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## INSECURITY AND THREATS TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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### Abstract

*The problem of developmental crisis and sustainable development in Africa which are evident in lack of security activities and leadership failure. The basic thrusts of this paper is to identify the emerging trends of security threats in Africa with a view to diagnosing their causes and assessing their effects on sustainable development and the corporate existence of Africa. To achieve this goal, the paper relies on secondary sources of data. Meanwhile, the study adopted the system failure theory as theoretical framework of analysis. Through a systematic analysis of the available data, the study found that the activities of insurgency, fulani herdsmen, bandit, porous borders, poor governance, corruption, etc. threaten the sustainable development in Africa. In this regard, the study recommends among other things, the constitutional responsibility of the African (Nigerian) police force and other security agencies should be overhauled to contain its presence in remote and rural areas especially those where eruption of violence attacks are common. The paper also points out the difficulties of managing these insurgent, fulani herdsmen and bandit activities created by the porous nature of African (Nigerian) borders and unpreparedness of African (Nigerian) administrative and security mechanism of the country to tackle it. Moreso, we equally posit that the panacea to the disturbing trend of security threats in Africa is employment generation and effective implementation of the sundry poverty alleviation programmes in Africa. However, unless the above mentioned problem is addressed through good governance and equal distribution of national cake or resources, Africa will continue to experience the problems of sustainable development.*

**Keywords:** *Insecurity, conflict, insurgency, poverty, corruption and sustainable development.*

## INTRODUCTION

Going by the present level of killings, kidnappings, armed robbery attacks, bandit, inter-ethnic conflict, human trafficking, religious extremism, ethnic agitations and insurgent, show that insecurity is the major threats to sustainable development in Nigeria as a point of departure. However, the escalation and the trend all point to the fact that no part of Nigeria is any safer than the other part especially after the clash between the Nigerian security men and the MASSOB/IPOB members on 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2020 at Enugu State. In line with this thought, Adediran (2016:P:65), throw more light on the experiences of the IPOB members and the Nigeria military during the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration at Onitsha, imports that:

*The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) members, who had earlier assembled at a school location on Aba Road near Saint Edmunds Catholic Parish Maryland, Nkpor-Agu in Anambra State, resorted to fierce attack against the intervening security agencies that were carrying out their legitimate mandate. "The nature of this attack involved brazen employment of various types of fire arms and all sorts of crude weapons volatile cocktail such as acid and dynamites, "Instructively troops of 82 division, Nigerian Army as the lead agency of the security agencies had to invoke the extant Rules of Engagement (ROE) to resort to self-defense, protection of the strategic Niger bridge, prevent re-enforcement of the pro-Biafra members apparently surging ahead from the far side of the strategic Niger bridge at Onitsha. All these effort were in order to de-escalate the palpable tension as well as ward off the apparent threats to lives and property in the general area.*

From the above background, five (5) members of the IPOB were killed and eight (8) people were wounded. The action of the IPOB members on 25<sup>th</sup> November, 2016 made a lot of revelations and threats to corporate existence of Nigeria as whole. Jerome (2015:P:95) corroborates the foregoing when he avers that:

*The increasing level of violent conflicts across Nigeria under the current democratic regime is no doubt partly a direct consequence of the activities of ethno-communal groups seeking self-determination in their "homeland" and of their surrogate ethnic militias that have assumed prominence since the last quarter of 2000. Their grievances have typically found expression in bitter political complaints, sectarian crises stroked by political elites and incendiary media rhetoric and violent insurgencies.*

In this regard, insurgent groups, Fulani herdsmen farmers clashes, bandit, the agitation in the Niger Delta which started in early 90's, kidnapping and the secessionist agitations in the southeast championed by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) remain major threats to sustainable development. However, successive governments since the inception of fourth republic have demonstrated concerted efforts at curbing the ugly nuisance with no end in sight of the monster. Eze and Agena (2016:P:473), affirm the unfolding scenario in several parts of the country when they said;

*Today, the security situation in Nigeria has taken a more dangerous dimension and what makes it even more disturbing is the unique nature of the security challenges in the various parts of the country. For instance in the South Eastern parts of the country, crimes ranging from armed robbery, kidnapping and oil pipeline vandalism are prominent, in the south-south we have pipeline vandalism, cultism and kidnapping, in the south west armed robbery, hostage taking and vandalism, while in the north there is avalanche of religious fundamentalism and terrorism perpetrated by Boko Haram sect.*

These entire crises in Nigeria occur as a result of insecurity and weak political system or institution which threatened the sustainable development and corporate existence of Nigeria. It is important to clearly state that the postcolonial state in Nigeria laid the foundation for agitations and insecurity especially after amalgamation of northern and southern protectorate in 1914 by Lord Lugard (Shedrack, 2018:P:75). This manifested in 1953 when Chief Anthony Enahoro, a member of Action Group (AG) in the House of Representatives moved motion for self-government in 1956. The northern did not accept the motion. The leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the Saruana of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahamdu Bello in a counter motion replaced the words in 1956 with the phrase "as soon practicable". Another northern member of the House moved a motion for adjournment, a motion which southern members of Action group (AG) and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) viewed as a delay tactics. As a result of motion for adjournment, all the AG and NCNC members in the House walked out from the House, (Shedrack, 2018:P:76). Okpagu (2006:P:777) corroborates this when he observed that:

*The post-colonial state of Nigeria has continued to witness ethno-communal and indeed, ether-communal conflicts some of whose foundations were laid by the dynamics of colonialism. These conflicts have not only contributed to the breakup of some societies, but have also led to serious strained relationship between people who had once lived together peacefully. The reasons for these conflicts vary and a lot of them can be traced to either the desperate nature of some societies which encouraged competitive tendencies among their members or to the process of political modernization that was introduced from the era of colonialism. In the first instance, while some indigenous societies have been able to create imaginative institutions that unite the people together. In others, because of the pluralist characteristic that exists among them, it has been difficult to unite the people together. Hence, the competition for ascendancy among the desperate groups often leads to sustained conflicts (p.777).*

The above premises explain how traditional institutions and colonial masters contributed to security challenges today in Nigeria. The implication of the above observation is that governments at all levels are confused on current security challenges in the country due to lack of corporation among security agencies and the traditional rulers at the grassroots level.

