

Nigeria security dilemma and challenges of socio-economic, political and religious development

Author (s):

John Y. Along¹
Christopher S. Ogoyi²
Clifford O. Obukeni³

Affiliation:

¹⁻³Department of Christian Religious Studies, Federal University of Education Kontagora, Niger State

Corresponding author:

John Y. Along
johnyayaalong@yahoo.com

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Abstract

This paper examined the challenges of security and the dilemma of continued corporate existence of Nigeria as a state. The focus was security as a major determinant of not only development of any society but the survival of such. The paper examined development, the causes of security challenges in Nigeria and the implications on the politics, economy, education and religion. This paper adopted the secondary sources of data that are relevant to the issues under consideration. From the literature reviewed there are clear indications of palpable threats to the corporate survival of the Nigerian state. And this emanated as a result of failure of leadership to understand and manage the dynamisms of our shared existence. Part of the recommendations towards a sustainable national development hinge on the urgency of restructuring the current lopsided federal structure, and until this is done, all efforts at unity and progress will be a charade.

Key words: Insecurity, education, internally displaced persons

Introduction

When Nigeria got independence in the 1960s, she was jubilantly at the same level with fellow-oil producing and exporting countries such as Brazil, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Indonesia in her desire to attain a very high level of socio-economic, political and religious development, and also put herself on the same page with key drivers of the world economy (Uzoigwe, 2007). As a matter of fact, Nigeria was seen as the backbone and the canon-folder of the rest of Africa. She was believed and widely accepted as the giant of Africa, considering, intimidating and unmatched credentials in both human and material resources to her claim. Alas! Things fell apart and the centre could not hold. Today, Nigeria is far behind all these countries not only in terms of its overall level of economic, political and socio-cultural development but in terms of its ability to protect the sanctity of the human life and products of human efforts (property). Barely six years after the jubilant chorus of freedom, she became preoccupied with irreconcilable interests, which lacerated the chord of unity, and threw the new nation into a mega mayhem that lasted for three years. Rising from the miasma of the war since then, has snapped Nigeria in an endless circle of communal bloodletting, ritual killing, terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, corruption, mismanagement, lack of accountability and so on, which has become part and parcel of our governance structure.

Rather than recognizing our differences and accepting the challenges to our common security and development, we have become the more sharply divided against ourselves. 'The chasm between the north and south, Christians and Muslims is becoming disturbingly wider', (Kaigama, 2020). What we followed is bitterness, un-forgiveness, unhealthy cult-competitions, hypocrisy, corruption, wickedness, self-delusion and so on, which define relationship amongst individuals and the communities within the commonwealth. There has never been a time that Nigerians have lost hope in the Nigerian project as now. Twenty (20) years ago, Nigerians could travel the length and breadth of this nation, night and day without fear of any harassment. This has long changed as mere thought of traveling on Nigerian roads has become a suffocating nightmare. However, today, our minds ache at the sight of young promising Nigerian youths on whose shoulders supposedly rest the rescue of Nigeria taking solace in suicide. Never a time have the Nigerian leaders been as confused about the way forward as now. Never a time has Nigerian leaders been this greedy, mentally and intellectually famished as now.

The so-called majority tribes have not helped matters. In fact, they have made it worse as they more often than not hijack appointments into key public political offices and citing of developmental projects, making the minority-majority syndrome looks like it's any one's choice

Never a time politician has been so deceptive and hostile to those who speak the truth as now. Even while we practice democracy, we now compete with the military in terms of holding of political prisoners and intimidation of opponents. Never a time in Nigeria that power corrupt and absolute power corrupt so absolutely as now. Nigeria has become a casino, run by mafias and cartel of criminals for the pleasure of the rich and their cronies. Never a time has Nigerians been so divided against one other as now. Religion that should preach peace and bring people closer to their maker has become a tool to sow seed of discord among once peace-loving Nigerians. In Nigeria, people fight for their god instead of their God fighting for them. Never a time has Nigerians lived in palpable fear and suspicion as now. Never a time has the Nigerian intellectuals that should lead the way and awaken our consciences been so disoriented, disconnected and compromised as now. Never a time has the Nigerian freedom fighters and activists been this drunken with tiredness as they are now. They have indeed lost the art of activism. The affected are most unconcerned. We pretend with issues of common interest until we are hit by its reality. Because of the failed security architecture, we operate in Nigeria, Nigerians are now divided between the thoughts of staying together as a country or be divided into separate countries.

In the light of myriads of scenery painted above, not only has our development become fixated and at a dead-end but our hope of continued corporate existence and all modicum of faiths are about to shrink into extinction. Security of lives and property is very precarious. People now desire security of their lives more than what they can eat. The objective of this paper is therefore to do an anatomy of the Nigerian society such that will provide a balm for its healing and the way forward. To have the flow of ideas, this paper examines the concept of Security with its attendant implications on the socio-economic, political and religious Development of the Nigerian nation.

Theoretical Framework (Elite Theory)

Elite theory is used in this work. Elite theory was popularized by Vilfredo Pareto (1858-1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) both Italians; Roberto Michels, a Swiss German, Jose Ortega and Y. Gasset, a Spaniard. It holds that all those who through educational exposure, connection and fully developed talents, intellectually and materially empowered, exercise considerable influence in the socio-economic and political life of any society, (Varma, 1975). To Pareto (1923), a minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its accession to full social and political power rules every society. Those who get on top are always seen as the best and have the opportunity to manipulate the wheel of progress. They are known as the elite. To Pareto, different occupations produce different elites and they generally come from this class. Society thus, is divided into classes; (a) the higher stratum that is also divided into the governing elites and the non-governing elites and (b) a lower stratum, the non-elite. To Mosca a nation's greatness depends on the capacity of the people, the public, the crowd, the masses to find their symbol in certain chosen people on whom it pours out the vast store of its vital enthusiasm, (Varma, 1975). This is the point at which the elites manipulate the enthusiasms of the people because of this kind of cult-followership

that make them to want to do anything, legal or illegal for such chosen and deified persons.

