Security Challenges and Economy of the Nigerian State (2007 – 2011).

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Abstract

This paper examines security challenges and economy of the Nigerian state from 2007 to 2011. The paper seeks to find out the extent to which the internal security problems have adversely impacted on the Nigerian economy within the above period. The study adopts the Democratic Peace Thesis and Relative Deprivation Theories as framework of analysis. Secondary data was mostly used in the study largely due to the nature of the research problem. The result of the investigation reveals that the security challenges in Nigeria have long historical antecedence and traceable to bad governance. The paper argues that the abysmal failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges such as poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities, ultimately resulted to anger, agitation and violent crimes against the Nigerian state by some individuals and groups. Such crimes include militancy, kidnapping, bombing, armed robbery, vandalisation of government properties, among others. The paper further argues that the activities of various militia groups consequently resulted in low income of government from oil revenue, low GDP rate, low participation of local and foreign investors in economic development, insecurity of lives and property of the citizens, among others. The study recommends the formulation and effective implementation of policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria, such as poverty; unemployment, environmental degradation, injustice, among others.

Key Words: Security, Challenges, Policy, Economy

Introduction

Security as an essential concept is commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherished values, especially the survival of individuals, groups or objects in the near future. Thus, security as the name implies, involves the ability to pursue cherished political and social ambitions (Williams, 2008:6). According to Palme (1992:9), "there is a correlation between security and survival". Whereas survival is an essential condition, security is viewed as safety, confidence, free from danger, fear, doubt, among others. Therefore, security is 'survival-plus' and the word 'plus' could be understood from the standpoint of being able to enjoy some freedom from life- determining threats and some life choices (Booth, 2007: 15).

However, the concept - security, is meaningless without a critical discourse of something pertinent to secure. Indeed, security could best be understood when situated within the context, of a referent object. In the long sweep of human history, the central focus of security has been people (Rothschild, 1995:68). Contrarily, some scholars especially those in international politics have argued that when thinking about security, states should be the most important referents. On the other hand, some analysts have challenged this position by arguing that any intellectual discourse on security should accord priority to human beings since without reference to individual humans, security makes no sense (McSweeney, 1999:127).

Notwithstanding these controversial dabates, the focus of this investigation is on micro security. However, micro security deals with the internal security of which Nigeria is currently mired in a state of obfuscation. Therefore, crux of this study is to examine the security challenges in Nigeria and the extent to which the insurgencies of different militia groups as well as the prevailing internal insurrections across the country have adversely affected the Nigerian economy from 2007-2011.

Thus, this is imperative considering the fact that micro security starts with the stabilization of internal security of a given nation state. The essence of this strategy is not only to safeguard the lives of the citizens, but also to achieve the desired economic growth and development in the state. The import of internal security in a state like Nigeria has been carefully articulated by Gbanite (2001):

> *... when our citizens' right to safety from all kinds*
> *of man-made threats are reduced considerably, the*
> *government will inherit an increase in foreign*
> *investments ... most countries would like a likely*
> *trading partner to secure the lives and property of*
> *their citizens first before they themselves allow*
> *theirs to move into such territories...*

To be sure, Nigeria has long been facing severe security challenges prior to 2007. Thus, the internal security challenges in Nigeria since the enthronement of democracy in 1999 has received mixed rections within and outside the Nigeria's political environment. However, the increasing spate of ethnic militia in Nigeria and their continuous attacks on both the government and the citizens prior to 2007 partly explains why Akinterinwa (2001) declares:

> *... security appointees have failed the President,*
> *Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. If we are to judge by the current state of affairs in*
> *the country ... Nigeria is in a state of lawlessness. It is a shame when the*
> *Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice was killed so*
> *easily. The aggressive posturing Oadua Peoples Congress (OPC), armed*
> *robbery, paid assassins kidnapping of foreigner's, drug trafficking,*
> *advanced, free fraud (419), unemployment, high price of commodities ... are*
> *realities being faced in the country that require urgent remedies...*

Similarly, the security situation between 2007 and 2011 in Nigeria obviously took different dimensions. This period, however, witnessed a consistent pressure on the government by Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Sovereign State of Biafra (MOSSOB), increasing spate of kidnapping in the South - East geo – political zone, incessant bombings in the northern parts of Nigeria by Boko Haran group, Mehem by the Islamic assailants in Jos crisis, politically motivated killings by unscrupulous groups, among others (Ameh, 2008:9). Perhaps, a critical look at table 1 below helps in the concise understanding of security threats in Nigeria from 2007-2011.

Table 1: Forms of security threats to Nigeria from 2007-2011 and zone they emanated

S/N	SECURITY THREAT	YEAR	POLITICAL ZONE
1.	Niger Dekra	1999-2007	South-South
2.	Jos crisis	1999- till date	North-central
3.	Kidnapping, ritual killing and armed robbery	2007-2010	South- East
4.	Boko Haram crisis	2009 – till date	North – east, North-central and North-West

Source: Nwagboso's field survey, 2011

Thus, the inability of the managers of Nigeria's security to address the country's security challenges during the above period raised yet another critical question on the preparedness of Nigeria to attain desired political, social and economic heights in the year 2020. It further poses serious threats to the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria as a sovereign state.

