Insecurity, Conflict and Socioeconomic Development In Nigeria

Agri Godwin Eneji [1] and Eneji Mathias Agri [2*]

[1]Department of Criminology, University of JOS

[2]Department of Economics, University of JOS

agrieneji@yahoo.com

Abstract:

Despite the Buhari government had previously promised to defeat Boko Haram, insecurity and conflict seems to have persisted in Nigeria and they are unprecedented common enemies in the world. Insecurity and conflict are serious problems in Nigeria and West Africa that require urgent attention in research. The dynamism of crime and its sophistication has overwhelmed the government; the general conditions of living in Nigeria are truly a nightmare with respect to conflict and insecurity. The major objective of this study is to investigate and expose the root causes, socioeconomic impacts of insecurity in Nigeria. This study uses the survey method of research to gather information from key informants. Structured questionnaires, interview and focus group discussion were adopted. The questionnaires were sorted, classified and interpreted using the linkert scale, simple percentages, statistical tables and charts. Nigeria has witnessed unprecedented spate of insecurity occasioned by terrorism, kidnapping, ritual killings, cultism, corruption, injustice, poverty, inflation and bad governance. Insecurity and conflict have had serious socioeconomic consequences for Nigeria. The consequence of insecurity is insecurity and crime. This study recommends inclusive growth and participatory development for the pro-poor. There should be policies and programs to integrate the rural areas and the disadvantaged segments of the population into the mainstream of development. People need to organize themselves at various levels and platforms to educate, expose and speak out against insecurity; township unions, business associations, faith-based organizations, political parties, professional groups, youth groups, village meetings, age groups, women groups, persons living with disability, persons living with albinism, farmers' group, traders' association, students' union etc. This is because security is everybody's business and insecurity affects all of us.

Keywords: Insecurity, Socioeconomic Development, Boko-Haram, Kidnapping, Bad Governance

INTRODUCTION

Many countries of the world have witnessed on a large scale the impact of conflict and insecurity. Particularly Africa and the Middle East: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Afghanistan, Libya, Sudan, Liberia etc. Most of these can be linked to religious fanaticism or extremism and intolerance by some adherents of some religions. These fanatics use religion to cause trouble, destroy lives and property thereby increasing poverty in the land. Africa has had a long history of the lack of respect for life. This has been embedded in our culture and it seems to be part and parcel of our sociopolitical lives. These killings were explained within the context of the societal philosophy of ancient times. In the eyes of contemporary thinking, it was of course barbaric. For example, until when the missionaries came, Africans did not consider life as totally sacred: the killing of twins, the treatment of widows, the treatment of people with disability, the treatment of albinos and people with multiple births, the Osu outcasts system and treatment of witches are all pointers to this analogy. Nobody can deny the fact that security is necessary for socioeconomic and political development. In spite of the general features of insecurity and democracy, there are regional and national peculiarities. The root cause of instability and insecurity in the Middle East, Syria, and Libya etc. is beyond religious fanaticism. There is also the important factor of imperialist agents using religion and sectarian differences to destabilize states controlled by 'non-friendly' government. This can be explained within the context of contemporary global political economy. There are various forms of insecurity in Nigeria that have had a negative impact on food production and food security for a long time. Insecurity in Nigeria comes in different forms as Boko Haram insurgency, Farmer-herdsmen clashes, communal conflicts and religious crises, armed banditry, kidnapping, political and ethnic cleansing etc. Survivors of insecurity have fled from one settled area to another for security, after, in most cases, the breadwinners have been killed, swelling the number of internally displaced persons. Insecurity has brought more threats to the lives and livelihoods of the common citizens, compounded by hunger, unemployment, poverty and death. The

governments have security votes, but seem to have failed in their obligation to provide public goods, protect lives and property and defence of territorial integrity. Education, health and social protection which are three critical policy areas to tackle poverty and inequality have been compromised by insecurity. The high cost of governance in Nigeria comes at the expense of infrastructure, widespread bribery and corruption.

Nigeria's current general insecurity challenge has been compromised by avoidable conflicts that have become a common issue in recent times. This has become more worrisome especially when the impoverished segments of the Nigerian masses are finding it increasingly hard to avoid starving to death. Resources that could have been used to modernize the agricultural sector, build industries and infrastructure to create employment, have been consumed by budget for insecurity and in the rehabilitation of displaced and injured citizens. It will not be an exaggeration to observe that the current wave of general insecurity is fuelled by poverty. Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. This has made national security threat to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security (Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor- Robaro, 2013). No region has been spared the vicious scourge of conflict though their prevalence and intensity have not been the same in occurrences across the length and breadth of the nation. Thus, fingers are swift in pointing accusingly to colonial legacies and continual interplay of external and internal imperialist forces that fan the embers of violence for selfish aggrandizement. The present situation is further intensified by elements of globalization, natural disasters, proliferation of weapons and light arms, corruption, executive lawlessness and leadership ineptitude (Chinwokwu, 2012).