In this regard, this paper therefore examines the implications of insecurity to sustainable development in Nigeria with a view to proposing measures that would enhance the entrenchment of a robust security as a destination for sustainable development and promote

national security in Nigeria. Following this introduction, Part II conceptualizes the keywords such as insecurity, conflict, insurgent, poverty, corruption, and sustainable development. Part III analyzes the theoretical framework by underscoring the situations that created insecurity in Nigeria. Part IV identifies the causes and cases that are threats to sustainable development in Nigeria. Part V analyzes the nexus between the sustainable development and insecurity. Part VI contains conclusions and recommendations.

### **Conceptual Clarifications**

For the purpose of better understanding, it is convenient to explain basic issues underlying this work. However, Sandford and Robert (1976:30) aver that “words mean what you define them to mean”. Consequently we hereby present the operational or contextual connotations of certain concepts used.

### **Insecurity**

The term security simply means freedom from threat, hunger, terror and disease. In line with the foregoing, Buzan (1991:432) defined security as, been taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. Security in the view of Akin (2008) cited Jaja Nwanegbo, Ibrahim Umara and Ikyase John Kennedy, Tersoo (2017) refers to “the situation that exists as a result of the establishment of measures for the protection of persons, information and property against hostile persons, influences and actions”. It is existence of conditions within which people in a society can go about their normal daily activities without any threats to their lives or properties. However, Eme (2011) imports that security embraces all measures designed to protect and safeguard the citizenry and resources of individuals, groups, businesses and the nation against sabotage or violent occurrence. In corroboration, Francis (2006, p.22) cited and Isaac (2017, p.60) asserts that “security is generally about the condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, the defense, protection and preservation of core values, and absence of threats to acquire”.

According to Igbuzor (2011, P:120), Smith (2001, :P:225), Morgethau (1973), Butterfield (1951), Lekibe (1996, P:15-16) and Niebuhr (1947), in their separate postulations, but related studies on security threats or challenges in a country, imports that security demands safety from chronic threats and protection from harmful disruption.

In this regard, security begins at the individual level, community level, societal level, state level and national level. However, security is a joint responsibility of the state and the citizens to secure the society.

From the above background, insecurity simply means the absence of security of lives and property in a society as a whole that threatens the corporate existence and sustainable development. According to Isaac (2017:60) insecurity is the presence of threat or fear from harm and absence of basic human needs which include access to water, food, shelter, health, and employment. Furthermore, Ewetan and Urhie (2014) cited in Isaac (2017 p.60) described insecurity as the absence of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, lack of safety.

However, they equally identified two causes of insecurity which include: Internal and External causes of insecurity. They however focused on the internal security which they identified the causes to include: suspicion and distrust among various ethnic groups and among the major religions, inability of Nigerian leaders to tackle development challenges, distribution of state resources equitably, over-zealousness and desperation of political gladiators to win elections or remain in office at all cost, function of government failure, traceable to systemic and political corruption, cries of resources control and revenue sharing,

inadequate funding of the police and other security agencies, lack of modern equipment both in weaponry and training, poor welfare of security personnel and inadequate personnel, and porous borders.

An essential import of the above is that insecurity hinders sustainable development and threatens corporate existence of any nation. According to Otite (1999:P:490) and Klare (2001:P:35) in their separate postulations but related studies, attributed the recurrent security challenges in the country as a result of country's porous borders which makes it difficult if not impossible to plug the influx of small arms and light weapons that largely fuel the security threats and transnational crimes in the country. Otite further imports that the security challenges and communal violence in the country are product of the prevalence of dominance and subordination which are characteristic of an encapsulation society with competing interest.

Finally, insecurity has to do with any event or actions and inaction that constitute a danger to the safety of the individual, state, sustainable development and corporate existence. It also refers to any action that tends to devalue or undermine the quality of life of the people (Imobighe: 2010, p.44). In this regard, politicians and community leaders fuel insecurity in a country as a result of ethnic politics and winner takes all in governance while loser loses everything including safety of his life.

### **Boko Haram Insurgency**

The emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria can be traced to 1995, when Abubakar Lawan established the Allusunna Wal' jama'ahhijra sect in the university of Maiduguri. Lawan then left the country for studies in Saudi Arabia at the University of Medina and since then nothing was heard about him (Onuoha, 2010). However, the sect gradually developed, spreading to Adamawa, Bauchi, and Yobe, and eventually could be found not only in many parts of northern Nigeria but also in the neighbouring countries of Chad, Cameroon and Niger, etc.

Arising from the origin or background, Boko Haram insurgency was officially formed by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri, Borno state. The sect continued to move about with the slogan that western education and civilization are sinful. He established a religious complex that included a mosque and a school. In this regard, many poor families from north-east (Nigeria) especially Maiduguri which is the main headquarters of Boko Haram in Nigeria and other neighbouring countries like Chad, Mali, Cameroon etc. enrolled their children in the school, which also served as a recruiting center for Jihadis to fight the Nigerian state. In 2004, the leader of Boko Haram, Mr. Yusuf moved to Kanamma, Yobe state and set up a bases called "Afghanistan", where used to attack nearby police outpost, killing police officers. However, the term "Boko Haram" comes from the Hausa word Boko meaning "Animist, western or otherwise non-Islamic education" and the Arabic word Haram figuratively meaning "Sin" (Literally, "forbidden"). This simply means western education is forbidden. The group did only oppose western education, but western culture and modern science as well. The group also had forbidden the wearing of shirts and pants and the act of voting in elections. However, the official name of the group is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awatiwal Jihad which means in Arabic "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and Jihad". It is also known as Boko Haram. According to Onuoha (2013:P:50), the Nigerian Islamist militant group attracted worldwide attention beginning from July 2009, when it staged a violent anti-government uprising that resulted in the death of over 800 people, mostly its members (Onuoha, 2013). As a result of this violent attack on

July 30<sup>th</sup> 2009, Mr. Yusuf Mohammed, the leader of Boko Haram was killed by Nigerian security forces after being taken into custody (Darling, 2011: p.16).

### **Conflict**

Conflict is an active disagreement between people, individuals, groups or countries with opposing opinions, etc. According to Shedrack: (2018 p.60) conflict is an escalation of a disagreement between individuals or groups of people or a clash of ideas, policies and interest between one country to another in order to maintain their position in a global system. The conflict between China and USA is a good example. The conflict between China and India, southern and northern Sudan, Turkey and Syria, etc. is as result of boundary disputes while the conflict between USA and China is a conflict of interest and domination of the global system. However, conflict is part of human life as a result of interaction. In this connection, Chinge Dodo (2019: p. 152), conflict is seen as a normal part of people lives and it is seen as something that will always occur because people are different and have needs at different times. Conflict can be seen as a situation where two or more people in a family, community, organization, state etc. have different beliefs, goals or values.