Therefore, addressing the security challenges in Nigeria ultimately requires not only the causes of threats but also a critical evaluation of the performance of security agencies in handling the situation in Nigeria. These security agencies include, the National Security Agency (NSA), National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Services (SSS), Nigerian Police Force (NPF), Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), Nigerian Customs Service (NCS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps.

Although the achievement of total or absolute security in Nigeria would be an exercise in futility, the contemporary security challenges in the country have not only raised critical questions bordering on formulation and implementation of Nigeria's internal security policies but also the recruitment/effectiveness of the security agencies in Nigeria to perform their statutory responsibilities.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the Democratic Peace Thesis and the Relative Deprivation Theory to explain the Security challenges and economy of the Nigerian State.

Thus, the democratic peace thesis assumes that liberal states do not fight wars against other liberal states. This theory was first enunciated in a keynote article by Michael Doyle in Journal of Philosophy and Public Affairs (Doyle, 1983). Thus, Doyle argued that there was a difference in liberal practice towards liberal societies and liberal practice towards non-liberal societies.

From security point of view, the recommendations of democratic peace theory are clear. According to this theory, security largely depends on encouraging liberal institutions to discharge their responsibilities creditably; and a security policy must have as its long-term the spread of liberalism (Doyle, (1998). Therefore, the route to peace is to encourage democratic system, the universal respect for human rights and the development of civil society. But such conclusion depends largely on untroubled and robust correlation between the democratic nature of a state and peaceful inclination.

By application of this theory to security challenges and economy of the Nigerian state, we argue that for Nigeria to address her perennial security challenges, the need to adopt and faithfully implement strategic security policies and viable socio economic programmes capable of strengthening the growth of democracy in Nigeria are the first step to be adopted by government. Thus, we further argue that the increasing spate of security threats in Nigeria which if unchecked could further distort the country's economy is clearly symptomatic of the abysmal failure of the institutions constitutionally charged with the responsibility of protecting the lives and properties of Nigerian citizens (Dinneya, 2006:47).

To further investigate the security challenges and economy of the Nigerian state, the Relative Deprivation Theory is also adopted in this study. This theory was propounded by Dollard et al (1939). This theory was propounded as part of efforts to link socio-political and economic inequalities in the society to rebellions and insurrections. As individual and group- based theory of aggression, the relative deprivation theory argues that when expectation outstrips achievement regardless of the absolute levels of economic consumption or the provision of political rights, frustration is generated. Thus, the collective frustration turns to anger and violence (Dollard et al, 1939:52, Davies, 1962:44, Feierabend and Feierabend, 1966:89).

By application, this theory assists us to trace the historical antecedence of conflicts, agitations and frequent rise of individuals and groups against the Nigerian government. From the standpoint of the assumptions of Relative Deprivation Theory, we argue that the abysmal failure of the Nigerian government to addressing critical challenges to development in many parts of the country may be responsible for the internal insurrection by armed militia groups against the state. Further, we equally argue that security challenges or threats in some parts of Nigeria particularly the northern region, are clear indications that government seems to have failed in her constitutional role of protecting lives and properties of the Nigerian people. This is clearly because, available evidence demonstrates that there is increasing rate of poverty among Nigerians. Also, unemployment looms large, per capita income is low and high rate of inflation has not be addressed. Similarly, Nigerians are still facing challenges of poor health status, poor state of infrastructures, high rate of illiteracy, low technological development, among others (Anosike, 2010:8).

These ugly situations which adversely affect the security of lives and property of Nigerians as well as socio-economic development of the country are carefully articulated by Akinrefon and Oke (2007:20) who argue that:

> *... the mention of crime, violence, as well as restiveness has been tied to the Niger Delta area,*
> *no thanks again to kidnapping, bombings and*
> *vandalization of pipelines... leadership problem has*
> *made it impossible for Nigeria to get to its peak in*
> *terms of socio-economic and political development*
> *... this problem has remained in the front burner of*
> *national discourse ... the polity has not gotten it*
> *right because of bad leadership ... the polity has*
> *remained stagnated in terms of developmental*
> *challenges and this has been attributed to*
> *selfishness, greed and corrupt political office*
> *holders who have milked or are presently milking*
> *or will milk the country dry of its resources...*

The implication of Relative Deprivation Theory on security challenges and economy of the Nigerian state is that democracy is most likely to be undermined, thereby paving way for military incursion in the country. .Also, the continuous internal insurrection by armed youths across the country could distort any meaningful efforts by the government to achieve radical economic development in Nigeria. This is imperative because, as Isine (2008:9) explains:

> *... security is viewed as a dynamic phenomenon as*
> *well as a. social problem in the country ... it is the duty of the*
> *government to ensure the security of lives and property of its citizens ...*
> *youth restiveness,   agitations,   protests   and demonstrations these*
> *days are very violent and leads to sabotage of vital government*
> *installations like NNPC pipelines, NITEL cables and NEPA wires, thus,*
> *posing great threats to the economic life-wire*
> *of the state.*

Therefore, the improvement of the security apparatus of the Nigerian state as well as commitment of the government to address the core causes of insecurity, are likely panacea to the survival of democracy and achievement of desired economic growth. As Ebegbulam (2007:8) aptly observes, "democracy only thrives where there is security and stability".

