everyone ought to be beckoned to contribute to the issue of security's ongoing maintenance in order to mitigate the detrimental impact that a lack of security has on national development.

This study has come forth with the following recommendations to curb insecurity and ensure development in Nigeria. Firstly, the Nigeria government must therefore ensure that there is peace within her borders. The opposite of peace is war. Injustices, corruption, poor planning, tyranny and selfishness often affect development efforts of a nation. These elements breed disaffection, frustrations and in extreme cases, violent eruptions which precipitates crisis and insecurity all over the nation. Peace is synonymous with security. No nation can afford to play with its own security. Emphasis on security therefore must encompasses issues of justice, food, good health care, and environmental protection, tolerance and respect for human rights. (Igbogo, E.2015:12)

need a strong political will to defeat Boko Haram and now ISWAP to ensure peace and development in Nigeria. This is because security and development goes together. The Nigerian military and police need to be restructured and regenerated to fight the terror war to make sure that peace and development is ensured in the country. International support will continue to be critical in the fight against Boko Haram and ISWAP in the North East and the Sahel as a whole so that peace and development will return in the country.

The issue and problem of exclusion and marginalization of the Igbo man need to be addressed to solve the problem of insecurity in Igboland; as witnessed by the agitation of IPOB and ESN. South East need peace, security and development in Nigeria. Insecurity in the South West caused by Oduduwa Republic agitation need to be negotiated peacefully to address and nip the agitation for self-determination on the board, so that peace and development will

strive. Policing as a foundational institution and instrument for effective governance need to be more effective to fight crime and criminality; so that peace and security will provide enabling environment for development. In addition to that, the bandits and kidnappers need to be disarmed so that security, peace and development will prevail in the country. The electorates need to vote the right presidential candidate based on competent, not based on ethnicity and religious sentiment. Insecurity will increase in Nigeria if we vote or elect a weak leader, but a competent leader will provide the nation relative peace and development.

Furthermore, INEC must make sure that the elections are conducted creditable to produce free and fair election whose presidency will be supported by all Nigerian. The electorates should support crisis free campaign and election. Another factor that can drive and promote peace and development in Nigeria is improve bond of national unity, inclusiveness and national reintegration for fairness, equity and justice to prevail. To ensure balance sharing of power equitable. It is believed that if the electorates vote the right presidential aspirant based on competent and not based on ethnic and religious card sentiment, peace and development will return to Nigeria speedily. To fight insecurity in Nigeria the government and security agents must be resilient and tireless towards addressing the security challenges and restoring peace in Nigeria. The government must not shy away from that responsibility by putting every effort into providing law and order in the country. The government must be also ready to deploy military and other security agencies to troubled parts of the country after negotiation has failed to achieve positive results. The creation of the ministry of internal security in all the states of the federation and headed by security experts will help to address the challenges of increase insecurity at hand in the recent history of Nigeria.

More so, the need for cooperation and synergy among all the security agencies in the country towards winning the war against these bandits and terrorists that have change the lifestyles of Nigerians is important. The military, police, the civil defense, the DSS and even the unconventional security outfits, like the local vigilantes, should all be working together to achieve a common result. Security agents must be ready to push the battle ground into the hide out and den of the bandits and terrorist. Civilians must be ready to give vital information and intelligent reports of the hide out of bandits and terrorist to the security agents and should be kept secretly. This will make peace to return in affected areas, hence development will be encouraged, without security there cannot be any meaningful development. Government and the security agents must equally appeal to the indigenous communities to support the government efforts in this war against these criminals.

Communities must not fold their hands to see some criminals terrorizing their peace and cooperate existence. They should cooperate with the military and police to equally take the battle to these bandits and terrorists in a synergy with the security agents. Furthermore, neighboring states must have robust communication and synergy in intelligence gathering to help fight criminals, bandits and terrorists. Neighboring states must collectively deal with these terrorists, regardless of where they operate whether in Niger, Kaduna, Zamfara, Kebbi or FCT. A criminal is a criminal; they must be treated according to the law of the land. If adequate security is offered to the farming communities, farmers in internal displaced people home will go back to their farms, homes and industries, hence development and progress will strive.

Even though a lot of money is spent on security that would have been used for education and road construction, the government should also understand that money spent to protect life and properties is not a waste. That is the essence of government to protect life and properties of the citizens. A government that does not engage on this responsibility of protecting life and property has failed. Government must take the provision of human security very important so that life can be meaningful and better for the people. According to Emmanuel Umar (2022) Commissioner for Internal Security, Niger State, the factor that is responsible for this banditry and terrorism in this country is that we must redefine our security concept if we must put an end to this menace. I mean the government, and nobody is concerned about what is happening in the state, that is the people. We looked at security from the aspect of preserving the nation as a territory, but we are not concerned about how to protect those who are inside the territory- that has been the concept. But with incident of 9/11 attack the globe, that security concept of only protecting the state is beginning to change. Before now, nobody was talking about human security, nobody was talking about food security; nobody was talking about cyber security but now, we are beginning to realize that we are making a mistake. Nations of the world have realized that there is the need to give attention to internal security.

Security and development must go together; no nation can develop without security. That is why it is absolutely necessary for us as a nation to redefine our security concept, we must, first of all, look at security from human

perspective, security should be about citizens first, not about the state (government), if not, we cannot get over these challenges. It is sad that a governor may have about 100 policemen to protect him. Whereas a community lacks that number of security men, automatically, the people become exposed to danger and become vulnerable. This is because security is state centered and not citizen centered. This approach need to change for security to be citizen centered. More so, when the judicial system is faulty, it affects the security system. Again the relative deprivation explains that when people's expectation is not met they will tend to work against the state (government) just to sabotage the government. It is also sad to note that today non-state-actors are internally destroying the state, but before, wars were fought between state versus state

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