Central to understanding insecurity and conflict is reframing of the argument and the issues and placing them in proper contexts. Insecurity is perceived by this study within the context of the killings of our people, the destruction of our property and public goods, the displacement of our people from their homes, ancestral land, farms and businesses.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Nigeria can be seen as a radioactive nucleus which when bombarded with political, economic and insecurity neutrons will gradually undergo disintegration except the reaction is controlled. The dynamism of crime and its sophistication has overwhelmed the government; the general conditions of living in Nigeria are truly a nightmare with respect to conflict and insecurity. Nigeria has witnessed unprecedented spate of insecurity occasioned by terrorism, kidnapping, ritual killings, cultism, corruption, injustice, poverty, inflation and bad governance. The spate of violence and high level of insecurity has continued unabated in Nigeria. On daily basis, innocent and unarmed Nigerians are brutally slaughtered due to religious, ethnic, tribal or political differences, ritual killings or boundary disputes, example, the Benue State massacre in 2018. As the world is making efforts to conquer covid-19 pandemic in 2020, the Tiv-Jukun boundary and community crisis are ongoing, claiming hundreds of lives, far more than the corona virus in the two states of Taraba and Benue. The dead toll arising from insecurity and conflict is rising on daily basis, but worse still, the deaths are easily forgotten and the matter swept under the carpet. The governments are making little or no efforts at bringing the perpetrators of these barbaric and dastardly crimes to book. The insurgents of Boko Haram had led to bombing, kidnapping and beheading of innocent citizens. This state of anarchy and mayhem is capable of consuming the economy and the entire nation. The state of violence, conflict and insecurity in Nigeria is likely attributable to leadership, bad governance, poverty, poor justice system, and poor service delivery. Governments seem to have spent so much of tax payers' money to procure military soft and hardware to fight insecurity and conflict, but are yet to get the expected results of peace, security and socioeconomic stability. Hence there is increased number of internally displaced persons, high inflow of arms, drugs and human trafficking, modern day slavery, stealing, robbery and other forms of criminality. There is urgent need to evaluate the impact of conflict and insecurity on Nigeria, and also find out their root causes and the way out of the problem, hence this study.

OBJECTIVE

Despite the outbreak of Covid-19, insecurity and conflict seem to have persisted in Nigeria and they are unprecedented common enemies in the world. Insecurity and conflict are serious problems in Nigeria and West Africa that require urgent attention in research. Researchers have important role to play in exposing the

dangers, impacts and causes of insecurity and conflict, and also finding solutions to this twin problem that is plaguing Nigeria. It is in line with these that this study is objectively carried out. The major objective of this study is to investigate and expose the root causes, socioeconomic impacts of insecurity in Nigeria, and also find solutions.

The following research questions will help the researchers to systematically and empirically investigate and effectively address the stated problem of study. They are;
1. What are the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria?
2. Does any significant causal relationship exist between insecurity, unemployment and poverty rates in Nigeria?
3. What are the socio-economic impacts of insecurity on Nigeria?
4. Have the governments played any significant role to eliminate insecurity and what is the way forward?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Global Peace Index (GPI, 2020) has ranked Nigeria 148th among 163 independent countries on the peace ladder. More disturbing is the fact that Nigeria ranks the 3rd Most Terrorized Global Nation, just after Iraq and Afghanistan. Furthermore, based on the United Nation's estimate, (Worldometers, 2019), Nigeria has a population of 198,971,248 of which 65 percent are youths. Trading Economics, (2019) puts unemployment rate in Nigeria at 23.10 percent. Youths between 20-35 years are disproportionately affected, with an unemployment rate of 36.5 percent. A contemporary dimension of security was given by the then Secretary of Defense of United States, Robert Strange McNamara. Speaking on May 18, 1966, McNamara held that while security does not exclude military activity, military presence, military hardware, and the use of force, it goes beyond military involvement. It includes research, stakeholders' impact assessment, participatory and inclusive development. Greenfall and James (2009) identified seven key components of security: economic, health, food, the environment, political, community and personal. This present study adds communication and internet security. Consequently, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has made famous the concept of human security and launched the notion of human development index. The Commission of Global Governance summed up the concept of global security to people and planet. The Nigerian state is currently experiencing disintegration challenges, (Egbefo, 2015). Nigeria is trapped in woes of ethnicity, religious extremism and national security crisis, (Obaro, 2011). Conflict and insecurity directly express social, political and economic relations, (Attah, 2011). Scarcity, poverty, economic and environmental crises are themselves to be understood as socio-political and economic event, Crammer, (2002).

In order to ably conceptualize insecurity, it is important to have a brief review of what security is all about. The first duty of a government is to keep its citizens safe because like Hobbes observed, only the state has the ability to guarantee security and save society from anarchy (and since government represents the state), the state through its government should provide adequate security to justify its raison d'être (Gaskin, 1996). In this wise, 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. McGrew (1988) holds that the security of a nation hangs on two important pillars which are: (1) the maintenance and protection of the socioeconomic order in the face of internal and external threat. (2) The promotion of a preferred international order, which minimizes the threat to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order. However, Nwolise (2006) sees security as an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces. Similarly, to Otto and Ukpere (2012), security relates to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis.

Insecurity in a general term refers to a state of being subjected to fear, threat, danger, molestation, intimidation, harassment etc in all aspects. For example, insecurity can be conceived as threats to the state which often accounted for the race for arms and nuclear weapons to defend the state as opined by Ajodo, Adebanjoko and Ugwuoke (2014). According to Saliu, Luqman and Abdullahi (2007) human threats of life emanate not only from situation of violent conflicts but also other non-conflict sources. Thus; insecurity is a situation of fear or anything that causes fear, harm, or has the capability to cause fear, harm, and injury, destructions to an individual, group or nation.

The concept of insecurity connotes different meanings such as: absence of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of protection, and lack of safety. According to Beland (2005) insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Achumba et al (2013) also define insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune.

Beland (2005) also defined insecurity as "the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection". It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. This definition reflects physical insecurity which is the most visible form of insecurity, and it feeds into many other forms of insecurity such as economic security and social security.