The Objectives of Nigeria's National Security Policy

The central pillar of Nigeria's national security policy is the preservation of the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and the protection of the sovereignty of the country as well as her integrity and assets. Other subordinate goals include:

i.   To safeguard the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state;
ii. The defence of African unity and independence;
iii. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states;
iv. Involvement in regional economic development, security and cooperation; and
v.   Attainment of military self-sufficiency and regional leadership.

A cursory look at the above objectives indicates that the Nigeria's defence policy is the bedrock for achieving foreign policy and national security policy of Nigeria. Thus, since the focus of the investigation is on micro security – the internal security problems in Nigeria, it therefore, becomes imperative to assess the extent to which Nigeria has successfully implemented her internal security policy to preserve the safety of Nigerians at home and the protection of the territorial integrity of the country.

Historically, after the 2007 general elections in Nigeria, there were reported cases of violence and crises particularly in the Niger Delta region and the South-East geo-political zone. In the Niger Delta region for instance, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) adopted several approaches to drive out foreign oil companies. Thus, MEND was determined to compel the federal government to share oil - derived wealth with the Niger Delta region.

Although MEND disclaimed affiliation with any external terrorist group such as Al Qaeda, it clearly engaged in serious acts of violence, including sabotage of energy-related infrastructures and the kidnapping of foreign oil workers (Onoyume, 2008:1).

Thus, the kidnapping of foreign oil workers in the Niger Delta by MEND later became a viable business among the restive youths in the South-East geo-political zone of Nigeria. In the South-East, particularly Abia and Imo States, kidnapping activities by restive youths were ultimately targeted at prominent Nigerians residing in these states, rather than foreign oil workers (Nwogu, 2008:4).

In the northern part of Nigeria, particularly Jos, the capital of Plateau state, tribal and religious crises characterized the   period (2007 – 2011). These ugly trends explains why

Oladoyinbo (2007:6), persuasively argued that:

> *... the crisis in Jos is a very complex one. It is tribal, religious and social. The people of that part of the country have their culture and they have .their dignity... the tension going on around there is about culture and the people who are trying to take over other people's land...*

However, the distinctive interface between security challenges and distortion of economy of the Nigerian state could be properly understood by first evaluating the internal security policy implementation (micro security) from 2007 - 2011 in Nigeria.

This is imperative because as Dye (1995:311) aptly explains:

> *Implementation is the continuation of politics by other means. Policy making does not end with the making of a new law... and its signing by the president. Implementation involves all the activities designed to carry out the policies enacted by the legislative branch. These activities include the creation of new organizations - departments, agencies, bureaus, and so on...*

These considerations notwithstanding, the explanatory and predictive relevance of the above observation is that the internal security policy of Nigeria which ultimately aimed, at protecting the lives and properties of Nigerians was not implemented effectively between 2007 -2011.

Therefore, for crises and conflicts characterizing the contemporary Nigerian state to be addressed, the causes of conflicts, agitations and general disenchantment among various segments of the society need to be properly examined and tackled. This step is pertinent because, as Bassey (2007:1) bluntly argued:

> *Conflict is very often the result of the interaction of political, economic and social instability, frequently stemming from bad governance, failed economic policies and inappropriate development programmes which have exacerbated ethnic or religious difference...*

Implementation of National Security Policy and Economy of the Nigerian State.

> For *more than three decades now, Nigeria's national security apparatus and agenda have been under attack and even ridicule ... notorious gangs and persons have been committing crimes against groups and group of individuals... the government seems weak, impotent, baffled and unable to protect the citizens across the country and especially in places like Jos and Borno. There have been recurrent ethnic/religious conflicts... (Fanoro, 2009:7).*

All over the world, countries allocate large part of their national revenues to national security. In times of peril, the amount allocated to national security may account for more than half of all government's spending. The essence of huge budgetary allocation to government institutions charged with the responsibility of national security is not only to protect lives and property of the citizens but also to create an enabling environment for economic growth and development.

In Nigeria, the implementation of the national security policy is largely the responsibility of the President, National Security Adviser (NSA), Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) and Chief of Air Staff (CAS). The above chain of authority is clearly presented below:-