In line with foregoing, Denga (1990: p.47) avers that man is born in a conflict, and must always look for opportunities to his inherent characteristics. Thus, the inevitable discrepancy between what is needed and what is available must be acknowledged. There is hardly anything like attainment of perfect equilibrium or homeostasis.

It is therefore suffice to say that conflict is inevitable in the society as a result of interaction and human need. In this regard Nwachukwu (1988), cited in Idede, (2004, P:2) posits that if people lived in a perfect world, there would be no need for policemen, nor in fact the armed forces. This imperfection is found in every society or state whether it is a family, a social club, a manufacturing enterprise, or public organization.

According to Tsuwa Valentine, and Kenneth (2015:P:105), conflicts are usually based on issues especially those associated with scarce resources. Conflict is said to be resource based when it is caused by a competition over land or any natural or man-made resources perceived to be scarce. It is political if control of power and authority is the cause of rivalry. Value-based conflicts are those that originate from perceived threat, dignity of human person, faith and belief.

Consequently, Joseph and Omoluren (2017), posits that conflict is a global phenomenon. It is not a preserve of one region, group religion or race.

However, most of the conflict in the middle belt of Nigeria, began as communal conflicts later transformed into religious conflicts like the cases of Zangon Kataf (1987), Tafawa Balewa (1991), Jos (2001), Tiv-Jukun/Fulani conflict (2003), Gwantu conflict (2001) Kaduna conflict (2019), Ezza-Eziluo conflict in Ebonyi state, etc.

Finally, David (2015:P:124), describe conflict as the pursuit of incompatible interest and goals by different groups in the society. According to David, armed conflict is the resort to the use of force and armed violence to the pursuit of incompatible and particular interest and goals.

### **Poverty**

There is no generally acceptable operational definition of what poverty is among the scholars. Poverty means different things to different scholar. It encompasses different aspects of deprivation that relate to human capabilities such as consumption and food security, health,

education, rights, security, dignity, decent employment (Anugwon, 2006, Oshewolo 2010). However, its conceptualization varies based on the fact that it is relative. According to Smeeding (2002:P:85), some scholars view poverty in terms of inefficient income for securing basic goods and services, which others see it as a function of education, health, life expectancy and mortality rate.

According to Ajaiya and Mgbalaji (2004:P:65) defined poverty as lack of insufficient income for securing basic goods and services. This definition limited poverty on the individuals' inability to provide for him and immediate family.

In line with this foregoing, Boltvinik (2000) and Okoh (1998) posit that poverty is a living condition which an entity or individual is faced with some economic, social, political, cultural and environment deprivation such as lack of good food, poor drinking water, low life expectancy, poor health services, general lack of economic infrastructure and lack of active participation in the decision making process either as it affects the individual or a nation as a whole. Poverty simply means the state of being extremely poor in the society. When we describe someone as poor, it means the person is not able to afford basic need of life.

Based on various postulations made by scholars in regard of poverty, it is difficult if not impossible to simply outline definite causes of poverty since one situation leads to another. Poverty begets hunger, disease, illiteracy, low life span as there is high infant and material mortality rate, poor medical care and poor standard of living. Poverty and corruption is the main driving force of global agitations especially in third world countries. The case of Mali, Egypt, Libya, Israel, Iraq, Cameroon, and Democratic Republic of Congo are good example. According to Davis (1959), an individual who lacks certain goods and opportunities will have a sense of injustice whenever he feels that others have those goods and opportunities. The above submission is the push and pull factor uprising and political change in some country.

## **CORRUPTION**

Corruption in the literature has been widely contested by various scholars because of country peculiarities and value-orientation embedded in the concept. According to Morris (1991), corruption is a form of dishonesty undertaken by a person entrusted with a position of authority often to acquire personal benefit. Corruption may include many activities including bribery and embezzlement, though it may also involve practices that are legal in many countries. Morris further defined political corruption as the illegitimate use of Public Power to benefit a private interest. Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs (Legvoid Robert, 2009). It is the misuse of public power by elected politician or appointed civil servant for private gain. It equally means the misuse of entrusted power by heritage, education, marriage, election, appointment or whatever else for private gain (Huntington, 2014).

In this regard, Rose (1978) viewed corruption as:

*Payment that are illegally made to public agents with the goal of obtaining a benefit or avoiding a cost. Such payments are not merely transfer. They affect the behaviour of both payers and recipients.*

Rose further observes that:

*Different societies draw the line between legal gifts and illegal pay offs at different points. In thinking about where to draw that Line: one must ask whether payments to agents advance or undermine public goals.*

The above is the critical element in determining what constitutes corruption. How a society is organized or disorganized will go a long way in explaining whether corruption succeeds and the degree of pervasiveness. In any case, the important point is that each society must define legally what constitutes a corrupt practice or behaviour and devise ways of sanctioning it. This is not very easy since the dynamics of corruption keeps changing not only from one society to the other but also from the historical epoch to another. For instance, the way corruption is perceived in Nigeria in the 1960s may be completely different from the way it is perceived presently (Nwoye, 2001:67). In his own explanation of corruption, Ake (1993:240) posits that the post-colonial state in Africa is weak, crisis ridden and non-autonomies. Consequently, politics becomes a kind of crude and relentless fight to gain access to state power and the spoils it offers. In this regard, Ake sees corruption as originating from the inherent weakness of the state to mediate competing social forces. On the contrary, the state itself becomes an arena for political and ethnic conflict, rather than an impersonal institution capable of standing above and managing the incessant power struggle.

To buttress this point, we present below the table and data therein.