Insurgency is an ambiguous concept. The United States Department of Defense (2007) defines it as organized movement that has the aim of overthrowing a constituted government through subversive means and armed conflict (Cited in Hellesen, 2008). This definition suggests that insurgent groups employ unlawful means towards achieving an end, which could be political, religious, social or even ideological. The goal of insurgency is to confront and overthrow an existing government for the control of power, resources or for power sharing (Siegel, 2007). This concept of insurgency has a direct link with the Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Adebisi, Azeez, & Oyediji (2017) carried out a study on an appraisal of Boko Haram's insurgency on the agricultural sector in Nigeria. They adopted the time series data analysis research method, while descriptive statistics and t-test were used to analyze the secondary data before and during the insurgency. The result of their findings showed that agricultural value added to the GDP was high before Boko Haram disruption and has reduced during the period of insurgency. Based on their findings, the study recommends that government should take legal and justifiable action to ensure that the ills caused by Boko Haram to the agricultural sector are addressed and farmers encouraged with better incentives to go back to farm.

Ojogho1 & Egware (2015) also carried out a study on the impact of insurgency on agricultural development in Nigeria. Using secondary time-series data they collected on Nigerian agricultural share of GDP, infant mortality rate, CO_2 emission from fuel combustion and level of food production as proxies for agricultural transformation for the years, 1960-2011 the Nigerian civil war, Boko-Haram, Niger-Delta, Fulani herdsmen insurgences were used as proxies for insurgency. The data were analyzed using the Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) after testing for stationarity, co-integration and lag selection using the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF), Johansen and the Schwarz's Bayesian Information Criterion (SBIC) statistics respectively. They were able to discover from the result that the VECM had a unit decrease in insecurity in the previous year will increase food production level and would increase the share of agriculture to GDP by 4.26% the following year while a shift from non-insurgence to insurgence in any year by Boko-Haram, Niger-Delta and Fulani herdsmen reduced the share of agricultural contribution to GDP by 17.56%, 19.45% and 17.47% respectively. A similar shift from non-insurgence to insurgence in any year by Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen insurgences reduced food production level, on average, by 10.21 and 4.69 tonnes respectively while a shift from non-insurgence to insurgence in any year by Niger-Delta crisis and Fulani herdsmen increased CO_2 emission, on average, by about 5% and 8% respectively. Anyidoho(2009) outlined the factors that have contributed to Africa's conflict accordingly, they include issues relating to marginalization, inequitable distribution of national resources, contestable access to power, religious and ethnic differences, religious fundamentalism, poverty, unemployment, corruption, imbalance of power among the ethnic groups that make up the country, internal colonialism, insurgencies, negative legacies of colonial rule, struggle for the reform and democratization of political and economic system and ethnic competition skimming from the collapse of the old patterns of relationships that provided the framework for collaboration among the many ethnic groups.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are different theories related to insecurity depending on one's ideological standpoint. This study is anchored on two theories: the relative deprivation theory and the Elite Theory of Insecurity:

(i)   Relative Deprivation Theory of Insecurity

Relative deprivation theory is a middle range contemporary theory in social sciences that is linked to poverty and social segregation. The theory dates back to ancient Greece and it is largely associated with (Gurr, 1970). Thus, drawing inspiration from the principle of Aristotle that revolution is driven by a relative sense or feeling of inequality rather than an absolute measure, (Gurr, 1970) contends that instead of a total standard of deficiency, a breach between projected and accomplished wellbeing results in cooperative dissatisfaction. Therefore, the main root of human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration-aggression mechanism; the anger brought by frustration is an inspiring force that positions men to belligerence, regardless of its instrumentalities. The relative deprivation is the term employed to signify the strain or tension that emerges from a disagreement between the "ought" and the "is" or "the normative and the positive" of collective value satisfaction which prompts humanity to violence. Giving credence to this theory Runciman (1966) cited in Obah-Akpowoghaha (2013) defines the prerequisite of "relative" deprivation as: (where individual A feels deprived of object X): individual A does not have X; individual A wants to have X; individual A knows of other persons who have X; individual A believes obtaining X is realistic.

The construct of this theory shows that systemic failure or structural defect in a given society is significantly connected with frustration and aggression that prompt criminality and violence. In contemporary Nigeria, systemic failure manifests in high rate of unemployment among graduates and non-graduates. Unemployment is a correlate of poverty and violent conflicts- youth militancy in Niger Delta (Ibekwe and Ewoh, 2012) Boko Haram Insurgency in the Northeast (Adebayo, 2013a) and high rate of kidnapping in the Southeast (Nwagwu, 2014) political assassination (Igbafe and Offiong, 2007) etc. Nigerians who involved in the above violent conflicts and others such as armed robbery (Adebayo, 2013a), smuggling, political thuggery (Adesina, 2013), assassination (Anzaki, 2014; Haruna and Jumba, 2011); ritual killing for wealth (Smith, 2001), human trafficking, (Shu-Acquaye, 2013) etc. must have been frustrated to join criminal gangs to fend for themselves and fulfill other obligations in the society such as getting married, paying the children school fee, assisting their dependents and contributing to community projects.   The construct of relative derivation theory also reveal the situation of competent graduates who are underemployed as casual staff. Seeing their mates with the same qualifications placed better than them, earning well with good standard of living could lead to frustration-aggression and violent conflicts. Some of them could demonstrate their grievances through absenteeism and engagement in corruption as well as vandalization of property of such organizations. Relative deprivation theory also has some explanations concerning injustice and discrimination in Nigeria. When persons are caught for issues relating to violent conflicts and other crimes, the poor ones are usually brought to book, while the elite class is often set free or fined with ridiculous amount in the law court. This shows that justice, which is supposed to be the hope of common man, has suddenly become the hope of the rich and the enemy of the poor.