Fig. 1: Structures for management of Nigeria's national security
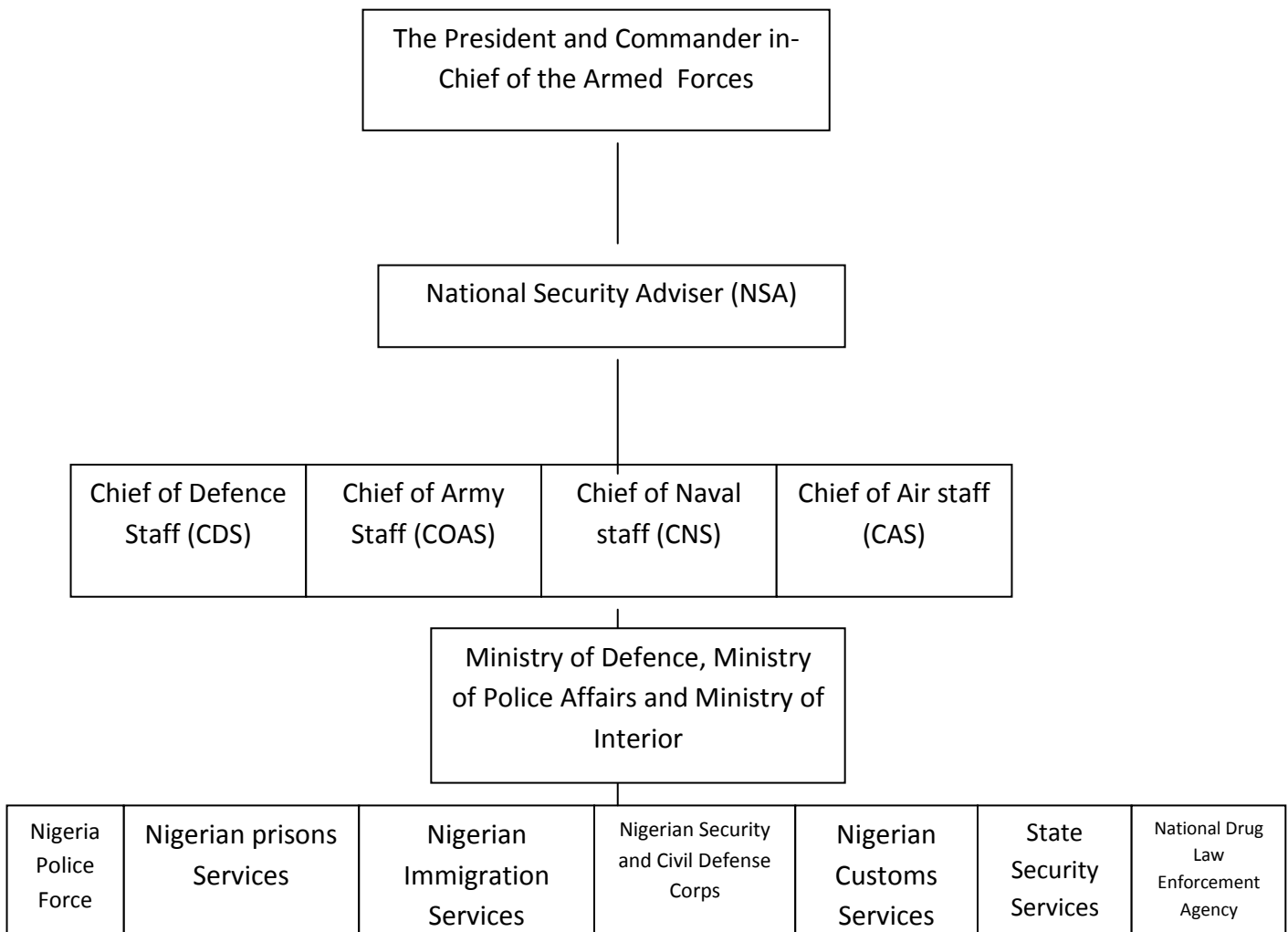
Source: Nwagboso's field survey, 2011.

In internal security management in Nigeria, the roles of the Nigerian police, the .Prisons Services, the Nigerian Immigration Services, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps the Nigerian Customs Service and the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency are obviously indispensable. Unfortunately, the management of internal security in Nigeria seems to have been an exercise in futility in spite of the establishment of numerous security apparatus as well as huge budgetary allocation to security agencies. Following this analytical tradition, a number of observers (Usman, 2010, Asuni, 2007, Aghedo and Oarhe, 2009), have persuasively argued that Nigeria's security management is bedeviled with misdiagnosis and very poor institution building. Paradoxically, the Nigeria's security establishments with the responsibility of dousing the internal security challenges in the country is spectacularly obsessed with 'hard' factors – those factors that threaten the very foundation of the state and by extension, the vested interests of the ruling elites.

This pathetic scenario has been at the expense of the 'soft' factors – factors that affect the entire society. In a similar context, the current conception of the Nigeria's internal security management is at best state-centered and not society-centered.

Thus, any meaningful efforts to address the threats, conflicts and security challenges in Nigeria must ultimately place emphasis on the unusual 'suspects' such as the economy (poverty, inequality, unemployment, low per capita income, Smuggling), and politics (nepotism, sectionalism, election rigging, thuggery and hooliganism). The above position is supported by Bassey who incisively argued that:

> *...containment or management of conflict entails an understanding of its nature before we can deal effectively with it intellectually, emotionally and behaviorally ... structural analysis of conflict, violence and warfare focus on how the organization of society shapes action ...* (Bassey, 2007:143).

Nigeria and Internal Security Challenges: Case Studies

Security is considered as any mechanism deliberately fashioned to alleviate the most serious and immediate threats that prevent people from pursuing their cherished values. In Nigeria, the achievement of desired level of internal security particularly from 2007 -2011 was elusive.

The above period witnessed the proliferation of different militia groups that posed serious security threats to the Nigerian government. Thus, such unwholesome behaviours which not only affected economic activities in many parts of Nigeria have also resulted in lost of numerous lives and property of the Nigerian citizens. This pathetic situation is critically examined under four case studies:

i. The Niger Delta Crisis

Conflict in the Niger Delta arose in the early 1990s due to tensions between the foreign oil corporations and some Niger Delta's minority ethnic groups who felt they were being exploited, particularly the Ogonis and the Ijaws (Osungade, 2008). Thus, ethnic and political unrest continued in the region throughout the 1990s and persisted despite the enthronement of democracy in 1999.