Names of depositors	London	Switzerland	USA	Germany
Ibrahim Babangida	£6.251b	S. 7.41b	\$ 2.00b	DM. 9.00b
Adbulsalam Abubakar	£1 . 316b	S. 2.33b	\$ 800m	–
Real A. Mike Akhigbe	£1 .24b	S. 2.42m	\$ 671m	DM 1b
Gen. Jerry Useni	£3.04b	S. 2.01b	\$ 1.016	DM. 900 m
Alhaji Ismaila Gwarzo	£1.03b	S. 2.00b	\$ 1.30b	DM. 700 m
Alhaji Umaru Dikko	£4.5b	S1.4b	\$ 700m	DM. 345 m
Paul Ogwuma	£300m	S 1.142b	\$ 200m	DM. 500m
Gen. Sam Abacha	£5.016	S. 4.09b	\$ 800m	DM. 3.01m
Mohammed Abacha	£300m	S 1.2b	\$ 150	DM. 535m
Abdulkadir Abacha	£700m	S. 1.21b	S. 900m	DM. 471 m
Alhaji Wada Nas	£600m	S. 1.32b	-	DM. 300m
Tom Ikimi	£400m	S 1.39b	\$153n	DM. 371m
Dan Etete	£1.12b	S. 1.03b	\$ 400m	DM. 1.72m
Don Etiebet	£2.5b	S 1.06b	\$ 700m	DM. 361m
Maj. Al-Mustapha	£600m	S 1.001b	\$ -	DM. 210m
Anthony Ani	£2.9b	S 1.09b	\$ 360m	DM. 1.66b
Bashir Dulhatu	£2.3b	S 1.001b	\$ 161m	DM. 1.43b
Gen. Wushishi	£700m	S 1.301b	\$ -	DM -
Hassan Adamu	£300m	S 200m	\$ 700m	DM -
T. Y. Danjuma	£1.36b	S 1.02b	\$ 300m	DM 190m
Gen. Ishaya Bamaiyi	£120m	S 800m	\$ -	DM -

### **Individual Profile in Naira**

Ibrahim B. Babangida	N2462.35 billion
A. Abubakar	N0493.85 billion
Mike Akhigbe	N549.645 billion
Jerry (Randy) Useni	N805.9 billion
Ismaila Gwarazo	N517.0 billion
Umaru Dikko	N894.65 billion
Paul Ogwuma	N35.00 billion
Sani Abacha	N1218.137 billion
Mohammed Abacha	N210.7 billion
Abdulkadir Abacha	N338.42 billion
Wadu Nas	N252.553 billion
Tom Ikimi	N237.4 billion
Dan Etete	N327.4 3 billion
Don Etiebet	N567.47 billion
Al-Mustapha	N199.793 billion
Anthony Ani	N688.95 billion
Bashir Dlhatur	N555.49 billion
Gen. Wushishi	N228.695 billion
Hassan Adamu	N342.7 billion
Ishaya Bamaiyi	N94.0 billion
<b>Total</b>	<b>N11.130657 Trillion</b>

**Source: London Times. July 15, 1999. Vol. 131. No. 4**

From this data above, Nigeria should have been one of the leading developed countries of the World.

### **THE EFFECTS OF CORRUPTION ON NIGERIA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

- a. Resource Mismanagement, Misapplication and Diversion:** Corruption in Nigeria has led to severe mismanagement, misapplication and diversion of funds. For example, it is no longer news that past administration under Obasanjo (1999-2007) diverted 160 billion dollars that are meant for power sector into foreign accounts. Another example of white elephant projects are, the Ajaokuta Steel Project, the Delta Steel Project, the Aluminum Smelting Project at Ikot Abasi, the defence industries corporation at Kaduna, etc. The Various Non-functional River Basin Development Projects and other numerous abandoned and poorly managed projects.
- b. Increases the Cost of doing Business:** Corruption add enormous cost to business transactions into so many ways. According to the Transparency International (T.I, 1997), the cost of doing business in most African countries are incredibly high except in few countries like South African, Swaziland, Namibia, Lesotho and Botswana. In other Sub-saharan African countries, these costs can rise up to five times when compared to other developing regions of the world. These costs may include various dubious demands and fees paid by both foreign and local businessmen in term of documentation and registrations, to the numerous agents of the state. In this regard, foreign investors are forced to explore other conducive regions where there is

credible, transparent, efficient and reliable institution capable of meeting international standards of business practice.

- c. **Distorts and Perverts Legal and Administrative Rules and Procedure:** Corruption Hamper legal and administrative rules in Nigeria. For instance, government may change rules overnight to achieve desired benefits and there is no guarantee that it will work in an impartial and effective manner. It is also well known that Judges and other top public servants have been compelled to pervert the course of equity and justice in order to favour politicians. Furthermore, the Federal, State and Local agencies and parastatals have been subjected to all sorts of manipulations and abuse as a result of inconsistencies in the interpretation and implementation of rules and regulations governing their operations.
- d. **Low International Esteem and Confidence:** Corruption undermined international confidence and reduced the continent to a pariah status. Taking the case of Nigeria, the country's external image particularly in the area of transparency leaves much to be desired. According to Nwoye (2001), there is no genuine investor that will want to invest in the country without being apprehensive about internal security and various fraudulent practices that are widespread. This is clearly reflected in the Pius Okigbo report submitted on the central Bank and also the various reports on NUPC, Power, NITEL, NIPOST and other national institutions.
- e. **Impedes Democratic Aspirations and Popular Participation:** Corruption acts as a serious impediment to the development of genuine democratic aspirations, popular participation and consensus-building. It discourages effective citizen participation, mass empowerment and the formation of grass root organizations. This is because it steadily attenuates civil society. Without a vibrant and enlightened civil society, there can be no genuine democracy nor can there be enduring economic prosperity.

### **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

It is concrete fact that, the concept of development is relative because what is perceived as development by a group of people, society or nation varies from the other. In this regards, development entails so many things as the subject of development is multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary (Alanana, 2006:p.40). The Bruntland Commission (1987) defined Sustainable Development as the development that meets the needs of present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. However, Munasinge (2004:p.85) perceived Sustainable Development as a process of improving the range of opportunities that will enable individual human and communities to achieve their aspirations and full potentials over sustained period of time while maintaining the resilience of economic, social and environmental systems. Based on that, Age (2005:p.90) identified some objectives which sustainable development is expected to realize: increase capital income and employment, promoting human welfare, satisfying basic human needs and protecting the environment.

From the foregoing, it can be vividly understand that, the attainment of sustainable development in Nigeria is something that is of paramount importance and it can also be achieved through the exercise of good and dynamic leadership qualities such as intelligence, hard work, justice and fairness, honesty, good example firmness, resourcefulness, democracy, tolerance self-confidence, charisma, etc, as well as equal opportunities and co-operation among ethnic groups in Nigeria.

## **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Several theories have been analyzed by different scholars to explain the causes of insecurity in Nigeria system. They include structural functionalism theory (Augusto Comte, 1798 – 1959, Herbert Spencer, 1920 – 1903, Emile Durkheim, 1902 – 1979), (Karl Marx, 1843, Claude Ake, 1981, Bade, 1973, Aja Akpuru Aja, 1998), relative deprivation by (Davis, 1959, Gurr, 1970, Nage, 1974), frustration aggression theory (Dollard, 1939), Natural state theory (Ahmad, 1941, Ross, 1937, Copestone, 1946), etc.