(ii). **The Elite Theory of Insecurity**

The Elite theory emerged from the works of Pareto (1963) and Mosca (1939) as a reaction to Karl Marx on power and state and Abraham Lincoln on democracy (Epstein, 2011). Elite theory rests on the premises that society is divided into two major groups i.e. 'the ruler' and 'the ruled'. The former represents the minority while the latter constitute the majority, but the minority manipulates power which enables them to misappropriate the resources of the state to the detriment of the ruled.   Pareto (1963) & Mosca (1939) largely attributed the ability of the elites to manipulate power to the internal organization of the elite class, and that it permits them to form a united and unified minority against the masses who are usually uncoordinated and easily manipulated. Pareto, (1963) also believes that the characteristics of subtlety and crookedness single the elite class out as superiors. The structure of the elite is static, but individuals in the group change. When the old members pass on or retire, new members are recruited to the group. However, it should be noted that such persons are usually recruited from the old member's jurisdiction. Anyone recruited from outside the group is usually recommended by members and he or she must subscribe to the dictates of the group before his or her induction can be carried out so as to retain the influence and the power of domination of the group.

The elite theory has some explanation on the manipulation of power which has generated conflicts across Nigeria in both military and political regimes. The manipulation of the political power has also granted the

elite class an unlimited access to misappropriate the funds meant for national development to the detriment of the ruled. This is an indication of dysfunctional leadership responsible for the failure of the economic, education, social control, technology, family institutions etc. that correlate violent and nonviolent conflicts with negative implications on national development. Since Nigeria's political independence in 1960, the elite class has produced leaders without conviction, patriotism and vision (Bakoji, 2006). These leaders according to Bariledum & Serebe (2013) have "assumed the dimension that is unusual of realistic functions in development context". Leadership is an essential requirement of any society, but the type of leadership determines her level of development. Hence, a nation with poor leadership, like Nigeria, no matter her level of natural endowments has been associated with underdevelopment in previous studies (Achumba et al., 2013; Bakoji, 2006; Ben-David, 1973). Development could be regarded as a function of how natural and human resources can be manipulated by the concerted efforts of the "rulers" and the "ruled" to the advantage of their country but this effort is seriously lacking (Cervallati & Sunde, 2011). Thus, the political institution seems to have malfunctioned with negative implications on other institutions such as, economic, education, social control, etc. Contrary to Karl Marx on economic structure determining superstructure therefore, the superstructure (political institution) seems to have negatively influenced the economic structure (the base) in Nigeria, considering the manipulation of political power which enable the elites to loot the funds meant for national development to its advantage and disadvantage of the masses. The foregoing corroborates (Tomoloju, 2007) who contends that "We fight, and sometimes shed blood to achieve and retain political power because for us in Nigeria, the political kingdom has for too long been the gateway to the economic kingdom." However, both the economic and political determinism of the superstructure gears towards the exploitation of the masses. The capitalists and the elites are more or less in the same camp with the same interest or focus (exploitation of the masses).

Due to poor leadership, the economic institution cannot function at optimal level to afford employment for many graduates, good remunerations and conditions of service for the employed and the retired in the public sector while the private sector is characterized by exploitation. Also, the problem of leadership seems to be causing the malfunctioning of the educational institutions hence cases of industrial action, violent demonstration of student's e.t.c, in various campuses. The social control unit is ineffective because of corruption and poor welfare of the security personnel (Achumba ET al.2013). Most of these officers are ill-equipped, poorly trained, remunerated, educated and motivated. Also, most of the literature on ethnic violence shows that it is often motivated by economic and political reasons (Obasanjo, 2002; Kure, 2002). Moreover, most violent conflicts associated with differences in race, religion, culture, language are traceable to the perceived inequality in the circulation of economic, political and social resources by the elite class (Harris and Reilly, 1998, cited in (Obasanjo, 2002).

METHODOLOGY

This study uses the survey method of research to gather information from key informants. Key informant interview is a qualitative in-depth interview with people who know what is going on in their communities and the entire nation with respect to insecurity. The purpose of key informant interview is to collect information from a wide range of people—including community leaders, professionals, private security experts or residents—who have first-hand knowledge about conflict and insecurity in Nigeria. The research uses the Key Informant Interview which involved interviewing people (experts and professionals) who have particularly informed perspectives on all aspects of insecurity being evaluated. Also, a cross section of youths in churches and mosques were engaged in focus group discussion to sample their opinion on the causes, impacts and the way out of insecurity in Nigeria. This method has helped to secure a participant with unique knowledge of the topic. It takes less time than in-depth interview, and also reduces the financial costs and the risk of being physically present with every stakeholder for information or data collection. More so, information from just anyone may not be reliable but misleading for a study of this magnitude, hence the need for accurate information informed the choice of methods. It was complemented by structured questionnaire. Structured questionnaire is a document that consists of a set of standardized questions with a fixed scheme, which specifies the exact intent and order of the questions, for gathering information from respondents. The sample of 382 questionnaires were sorted, classified and interpreted using the linksert scale, simple percentages, statistical tables and charts. The sample framework and procedure is the Yamane formula, the sample areas are Bauchi State and Plateau State in the North-Central Nigeria which are also seriously affected by insecurity

and conflict were randomly selected. Data analysis and process is both manual and electronic using MS-EXCEL and the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS). Structured Questionnaires are a quantitative method of research, which was advocated by Emile Durkheim (1858 – 1917). It is a positivist research method. It includes the low level of involvement of the researcher, while the respondent(s) provide the necessary answers to the structured questions.