However, competition for oil wealth in the region gave rise to agitations, violence and subsequent extra-judicial killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine Ogoni leaders by Abacha's regime (Ogbodo. 2010:1). This action by Abacha's administration was condemned not only by many Nigerians, but also the international community. Consequently, the international community expressed her anger by imposing several sanctions on Nigeria during this period.

Thus, the inability of the government particularly during the military era to address the root causes of the agitation (environmental problems, poverty, unemployment, lack of basic amenities, etc.), in the Niger Delta region, resulted in proliferation of ethnic groups causing the militarization of nearly the entire region by ethnic militia groups. The agitating group includes the movement for the survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP), founded by Ken Saro-Wiwa.

As part of measures to address the root causes of agitation, violence and conflicts in the Niger Delta region, the government established some institutions or agencies to douse the tension in the area. This includes the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC), Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and Ministry of Niger Delta (MND). In spite of these intervention regimes, the conflicts and insecurity in the Niger Delta region persisted. Rather, the region witnessed severe security threats and emergence of other agitating groups affiliated to the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). The emergence of MEND and other agitating groups in the struggle to addressing the injustice by the Federal Government against the region exacerbated the security problems not only in the region, but also in the entire Nigerian state. These include Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Mujahid Dokubo-Asari and Niger Delta vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom (Amaizu, 2008). The leaders of these agitating groups are from Ijaw nation.

However, the two groups (NDPVF and NDV), dwarf a plethora of smaller militias supposedly numbering more than one hundred in the Niger Delta region. These groups comprised mostly the disaffected young men from Warri, Port Harcourt, Yenegoa and their sub-urban areas (Aderoju, 2008:120). Against this backdrop, daily civilian life was disrupted, forcing schools and economic activities to shut down (Aderoju, 2008:542). Similarly, properties of indigenes of the area worth millions of naira were destroyed.

To arrest the challenges of insecurity in the Niger Delta, the Federal Government of Nigeria applied minimal force in a bid to ensure that these militias drop their arms and end their hostilities against the government and the people of the area. In August 2008, the federal government launched a massive military crackdown on militants (Amaizu, 2008:11). Thus, military patrolled waters, hunted for militants, searched all civilian boats for weapons, and raided numerous hideouts. Also, on May 15, 2009 a military operation undertaken by a Joint Task Force (JTF) was put in place by the federal government against MEND and their affiliates in the Niger Delta region (Onoyume, 2008:5). These actions by the federal government were in response to the activities of the militia groups which adversely affected both the residents of the area and the Nigerian economy (Onuorah, 2009:2).

Paradoxically, rather than the measures put in place by the federal government to address the challenges of insecurity in the Niger Delta, the situation led to incessant kidnapping of not only the foreign oil workers, but also the indigenes and residents of the region. Hence, on June, 2009, the Nigerian Government under the leadership of Late President Umaru Yar'Adua, announced the granting of Amnesty and unconditional pardon to militants in the Niger Delta region (Rotimi, 2009). The militants were given between August 6 and October 4, 2009 to surrender their weapons to the federal government in return for training and rehabilitation.

During the 60 day period, the militants led their groups to surrender their weapons which included rocket-propelled grenades, guns, explosives, ammunition, gunboats, among others. Although the federal governments' Amnesty Programme reduced the rate of militancy in the region, the incessant kidnapping activities in the Niger Delta region ultimately had a spill-over effect in some states in the South-East geo-political zone of Nigeria.

ii. Kidnapping in the South-East Zone of Nigeria

Kidnapping as a social problem is the act of illegally taking somebody away and keeping him as a prisoner in order to get money or something in return for releasing him. The history of kidnapping in the South-East zone of Nigeria could be traced to hostilities, conflicts and violence in the Niger Delta region. In the South-East zone, especially in Abia and Imo States, kidnapping activities were mainly targeted at prominent indigenes and residents of these states. This situation was pervasive shortly after the 2007 general elections in Nigeria. This is partly because, the youths that were used as political thugs by politicians during the 2007 general elections in these states subsequently engaged in kidnapping as means of livelihood after the elections. Indeed, confession by those apprehended indicated that some politicians in these states supplied guns to youths for the purpose of rigging the 2007 general elections. Unfortunately these guns were not retrieved at the end of the elections.

Consequently, kidnapping later turned to profitable business mostly among the youths in Abia, Imo, Ebonyi and other states in the zone. Thus, the increasing rate of kidnapping activities in Abia State, particularly in Aba metropolis, resulted in several foiled attempts to kidnap the Abia State Governor, Chief Theodore Orji in 2008 (Nwogu, 2008). Thus, from 2007 to 2010, several prominent men in Aba and its environs were kidnapped for ransom. This adversely affected the economy of Abia State as many businessmen and manufacturing companies relocated to other states like Enugu and Anambra. Also, this pathetic situation got to a crescendo, when school children were kidnapped in Aba in 2010.

However, the kidnapping of school children in Aba, as well as common men in the metropolis forced all the commercial banks in the area to close down for several days in 2010. It is pertinent to note that prior to this period, many commercial banks were robbed in Aba which is the commercial nerve of Abia state. In rural areas, kidnapping of traditional rulers and poor people were also rampant. Worse still, people were kidnapped while attending church services and village meetings (Ajani, 2010).