In this regard, all the theories mentioned above have provided insight into the existence of the insecurity globally, particularly in third world countries but are inadequate to explain their persistence in spite of strategic measures exerted by government to curb the menace. This ugly situation has made us to adopt system theory as a suitable framework of analysis because of its ability to cover gaps in the existing literature and extant measures of tackling insecurity in Nigeria. The term system theory or General System Theory (GST) was developed by Ludwig Von Bertalanffy in 1968 as a response to the increasing fragmentation and duplication of scientific and technological research and decision making in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The other proponent of the system theory are Talcott Parson (1937), David Easton (1953), Kenneth Boulding (1956), Oran Young (1968), Karl Deutach (1963), Rapport Anatol (1968), David Ginger (1972), George Modesk (1970) etc. The concept of system theory did not own its origin to Political Science but was developed in biology by Ludwig Von Bertalanffy in 1968, who was regarded as the father of the General System Theory as an earlier noted and made operational in the social sciences of discipline such as Anthropology, sociology, etc (Talcott Parsons, 1937).

Consequently, David Easton in 1953 was the first scholar to apply the system theory to the activities of people, especially in politics to explain what happens in political system and a elaborated his conception in 1965 in his two work; A framework for political analysis and a system analysis of political life. A system according to Leeds (1981:p:85) is a grouping of separate but interdependent parts which form a complex whole to achieve some objective. Ludwig Bertalanffy (1968) defined system as a complex of element standing in interaction. Moreso, Nwosu and Ofoegbu (1980:p:.85) defined systems as an organized whole in dynamic interaction. According to Okere (2003:p:84), system theory is a series of statements about relationships among independent and deponent variable in which changes in one or more variable are accompanied or followed by changes in other variable or lightly organized. For instance, change in global system affect continental level, regional level and the national level. Although the change may be stable or unstable. However, the basic assumption of system theory as developed by David Easton in 1965 cited in Emmanuel Iheanacho (2018:P:232) are following: -

1. Changes in the social or physical environment surrounding a political system produce “demands” and supports for action or status quo, directed as “inputs” towards the political system through political behaviour.
2. These demands and supporting groups stimulate competition in the political system, leading to decisions or “outputs” directed at some aspect of the surrounding social or political environment.
3. After a decision or output is made (e.g specific policy), it interact with its environment and if it produces change in the environment, there is “outcome”.
4. When a new policy interacts with its environment “outcomes” may generate new demands or support and groups in support or against the policy (feedback) or a new policy on some related matter.

5. Feedback leads back to step 1. Forming a never-ending cycle (system theory in political Science).

Furthermore, on the basic assumption of system theory, Akena (2003:p:122) imports that the inputs which emanate from the environment of the political system includes those demands made upon the system in the form of the people demanding for better standards of living, increased pay package for workers, provision of infrastructural facilities and the respect for the fundamental rights of the citizens. The system equally needed support from the environment such as payment of taxes by the people, talking up appointments to serve in positions in government, etc.

Another attributes of David Easton's system's model is output which emanates from the system to the environment comes in form of decisions and actions such as rules, regulations, legal system, administrative, decisions and actions. Finally feedback is the channeling of information about societal reactions to decisions emanating from the system. The net result of the feedback will show whether the system is dysfunctional or eu-functional. This means that if the system is functioning effectively and responding to demands and input in the environment, there will be stability and development in the political system. The failure of the political system to address the demand from the environment will result in breakdown in the system, thereby making the political system to be dysfunctional.

### **APPLICATION OF THE THEORY**

Against this background, this theory is applicable to the study because of the challenges the Nigerian government encounters in achieving security and protection of life and property across the country. This occurs as a result of the inability of the political system to respond to the demands and input in the environment. In this regard, the inability of the Nigerian government to respond to the demand in order to address the security challenges across the country such as Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, kidnapping, human trafficking, smuggling of illegal goods, etc militate against stability of the Nigerian political system. According to Sara (2008:P:210) insecurity occurs in countries facing severe developmental crisis or challenges such as weak institutional capacity, poor governance, political instability, unemployment, poverty and low level of economic development. However, the inability to handle the situations of insecurity in Nigeria has been attributed extensively to the failure of the state to coordinate itself and meet up with its basic responsibility of protecting the citizens. According to Zartman (1999:P: 20), insecurity occurs when the basic functions of the state are no longer performed and where the institutions of the state such as authority, law and order have been substantially weakened and challenged. A state comes into being by its ability to guarantee the security and well-being of its citizens, protect the territorial integrity of the state and relate with others in the comity of nations.

### **CAUSES AND CASES OF SECURITY THREATS IN NIGERIA**

#### **Kano Riot of 1953**

Threat of security and secession in Nigeria started in 1914 after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate by Lord Lugard and the subsequent division of the country into three unequal by Arthur Richard Constitution in 1946 by making Northern region larger than Western and Eastern region put together (Adigwe, 1974:P:35). However, this manifested and played in 1953 when Chief Anthony Enahoro tabled a motion in the House of Representatives for self-government for Nigeria in 1956.

As a result, the leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the Sarduna of Sokoto, Alhaji Almadu Bello in accouter motion replaced the words in 1956 with the phrase "as

soon as practice able”. Another Northern member of NPC called for adjournment which made the Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) members stage walkout as a result of adjournment motion. The Kano riot started when Chief S. L. Akintola led AG and NCNC tour which was aimed at campaigning for self-government in 1956. According to Shedrack, 2018:P:217), the riot that lasted for four days claimed 2 lives of the Southern especially Igbos and 15 Northern as well 241 people were wounded.

The above scenario created security threats across the country, when the session of Northern House of Assembly and House of Chiefs released an eight point programme which if it had been implemented would have led to the secession of North from Nigeria.