Basic Assumption of the Elite Theory

- That the society is nothing other than the complex group. This, Truman called the mosaic of group Bentley called it complex of group
- The task of study of any social life is the analysis of groups, their roles and interactions
- That any group of people has a goal or interest the purpose being to see their own betterment
- That pressure is always a group phenomenon. They exert pressure on decision makers to ensure the betterment of their members
- Conflict is very central to group interactions and it occurs as a result of ceaseless struggle to protect various interest
- That people strive for positive social identity and maintain group identities which result in the 'us', versus them division that leads to inter group animosity and violence.
- That inter group competitions breed conflicting goals which generate hostility

Justification of the Theory

The application of this theory lies in the fact that not only does intergroup relations increases competitions especially amongst political gladiators and leaders but also, the elites control and direct the economy, exercise legal monopoly over the means of coercion, dominate the structure and institution of politics as well as shape the ideological and philosophical direction of the society. They are the designers of our democracy and they continue to impede the democratic process as they deem fit. The elites see democracy as a means to a desirable end and have a tendency to self-enrichment and self-perpetuate. They struggle at all cost to attain and retain power which has become a veritable war without restraint with total disregard to the culture and convention of democracy which they clothe in mysteries. These in many ways have impaired concerted efforts at providing a safe haven for development. As the ruling elites especially, compete for positions of authority, the tighter and stiffer the access to power, the stiffer the conditions, the more tendency to adopt unconstitutional and uncivilized methods to acquire political power. In turn, this increases the propensity for violence thus making the society unsafe for people to live. These tendencies are the major generators of intergroup conflict mainly designed by the elite to divide and rule. If they want peace, there will be peace. If they want to profit from insecurity, do whatever you like, be humble to death, there will be insecurity. This explains why Achebe (1981) squarely put the blame on leadership, that is the elites, noting that leaders hold and control the paraphernalia of government. Leaders make and unmake decision that could promote peace and development and as well instigate crisis in the society.

Be that as it may if there is anything the poor do not have is power to determine the direction of things in the society. The rich who determine policies in the society have a kind of insatiable desire to have the more without consideration of the suffering class. In order

to avoid resistance from the masses, they chant a slogan of virtuous character for the poor and promote a kind of cult-enthusiasm that their condition will get better someday. As soon as that is done, the rich start the process of exploitation and the cycle continues. The rich use religion to manipulate the masses against themselves so as to forestall any possible union against their interest.

Criticisms

Notwithstanding the utility of these theories, it has not escaped the critical lenses of scholars. It has been criticized on the ground that it is culture-bound, in the sense that, it originally attempted to study and prescribe solutions for the American political system and may not win such analytical appeal in some political system because of the diversities in socio-political dynamism in them (Nnoli, 2011). It is so blinded to a fault to the extent, maybe because of its 'prostitution appeal' that it fails to factorize the influence and sentiments of the individuality of group members. It takes the individual and treats him as a dispassionate being. First, the so-called group is a collection of individuals with differing ambitions. It is fulfillment of these ambitions that make them come together in groups. Once these ambitions are threatened individual group members could defy group interest or seek membership of other groups. This of course explains the rationale behind Nigerian politician jumping at political bandwagon or the other, no matter how much they have hitherto criticized such wagon, so far it promises them something positive in the immediate.

As already maintained by Kukah, (1993), in Nigeria nobody becomes a leader at whatever level without pretending to be religious. Leaders have religious biases and this is manifested when they come to power to the extent that people of the same religion see such as a plus as it will henceforth afford them the opportunity to get close to the corridor of power so as to possibly amass wealth. If a Christian is at the leadership position and appointments and approval of projects are made, those from the other religious faith especially, the Muslims will criticize. So also it is, when a Muslim comes to power, fellow faithful are happy because such provide a sense of security no matter how false this may be. The Christian also are ready to criticize such Muslim leader. Many religious organizations have political wing. And such is for the mobilization of votes for their followers. This makes it difficult to ascertain if Nigeria is theocratic state or secular and democratic. This religious biases unwittingly promote sentiments and cleavages that increase threats to the security of Nigeria. This is seen when religious faithful are ready to by any means defend their religious believe.

Methodology

The data used in this paper was derived from archival sources (Nwabughuogu, 1984) and content analysis of different research findings (Okewole, 1999) in relation to security and development problems.

The Concept of Security

To start with, security is the fundamental responsibility of the state. According to the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, section 14 (1b), the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. Insecurity is an inevitable fact of social existence. In any

social formation, conflict or threat to life is unavoidable, hence the constitutional provision. Whenever there are interactions between two or more people, differences of age, sex, parentage or social class, kinship, ethnicity, religion, race, education or political interests have combined to define such relationship and the peace or otherwise of such interaction hence, the need for care.

To Nnoli (2006), national security is a cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-states, together with a similar safety of their other most cherished values. Objectively, it denotes freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. However, and more importantly, security has a subjective sense which can be measured by absence of fear, threat, anxiety or danger. No matter how much safety there is in objective terms, unless there is confidence that such safety exists or will exist, there is no security. Security of life and property is a non-negotiable fact of life. When threats to lives and property are not moderated they degenerate into violent conflicts, and terrorism, the highest form of expression of frustration and aggression and eventually, life becomes unsecured. This has been decimating large populations without apparent cure within the most foreseeable future, even with the deployment of the most powerful modern scientific and medical research, on daily basis we still witness mass dislocation of human communities (Nnoli, 2011 and Nnoli 2006, Kufuor, 2006 and (Adedeji, 2005). While Omede (2012) sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests, Nwoli (2006) perceives security as an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces; that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves; that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals such as unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution cum socio-economic injustices.

