

Worsening Insecurity in Nigeria and its Implications on Governance and National Development

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Abstract

This study investigates the worsening insecurity in Nigeria and its implications on governance and national development. Presently, Nigeria is bedeviled with increasing rate of security challenges. These ranges from militancy, terrorism, Boko Haram insurgency, farmer-herdsmen clashes, communal conflicts and religious crises, armed banditry, kidnapping, political and ethnic cleansing, ritual killings and so on. All these security challenges have brought more threats to the lives and properties of the citizens, compounded the menace of unemployment, poverty and hunger. Hence, this study seeks to achieve three objectives namely to identify the drivers of insecurity, to examine the effects of insecurity and to proffer measures to address insecurity in Nigeria. Strain theory was adopted for the study and Secondary data were generated and analyzed through content analysis. The study revealed that the following factors have fueled the increasing rate of insecurity in Nigeria: porous border, proliferation of arms, bad governance, marginalization, poverty, unemployment, religious fanaticism, inappropriate security architecture and weak security system. It also revealed that the rising insecurity has led to loss of lives and properties, displacement of people, closedown of businesses, increased the rate of unemployment and poverty; reduced domestic and foreign investment, increased hunger and shortage of food in Nigeria. Based on the findings, the study recommended amongst others that jobs should be created by the government; borders should be securely guarded and good governance should be entrenched by the leaders. It concludes that the conditions of service of security apparatuses should be improved and the entire security structure should be re-structured and decentralized to enable quick responses to emergency security situations.

Keywords: Insecurity, Governance, National, Development, Nigeria

Introduction

In the contemporary world, the security of life and property remains significant to the socio-economic survival of any given society. Security is the most vital element in human life (Charas, 2015; Zubairu, 2020). Without security, social, economic, and political development cannot be attained in any given country (Charas, 2015; Zubairu, 2020). Thus, Security of lives and property of citizens is the primary responsibility of every responsible government in any given country of the world. As enshrine in Section 14(b) of the Nigerian Constitution, the primary purpose of the government is to ensure the security and welfare of citizens (Ewepu, 2021; Lawal, 2020, Zubairu, 2020).

However, this responsibility of government appears to have continually eluded the Nigerian government particularly with the rising cases of insecurity in the country. Despite the government's claim of being on top of the security situation in the country, the spread and contexts of insecurity have metastasized and shown no signs of abating (Ewepu, 2021). In

recent times, there have been rising cases of herdsmen invasions, banditry, armed robbery, assassinations, kidnapping for ransom and killings in every part of Nigeria (Obia, 2020; Zubairu, 2020). All these malaises have the tendency to hinder governance and socio-economic development of Nigeria (Zubairu, 2020).

No effective governance and development can take place in an unstable polity. Obviously, the issue of insecurity has been a major challenge threatening the peace, unity and corporate existence of Nigeria. Although, the Nigerian government has been making efforts to contain the rising security challenges through the instrumentality of the security agencies to manage and curb insecurity in Nigeria. However, these efforts have not yielded positive results as the country has on daily basis experienced an upsurge of insecurity that threatens the lives and properties of the citizens and endangers governance and national development. Apparently, the government is yet to demonstrate her ability to nip this terrible insecurity situation in the bud. It appears that the government that is entrusted with life and property security is confused and unable to stop the spate of insecurity (Emmanuel & Emily, 2019; Zubairu, 2020).

Before now the insecurity situation was notably in the North-east. Presently, it has spread to other geo-political zones in the country. Insecurity is now everywhere, North, South, West, East, no place is safe (Ugbodaga, 2021). Currently, the country appears to be grappling with rising insecurity problems and these cuts through the six geopolitical zones, but particularly in the North-East, North Central, and South-East zones (Emmanuel & Emily, 2019; Zubairu, 2020). This trend has invariably affected the country's drive for national development.

On the other hand, mass abductions of students and large-scale killings have assumed pandemic proportions under the President Buhari regime (Adepegba, 2021). For instance, on February 19, 2018 about 110 female students were kidnapped from the Government Girls' Science and Technical College, Dapchi, Yobe State; on December 11, 2020, 344 students were kidnapped by bandits from the Government Science Secondary School, Kankara, Katsina State; on February 17, 2021, 41 persons (students, teachers, and their family members from the school) were kidnapped by bandits from Government Science College, Kagara, Niger State; on February 26, 2021, 317 schoolgirls were kidnapped by bandits from Government Girls Science Secondary School, Jangebe, Zamfara State; on March 11, 2021, 39 students (23 females and 16 males) were kidnapped from Federal College of Forestry Mechanisation, Afaka, Kaduna State; on April 20, 2021, 20 students and two members of staff were kidnapped from Greenfield University, Kasarami village, Kaduna State (Adepegba, 2021; Ojelu, 2021). Despite collecting over N55million from the parents of the students that were kidnapped from Federal College of Forestry Mechanisation, Kaduna State, the gunmen murdered five students while insisting on additional N100m ransom (Adepegba, 2021). Again, on May 30, 2021, 156 school children were kidnapped from Salihu Tanko Islamic school, Tegna, Niger State, on June 11, 2021, Eight students and two lecturers were kidnapped from Nuhu Bamalli Polytechnic, Kaduna

State; on June 17, 2021, 80 students were kidnapped from Federal Government College, Birnin Yauri, Kebbi State; on July 5, 2021, 121 students were kidnapped from Bethel Baptist School, Damishi, Kaduna State and on August 16, 2021, 15 students, a teacher, his wife, and two children were kidnapped from College of Agriculture and Animal Health, Bakura, Zamfara State (Agbakwuru & Wuyo, 2021; Ogidan et al, 2021; Ojiego, 2021; Shehu, 2021).