Below is the eight point programme released by the Northern House of Assembly and House of Chiefs in May, 1953 are following: -

1. This Region shall have complete legislative and executive autonomy with respect to all matters except the following: defence, external affairs, customs and West African research institution.
2. There shall be no central legislative body and no central executive or policy making body for the whole of Nigeria.
3. There shall be central agency for all regions which will be responsible for the matters mentioned in paragraph 1 and other matters delegated to it by a region.
4. The central agency shall be at a neutral place, preferably Lagos.
5. The composition and responsibility of the central agency shall be defined by the order in-council establishing the constitutional arrangement. The agency shall be a non-political body.
6. The services of the railway, air services, post and telegraphs, electricity and coal mining shall be organized on an inter-regional basis and shall be administered by public corporations. These corporations shall be independent bodies covered by the statute under which they are created. The board of the coal corporation shall be composed of experts with a minority representation of the regional government.
7. All revenue shall be levied and collected by the regional government, except customs revenue, at the port of discharge by the central agency and paid to its treasury. The administration of the customs shall be so organized as to assure that goods consigned to the region are separately cleared and charged to duty.
8. Each region shall have a separate public service.

What we learned from these sad incidents that strained relationship between the Northern and Southern leader over the issue of self-government in 1956, is that Kano riot of 1953 was the first attempt of secession, which threatens the corporate existence of Nigeria, security apparatus and sustainable development as well. However, the second attempt of secession which led to threats to security and corporate existence of the entity called Nigeria, as a result of proposal to separate Lagos from Western Region which the Egbe Omo Oduduwa rejected in its October 1954 meeting almost made the Yoruba to Secede. The secession threat that was carried out was that of the Igbos and that led to the 30 months civil were threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria and sustainable development.

### **FULANI HERDSMEN AND FARMERS CONFLICT IN NIGERIA**

Herders simply means Community of migrant livestock attendant, who are engaged in mobile pastoralist while farmers are Community of crop cultivators who are engaged in subsistence and semi-commercial agriculture (Abubakar Mamuda, Okpeh O. Okpeh, Alchukwuma Okoli & Stephen Nnaemeka 2018:P:196). They further imports that most herders in Nigeria are of the nomadic Fulani clan. In this regard, Fulani is an ethnic group of the West African

Savanah. Some of them live in towns and cities, and are engaged in famine and trading but majority of them are cattle herders or animal rearing. Fulani conquered a greater part of the Northern Nigeria between 1804 and 1810 through jihads war (Horton, 1972, Adeleye, 1971, Last, 1967) cited in Jaja, Ibrahim et al (2017:P:210).

Against this backdrop, the conquering gives birth to violent conflict between nomadic herders and farmers especially in North Central and has escalated to six geo-political zones, threatening the country's security and corporate existence. According to Abubakar, Okpeh et al (2017:P:195), 2,500 people were killed in 2016 alone in clashes between Herders and farmers. Olaniyan, Francis & Okeke, Uzodike, 2015:P:45) attributed the clashes between the herders and farmers to the competitive use of land and water, obstruction of traditional migration routes, livestock theft and crop damage.

The absence of mutually accepted mediation mechanisms of these disagreements have over time, turned to violet, assuming the scale of organized militancy (IEP, 2014). Consequently, whichever way one looks at clashes between the herders and farmers, the situation has led to unimaginable destruction. The table bellows the recorded number of persons killed as a result of the clashes between herders and farmer in Nigeria.

From the above table, it is clear that the situation calls for an urgent attention to address the problems of security challenges which threats sustainable development and national security in Nigeria.

**Fulani Herdsmen: Catalogues of attacks in the North Central Nigeria**

State	Year, Month & Day	No of Lives Lost	No of Burnt Houses	Sources
Nasarawa	2013/08/01	16	37	News Byte
Nasarawa	2013/07/07	03	16	Flash newsniger.hotspot.com
Benue	2013/07/08	34	86	The Vanguard
Benue	2013/05/23	76	44	Daily Post
Benue	2013/06/02	28	66	Thisday Newspaper
Plateau	2013/06/08	16	14	The Nigerian Tributes
Plateau	2013/06/03	03	22	The Punch
Plateau	2013/09/03	12	17	The Nigerian News word
Benue	2013/01/01	16	24	News Byte
Plateau	2014/06/08	08	11	The Nations
Nasarawa	2012/11/18	16	08	The Vanguard
Nasarawa	2013/06/03	12	06	The Premium Times
Benue	2013/04/20	19	07	The Sun Newspaper
Benue	2013/06/02	20	15	Thisday Newspaper
Benue	201/08/16	18	20	The Punch
Plateau	2015/10/06	11	04	Thisday Newspaper
Benue/Agatu	2016/08/14	38	19	Daily Post
Adamawa	2017/10/11	64	32	The Punch

**Sources:** Nigerian Newspapers online (2012 – 2017)

**Poverty**

Poverty is the main causes of insecurity in Nigeria due to absence of jobs, lack of social infrastructures; bad governance, corruption etc. push youths into kidnapping. For ransom, armed robber, human trafficking and smuggling. According to David (1959:P:30), an

individual who lacks certain goods and opportunities will have a sense of injustice whenever he or she feels that others have those goods and opportunities. However, the inability of the state or government to deliver or provide basic, social and infrastructural services has compounds the situation of insecurity to citizens (Ikyase:2014:P:48). Furthermore on poverty as the main factor driving insecurity in Nigeria, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on human development report in 2002 ranked Nigeria as the 26<sup>th</sup> poorest Nation in the world on a list of 177 countries, Nigeria was ranked 159 behind Rwanda a poor country that has suffered one of the worst tragedies in human history (Nwoye:2000:P:68).

Nwoye further imports that the World Bank assessment of poverty in Nigeria indicates that Nigeria falls within countries with extreme poverty with over 70% of the population live below 1.25 dollars (N200) or less per days and that 7% of the 1.2 billion people living below the poverty line in the world are Nigerians.

However in 1960, only 15% of the Nigerian population was considered poor. Barely 20 years later, the percentage increased to 28% and in 1985, it jumped to 46% by 1996, at least 73 million Nigerians (i.e 45%), out of a population of 110 million, were classified as poor. In 2003, 80 million Nigerians, out of about 120 million, lived below poverty line of one dollar per day (Nwoye, 2005:P:71). In 2006, UNDP rated Nigeria among the 20 poorest Nations in the world.