To address the spate of kidnapping in the South-East zone particularly in Abia state, the federal government deployed soldiers to Aba metropolis and its environs. This bold step taken by the government is put in clear perspective by Okoli (2009) who states that:

> *Governor Theodore Orji of Abia State formally*
> *invited the Army to the State to assist in the*
> *fight against crime and criminals, especially*
> *kidnappers. Their Governor said the menace of*
> *kidnapping seemed to have overwhelmed the*
> *police...*

The action of the government in response to kidnapping, no doubt, minimized the reported cases of the menace, especially in Aba and its environs. This was partly as a result of intensive attacks launched by the army at the hideout of kidnappers in Ukwa West Local Government Area of Abia State (Sampson, 2010).

iii   Jos Crisis

The Jos crisis is another internal security threat to Nigeria which some observers have described as sectarian violence. This pathetic situation which took a radical dimension from 1999, has been a complex one. According to Oladoyinbo (2010):

> *...the crisis in Jos, Plateau State is a very complex one... it is tribal, religious*
> *and social...we discovered that politics is the major cause of some of these*
> *crises that erupted in that part of the country... there is no need for some people*
> *to use all means to dominate others or use people to subjugate others...the*
> *government in Nigeria has no courage...the government is not the solution but*
> *rather the problem...the government knows those behind all these riots, those*
> *importing arms into this country...*

Thus, the Jos crisis has claimed numerous lives of Nigerians and property worth millions of naira. However, the Jos crisis has resulted to several attacks on Christians by Muslims. Indeed, from 2007 - 2010, over 10,000 Christians were slaughtered during the Jos crisis. In 2010 crisis for instance, about 500 Christians lost their lives (Oladoymbo, 2010: 15).

Precisely, the Jos crisis has resulted in unimaginable confrontation, killings, bombings and other forms of violence. Many observers have argued that the root causes of the crisis was the inordinate desire by Muslims to forcefully convert Christians in the area as Muslim faithfuls. Others assert that the root causes of Jos crisis are culture and land disputes.

Thus, whatever the argument over the remote causes of frequent crisis in Jos may be, the fact remains that it is one of the greatest internal security threats to corporate existence of Nigeria. The Jos crisis which has been Sporadic in places like Dogo - Nahawa, Zot and Rassat, has continued to witness the onslaught and massacre of large number of Nigerians. This ugly trend largely explains why Terror Master, (Late President Gaddafi of Lybia), once suggested that Nigeria should be divided into two religious lines - Muslim and Christian countries.

According to Sunday Tribune Editorial, the Islamic Assailants have continued to unleash terror and cause tension in Jos. They have succeeded in displacing Nigerians by setting their houses and property ablaze. According to the report:

> *...in Jos, conflict seems to recur in every*
> *narrowing cycles... deadly riots rocked the*
> *city in 1994, 2001, 2008 and two month ago*
> *...in January 2010. The current conflict is said.*
> *to have started in reappraisal for the*
> *destruction that occurred in January... there*
> *have been reports of children and the elderly*
> *been particularly targeted by roving gangs*
> *armed with guns and machetes... (Sunday*
> *Tribune, November 15, 2008:15).*

Thus, the crisis in Jos has adversely effected the economy and unity of Nigeria. Also, available evidence has shown that the crisis in Jos which has been fought on sectarian lines may be traced to 'sour relationship' between the Christian and Muslim communities in the area. This is crucial because as Human Right Watch Report argues:

> *...Jos lies on the border between Nigeria's*
> *Muslim majority North and Christian*
> *majority South. Access to land resources is*
> *often determined by whether one is a native*
> *or 'indigene'... Jos is historically Christian*
> *city... Settlers are most often Muslims from the North... (Human Right*
> *Report, July 10, 2010).*

iv. Boko Haram Crisis

Another major security challenge in Nigeria which has adversely affected the Nigerian economy is the activities of Boko Haram group. Etymologically, the term 'Boko Haram' is derived from Hausa word 'Boko' meaning 'Animist', western, otherwise non-islamic education; and the Arabic word Haram figuratively meaning 'sin' or literally, 'forbidden' (Olugbode, 2010). The Boko Haram is a controversial Nigerian Militant Islamist group that seeks the imposition of Sharia law in the northern states of Nigeria. Ideologically, the group opposes not only western education, but western culture and modern science (Dunia, 2010). Comically, the Boko Haram group asserts that the belief that the world is sphere is contrary to Islam and should be rejected, along Darwinism and theory that rain comes from water evaporated by sun.

Historically, the Boko Haran group was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Utaz Mohammed Yusuf. In 2004, it moved to Kanama in Yobe state, where it set up a base called 'Afghanistan', used to attack nearby police stations and killing police officers (Awowole-Browne, 2010). However, the founder of the group, Mohammed Yusuf was hostile to democracy and secular education system. This partly explains why he vowed that the war he began in 2002 would ultimately change the political and educational systems in Nigeria, a dream not realized till his death in 2009.

The Boko Haram group does not mix with local people in the north and lots of its members that speak only Arabic come from neighbouring Chad. This perhaps explains why the group insists that western education is wrong. The group strongly believes in the Koranic phrase which says "anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors".

Consequently, the Boko Haram group promotes a version of Islam which makes it 'haram' or forbidden for muslims to take part in any political or social activities in the western society. This includes voting in election, wearing shirts and trousers or receiving a secular education (BBC News Africa, June, 17, 2010).