More than ever before in Nigeria's history of sixty-one-year as a nation, there is palpable fear that the country cannot survive for too long under the current state of insecurity across the country; and government seems helpless in finding solutions to the challenges (Ogidan et al, 2021).

Statement of the Problem

In recent times, Nigeria faces increased insecurity across the country. The rising insecurity in the country has taken an alarming and worrisome dimension with killings, kidnappings and wanton attacks on private and public facilities becoming daily events in many parts of the country. Not a day, sometimes even an hour, goes by without the press reporting a deadly attack or a kidnapping. Thus, Nigeria is currently witnessing a rising trend of insecurity as widely reflected in the increasing incidents of mass abductions of students at schools, kidnappings for ransom, killings, assassination, armed robberies, armed conflict between herdsman and farmers, banditry attacks and various insurgencies and Boko Haram/ ISWAP attacks (Emmanuel & Emily, 2019; Onyedinefu, 2020; Zubairu, 2020; Agbakwuru & Wuyo, 2021; Ayitogo, 2021; Ogidan et al, 2021; Ojiego, 2021; Shehu, 2021; Ugbodaga, 2021).

According to Onyedinefu (2020), total casualties from insecurity in Nigeria took an alarming rate turn in June (2020) with at least 731 innocent citizens killed in violent attacks. A report on tracking of mass atrocities across Nigeria for 2020, indicated through casualties of violent attacks, clashes, terrorism, kidnappings, and extrajudicial killings, shows that at least four thousand, five hundred and fifty-six (4,556) lives were lost between January and December 2020 (<http://www.nigeriamourns.org/2020-mass-atrocities-report/>). The report further indicated that a glaring spike of almost 43% in the number of casualties in comparison to the 2019 figure of three thousand, one hundred and eighty-eight (3188). Of these numbers, three thousand, eight hundred and fifty-eight (3,858) were civilians, while 698 were state security agents (<http://www.nigeriamourns.org/2020-mass-atrocities-report/>)

On the other hand, kidnapping for ransom has become an institutionalized business in Nigeria in recent times. An average of 13 persons were abducted daily in Nigeria in the first half of 2021, according to a report by SBM Intelligence, bringing to 2,371 the number of persons kidnapped in the country within the first six months of the year, that is from January to June, 2021 (Agbakwuru & Wuyo, 2021; Ojelu, 2021; Ojiego, 2021). The menace of kidnapping by bandits and other criminal elements across the country keeps surging high on a daily basis. In fact, over 111 kidnapping incidences in Nigeria have been recorded in first

six months of 2021, which is from January to June, 2021 (Agbakwuru & Wuyo, 2021; Ojelu, 2021; Ojiego, 2021). Sadly, the abductors usually demand for a huge ransom ranging from 10-500 million naira and those victims who could not pay such ransoms have been killed by the abductors (Ojelu, 2021; Ojiego, 2021). The spate of targeted and random kidnappings suggests that ransoms have become a major source of funding for banditry in the North-west, particularly Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto, and Zamfara States (<http://www.nigeriamourns.org/2020-mass-atrocities-report/>).

No meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere of high level of insecurity as Nigeria is witnessing in recent times. There is no single day goes by without acts of insecurity in Nigeria (Zubairu, 2020). Road travels have become nightmarish, students and academic institutions have become target and are attacked with impunity. Even, our military formations are under attack. Villages and towns have been sacked. Community heads are being kidnapped unabated. It's as if Nigeria is at war with itself (Ugbodaga, 2021). Obviously, the security situation in the country keeps deteriorating at the dawn of each day with the citizens of the country in a quagmire (Obia, 2020). All these security challenges have occasioned unemployment, poverty, food scarcity, hunger, displacement of people, loss of foreign investments and general level of underdevelopment. These have further posed serious threat and challenge to governance, socio-economic and national development in Nigeria.

Notably, the level of national development is inextricably tied to the level of national security (Gubak & Bulus, 2018). If there is no peace in any nation, there won't be development. Thus, the socio-economic and national development of any nation is evaluated on the basis of the enduring security, peace and stability (Gubak & Bulus, 2018). Therefore, it is pertinent to investigate the effect of rising insecurity on governance and national development and to proffer measures that could be adopted to reduce or eradicate the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria. Thus, the study appraises the effect of rising insecurity on governance and national development in Nigeria from 2015 to 2021.