While the two conceptualizations of security are more concerned about the administrative framework, Microsoft Encarta Dictionary (2008) provides a definition that takes cognizance of the citizens' perception of security, and defines security as "the state of being safe and protected; the assurance that something of value, for instance, job, will not be taken away; something that provides a sense of protection against loss, attack, or harm; and, precautions taken to keep something safe from crime, attack, or danger, such as security measures". When these measures are not in place, life becomes threatened thus a state of insecurity may arise consequently. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994) human security may be defined to include such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. Security means protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in homes, offices or communities. It is the state of being or making safe secure from danger, etc. This work adopts the definition of security as it relates to the presence of peace. Essentially, security is related to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others. Security is not a discrete or measurable variable in quantitative

terms. But spending on security can be used as proxy to quantify the volume of security especially if the spending is effective. At the inception of every government, the President or Governor swears to an oath to among other things protect life and property.

Forms of Insecurity

Insecurity can be classified into several dimensions. The most significant are:

- a. Physical insecurity – violent personal and property crimes,
- b. Public insecurity - violent conflicts, insurgency and terrorism
- c. Economic insecurity – poverty, unemployment,
- d. Social insecurity - illiteracy, ignorance, diseases or illnesses, malnutrition; water borne diseases, discrimination and exclusion,
- e. Human rights violations - denial of fundamental rights by state and non-state actors in different areas,
- f. Political insecurity – denial of good and social democratic governance

The above dimensions of security are interwoven and cannot be treated in strict isolation. Kofi (1998) argues that today we know that “security” means far more than what it used to be and just the absence of conflict. We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education, health, democracy and human rights promotion, protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We cannot be secured amidst starvation, that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, we cannot build freedom on the foundations of injustice, and inequalities, we cannot prosper where education is not given desired attention and ignorance/superstition prevails. These are pillars of what is understood as the people-centered concept of human security which is interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

UNDP Report (1994) categorized human security into seven components, namely: Economic, Food, Health, Environmental, Personal, Community and Political. This conception of security is now deficient because of the absence of education as condition for security. Insecurity extends beyond threats to life and property. The UN Commission on Human Security (2003) suggests that human security should entail protection and empowerment of citizens. Protection shields people from danger while empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision- making, especially towards the prosperity of the commonwealth.

Threats to National Security and the Dilemma of Corporate Existence:

The most potent threats to Nigerian national security and corporate existence include global challenges; terrorism; transnational organized crimes; crude oil theft or illegal bunkering in the Niger Delta (Gubak and Kwopnan, 2018); Nigeria’s borders; climate change; communal and ethno-religious conflicts; pastoralists and farmers conflicts; politics and federalism in Nigeria; governance; poverty; banditry and kidnapping, proliferations of small arms and light weapons; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; illegal migration; economic challenges; financial crimes; information technology and cyber security; natural, man-made and medical

related threats; environmental security. These are by no means the only threats to Nigeria national security. They are nevertheless the most potent and are adjudged potential sources of disaffection, discontent and instability that could adversely affect the country quest for national stability, unity and development.

The Concept of Development

Development like any other concepts in the social sciences lacks universal acceptance given its equation with other concepts like ‘growth’, ‘change’, ‘industrialization’, ‘transformation’ and so on. The interchangeability of concept of development has given birth to conceptual clarification so as to avoid further confusion. Nnoli (1993:32) argues that:

Development is a dialectical phenomenon in which the individual and society interact with their physical, biological, and inter-human environments transforming them for their own betterment and that of humanity at large and being transformed in the process for their own betterment and for that of humanity at large and being transformed in the process.

From the excerpt above, development entails a continuous process and that, all peoples have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life than before. The only major difference lies in the rate of this development. The goal of the process at any particular time is circumscribed by the obstacles in the way of realizing these potentials. It varies from society to society depending on their inherited level of production, the nature of their productive forces, the nature of their relations of production that they have established, the prevailing pattern of social and cultural relations, the quality, and creativity of the leadership and the hostility or bigness of the physical environment and the neighbouring society. Rodney, (1972), summarized the Marxist expositions by saying that, ‘development in human society is a many sided process. At the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being, at the level of social groups, it implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relations, in fact development has always meant increase in the ability to guard the independence of the social group.’ Fundamentally, overall improvement of man who is expected to be the harbinger of transformation and change in the society is the hub of development. These include:

- Free, compulsory universal education.
- Improvement of the general educational, cultural and technical training of the working class.
- Raising of people’s health and extending their active life through a system of universal health checks in the polyclinics hospitals and sanatoriums.
- Rising of people’s living standard to a qualitative new level.
- Ensuring that the levels and structures of consumption of material, social and spiritual goods and services are raised (Okereke and Ekpe (2002).

According to Seer (1962), to ascertain, whether a society is developed, the issue of poverty, unemployment and inequality must be brought under control. When these problems are reduced in a

society, such a society would then be considered a developed society. However, for Todaro and Smith (2003), development is view as: 'a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of absolute poverty'. Also, the following qualities must be observed:

- i. Life sustenance: This implies the ability to provide basic needs such as food, shelter, health or protection.
- ii. Self-esteem: This refers to a sense of self-worth, and self-respect: not being used as a tool by others for their own ends.
- iii. Freedom from servitude: this has to do with a fundamental sense of freedom i.e. emancipation from alienating material conditions of life and from servitude to nature, ignorance, other people, misery, institutions and dogmatic beliefs.

With respect to how man can be developed in order to serve as the vanguard of society's development some Marxist scholars advocated strongly on the followings:

- i. Free, compulsory and universal education
- ii. Improvement of the general educational, cultural and technical training of the working population
- iii. Raising of people's living standards to a qualitative and new height.
- iv. Improvement of people's health and extending their active life through a system of universal health checks in the polyclinics, hospitals and sanatoriums and
- v. Ensuring that the levels and structures of consumption of material, social and spiritual goods and services are raised.