The activities of the Boko Haram group constitute serious security challenges in the contemporary Nigerian state. The activities of members of this group which have raised critical questions among investors on the safety of their investments in Nigeria. This ranges from killing of innocent Nigerians, raping of women, to bombing of major cities and police stations in the northern part of Nigeria, particularly, Borno, Kano, Bauchi, Niger, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, among others.

Chronologically, the Boko Haram group has dastardly carried out the following attacks in Nigeria since 2009:

  i.   The Boko Haram stormed Police station at Maiduguri in 2009 and this resulted to death of hundreds of Nigerians.
  ii.   The group freed hundreds of prisoners in Maiduguri jail in September 2010.
  iii. In December 2010, the Boko Haram bombed the city of Jos and this led to death of 80 Nigerians.
  iv.   Dozens of Nigerians have been killed from 2007 to 2011 largely due to sporadic shootings in Maiduguri, the Borno State Capital by Boko Haram group.
  v.   Bombed several states in the north after the May 2011 inauguration of President Goodluck Jonathan.
  vi.   Bombed Police Headquarters, Abuja in June, 2011.
  vii. Bombing of churches in Kano, Kaduna, Niger, Bauchi, Adamawa, Abuja in 2011.

Consequently, the criminal and unwholesome acts of the Boko Haram group has not only made Maiduguri, Abuja, Suleja, Damaturu, Minna, among others, cities of fear but also made Nigeria unsafe for investors and tourists.

The Implication of Security Challenges on Nigerian Economy

> *Nigeria is a country under siege. During the*
> *military era, the blockaders operated in*
> *uniform, from the corridors of power.*
> *Democracy only succeeded in accomplishing a*
> *reshuffling of the prime characters in that*
> *siege scenario, replacing the military with*
> *militias militant groups. The Oodua*
> *People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the*
> *Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra.*
> *(MASSOB), Arewa People's Congress (APC),*
> *and a flurry of shadowy groups in the Niger*
> *Delta such as NDPVF, MEND etc. (Ogunlesi,*
> *2011:5).*

The growing rate of insecurity in Nigeria especially since 2007 has significantly affected the country's economy. Before the federal government's Amnesty Programme designed for militants in the Niger Delta region, the oil production and the number of barrels produced per day, drastically declined. This was largely due to kidnapping and hostage of oil workers in the region. This singular problem adversely reduced government's revenue from oil as well as implementation of government's policies and programmes during this period. Thus, most capital projects captured in the 2007 and 2008 annual budgets were not effectively implemented largely due to shortage of financial resources occasioned by militancy/security in the Niger Delta. This include the construction and rehabilitation of federal roads in the six geo-political zones, construction of dams in the North-West and North-Central zones, the immediate take-off of dredging of River Niger, and construction of additional power plants in the six geo-political zones (Ezeobi, 2009:47). This ugly trend denied Nigerians the dividend of democracy as government was incapacitated to provide social services to the people.

Similarly, the spate of kidnapping in some parts of Nigeria ultimately resulted in serious economic problems. Thus, the continous kidnap cases in commercial cities of Port Harcourt, Aba and Onitsha, obviously forced investors, businessmen and manufacturing companies to relocate to other peaceful cities in Nigeria. In Aba for instance, the NBL, SEVEN UP PLC, UNILEVA PLC, PZ PLC relocated to Enugu largely due to constant kidnapping of their expatriates. Thus, the period (2007-2011), witnessed high increase of kidnapping activities and the target group initially was the businessmen who frequently paid millions of naira as ransoms to kidnappers. Lateron, this inhuman activity and violent-crime was extended to poor people and innocent children in the affected states in Nigeria. Hence, the increase in reported cases of kidnapping and its implication on the economy of Nigeria was captured in the views of Adebayo who bluntly argued that:

> *Kidnapping remains one of the latest*
> *additions to the list of violent crime activities*
> *in the country. It is now more threatening to*
> *the state and national security... from Capital*
> *Old Eastern Region - Enugu State, Igwe Uche*
> *Nwachime in Nkanu, was abducted and later*
> *slaughtered because his relations had*
> *refused to pay ransom on time as requested*
> *by kidnappers... in Imo State, Mr. Celestine*
> *Ngaobiwu, a member of Imo State House of*
> *Assembly and two sons of the Speaker of the*
> *Imo State House of Assembly were*
> *kidnapped... three persons were killed when*
> *gunmen kidnapped a movie star, Peter*
> *Edochie in Anambra State... (Daily*
> *Independence, December 2010, p.4).*

However, the glaring disconnects and lack of effective synergy among security agencies in the affected states, Abia in particular, resulted in drastic decision by the government to invite the army to check kidnapping in Aba and its environs. This measure only succeeded in forcing kidnappers to neighbouring states like Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Ebonyi and Enugu.