Objectives of the Study

This paper is set to assess the rising security challenges and its implications on governance and national development. Specifically, the objectives of this paper are:

1. To examine the drivers of rising insecurity in the contemporary Nigeria.
2. To ascertain the effects of insecurity on governance and national development.
3. To suggest measures that could be adopted in eradicating the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria

Conceptual Discourse

The Concepts of Security and Insecurity: The concept of security means different thing to different people. However, generally security is mostly refers to as protection. In other words, security means safety or protection from harm and risk. It is freedom from, or resilience against, potential harm (or other unwanted coercive change) caused by others

(Iwegbu, 2020, Zubairu, 2020). Williams (2008) cited in Zubairu (2020) defines security as widely associated with mitigating the threat to cherished value, particularly if left unchecked in the near future threatens the existence of a specific referent object. Adebakin, (2012) defines security as activities that ensure protection of a country, persons and properties of the community against future threats, danger, mishaps and all other forms of perils. Based on different dimensions of security, Greenfall & James (2009) cited in Agri & Eneji (2020) identified seven key components of security namely economic, health, food, the environment, political, community and personal security.

Insecurity on the other hand can be conceived as the opposite of security. According to Encarta dictionary (2009) insecurity is the state of being unsafe or insecure or a state of mind characterized by self-doubt and vulnerability. It can be anything from childhood, disturbing situations, mistreatment, and individual fears. Correspondingly Achumba et al, (2013) refers insecurity as lack of safety and protection or the existence of danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of trust; doubtful; inadequately guarded or protected; lack of stability; disturbed; lack of protection and unsafe (Achumba et al, 2013). In same vein, to Beland (2005) insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection.

Currently, the nature of insecurity has reached a very high and serious situation to the extent that Police posts and headquarters are being attacked. Conversely, policemen who are expected to protect the populace against security threats are now scared of their own safety. The implication of this development is frightening (Dunmoye, 2021). Banditry, kidnapping for ransom, insurgency, cultism, robbery, pipeline vandalism, arson, ritual murder, herder-farmer clashes and burglary are some of the heinous crimes being perpetrated in Nigeria with near impunity presently (Ojo, 2021). Large parts of rural Nigeria have become inhabitable due to the activities of well-armed terrorists, bandits, kidnappers and herdsmen (Dunmoye, 2021). Schools are not excluded from these threats, thereby putting the education of the future generation in jeopardy (Dunmoye, 2021). In recent times there has been mass abduction of students from schools especially in the north. This act has continued with great impunity.

Governance: Governance simply refers to ways in which human and materials resources are administered or harnessed to achieve the development goals of the society. It is the process of exercising power and decision making for a group of people at different levels (Okere & Okoroafor, 2019). Governance also refers to the processes, rules, and behaviour by which interests are articulated, resources are managed and power is exercised in the political system or society (<https://www.researchgate>). To Dunmoye (2021) governance refers to the exercise of political and administrative authority at all levels to manage a country's affairs. It is made up of mechanism, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal and constitutional rights, meet their obligations, cooperate and coordinate their activities (Dunmoye, 2021). Similarly, Saminu (2018) asserted that governance includes all those activities which are connected with governing a country or a state. It relates to decision making that describes

expectation of citizens, how power is being dispensed or practiced, what process the people follow for verification of performance as well as leadership process. It is based on authority, responsibility, influence and accountability.

It is therefore important to note from the foregoing definitions that governance connotes the processes and activities which include the governing of a state and the exercise of power and authority and decision making. It also entails management of economic resources, the role of leadership and the institutions of the state and service delivery (Okere & Okoroafor, 2019). When there is good governance in the country, there would be efficient and effective delivery of services, fairness and justice, adherence to rule of law, transparency and accountability, visionary leadership and effective management of resources for economic growth and national development. Contrary, the major indicators of deficit of good governance in Nigeria include rising insecurity, insurgency, unemployment, poverty, inequality, injustice, nepotism, favouritism, perceived marginalization leading to agitation for secession by ethnic and communal champions, the high costs of governance which is a major impediment to development and equitable distribution of resources (Dunmoye, 2021).

Development and National Development

According to Todaro (1982) cited in Gubak & Bulus (2018) development is seen as the process of improving the quality of all human lives. In other words, development refers to the multidimensional changes involving progress or improvements in structures, institutions, the general aspects of life of a given people (Gubak & Bulus, 2018). This entails the acceleration of economic growth, decline of poverty, and the reduction of Inequality. Development can be seen as a process of bringing about fundamental and sustainable changes within society. These changes transcends as well as encompasses growth and embraces aspects of quality of life such as social justice, equal opportunity for all citizens, equitable distribution of income and democratization of the development process (Ugoh & Ukpere, 2010; Gubak & Bulus, 2018). Similarly, Along (2011) cited in Akinyetun & Bakare (2020) characterized development as the demonstration, procedure or aftereffect of developing, or condition of being developed, steady advancement or growth through dynamic changes in scientific, technological, economic, social, political, social and religious progression prompting better state of living.