Indicators of Development

Economic Indicators: In economic realm, a number of variables are generally used as indices of development. 'A society develops economically as its members increase jointly in their capacity for dealing with nature. The GNP is an important index of development (Rodney, 1972). Okereke and Ekpe (2002) also observed that GNP provides comprehensive pictures of the economy. It shows whether or not a country is developed. They further observed that the degree by which goods are shared in the society determines the level of development and peace and survival of such societies. If an insignificant percentage of the population controls greater percentage of the total wealth, then such a country is still underdeveloped and prone to the vagaries and selfish manipulation by the rich.

Efficiency in the Labour Output: Efficiency in the labour output per man is a very crucial index of development. The ability of labour to achieve a greater output in a short time without any decrease in the quality of work depends on a number of other factors like motivation, education, training and discipline. Agricultural development is also indicator of the rate of development in any society. As observed by Okereke and Ekpe (2002), 'the availability of an adequate supply of food is vital because food shortages will result in price hike. This in turn may lead to agitation for higher wages thus affecting the level of investment which is a prelude to development. For instance, it may

lead to decrease of export earnings and necessitate huge expenditure on food importation. However, if the agricultural sector is vibrant, apart from providing sources of employment and raw materials, it will generate revenue which could be used in the development of other sectors of the economy'. Simply, it is called sectorial linkages. And this can only happen when governments not only provide modern equipment for production but beyond any doubt assured the lives and property of the famers.

Industrialization: Rich countries are believed to be rich because they are industrialized and poor countries are backward because they are primary producers. Though this point has been criticized by many scholars, notwithstanding, industrial potentials of a state is an important index of development. When greater percentage of the population is engaged in industries rather than agriculture, this also shows the level of development. There is no country that genuinely aspires to be industrialized that has toyed with the acquisition of plants. Technology is defined as 'a totality of the means employed to provide objects necessary for human sustenance and comfort' (Ikoku, 1981). It also implies a way of application of knowledge derived from a systematic investigation of natural forces and material. Greater production is central to prosperity, peace and progress. Therefore, countries that have been able to develop and apply technology are bound to be perceived as being more developed than those without technology.

Capital formation: To Umoh (1995), it creates greater productive capacity by laying the necessary infrastructure for industrializing economy. It enhances technical process by providing the essential facilities for research or technological adaptations, and it facilitates the development of human capital as a strategic input in the total development efforts. Okereke and Ekpe, (2002), further maintain that the extent of economic diversification is another index of development. The ability of a country to invest productively in many areas likely agriculture, industry, mining and infrastructure are precursors of development. It is typical of a developed economy that diversification process of one sector leads to a kind of symbiotic or complementary relationship with other sectors. For instance, agricultural industry, apart from supplying food for the industrial workers could also produce raw materials required in manufacturing industry. On the other hand, an economy that is not diversified is vulnerable to price fluctuation in international markets. Such an economy is more likely to suffer from perennial balance of payment deficits, hyperinflation and persistent poverty. The only way out for such economy is to resort to external borrowing as exemplify by Nigeria today. The implications of course are glaring.

Political Indicators of Development

Political scientists like Samin Amin, Walter Rodney, Gunder Frank, Daei Offiong, Claude Ake, etc, have also added dimensions to what is development. They maintained that there is a political aspect of development and change. This is because it is a social process. Ake (1996), maintains that political conditioning is a factor in the explanation of development. From this standpoint, a number of political indicators of development have been identified. The major ones are: A clearly defined process of power succession; The level of

integration; The extent to which fundamental human rights are recognized and enforced; The level of political tolerance and compromise; The level of mass mobilization and participation in politics (Okereke and Ekpe 2002).

Political succession is the first political indicator of development and modernization. The type of government in power, whether it is democratic or authoritarian does not count much. The manners through which leaders assume office determine the type of government. Though bourgeois scholars insist that democracy is the hallmark of modernisation, when a political system is able to fashion out a peaceful method of changing government, this is an index of development. If the process is characterized by bitter rivalry, chaos, anarchy, clashes in the name of democracy, then absence of development is evident. The rationale for this conclusion is that, development cannot occur, under a politically unstable atmosphere, but requires a congenial temperature to manifest and thrive. An examination of the global situation reveals that most third world countries are passing through one form of political instability or the other. Most of these crises germinate due to the struggle for power, and in the process potentials investors are scared away, lives are wasted, property are destroyed and the survival of the state is questioned.

The levels of integration or cohesiveness that exist in a political system determine to a large extent the level of development. Nation building is seen as a crucial aspect of development. In fact, as was noted by Lucian Pye (1965), political elites and leaders of 'newly' emerging nations equate development with nation building. Thus, if the level of integration is so high that loyalty is shifted from tribal and ethnic-oriented groups to the centre, this portends development. According to Okereke and Ekpe (2002), 'in a fully integrated society, when the citizens have full participation in the affairs of their nations, disharmony and rivalry will be eliminated'. In the same vein, absence of integration is viewed as underdevelopment. This is so because it is characterized by fissiparous, centrifugal and cataclysmic tendencies. A high level of political tolerance and compromise is another important indicator of development. Politically, in a developed political system, public decision-making is to a large extent, a process of give and take. To Pye (1962), it involves respecting 'and accommodating competing views and interest.' If tolerance exists, it will be possible to decide on most public questions.