Against this backdrop, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2020 released a damnable report on the level of poverty in Nigeria. According to NBS, 82.9 million or 46% Nigerians are poor, out of estimated 200 million populations. To buttress the above submission, the NBS poverty headcount rates by States in Nigeria are presented in the table below: -

S/N	STATES	PERCENTAGES (FIGURES)
1	Abia State	30.67%
2	Adamawa State	75.41%
3	Akwa-Ibom State	26.82%
4	Anambra State	14.78%
5	Bauchi State	61.54%
6	Bayelsa State	22.61%
7	Benue State	32.90%
8	Borno State	-
9	Cross River State	36.29%
10	Delta State	6.02%
11	Ebonyi State	79.76%
12	Edo State	11.99%
13	Ekiti State	28.04%
14	Enugu State	58.13%
15	Imo State	86%
16	Jigawa State	87.02%
17	Kaduna State	43.48%
18	Kebbi State	50.17%
19	Kogi State	28.51%
20	Kwara State	20.35%
21	Lagos State	4.50%
22	Nassarawa State	57.30%

23	Niger State	66.11%
24	Ogun State	9.32%
25	Osun State	8.52%
26	Plateau State	55.05%
27	Sokoto State	87.73%
28	Taraba State	87.72%
29	Yobe State	72.34%
30	Zamfara State	73.98%
31	FCT, Abuja	38.66%

**Source:** National Bureau of Statistics, May 5, 2020.

From the table above, Sokoto State has highest poverty rate in Nigeria with 87.73% followed by Taraba State with 87.72% while Lagos State according to the table has the least poverty rate with 4.02%. However, it is important to note that Borno State was excluded by NBS poverty head-count rate because of insurgency. Figures show that poverty is main divine force of insecurity in Nigeria as a whole due to lack of jobs and opportunities.

### **ETHNO RELIGION AND BOUNDARY CONFLICT**

Nigeria is made up of many ethnic and religion groups. However, this multi-ethnic and multi-religion nature gave rise to the introduction of federalism in the country by John Macpherson constitution of 1951. Since the inception of Nigeria in 1960, there has been rivalry among the different ethnic groups especially the major ethnic groups of Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba. According to Shedrack (2018:P:216), the major issues that brought about this problem was the question of leadership of the country (Political Power). Shedrack further imports that none of the three major ethnic groups wanted to concede the leadership of the country to the other group due to regionalization of political parties among the leaders of the regions especially during the first Republic. The problem started after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914 by Lord Lugard who failed to consider the issue of cultural differences of various ethnic groups before lumping them together. To buttress this point, Ibrahim and Igbouzor (2002), Hazen & Horner, (2007), Salawu (2010) & Igbuzor, (2011) have identified ethno-religious conflict as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. Furthermore, Ibrahim and Igbuzor (2002) avers that ethno-religious crisis emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identify often structured around ethno-religious identities.

On the other hand, boundary conflict among the component units occurs as a result of creation of new States in a country. The agitation for the creation of more States in the country has not solve the problem of inter-ethnic rivalry, but rather led to clashes among the States (Shedrack, 2018, P:216). However, such clashes had led to the death of many innocent citizens in the country. For example, the boundary dispute between Ebonyi and Cross River State, Anambra and Kogi State, Oyo and Osun State, Nassarawa and Plateau State, Enugu and Benue State, etc. causes security threats and sustainable development in Nigeria.

### **KIDNAPPING**

Kidnapping is not a new phenomenon in a global system but it was introduced in Nigeria by the Niger – Delta militant against expatriate oil workers in the region. The main purpose is to extract ransom for the hostage’s freedom. However, the trend has spread to six geo-political zones of the country, with Abuja – Kaduna road as a main headquarters of kidnappers. For instance, from 2007 to 2013, a total of 3,201 kidnappings have taken place in Nigeria (Achumbu, Igbomereho & Akpan – Roharo, 2013). According to Dilichukwu Omemma

(2017:P:133) cited in (Global Terrorism Index, 2015) imports that Nigeria has witness a total of forty (40) high profiled kidnap cases. In 2011 and 2012, a total of 500 and 475 kidnapping incidences respectively occurred in Nigeria.

Against the backdrop, kidnapping pose threats to security and sustainable development in Nigeria as a result of insecurity of life and property. It also discourages foreign investors from coming to Nigeria to invest due to insecurity.

### **POLITICS OF ZERO-SUM GAME AND POLITICAL INTOLERANCE**

Politics of zero-sum game and political intolerance is another cause of insecurity and hindrance to sustainable development. In Africa, Nigeria inclusive, politics is a zero-sum game. In this regard, the winner wins everything while the loser losses completely. Even the safety of his life is not guaranteed by the security agent. As a result of this ugly development, it is therefore important to win at all cost irrespective of the heap of skulls and broken bones that litter the ground as monuments to that victory (Steve Egbo, 2002:P:176). However, Nigeria politicians, whether in uniform or mufti, is the most intolerant all over the world. Peace accord before the election is a signs and signals of intolerance among politicians in Nigeria. Recent coup in Mali is more peaceful than governorship election in Nigeria.

Political office in Nigeria is seen, not as a means to the end, but as the end itself. The struggle for political office among different ethnic groups is characterized by blood-letting and disregard for all norms of civilized behaviour. Steve (2002, P:176), further imports that the problems of intolerance in Nigeria's political game plan has created a culture to feudal arrogance and brutality in the system, which contributed to the security challenges..

### **THE NEXUS BETWEEN INSECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

Insecurity is the main threats to sustainable development in Nigeria due to ethno-religion conflict, boundary dispute among the component units, kidnapping, pervasive corruption, lack of jobs opportunities, etc as earlier noted. Giving credence to this observation, various United Nations Conferences on sustainable development in Africa have consistently emphasized the need for honest and dedicated leadership that will rise above selfish and primordial desires in order to address the security challenges facing the continent (Nwoye, 2000, P:65). No country can function effectively in terms of development without adequate security at all levels in the country. In this regard, Ake (1989, P:49) on the effect of insecurity on sustainable development assert that the circumstances of our history (Colonialism) have conspired to produce an elite which cannot function in terms of security because it has no sense of identity or integrity and no confidence, does not know where it is coming from or where it is going.

In the light of the above assertion, it is obvious that colonialism contributed to the problem of insecurity in Nigeria through introduction of Divide and Rule Policy after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914 by Lord Lugard. According to Okolo (1993:P:708) a country does not become truly independent merely because an imperialist power confers sovereignty on it, and even if it is admitted to membership of the United Nations. Even though it may surrender power, the imperialist country is able to retain its ultimate control by other means. These may be economic, military or cultural or a combination of all three. The interference from the formal colonial masters either direct or indirect affects the States security in Africa.