On the other hand, Ugoh & Ukpere, (2010) defines national development as a qualitative and quantitative improvement in the living conditions of people of a state in line with national objectives, as indicated in its national development plans. According to him, other key objectives of the development plans include: Reduction in the level of unemployment; equitable distribution of income; reduction in the incidence of poverty; improvement in the quality of life of the people; more employment opportunities; greater access to and ownership of houses; and access to basic necessities of life such as qualitative health

services, potable water, education and electricity. It is when these objectives are achieved that one can talk of national development

National development can be portrayed as the general improvement or a collective political, economic, socio-economic as well as religious advancement of a nation. It is the capacity of a nation or nations to improve the social welfare of the individuals, in particular, by giving social comforts (Oluwatoyin & Lawal, 2011; Akinyetun & Bakare, 2020). In other words, national development includes changes or headway in a country planned for improving the economic, social and political lives of the people. It covers economic, social and political issues (Akinyetun & Bakare, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

Plethora of theories could be used to explain the worsening insecurity in Nigeria. Some of these theories are the Relational Vengeance Theory, Situational Action Theory, the Frustration Aggression Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory and Strain Theory.

However, this study is anchored on the Strain theory. Strain theory is propounded by Siegel. It is a theory that stressed on factors that induces crime and criminal actions in the society. This theory of crime is a product of conflict that exists between ends and wants. Nigerians are generally desirous of the good life which entails material possession, wealth, power, and recognition. Everyone longs for good things of life regardless of their social standing (Siegel, 2010).

Strain is related to criminal motivation, people who feel economically and socially humiliated may perceive right to humiliate others in return (Siegel, 2010). This theorist is of the opinion that the members of the lower class who are unable to achieve their live goals legitimately get angry and frustrated. This situation puts them in a position of taking to crimes such as insurgency, militancy, banditry, armed robbery, kidnapping, etc to make ends meet (Siegel, 2010; Chukwueme, Phinos & Agaba, 2019). The dysfunction within the society causes high level of poverty, unemployment, deprivation as well as marginalization. The result is visualized in the perpetration of rising crime and insecurity in the country. This crime has been identified as profitable and functional to its perpetrators. For instance, the lucrative nature of banditry and kidnapping where people are abducted for heavy ransom makes it very attractive for the crime to thrive (Chukwueme, Phinos & Agaba, 2019).

Materials and Methods

This study is qualitative in nature and documentary method was adopted to generate data through secondary sources such as newspaper, internet, journal articles, government publications, text books and research reports from international and local non-governmental organizations. Data gathered for the study were content analyzed.

Results and Discussion

The study uses a systematic review approach which involves the careful review of already published articles to analyze and synthesize relevant information from it. Thus, this paper presented and analyzed the data based on the objectives of the study.

Drivers of Rising Insecurity in Nigeria

Many scholars have pointed out the drivers and sources of insecurity in Nigeria. These are: bad governance, poor leadership, corruption, unemployment, poverty, porous border, proliferations of arms, leadership failure, marginalization, injustice, poverty, religious fanaticism and intolerance, inappropriate security architecture and weak security system (Nweze, 2004; Edeko, 2011; Adagba, et al, 2012; Onifade, Imhonopi. & Urim, 2013; Achumba et al, 2013; Gubak & Bulus, 2018; Agri & Eneji, 2020; Zubairu, 2020). According to Lawal (2020) there are seven major causal factors of national insecurity in Nigeria, namely; *high unemployment and poverty rates, porosity of borders, ethno-religious intolerance, lack of education, corruption amidst security personnel, uneven distribution of scarce national resources and political appointment, and injustice to victims*. Some of these causes of insecurity in Nigeria are discussed below:

1. Bad Governance and Poor Leadership – this is one of the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria from independence in 1960 till date. The primary social responsibility of government all over the world is to provide basic services that make life worth living. These basic services include provision of water, electricity, good road network, quality education, and general infrastructure. Ironically, these basic things are not there in Nigeria and the people, in general, are frustrated and demoralized. Demoralization and anger logically provide a strong fertile ground for aggression and general insecurity. The scarcity of these basic amenities in Nigeria is embarrassingly not due to a shortage of funds but rather due to corruption at the highest level of leadership structure (Zubairu, 2020).

2. Corruption – According to Nweze (2004) cited in Zubairu (2020) corruption was largely responsible for government failure and systemic infrastructure collapse, resulting in large-scale insecurity in Nigeria. Corruption contributes immensely to inhibition of economic performance; it negatively affects investment and economic growth, which is detrimental to national development (Ndubuisi-Okolo & Anigbuogu, 2019). Again, public funds meant to tackle insecurity have been converted and embezzled by our political leaders (Agri & Eneji, 2020). The state of insecurity in Nigeria is unquestionably a result of government failure, traceable to widespread corruption. Corruption is responsible for Nigeria's massive unemployment, it's the reason Nigerian youth and businessmen lack electricity to run their businesses, it's the reason many businesses fail. Unemployment and deprivation are the two main causes of Nigeria's insecurity. By creating unemployment and poverty, corruption leads to instability in Nigeria.

According to Gubak & Bulus (2020) the state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, traceable to systemic and political corruption. Insecurity for lives and

properties increased in the country because corruption has entered the management of the nation's security budgets (defence spending, internal security votes, etc.). National security has suddenly become a big-time business, as bureaucrats and military officials diverted security votes and expenditure on defence to personal coffers. They tactically fuel insecurity in different parts of the country to get more funding from all levels of government (Orji, 2012 cited in Gubak & Bulus, 2018).