This enhances the possibility of development. In countries where political tolerance is absent and where political alternative views are ignored and where those who oppose the government are intimidated, punished, and criminalized, such societies are not regarded as developed. This is because dissident groups are likely to go underground and work against government's interest. The extents to which fundamental human and social rights are recognized and respected give a lucid presentation of the extent of development. Though there is no political system in the world that allows absolute freedom in terms of allowing citizens do what they like, those states that respect constitutional rights are considered developed. It must be emphasized that virtually all states have entrenched elaborate provisions of fundamental human rights in their ground norms; some

merely copy those rights as contained in the United Nations charter but without respecting and protecting those rights. Thus, political systems that scoff at these rights suppress freedom, arrest and detain people at will, and rule with terror are considered not developed. Conversely, those that respect and enforce these rights are considered developed. Above all, the level of mass mobilization and participation in politics is an eye-serve of development. As noted by Lucian Pye, (1962), political development is concerned primarily with 'the role of the citizenry and new standard of loyalty and involvement.

Socio-cultural Indicators of Development

Development is not exclusively related to the economic and political terrains, but it is also intertwined with socio-cultural factors as well. But given its numerous dimensions and complexities, only the most outstanding ones will be analyzed. They are: The level of social mobilization; The extent of cultural secularization; The prevalence of universalistic norms; and The extent to which recruitments is based on achievement rather than ascription. Okereke and Ekpe, (2002). Using mobilization as a barometer for measuring the level of development Ake, (1979), maintains that, social mobilization implies the strongest feelings of solidarity attached to units. It is assumed that if the level of social mobilization is high, it is an index of development. On the contrary, if social mobilization is fragmented along such units as extended family, the tribe, or ethnic group, village, the caste etc, it is an open testimony to the prevalence of traditionality as against modernity. Cultural secularization is also used to measure the rate of modernization. Secularization here implies, the 'process whereby men become increasingly rational, analytical, and empirical in their political actions'. To Max Weber, therefore, when a society continuously scrutinizes its ways of doing things in terms of their suitability, this is an indication of development. On the other hand, Okereke and Ekpe (2002), hold that, if responses to issues are based on primordial factors rather than rationality, it is seen as a mark of traditionalism. Modern societies are those by which there is in existence universalistic laws which guide human conducts and behaviours but when these laws diffused and are not universally binding, it is a sign of primitivity.

Causes of insecurity in Nigeria

Materialism and Material Inequality: one major challenge of the Nigerian state is emphasis on wealth and power without corresponding required self-discipline, integrity, hard work and accountability which give rise to widespread corruption, fraud and indulgence in armed and violent crimes to acquire wealth and political power, competition and violent conflicts among religious and ethnic groups over the control of government at various levels for selfish appropriation. The growing awareness of inequalities and disparities even amongst government agencies, ministries, commissions, departments and so on and display of affluence amongst the wealthy leads to unholy desire by not only the poor masses but also amongst government workers and this leads to violent relationship among the people. Worst still, lack of political will by government agencies and officials who have responsibility to develop and implement plans and strategies to promote good governance, to deal with criminality, violent ethno-religious conflicts, corruption,

illegal mining and oil bunkering, and other forms of insecurity in Nigeria has generated and promoted insecurity. This lukewarm disposition by government has encouraged and continues to encourage criminal tendencies.

Failure of State Capacity: once the state's capacity to secure itself or to perform in an expected manner recedes, there is every reason to expect disloyalty to the state on the part of the disenchanted and the aggrieved citizens. Logically, many transfer their allegiance to their group leaders, some of whom gravitate towards terrorism in a way to secure communal mandate. Mobilizing support from both external and local supporters, the terrorists seek out havens in the more remote and marginalized corners of failed states where they blend in, more comfortably in the prevailing chaos associated with state failure. It is said, a government that is not ready or cannot cater for the basic welfare of its citizens in turn loses the support of the people, and to that extent not worth dying for. Political exclusion, economic marginalization and social discrimination threaten the security of citizens to such an extent that they could regard the state as the primary threat to their survival. In desperation, and the need for survival, the victimized citizens take the laws into their own hands as a mean of safeguarding their fundamental values from the threat of unacceptable government policies. The people, who believe that the government no longer represents their best interest, seek, by all means, to overthrow it or otherwise establish an alternative state. This is the genesis of agitations for resource control or secession, banditry and kidnapping, and in general term insecurity in the contemporary Nigeria.

So, the decline of the state as the guarantor of peace and protection for human security is serious; its role as the creator of insecurity is even more serious. Under such conditions it is misplaced to transpose the concept of security developed when the state was the protector of security, to the present situation. It is wrong to see security and threat to it from the prism of external enemies of the state. Now it is the internal enemies of the people that matter. That is why Nigerian military that has won international acclaim in warfare now appears to be losing the war on terrorists and bandits because of its passivity. Within the UN, at least, it has virtually become impossible to address security matters without taking account of related questions of human rights and humanitarian affairs. To buttress this point, one will understand that failure of the state has consequently led to failure to maintain professional, well-equipped, effective and accountable security agencies to prevent or control the country's security challenges during their evolution. Culture of impunity was entrenched as political and economic wrong doers are not apprehended and dealt with appropriately.

Proliferation of ethnic militias involved in spreading ethnic intolerance, hatred, and violence. For example, Boko Haram in North-East, Banditry in North-West and Herdsmen and farmers clashes in North-central, reactions from Omotekun, and Oduduwa Peoples' Congress (OPC) in South-West, threats from the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), and so on in South-south, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and South-East

Security Network in South-East, amongst others. This has promoted proliferation of illegal arms and ammunition as result of failure of security architecture to deal with security problems dispassionately. Deriving from the above, Nigerians now appear to be prepared for self-defense at any slightest provocation. Progressive decline in the quality of governance at all levels (Federal, State and Local Government) since the late 1970s led to lack of patriotism, professionalism, justice, capacity and effectiveness in planning, decision-making, and service delivery by all tiers of government.