FINDINGS/RESULTS

Table 1: Results; Conflict, insecurity and socioeconomic development in Nigeria

item	SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SD	%	TOTAL
Nigeria suffers from conflict and insecurity in both rural and urban areas	137	35.9	225	58.0	15	3.9	5	1.3	382
Insecurity and conflict have increased hunger and famine in the land	153	40.1	199	52.1	10	2.6	20	5.2	382
Is there any causal relationship between insecurity, conflict, poverty and sustainable development in Nigeria?	139	36.3	218	57.7	10	2.6	15	3.9	382
Would you agree that there is a direct positive relationship between unemployment and insecurity in Nigeria?	180	47.1	178	46.3	11	2.8	13	3.4	382
Insecurity has negatively affected the environment and the ecosystem in conflict areas.	117	30.6	230	60.2	15	3.9	20	5.2	382
Have the governments played any significant role to eliminate insecurity?	130	34.0	230	60.2	7	1.8	15	3.9	382
The agricultural sector productivity has been adversely affected by conflict and insecurity	199	52.1	180	47.1	3	0.7	0	0.0	382
SMEs growth has been retarded by conflict and insecurity?	163	42.6	199	52.1	10	2.6	10	2.6	382
Security is key to output growth, the development of industries and manufacturing	142	37.1	215	56.2	20	5.2	5	1.3	382
Insecurity has increased the poverty rate and poverty incidence in Nigeria	139	36.3	215	56.2	10	2.6	18	4.6	382
Infrastructural development has been hampered by conflict and insecurity	143	37.4	220	57.5	10	2.6	9	2.3	382
Access to basic services such as water, sanitation, security and sustainable energy is adversely impacted by conflict and insecurity	200	52.3	161	42.1	20	5.2	11	2.8	382
items	SA	%	A	%	DA	%	SD	%	TOTAL
Education and healthcare services are either of very poor quality or are unavailable in conflict areas	230	60.2	134	35.1	10	2.6	8	2.1	382
Security is a precondition for entrepreneurship and industrial development	149	39.0	210	54.4	5	1.3	18	4.7	382
Security is a veritable tool for raising the productive capacity of African economies	129	33.7	229	59.9	10	2.6	14	4.3	382

Security is key to poverty reduction and sustainable environment in Africa	119	31.1	227	59.6	15	3.4	28	7.3	382
Inequality is increased by conflict and insecurity	129	33.7	230	60.2	10	2.6	23	6.0	382
Low levels of productivity, low levels of income and lack of competitiveness are attributable to conflict and insecurity in Africa	127	33.2	209	54.7	22	5.7	24	6.2	382
The rise in the transaction costs of SMEs in Nigeria and most African countries is attributable to conflict and insecurity	170	44.5	198	51.8	9	2.3	5	1.3	382
The presence or absence of security has positive or negative multiplier effects on other infrastructures such as transport, water supply, communication, education and health infrastructures	150	39.2	230	60.2	12	3.1	0	0.0	382
Insecurity for households and businesses in urban slums and rural areas has increased the risks of criminality	163	42.6	200	52.3	11	2.8	8	0.2	382
Gender-based violence has been increased by conflict and insecurity	120	31.4	234	61.2	18	4.7	10	2.6	382
Provision of security will increase private sector investment and profitability of firms, thus fostering sustainable economic development in Nigeria	145	37.9	199	52.1	16	4.2	18	4.7	382
Government security supply in Africa has been either not available or not reliable	149	39.1	221	57.6	10	2.6	4	1.0	382
Governments in Nigeria have spent so much of public funds on insecurity without remarkable results	200	52.4	159	41.6	18	4.7	5	1.3	382
There is a causal relationship between insecurity, poverty and sustainable development in Nigeria	153	40.1	204	53.4	15	3.9	10	2.6	382
There is a direct positive relationship between insecurity, conflict and unemployment in Nigeria	159	41.6	200	52.3	10	2.6	13	3.5	382
Does any significant causal relationship exist between insecurity, unemployment and poverty rates in Nigeria?	131	34.3	235	61.5	11	2.9	5	1.4	382
There is a direct causality between insecurity, conflict, infrastructure supply and economic prosperity in Nigeria	145	39.9	220	57.5	5	1.3	12	3.1	382
Insecurity is a global problem	200	52.4	159	41.6	18	4.7	5	1.3	382
Africa has had a long history of lack of respect for sacredness of life	145	37.9	199	52.1	16	4.2	18	4.7	382
Insecurity impacts on food production and food security	163	42.6	200	52.3	11	2.8	8	0.2	382
Most insecurity in Nigeria is sparked by religious fanaticism	127	33.2	209	54.7	22	5.7	24	6.2	382

Poverty and unemployment cause insecurity and insecurity increases poverty and unemployment	120	31.4	234	61.2	18	4.7	10	2.6	382
Public goods: electricity, water, communication, education and health infrastructures are adversely impacted by insecurity	170	44.5	198	51.8	9	2.3	5	1.3	382
Insecurity and conflict are a threat to domestic and foreign investment	150	39.2	230	60.2	12	3.1	0	0.0	382

Source: Field Survey,2020

From table 1, 35.9% (137) and 58% (225) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that Nigeria suffers from conflict and insecurity in both rural and urban areas. Similarly, 139 (36.3%) and 218 (57.7%) of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that there is a significant causal relationship between insecurity, conflict, poverty and sustainable development in Nigeria. In another instance, 47.1% (180) of the respondents strongly agreed that there is a direct positive relationship between unemployment and insecurity in Nigeria. The same pattern of interpretation holds for the remaining items in the table.