3. Marginalization and Inequalities in the Country – marginalization and inequalities is also one of the driving factors of insecurity in Nigeria. This has led to militancy in the Niger Delta and also presumed factor that led to the emergence of Boko Haram in the North-East. Presently, the President Buhari government has been strongly charged with ethnic disparity, and the marginalization of some sections of the country in the appointment of key government officials and provision of basic infrastructure. For instance, currently key political positions were given to people from northern extraction while the south-east was left out. For instance, nobody was appointed in the south-east among the heads of all the military and paramilitary security agencies in Nigeria. All these have significantly compounded the security situation in Nigeria and also aggravated the agitation for the Biafra Republic in the South-East Geo-political zone of Nigeria (Nwadiakor, 2011; Zubairu, 2020). Apparently, marginalization triggers disaffection, resentment, and revolt (Achumba, et al., 2013). And a major factor that has contributed to insecurity in Nigeria is the growing awareness of inequalities, and disparities in life chances which lead to violent reactions by a large number of people (Gubak & Bulus, 2018). Thus, dominance, injustice and marginalization of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria have resulted in ethnic violence, religious conflicts and other forms of insecurity in the country (Zubairu, 2020).

4. Porous Border and Arms Proliferation– The Nigerian borders especially with Chad, Niger and Cameroon are not securely manned. Evidently, Nigerian borders are not properly secured and guarded by the security officers especially the Nigerian Custom and immigration officers whose job it is to ensure no illegal movement of goods and people into the country. Besides, most often, due to corruption by the security agencies, those officers in charge of borders could be bribed to allow illegal passage of goods and people across the borders. Thus, movement of people and goods are essentially untracked. These have led to Nigeria's rising level of insecurity. Again, the porous nature of the borders has heightened the potential spread of terrorist activities into the northwest region and the vulnerability of the border to the infiltration of terror groups is compounded by the presence of large forest reserves in the region. The vast, rugged terrain, sparse population, and dense vegetation make surveillance difficult, making the forests ideal hiding places and operational bases for terror groups (Ayitogo, 2021; Ojewale, 2021). Apparently, the porous nature of the Nigerian borders has contributed immensely to the uncontrollable influx of migrants, predominantly young people, from nearby countries such as Niger, Chad, Cameroon and the Republic of Benin to Nigeria. All these have been attributed to some of the insecurity and criminal activities in Nigeria (Adeola & Olayemi, 2012). There is an unregulated inflow of Small Arms

and Light Weapons into the country as a result of the porous borders which has enabled insurgency, militancy and crime in Nigeria (Zubairu, 2020). All these have contributed to rising insecurity in Nigeria. Boko Haram insurgents, bandits and other criminal elements have cashed in on the availability of Small and Light Weapons across the country, to kill military personnel and civilians as well as destroy property almost on daily basis (Ebonyi, 2021).

5. Unemployment and Poverty- Nigeria is currently under structural violence which manifest in the several violent crimes predicated on poverty (Morison, 2021). There is high rate of unemployment and poverty in Nigeria. Unemployment is a situation whereby people are not engaged in meaningful work and poverty is a situation whereby people lack the basic necessity of living such as food, shelter, clothing, etc, Obviously, unemployment breeds poverty and extreme poverty leads to a crime that gives rise to insecurity (Zubairu (2020). Invariably, unemployment and poverty cause insecurity and insecurity increase unemployment and poverty (Agri & Eneji, 2020). The rate of unemployment in Nigeria is alarming. Every year, graduates are churned out of Nigerian tertiary institutions without commensurate job opportunities. These have led them to frustration and indulgence in criminal activities such as fraud, ritual killings, kidnapping, militancy, and armed robbery. The number of jobless people in Nigeria increased to over 21 million in the second quarter of 2020 (Onyedinefu, 2020). Currently, Nigeria has an unemployment rate of 27.1% as of August 2020 (Odili & Egobueze, 2021). Thus, Nigeria's unemployment rate as at the second quarter of 2020 s was 27.1%, indicating that about 21,764,614 (21.7 million) Nigerians remain unemployed. Coupled with this, is high inflation rate that has hit 13.39% and is rising. The struggling economy, fluctuation, and unemployment leave Nigerians further impoverished, frustrated and desperate. As is well attested globally, poverty is a major trigger for insecurity (<http://www.nigeriamourns.org/mass-atrocities-casualties-report-for-august-2020/>) Apparently, unemployment among Nigerians, especially the youths is a major cause of insecurity and violent crimes in Nigeria. In particular youth's unemployment has contributed to the rising cases of violent conflict in Nigeria (Adagba et al, 2012; Gubak & Bulus, 2018).