High Rate of Youth Poverty/Unemployment; widespread poverty and diminishing opportunities coupled with growing disillusionment with the country has led to increasing recruitment and involvement of young persons in economic-related crimes such as cybercrimes – yahoo yahoo, kidnapping and demand for ransom payment, robbery, ethno-religious conflicts, insurgency and terrorism. These has increased the rates of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who are left on their own to struggle for their daily survival as currently being witnessed in Kontagora and environs. The state is secured only when the aggregate of people organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy. Nigeria's unemployment rate increased to 23.9% in 2011 compared with 21.1% in 2010 and 19.7% in 2009 and this has gone worse since 2015 to date. The country has a youth population of 80 million, representing about 60% of the total population with a growth rate of 2.6% per year. The national demography suggests that the youth population remains vibrant with an average annual entrant to the labour force at 1.8 million between 2006 and 2011. In 2011, 37.7% of Nigerians were between 15-24 years and 22.4% of those between ages 25 and 44 were willing to work but did not have jobs. The current level of social insecurity is alarming and unacceptable (National Bureau of Statistics). The UNICEF reports that every day, Nigeria loses about 2,300 under-five years old and 145 women of childbearing age, making the country the second largest contributor to the under-five and mortality rate in the world, (Ewetan, 2014).

Culture of violent and fraudulent elections that produce incompetent, corrupt, unaccountable and non-responsive government that rule without legitimacy but with impunity on one hand and the culture of zero-sum game, the winner takes all approach to politics on the other hand has encouraged and do encourage violent reactions from perceived losers and citizens, including formation of ethnic and religious militias as well as organized criminal groups so as to remain relevant at all cost even if it means to kill and wipe out a whole community so long such pays the disgruntled. On the other hand, Usara and Ogoyi (2019), provide a more electrifying insight to the source of insecurity in Nigeria. To them one factor at the root of most conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria particularly, Northern Nigeria is what could be classified as socio/political-economic issues which have continuously provoked conflicts between the northern minorities and their Hausa/Fulani neighbours. Government and religious leaders frequently appeal to this factor as the principal cause of the many crises that have plagued this part of Nigeria.

Boer (2004a), is 'internal colonialism and indigenesness' (tribal colonialism) as an aspect of the socio-political factor in Nigeria. Tribal colonialism to him refers to the dominance of indigenous minority tribes by the majority. However, Nwaomah (2010) observes that the resurgence of the cultural identity of the minority and indigenous ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria - who now resent... economic and political domination of the Hausa/Fulani, have also contributed to the crises. For example, while offering an explanation on the Zango-Kataf riot years ago, an indigene, Yohanna Madaki, argues that the cause of the riot was socio-political. In his words: "The main issue in this whole crisis is that of oppression. Boer (2004a) quoting Madaki alleges that the issue is that of internal colonialism which is being rejected... 'the outcry against domination is age long and successive governments in the state have done nothing' about it. His voice echoes that of many others who share the same view and the same reason is given as a primary cause for the 1991 Tafawa Balewa riots in Bauchi State and the Plateau riots of 2001, 2002-2004, 2009-2011.

Again, the "indigene and "non-indigene" notion, where a Nigerian is not considered a citizen/indigene of his place of birth but of the tribe of his paternal ancestry and thus denied certain rights in the community of his birth, has played a considerable role in fueling the multi-crises in Nigeria. Commenting on this predicament, the Human Rights Watch (2005) reports on the crisis in Plateau State reveals that 'throughout Nigeria, groups considered "indigenes", or the original inhabitants of an area, are granted certain privileges, including access to government employment, scholarships for State schools, lower school fees, (indigene and non-indigene fee) and political positions. To secure access to these privileges, they have to produce an "indigene certificate" which is granted by the local authorities. "Non-indigenes" or "settlers" are denied these certificates and the accompanying privileges. The definition of the term "indigene" is commonly understood to be based on person's place of origin, but many people born and brought up in a particular area are not accorded the status, even though they may never have lived in any other part of Nigeria.... the concept of "indigeneship" has been exploited by various groups to further their own interests.

There have been several incidences of violence in Nigeria resulting from indigene-settler conflicts. The nature and dimensions of these conflicts have been widely documented by Scholar, Albert and Olarinde, (2010), Jinadu, (2016), Yecho, (2016), and so on. Many of these conflicts manifested in form of religious, political, economic, and ethnicity. Very central to the indigene-settler conflict is ethnicity, (Yecho, 2016). Each ethnic group claim it is the aboriginal of the territory where it is not only dominant but also first arrival. In jos, the Berom consider the Hausa as settlers, in Taraba, the Jukun and Nasarawa see the Tiv as settlers, Egbira in Kogi state treats the Bassa as settlers, in the South-west, the Ife treat the Modakeke as settlers. The list is in exhaustive. Insecurity is caused by human actions and inactions that result in conflicts situation. They include: Struggle(s) over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals and collectivises.

Proliferation of Religious Sects, and Religious Intolerance: The fear of political domination has contributed in no small way to trigger and exacerbate insecurity. Virtually all conflicts in northern Nigeria have been linked to religion. For instance, the Kano, Kaduna, Kontagora, Jos etc riots, are all linked to religion - the fear of Islamization/Christianization of the areas. Gofwen (2004) identifies four reasons that inflame the religious bigotry prevalent in Nigeria. These are:

- (i) The differing political philosophy of the major religions in Nigeria, Islam and Christianity.
- (ii) The mutual suspicions and fear of domination between the two religions.
- (iii) Mutual ignorance of the beliefs and teachings of each other's religion and sometimes even of one's own faith.
- (iv) Provocative acts of pronouncements which hurt the religious sensibilities of people of other faiths, whether they are intended or inadvertent" (p.74).