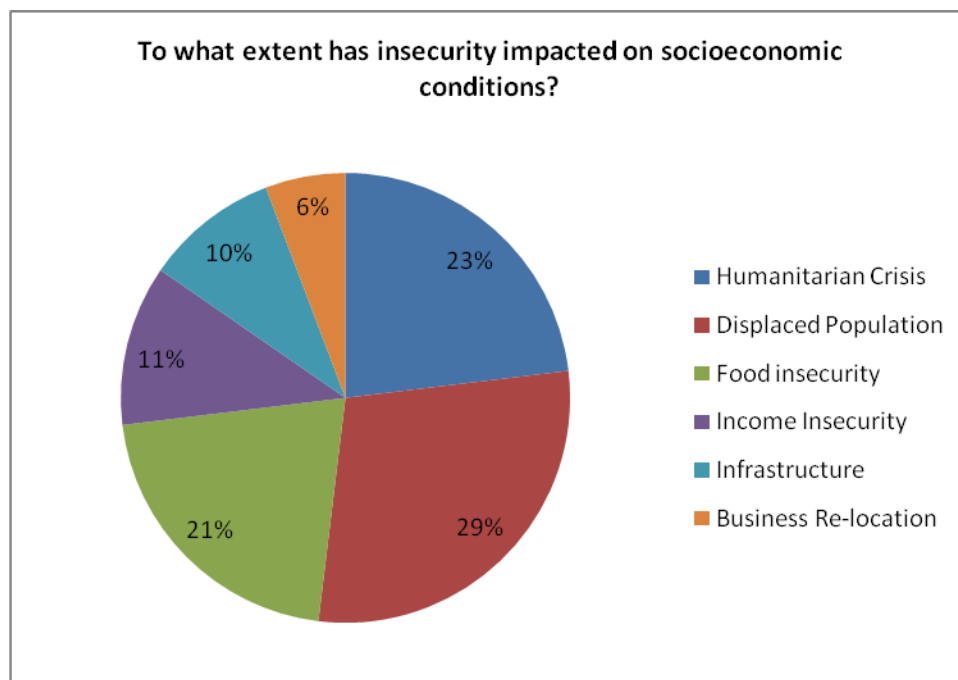**Figure 1:** Impact of Insecurity on Socioeconomic Conditions in Nigeria
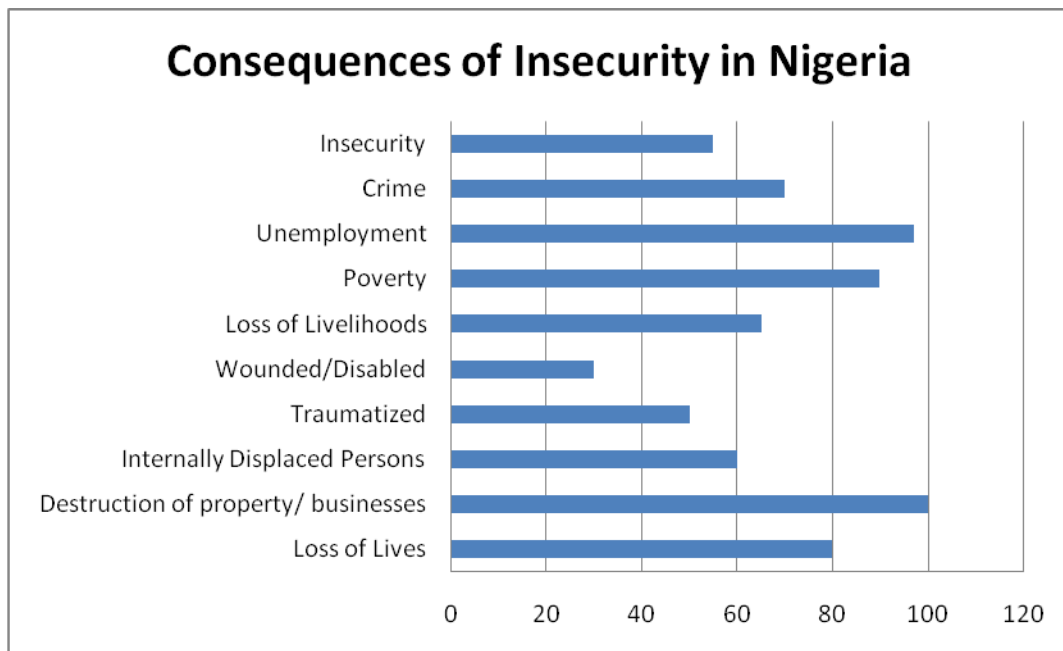
Fig.2: Consequences of Insecurity in Nigeria
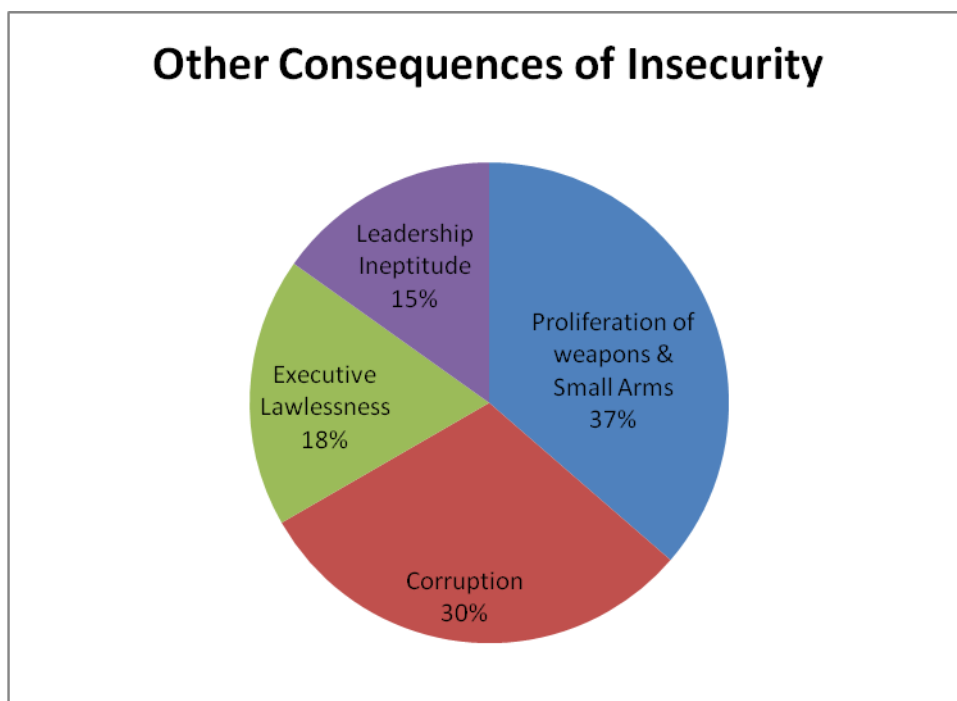