6. Weak Security Apparatus – The Nigeria's security system is faced with a lot of challenges. These ranges from understaffing, lack of equipment and poor funding. They lack modern equipment to operate and the security officers are poorly trained and poorly remunerated. As a result, the requisite expertise is not available to meet modern security challenges (Achumba et al, 2013; Zubairu, 2020). All these factors have culminated in failure of the security agencies especially the Nigerian Police to effectively tackle crimes and insecurity in the country. Again, due to understaffing, the Nigerian Police Force has not been able to effectively combat crimes and criminality in the country. According to Olonisakin (2008) cited in (Gubak & Bulus, (2018) the police-population ratio in Nigeria is 1 per 450 people which falls below the standard set by the United Nations. The implication of

this is that Nigeria is grossly under policed. Thus, weak security system is one of the major contributory factors to the level of insecurity in Nigeria (Gubak & Bulus, 2018).

7. Ethno-Religious Conflicts - Ethno-religious differences have been exploited by individuals, groups and political elites in Nigeria which invariably culminated in conflicts among different groups. These conflicts have resulted in large-scale killings and violence among ethno-religious groups in the country (Adagba, et al, 2012). Ethno-religious conflicts exist when the social relations between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multiethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontations to settle grievances (Achumba et al, 2013; Onifade et al, 2013). Obviously, Ethno-religious conflicts have been identified as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria (Igbuzor, 2011; Onifade et al, 2013). These conflicts have also revolved around who gets what and how in the state especially as it concerns the distribution of scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy titles, local government councils, control of markets and expansion of religious territories (Onifade et al, 2013). Again, the Nigerian political elites have adversely created discord and divisions along ethnic and religious affinity and lines in the pursuit of their personal political ambitions. They use their ethnic sentiments to achieve their selfish ambitions by exploiting the masses and stirring up mistrust and hatred among different ethnic and religious groups. This has led to conflict and crisis in Nigeria (Zubairu (2020).

The Effect of Rising Insecurity on Governance and National Development in Nigeria

The rising insecurity has posed serious threat and challenge to governance, socio-economic and national development in Nigeria. Insecurity in Nigeria poses a threat to life and property, hampers business activity, and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which hampers the country's social and economic growth and national development (Zubairu, 2020). Rising insecurity has brought more threats to the lives and livelihoods of the citizens, compounded by hunger, unemployment, poverty and death (Agri & Eneji, 2020). No meaningful progress can be made in a society torn with security challenges. Insecurity has been identified as one of the hindrances to sustainable development (Igbuzor, 2011). It has led to the migration and death of so many Nigerians who should have contributed to the human labour force of the nation (Obia, 2020). Some of the effects of rising insecurity are elaborated below:

1. Close down of Businesses -Some businesses are closed down owing to rising insecurity in the country. Some indigenes and non—indigenes who reside in the North—Eastern region of the country have left their businesses in those areas due to the Boko Haram insurgency and have migrated to other parts of the country. The banditry menace also has triggered similar migrations to other parts of the country. Some of the migrants upon arrival find it difficult to reintegrate to the society they have found themselves and to kick start another business (Obia, 2020).

2. Lack of Domestic and Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) - It would be difficult to attract both domestic and foreign investors to the country with this rising rate of insecurity (Ugbodaga, 2021). In fact, the high level of insecurity in the country has impacted negatively on the economy and businesses. This has invariably driven away foreign investors who had intended to invest in the country. The situation has adversely affected the pace of economic growth as foreign investors are scared of putting their monies into the economy. For instance, the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2020) has ranked Nigeria 148th among 163 independent countries on the peace ladder. More disturbing is the fact that Nigeria ranks the 3rd Most Terrorized Global Nation, just after Iraq and Afghanistan (Agri & Eneji, 2020). Currently, Nigeria is the third country most impacted by terrorism, going by the Global Terrorism Index 2020 after Afghanistan and Libya (Ndujihe, 2021). With these reports, foreign investors become skeptical of coming into Nigeria and to invest or domicile their business in the country (Obia, 2020).

3. Increased Government Spending on Insecurity and Declined in Infrastructural Development: Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. This has made national security threat to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security (Achumba et al, 2013). Resources that could have been used to modernize the agricultural sector, build industries and infrastructure to create employment, have been consumed by budget for insecurity and in the rehabilitation of displaced and injured citizens (Agri & Eneji, 2020). Sadly, governments have spent so much of tax payers' money to procure military soft and hardware to fight insecurity and conflict, but are yet to get the expected results of peace, security and socioeconomic stability and national development in Nigeria (Agri & Eneji, 2020). Thus, Nigerian government has continued to allocate a substantial part of the yearly budget on security thus leaving certain sectors like health, education and infrastructural development poorly funded (Ewetan & Urbie, 2014 cited in Obia, 2020). For instance, the allocation on security for the 2019 budget supersedes that allocated to health and education (Obia, 2020). In the last five years under President Buhari, the defence budget continued to be high with N878.4 billion and N840.56 billion earmarked for the military in 2020 and 2021 respectively (Aytogo, 2021).

4. Shortage of Food: Insecurity has led to reduction in food production. Farming communities that have witnessed attacks from herdsmen have lost farmers and surviving farmers steer clear of their farmlands for fear of the invading herdsmen. This massacre of farming communities contributes to the high cost of food and food insecurity that is being witnessed in the country (Obia, 2020). For instance, in Zamfara, rampaging bandits have prevented farmers from going to their farms. This has worsened the famine situation in the state (Adepegba, 2021). In the last five years, the price of food items has risen steadily. The rising food prices can be linked clearly to the inaccessibility of farmlands taken over by criminal herdsmen and rampaging bandits due to prolonged conflict. For instance, one of the biggest fish markets in West Africa, located in Baga near the Lake Chad basin in North

East Nigeria, has long been abandoned due to the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency (Igwe, 2020).