Jinadeu (2007:P:11), attributed the security challenges and sustainable development to the nature and character of the Nigerian State. Rightly observes that:

*The State and the Institutions are ethicized and immersed in clientelist ethnic and religious networks and in ethic/religions based struggle to implant and entrench ethnic or religious gatekeepers in critical, key positions in the bureaucracy and educational institutions and in other public sector institution, and even in the private sector.*

The main implication of the above statement is that the State and its institutions have become immersed in clientelist ethnic, religious and other patronage networks, it inevitably loses the capacity and impartiality critical for effective mediation and moderation of conflicts in the society, including religious and ethnic base conflicts (Falola, 1998, P:53). Nigeria society is characterized by widespread insecurity of life and property, lawlessness and arbitrariness and the political space permanently overheated with no credible order of succession, no credible election, no credible party, no credible mechanism for effective change of political guard and no credible and effective alternative. The crisis of democratic governance in Nigeria is also the crisis of core values. In the absence of normalized order, political disorder in the order (Nwoye, 2004:P:130) cited in (Adebayo Williams, 2000).

In the same vein, Jerome (2014:P:100) attributed the security challenges to the failure of Nigerian State's security architecture in curbing the activities of Boko Haram, Kidnapping, Banditry, cattle rustling and Fulani Herders conflict, etc from inception to several factors which include but not limited to the following: security sector corruption and mismanagement of funds, ill-equipped, ill-trained and ill-motivated military, equipment failure and lack of cooperation with international forces and the lie, despite huge government's funding in this regard. Jerome further imports that Federal Government spent \$470 million dollars on CCTV cameras in Abuja metropolis initiated by the late Yar'Adua's administration yet the project was poorly executed by the Chinese ZTE Corporation. Against this backdrop, the Nigerian army allocated a huge budgetary provision of \$5.8 billion dollars with little or nothing to show as achievements in the area of security of lives and property, especially in the Boko Haram ridden States, such as Borno, Yobe, Adamawa States, etc.

In this regard, corruption is the main challenge to security problem that has led to severe mismanagement, misapplication and diversion of funds. Corruption in Nigeria has become part and parcel of most government which has systematically undermined international confidence and reduced the continent Nigeria inclusive to a pariah status.

However, cattle rustling as earlier noted as the problem of sustainable development in Nigeria simply means the practice of stealing cattle and animals from herders, or the raiding of cattle from the ranches. Egwu (2015,:P67) indicate the trick-down effects of cattle rustling and the hostilities it brings to the security and sustainable development in Nigeria. According to Egwu, cattle rustling and rural banditry appear to be tied to the incessant conflict between Fulani herdsmen and crop farmers. The conflict may be connected to the wider context of identity politics and intergroup relations, including relationships between pastoralist groups on the one hand and the Nigerian State system on the other. Trans-human pastoralists are perceived as violent and deliberately armed to deal with unsuspecting crop farmers: the farmers allege intentional crop damage by animals. The herder on the other hand, perceives themselves to be victims of political marginalization lacking a voice within the Nigerian State system. The exclusion of nomadic Fulani herders from the policy process and their lack of voice is so acute that the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBA), an urban-based Fulani pressure group, stands as the only known civic group that engages in policy advocacy on their behalf.

However, the implication of the above submission and other ethnic agitations such as Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), which was declared the terrorist organization on Friday September 15, 2017 by Nigeria Military, can be attributed to the leadership failure in the country. It is our contention that the leadership failure, marginalization of some ethnic groups and pervasive corruption especially contributed to the problem of sustainable development in Nigeria. It was Chinua Achebe who rightly observed that the problem of Nigeria and indeed other Africa countries are essentially the problem of leadership. It is obvious that poverty of leadership which gave birth to security challenges in the country has been the bane of successive regimes over the past five decades. This has resulted in chronic lack of vision as well as the collapse of hope for Nigeria.

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

From the foregoing analysis, we have x-ray insecurity as a threats to sustainable development in Nigeria due to increase terrorist attacks, ethno-religious conflicts, herders and farmers clash or cattle rustling, agitations, kidnapping, etc. The problem of insecurity is attributed to the leadership failure and “political will” to address the causes, actions and inactions that are threat s to security in Nigeria. Although, several measures have put in place by Nigerian government to address the problem of insecurity but it has not achieved desired result. Based on the above submission, the following recommendations would help to address the problems of insecurity and threats to sustainable development in Nigeria and consequently accelerate economic, social and political development of the country as a whole.

- **True Federation:** Nigeria should adopt true federation where all the states in the country will have the power to control resources within their jurisdiction and pay tax to the federal government. This will address the agitations among ethnic groups, ethno-religious conflict, marginalization etc.
- **Implementation of 2014 National Conference Report:** It was the failure of General Gowon to implement the Aburi Agreement that led Nigeria into civil war from 1967 to 1970. On coming back to Nigeria, Gowon was advised to denounce the agreement due to divergent interpretations given to the meeting. However, the implementation of 2014 reports will address the problems of insecurity and agitations among various ethnic groups in Nigeria.
- **Appointment into Government Agencies:** All political appointments should be made to promote unity and ensure stability in the country. President Buhari appointments contribute to current agitations and threat of security in the country. The appointment does not reflect Federal character system as enshrined in our constitution.
- Ban Tribal Association:** The National Assembly should pass a bill which will be signed into law by the president, banning all tribal associations in Nigeria. Examples, Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, Afenifere, Northern Elders Forum, Miyietti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACB) etc of which ethnic sentiments is at the core of whatever they do in Nigeria.
- **Discouragement of ethnic loyalty:** Politicians should be banned from preaching ethnic loyalty as a means of winning election. Anybody caught in this act should be punished to serve as a deterrent to others wishing to whip up ethnic sentiments to achieve their self-interest especially during election.
- **Zoning of presidency or power shift:** The idea of zoning the presidency should be forgotten since it reminds us of ethnic differences. What Nigeria needed is a good

leader no matter the tribe he come from, which can address the current security problems.

- **Equitable Revenue Allocation:** This is the fundamental basis for national stability and cohesion. Without equitable distribution of national cake, distrust will continue, crises of marginalization and neglect may assume more dangerous proportions.
- **Unity in Diversity:** Our political leaders should not emphasize on what make us different from one another. They should endeavor to highlight the similarities of the different ethnic groups in Nigeria. Common experience should be our bond.
- “Political Will” of the Nigeria leaders to fight against corruption at all levels in the country and provision of basic needs of the people, will address the security challenges and sustainable development.
- **National Merits Award:** No attempt should be made to give it ethnic pasture; Quota system, federal character as presently practiced has a dubious value. Against the back drop, it is our belief that if the above recommendations are properly implemented, Nigerians will begin to enjoy peace which has eluded them due to ethnic crisis and agitation.

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