Fig.3: Other Consequences of Insecurity

Fig.4: Different Forms of Insecurity in Nigeria
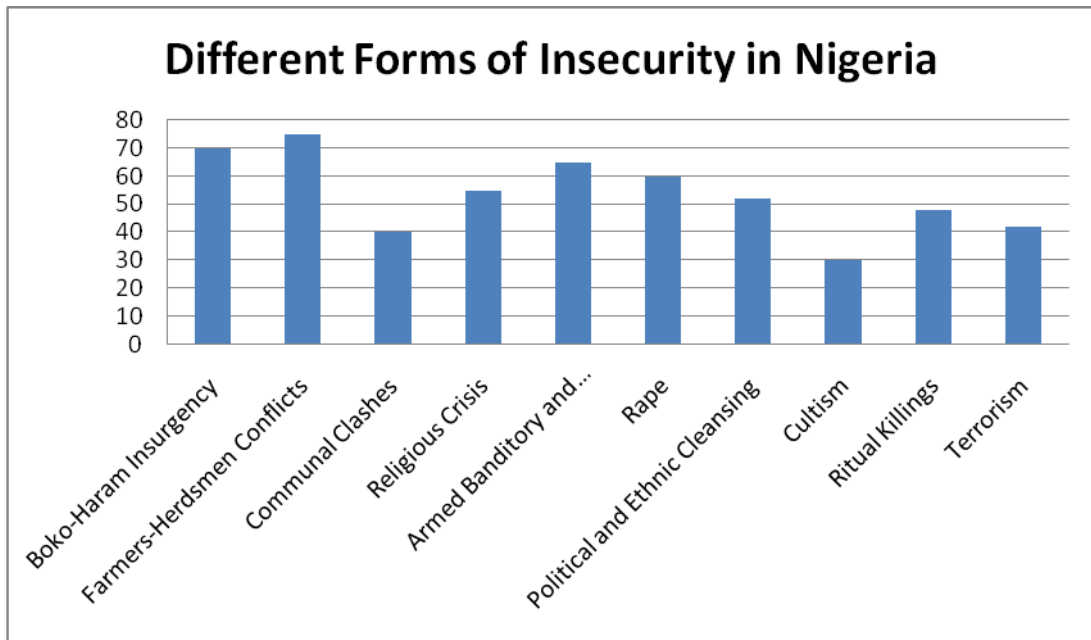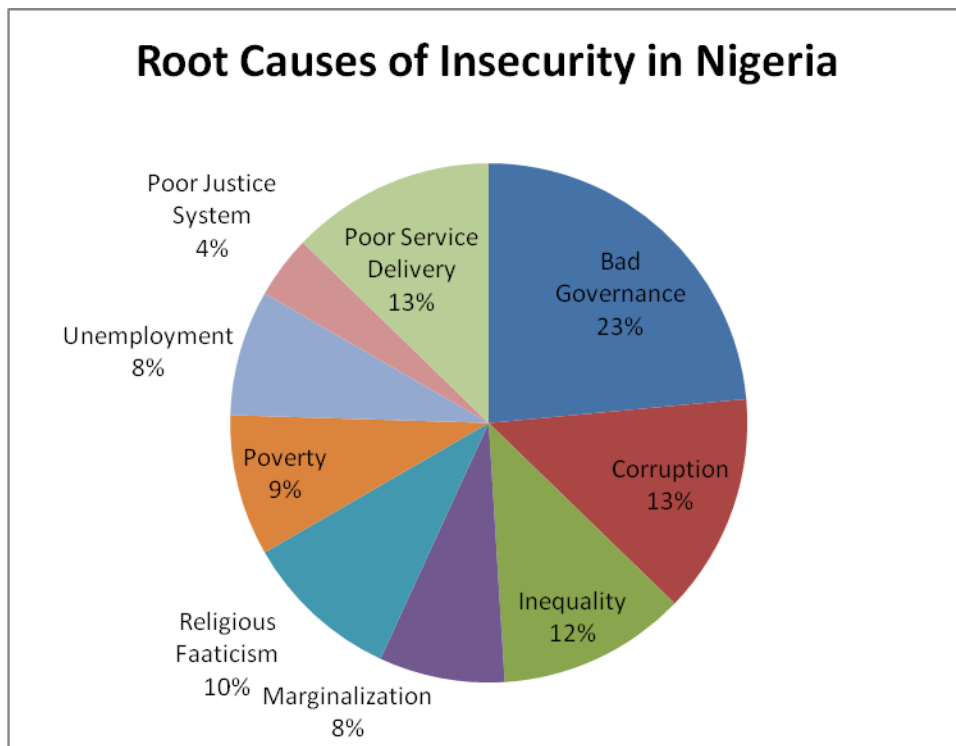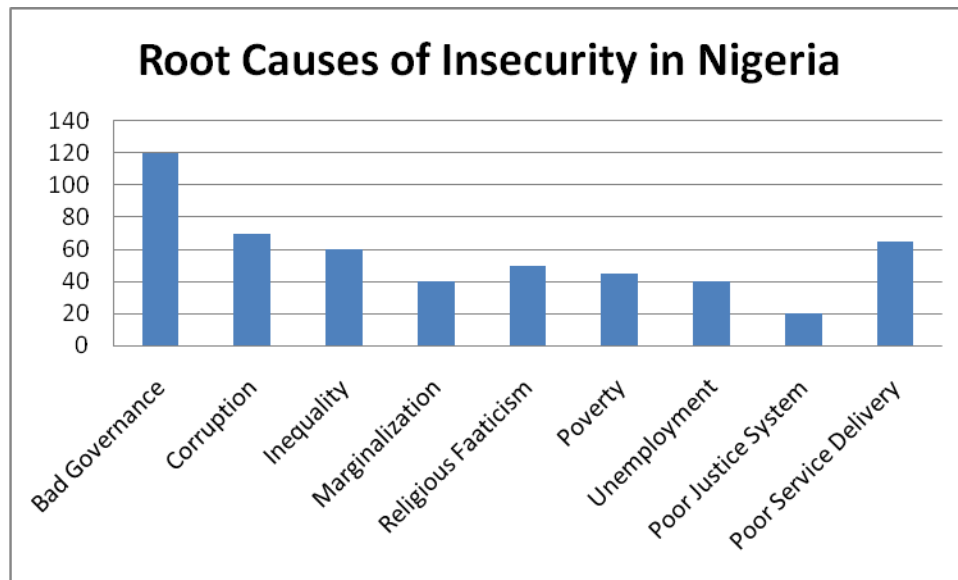