5. Displacement of People: Insecurity especially the activities of boko haram and bandits have created huge humanitarian consequences. In the last decade, close to 200,000 people have been displaced from their homes as a result of criminal violence and about 77,000 Nigerians have fled to neighbouring countries (Obaji, 2021). Again, the United Nations Development Programme reports captured in Adepegba (2021) stated that nearly 350,000 people have been killed in the North-East in the past 12 years and 1.9 million people currently live in Internally Displaced Persons camps in the North. More so, over 1,531 people died and thousands were displaced in inter-communal violence mostly between herdsmen and farming communities, as well as in attacks by bandits, in the north-central and north-western regions. The persistent violence in these regions has forced many farming families to flee to urban areas or displacement camps.” (AI, 7 April 2021).

6. Closure of Schools: In recent times kidnapping especially mass abduction of students have become a thriving business in Nigeria (Ogidan et al, 2021). This has led to withdrawal of students from schools and even closure of schools especially in the north. From 2018 to September 2021, about 1333 students have been kidnapped from schools (Agbakwuru & Wuyo, 2021; Ojelu, 2021; Ojiego, 2021; Shehu, 2021). For instance, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) estimates that 1,120 schools have been shut down across northwestern Nigeria for fear of mass kidnappings and even where they stay open, some parents are too afraid to send their children to school (Ogidan et al, 2021).

Measures to Adopt in Eradicating the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria

There are various ways to tackle insecurity in Nigeria. Some of these include: Restructuring the Nigerian security architecture, reduction in arms proliferation, securely manning of the Nigerian borders, investment in quality education, diversification of the economy, good governance, creation of jobs, reduction of unemployment and poverty, employment, training, equipment and adequate remuneration of security officers, elimination corruption, proper coordination and adequate intelligence gathering and sharing among security officers, community policing, etc (Obia, 2020; Zubairu, 2020; Ebonyi, 2021; Victor, 2020; Shut & Dawap 2021; Odili & Egobueze, 2021; Ojo, 2021; Ayitogo, 2021).

Obia (2020) suggested some alternative other approaches that could be adopted in curbing the challenge of insecurity in Nigeria which are investment in education, reduction in the high rate of youth unemployment and diversification of the economy. These approaches and others are discussed below:

1. Investment in Quality Education - It has been observed that policymakers interested in combating crime often focus on enforcement and punishment. They forgot to note that there seems to be a relationship between crime and education. Recent research suggests that other policy mechanisms particularly those geared towards improved education can also be effective in fighting crime (Obia, 2020). Education constitutes an essential pillar for

any nation's meaningful and sustainable economic development and also plays a pivotal role in empowering people to achieve economic and social freedom (Egwakhe, Osabuohien, 2009).

2. Reduce the high rate of Youth Unemployment – There is nexus between high rate of unemployment and high crime rate in Nigeria. like the saying goes, an idle mind is the devil's workshop (Obia, 2020). According to Adagba et al, (2012) unemployment and poverty among Nigerians particularly the youths have been considered as one of the major causes of insecurity and violent crimes in Nigeria. The rate of unemployment in Nigeria which tends to lead to poverty must be checked and nipped in the bud if insecurity will be combated effectively. Government should prioritize policies that will support the provision of employment opportunities and alleviation of poverty in Nigeria and if this is done, it will reduce to a very large extent, the crime rate in the country (Obia, 2020).

3. Diversification of the Economy – Oil has been the mainstay of Nigerian economy. However, Nigeria has been blessed with other mineral resources and vast fertile land for agricultural activities. Some of these resources include gold, iron ore, ironstone, limestone, columbite, manganese, nickel, chromite, coal, dolomite, etc. Since the discovery of oil in the 1950s, agriculture has been relegated to the background. A substantial proportion of the wide expanse of agricultural lands is yet to be cultivated while most of the minerals are yet to be exploited (Evbuomwan, 2016). Therefore, in order to create employment opportunities, government at all levels must revive the agricultural sector of the economy and also devise practicable modalities for the diversification of the country's economy, through encouraging and conducting researches in the uses of some of these minerals. If this is done, the country could become industrialized and this will lead to more employment opportunities (Obia, 2020).