The above circumstances could lead to misinterpretation of national events and issues. For example, when President Shehu Shagari openly received Pope John Paul II in 1982, some Muslim fundamentalists see such 'fraternization' as a reason to question the 'Muslimness' of President Shagari, claiming that Islam was losing out to Christianity and the President was losing grip of asserting himself as a Muslim leader, much the same way, Christians see the membership of Nigeria to the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) as a threat to the Christendom Kukah (1993). On the background of mutual ignorance and misinterpretation, adherents of either religious group have tended to assert themselves or even to react violently when they felt their religion was threatened or its heritage was being ridiculed. Thus, violent conflicts in which lives were lost and property was destroyed were caused by acts like the misquotation/interpretation of the Quran or the Bible, the construction of a church or mosque, religious assemblies, inciting statements and/or publications and even the protest against alleged prosecutions of religious fellow members in other countries.

Access to Livelihood/Economic Resources is another emergent source of insecurity, especially between the farmers and nomads, and this is common in central Nigeria. For example, the attacks on the Tiv and the Idoma people of Benue State in 2012 and 2013 and 2018 were attributed to this factor. This also goes with quest for traditional chiefdom. For instance, the Katafs of southern Kaduna were for a longtime disillusioned because an Emir was presiding over their affairs. They consistently complained of their subordination to an alien traditional political institution which has often taken critical decision affecting their means of livelihood, while at the same time excluding their own traditional institutions. The Bassa and Egbura communal conflict in Toto and Doma LGAs of Nasarawa state is tied to traditional chiefdom, where the Egbura claim that the Bassa are settlers and as such should not be entitled to any chiefdom. Politicians are often in the habit of fanning the ember of discord each time they lose out or about to lose out in a political contest. They keep alluding to the fact that the so-called outsiders (settlers) would take over their share of the national cake, if they are not prevented from doing so. And the only way to do that is to chase out the settlers using whatever means or restrict them from the

political space. These usually result in violent conflicts that frustrate developmental efforts.

According to Awolowo (1982, cited in Gbenga and Augoye, 2011), insecurity is a result of malignant environment dominated by man's insensitivity to man. Many people in authority take advantage of their positions to force down policies that impoverish 'the many' in so much as it benefits them and a few others. Petroleum subsidy removal is a case in point. All Nigerians (the rich and the poor) use petrol either for generators to power electricity for household uses and factories or farms. All Nigerians travel or transport products including food with fuel powered engines. Those who must drink clean water, provide boreholes for themselves but with fuel. Even the educational institutions need power and power is more readily supplied through generators using diesel or fuel. So, fuel is a product everybody consumes in Nigeria (directly or indirectly). Meanwhile all the refineries in Nigeria are said to be in a state of disrepair and fuel which is a by-product of crude oil (Nigeria's main product) is imported. Raising the cost of a product like fuel has impacted negatively on the welfare of all Nigerians especially the poor and yet, the government cares less about who is affected or not. High handedness or arbitrariness was associated with the military but it is now clear that the problem of Nigeria is not uniform (that is, military rule) but the psychology of Nigerians, because many Nigerians see themselves as adventurers with the business called Nigeria and so are concerned mainly with how much enters their pockets no matter how that happens. (Punch of September 14, 2011).

Achebe has summarized the problems of Nigeria in leadership when he bore his mind on the crisis of development in Nigeria. He opined in the book, *The Trouble with Nigeria* (1983:1) that:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with Nigerian land or climate or water or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenges of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership.

If you observe, the problem of this country is not always from the ordinary people. They are never the problem. They live together in peace. The problem is rather from the elite, the people who think they know better how the country should be run. It is the elite who will tell you how ministers should be appointed to reflect geographical considerations. If you succeed in geographical balancing, then they bring up another distraction.

Ake, (1996) blames the inherited colonial structures on the selfishness and shallowness of the freedom fighters. The association of the nationalists who fought for our independence came together because they only saw a common enemy, the colonial masters as the only obstacles to their development, without any thought on how to galvanize efforts towards having a grasp of governance and to continue to steer the wheel of progress, once the so-called enemies are gone. It was at this point they missed it and messed it. To him, African development in generally, and particularly, Nigeria, has been constituted to prevent the pursuit of development and the emergence

of relevant and effective development paradigms and programs. To Ake therefore, the nationalist movement was essentially a coalition of desperate groups united by their grievances against colonial oppression. It was typically a network of nationalities, ethnic groups, religious organization, syncretistic movements, secondary organizations, and professional interest groups. But even though they cooperated against the colonial regime, their relationship was never free from tension and conflict, right from the Lagos Youth Movement (YM) to Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM), Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) to National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), and even to date.

As the prospect for political independence improved, solidarity of the movement grew weaker and competition between its component units became more intense. Although the members of the groups fought against the colonial power, they worried so much about the enormous power they were trying to wrestle from it, power they could not entrust to any one of them or even share in a way that could reduce political anxiety. So while agitating to overthrow the colonial regime, the constituent elements of the coalition were caught at the crossfire, trying to block one another from appropriating it. Increasingly their attention turned from the colonial regime to one another, and eventually the competition among these groups came to dominate political life, while the colonial power, now resigned to the demise of colonialism, became a referee rather than the opponent. This mistrust among our founding leaders jeopardized so many lives and our common progress. This was exactly what Chinua Achebe (1981) meant when he opined that the problems of Nigeria squarely rest with the crop of leadership that sits at helm of affairs.

Lopsided Nature of the Federal Structure

Sectional bias and structural imbalance of the pre-1966 Nigerian federation partly explain the rationale for military intervention, for the first time, in the political affairs of Nigeria. The concomitant impart of which combined to provide foundation for the crises that led to the Nigerian civil war, the war that retarded the political, economic and religious development of Nigeria but instead produced the kind of system that that hates and persecutes the people who make bold to speak against this biased structure that benefits only a few, (Ogoyi, 2016). There is a hangover effects of this on the economic and political life of Nigeria today. Those who by chance benefit from the bad system perpetuate themselves while those disinherited are bent on pulling down the system and rebuilding a new one that will be all encompassing. The more alienated the people from governance the more the agitation for the restructuring of the corrupt system.