Additionally, it must be noted that democracy has never survived in an unsecured political environment. Thus, one of the reasons why government has not addressed critical problems confronting the contemporary Nigerian society could be traceable to high level of security challenges in the country. Hence, rather than concentrating attention on strategies to put the economy of the state in proper shape for the general well- being of Nigerians, government has dissipated more energy taking to curbing the proliferation of militias and criminal gangs all over the country. In a bid to proffer solutions to survival of democracy and to reposition the economy in Nigeria as well as to enhance service delivery to Nigerians, Abubakar (2005:10) incisively argued that:

> *...for democracy to survive in Nigeria, it is*
> *pertinent to consider security issues and*
> *problems that have affected or capable of*
> *affecting attitude, confidence and cooperation*
> *of all groups and segments that make up the*
> *Nigerian federation... some of the major*
> *security problems currently confronting the*
> *nation have been identified to include political*
> *and electioneering conflicts, socio-economic*
> *agitations, ethno-religious crises, ethnic militias, boundary disputes,*
> *cultism, criminality and organized crime. These*
> *problems individually and collectively*
> *constitute threats to the peace, security and*
> *development of the country... they have*
> *implications on the continuity and survival of*
> *the   nation's   nascent   democracy...*
> *(Newswatch, February 21, 2005:10).*

Thus, a good number of observers (Bello, 2004, Williams, 2008, Lake 2001, Leon and Walt, 2001), have pervasively argued that insecurity in a given state not only affect the growth and survival of democracy but also lead to high level of poverty, unemployment, high rate of crime, poor standard of education, high rate of illiteracy, poor infrastructural development, poor-state of health facilities, among others. In consideration of these challenges, effective public policy implementation remains the only instrument and tool to tackle the internal security issues and problems in the contemporary Nigerian state.

To address the perennial security challenges and their negative implications on economy of the Nigerian state, the need for implementation of people-oriented policies and programmes and a review of Nigeria's national security policy are strongly advocated. The Nigeria's national security policy must be capable of identifying security problems, deciding on what measures to adopt in order to address the problems, assessing if the measures are effective or not, as well as monitoring the implementation of internal security measures.
This is imperative because as Dror (1968) rightly observed:

> *The measures taken by government to ensure*
> *national security only come about after*
> *government has determined that there is a*
> *threat/problem that needs to be addressed.*
> *Identifying various threats to national*
> *security as problems and taken measures to*
> *address them is generally done by way of*
> *policy, especially considering the fact that*
> *such threats are deemed not only to affect*
> *individuals in particular but the public as a*
> *whole...*

Conclusion

Nigeria's security concerns and threat perception emanated from many quarters. Over the years, the inability of the government to address the root causes of dissatisfaction, anger and agitation among various groups in the country resulted to serious security challenges confronting the contemporary Nigerian state.

This ugly situation has not only denied the Nigerian government enormous revenues, but also led to serious problems such as unemployment, infrastructural decay, poor health status, poor image of Nigeria at regional and global scene, low participation of investors in Nigeria's economic development, relocation of existing investors to peaceful states in Nigeria, among others.

These problems are traceable to internal security challenges in Nigeria occasioned by the activities of militias in Niger Delta region, kidnapping in the South-East, the Islamic extremists in Jos crisis, Boko Haram group, armed robbery in many parts of the country, bunkering of Nigeria's oil outlets by saboteurs, among others.

In consideration of the consequences of these challenges on the economy of the Nigerian state and to save the country from the brink of total collapse, the need for good governance, justice, equity, and tolerance among ethnic nationalities as well as religious groups in Nigeria, is advocated and should be rigorously pursued by both the government and the Nigerian people.

Recommendations

1. The federal government should formulate and effectively implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria such as poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, dearth of infrastructural facilities, uneven development, among others.
2. The government should be more proactive in the implementation of Amnesty programme designed for former Niger Delta militants to avoid a situation where these repentant militants would go back to the regions and resume their hostilities against the government, oil companies and the residents of the area.
3. The federal government should re-organize the country's intelligence system and build a capable and more proactive security apparatus in Nigeria. This will add more values in checking incessant bombings, robbery, kidnapping and violent crimes/crises by hoodlums all over Nigeria.
4. The government should include Peace Studies and Security Management in school curriculum at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in Nigeria. This will enable the Nigerian youths to appreciate the importance of peace and security in a secular state like Nigeria.
5. The federal government should phase out the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and establish a more viable and result-oriented agency capable of addressing the problem of abject poverty among large population of Nigerians, particularly those residing in the rural areas.
6. The government should resuscitate the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and reposition agricultural sector so as to play active role in job creation for Nigerian youths.
7. There is the need for collective security arrangement by federal, state and local governments in Nigeria. This arrangement should produce a committee at village, community, local, state and federal level with the responsibility of providing sensitive security information for security agencies at their areas of operation. This will ultimately assist in identifying criminals, their sponsors and hideouts in Nigeria.
8. The federal, state and local government should be more committed to enhance the quality and standard of education in Nigeria. The three levels of government in Nigeria should collaborate to ensure free education at all levels. This will reduce the spate of ignorance among the youths who engage in numerous violent crimes against the government and the citizens.
9. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), should work assiduously to ensure that free, fair and credible elections are conducted in 2015. This will enable Nigerians vote only those that could bring about good governance and effective delivery of dividend of democracy to them. The election of credible candidates into public offices would ultimately reduce poverty among the people and the rate of agitation, anger, violent crimes and youth restiveness in Nigeria.
10. 10. The issue of citizenship or who is qualified to be an indigene of a particular community or state should be urgently reviewed by the federal government. This is important because, a Nigerian who has lived up to 20 years in a given community should not be regarded and treated as a non-indigene in the area. This step will ultimately reduce discrimination and crisis in many parts of Nigeria like Jos, the Plateau State capital.

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