4. Properly Secure the Borders and Reduce Arms Proliferations: There is very poor security at the country's borders and this allows for proliferation of small arms and light weapons amongst criminal groups (Obaji, 2021). A report by SBM Intelligence "Small Arms, Mass Atrocities & Migration in Nigeria", estimates that there are 6,145,000 arms in the possession of non-state actors in Nigeria; while the nation's security forces had only 586,600 fire arms. The nation's porous land and sea borders have remained easy conduits for smuggling arms (<http://www.nigeriamourns.org/2020-mass-atrocities-report/>). Thus, poor security at the border made it easy for terrorists, human traffickers and drug barons to infiltrate the country and perpetrate heinous crimes and acts of terrorism (Edeko, 2011). Therefore, to curb the rising insecurity in Nigeria, the Federal Government needs to do more to control the influx of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country by providing adequate security at the Nigerian borders (Dunmoye, 2021). With matter of urgency, the Federal Government should tighten and effectively secure the Nigerian borders in order to control the influx of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country

5. Good Governance: Good governance and leadership should be entrenched at all levels of government. This is because the remedy to insecurity requires good leadership and

governance, promotion of national unity and regaining populace trust (Lawal, 2020). The political leaders at all levels of government should strive to promote good governance, openness, accountability through the use of print and digital media, and inform the public adequately and promptly (Zubairu, 2020). Good governance fosters development. Development in this context consists of creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure for business operations and industrial growth, to provide gainful employment, functional and useful education, and quality health care for the people (Victor, 2020). Through good governance, the basic needs of the citizens are effectively and efficiently provided and this would go a long way to reduce or reverse the rising hunger and poverty indices in Nigeria (Victor, 2020).

6. Eliminate all forms of Corruption among Government Officials: Corruption is like cancer that has eaten deep into fabrics of Nigerian state. The high level of corruption has a ripple effect because it affects every area of the economy with security agencies topping the list during the last administration. For instance, the former minister defence connived with some other officials to embezzle the money supposed to be for procurement of arms and ammunition for the security agencies in the fight against insurgency in the Northeast. This and other factors are some things that negatively affect the security framework in Nigeria (Victor, 2020). Therefore, in order to curb the rising insecurity in Nigeria, there is the need to eliminate all forms corruption in governance especially among the security agencies and government officials

7. Creation of Jobs, Reduction of Unemployment and Poverty: Policies and schemes aim at creating employment and social protection for the youths, is the bedrock to addressing the root causes of the insurgency, unemployment and poverty (Shut & Dawap 2021). According to Ojo (2021) the effective approach to curbing security challenges in Nigeria includes job creation and economic empowerment especially for the teeming youths who constitute over 60 per cent of the population. There is a need to also scale up social safety net through pro-poor measures. Conditional Cash Transfer is a good case in point. Beyond these, it is needful to fix the decadent and insufficient infrastructure especially affordable electricity supply. This will reduce the cost of doing business and grow the informal sector including the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (Ojo, 2021). Therefore, the government at all levels should create jobs for the army of the unemployed or underemployed youths in Nigeria and social security schemes should also be provided for the unemployed youths especially graduates who are unemployed (Odili & Egobueze, 2021). This will enable them to abstain from committing crimes (Zubairu (2020). Again, the government should establish entrepreneurship centers across the country to train the youths on skills that would enable them to be independent, self reliant and self employed (Zubairu (2020).

8. Employment, Training, Equipment and Adequate Remuneration of Security Officers: Nigeria is under policed. Therefore, as a matter of urgency, more security personnel should be employed, trained, equipped with modern security gadgets and motivated to secure the country. The current security problems in Nigeria be can solved to an extent by increasing

the manpower and welfare of all security agencies and equipping them with modern-day combat machinery, skills and training (Victor, 2020). Therefore, there is a need to increase the number of security officers, give them adequate training in modern security methodologies, provide them with state-of-the-art equipment and appropriate remuneration and good conditions of service (Zubairu, 2020). In this regard, the government should make efforts towards improving the condition of service and welfare of the members of security officers especially the Nigeria Police (Odili & Egobueze, 2021). In same vein Ojo (2021) suggested that the real antidote to the festering insecurity lies in the hard approach which includes recruitment of more security personnel, building of more police stations and military cantonments to enable them secure the ungoverned spaces, procurement of security hardware such as Armoured Personnel Carriers, Rifles, operational vehicles, sophisticated communication gadgets, building and equipping of forensic laboratories, data capturing of arrested criminals, deployment of technology in the fight against crimes such as use of all-weather drones, Closed Circuit Television cameras, automated scanner machines, jammers, trackers, etc (Ojo, 2021).

Conclusion

This study has explicated the drivers and consequences of insecurity in Nigeria. As can be seen the rising insecurity is engendered by different factors which include: bad governance, bad leadership, corruption, marginalization, inequality and unfairness, social injustice, weak security system, poor justice system, porous border, arms proliferation, poverty, unemployment, lack of access to livelihood resources and rising cost of living, poor service delivery. All these drivers of insecurity have undermined governance and national development in Nigeria. It has led to loss of lives and properties, displacement of people, shortage of food, loss of domestic and foreign investment, closure of schools, increased in government spending on security and neglecting infrastructural development, heightened agitations for secession, etc.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study recommended as follows:

1. Jobs should be created by the government at all levels to engage the teeming unemployed youths.
2. Nigerian borders should be securely guarded to prevent the influx of criminals and illegal arms and weapons.
3. Good governance should be entrenched by the political leaders at all levels.
4. The conditions of service of security apparatuses should be improved.
5. The entire security structure should be re-structured and decentralized to enable quick responses to emergency security situations,
6. Government should to reduce or reverse the rising hunger and poverty indices in Nigeria.

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