Impact of Insecurity on Nigeria's Development On Education

Insecurity no doubt has been identified as anathema to education and development. Scholars have identified a strong link between security and education. As the neighbourhoods become insecure and schools are looted, destroyed and abandoned, teachers assassinated, scholars threatened, and students recruited as child soldiers, the rate of illiteracy, crime and of course violent conflicts will rise in equal proportion (Hausler, Urban and McCorquodale, 2012) and Abdulasheed, Onuselogu and Obioma, 2015). The 2011 World Bank

Development Report found that people in fragile and conflict-affected states are more than three times as likely to be unable to send their children to school as those in other developing countries.

On Loss of Life and Property

Forty-one (41) years ago, since the dawn of civilization and the awakening and internationalization of fundamental human rights of expression as a result of growth of capitalism, Africa alone in the 20th century has witnessed estimated deaths of over 500 million people, and more than 200 estimated wars conducted in Africa (Offiong 1980). The estimations of this figure 41 years after this assertion would beat our imagination. To Kukah, (2020), successive leaders have vainly tried to rid Nigeria of this culture of deaths on wholesale. Today, our country is littered with the very sharp pieces of broken promises. Yesterday's dreams have become our worst nightmares. As we look back today and watch our country drift in a wide sea of uncertainty, we ask, from where our help come? (Kukah, 2020). There is enough blame to go around. We can blame the British, blame the politicians, and blame the military blame religion, blame the poor masses or even blame the unborn children for coming or not coming when we expected them but none of these changes anything. In spite of huge resources after 60 years, we cannot feed our people, we cannot keep our people safe, we are still in darkness; we cannot communicate with one another by roads or railways and is that nothing to you? The exploitative tendencies of the colonialists did not allow them to do much for Nigeria. Even the little we inherited, we have stolen, broken or thrown away. The nation is now a wasteland littered with white elephant projects, conceived and abandoned but all paid for. In Nigeria, governance is a criminal enterprise not a call to service.

On the Economy

Many firms in different industries have relocated away from Nigeria. Example include Michelin, Dunlop, among several others. Tagba, cited in Gbenga and Augoye, (2011) argued that an insecure environment impinges directly on development; it disenfranchises communities, contributes to poverty, distorts economies, creates instability and stunts political development. In Nigeria, apart from the millions of people who had been killed in course of one security breach or another, sources of livelihood were destroyed, families got disintegrated and social infrastructure were disrupted. Right now, Nigeria is at the brink of collapse and disintegration.

On the Political

Insecurity affects voter turnout in elections. Low voter turn in elections gives the ground for fraudulent individuals to manipulate electoral results to enable their candidates' become winners of elections. Because they lack legitimacy, they are very hostile to constructive criticism. Normally, when this happens, sycophants have got job to do in the act of manipulating and duplicity. The leaders in turn become very repressive and the substance they readily distribute to the mass of the people is poverty, diseases, bad roads, defective service delivery, mismanagement, misappropriation, waste and corruption and so on. At this instance when they perform their constitutional duty the people begin to deify leaders. At this point leaders can afford to award contract to political supporters as reward

and not bother to monitor the execution of such projects. Freedom of speech is restricted in the name of hate speech. These in the long run affect the democratic consolidation of Nigeria.

On Religious Development

Religion emphasizes morality. Moral education aims at promoting moral development and other character formation is the concern of religion. To Koku (2017), moral decadence is linked to lack of commitment to the virtues of character or moral education. The once cherished virtue of contentment, dignity of labour, patience, and respect for public trust and hope of a better future are fast losing sway in Nigeria today. Negligence on the part of the leadership and the followership has propelled us into a very precarious condition where there is no more value placed on the human live. There is wanton destruction of lives and hard earned property of people without restraints. If life continues this way unchecked, in no distance time, the possibility of returning to the state of nature where life was nasty, sordid, brutish and short by Thomas Hobbes is imminent. In recent time, societies are becoming increasingly secular where religion and spirituality are losing their impact (Arthur & Carr, 2013) or are less valued. The technological ramifications are contributing to the complexity and stark changes in the societal structure where religion and spirituality are increasingly becoming marginalized. This will have an overarching effect on morals, values virtues, and society at large. Absence of morality in the system is very dangerous for the survival of the human race. It will be as though we are in the animal kingdom.

Recommendations

- a) In order for sustainable development to be achieved in Nigeria, it is recommended among others that, governments at all levels should ensure that rising poverty indices are reversed and realistic social security programmes are pursued and systematically implemented to ensure that the populace meets their basic needs.
- b) Government should enhance capacities beyond the oil sector to include value creation sectors of the economy such as agriculture, combating corruption, reducing wasteful spending by government, fostering a greater sense of national identity, engaging in national dialogue on national development and security issues, address youth unemployment and making the nation's existing refineries functional.
- c) The three levels of government should ensure that the cost of administration is drastically reduced.
- d) Government should expedite action to provide direct and indirect employment opportunities to the restive and hopeless teeming unemployed youths in the region and the country at large in order to dissuade them from being recruited as militants, armed robbers and terrorists.
- e) Government should as a matter of urgency restructure the current lopsided federal character to capture overarching issues of our federal and democratic practice
- f) The government must provide accessible and quality education especially for the states in the entire country.

Conclusion

The abysmal failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address National security challenges and challenges of sustainable development 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. Insecurity is a factor debilitating the development and continued corporate existence of the Nigerian state. In fact, in the last 10 years, internal conflicts have caused quantum deaths including civilians, military personnel and annihilation basic public services, state institutions and generating extensive poverty among the populace. These challenges have pushed Nigeria to brink of collapsing. The examples of Libya, Egypt, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Darfur, Congo DR and Congo Brazzaville are common place. Nigeria must not be allowed to slide to those conditions, especially, in view of its own experience between 1967 to 1970. Those who are in authority and claim to represent the people should listen and follow the aspiration of the wider majority including deepening democratic processes and experiences.

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