Fig.5: Root Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

Root Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

CAUSES OF INSECURITY

There are some causative factors that should lead us to trace the historical antecedents of insecurity in Nigeria. It is easy for the people to focus on the government, what it has done, what it has not done and what it should- positive and normative political economy. However, the educated citizens are guilty of collective ignorance, negligence, and lethargy and nonchalant in choosing or electing the leaders. More persons of integrity need to step out to participate in politics for as Plato reminds us; the penalty of refusing to participate in politics is that you will be ruled by your inferiors. Consequently, there are various forms of the things that make us insecure from hunger, poverty, human rights violation, bad governance, marginalization and corruption. The electorates have rather focused on narrow minds; our ethnicity, religion and other socio-cultural groups as the base of choosing leaders and our loyalties and allegiance. It could be argued that we are complicit in the forces that have scarred the face of our nation and led to this diminution of human life and dignity. The electorates have strength in choosing leaders. We must also appreciate the limitations of the ordinary man as far as protecting ourselves is concerned. We cannot all carry arms or become security men. The root causes of insecurity in Nigeria as shown in figure 5 above are bad governance, corruption, unemployment, poor service delivery and religious fanaticism. Others are sampled thus:

a.   Moral Quandary. Some of these prevailing moral issues of diversified nature and consequences include; corruption of different types and standards, inordinate desire to acquire wealth, debauchery, sexual abuse and general decay in moral values.

b.   Breakdown in our cherished cultural values; Cultural values link the community with their ancestors and their creator. The value of sacredness of life helps to eschew all attitudes contrary to the promotion of human life while the value of communalism stands against all attitudes that tend to promote excessive individualism and despotism. These are the core of African values that has broken down due to the influence of the Western culture of affluence and individualism.

c.   Injustices and Faulty Justice System; our legal systems are so faulty that the rule of law has become the rule of men. Most of our laws are archaic and outdated. There exist some untouchables and cabals who are above the laws of the land. They can neither be arrested nor prosecuted. The worship of the untouchables is a juxtaposition that reveals an aspect of security challenges in Nigeria. Did not former Head of State Ibrahim Babangida repeatedly defy summons to appear before Justice Oputa Panel to answer allegations of human abuses? Big shots in the country have been linked with sponsorship of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria where thousands of lives have been lost and more thousands displaced, yet the untouchables are still parading the streets unscratched. The popular Abacha loot is a serious corrupt practice. Though Abacha is dead, but he must not have single handedly carried out the loots and illicit financial flows, he had cronies, but none has been investigated, arrested and brought to book. James Ibori, a former governor in the South-South, was innocent at home but guilty abroad. These show that Nigerian law is meant for only the poor.

d.   Religious Intolerance and Ethnic Conflicts; A perusal of extant literature reveals the following distinct, but related categories in the explanation of religious violence and ethnic conflict in Nigeria: fanaticism, value conflict, psychological jealousy, unregulated competition, alibi for other conflicts, growing pains and feeling of revenge where the law has not taken its cause.

e.   Poverty, Unemployment and Poor Remuneration; Currently, Nigeria is faced with acute poverty, unemployment and poor remuneration of workers. Retired public civil servants are equally lamenting of ill-prepared pension schemes and lack of welfare plans. The unemployed youths do find solace in the devil's workshop to commit crimes and pose security challenges while the underpaid employees resort to official corruption and dwindled productivity. Retirees resort to complaints and attack the government. The fact is that many Nigerians are living below the poverty line and the country is characterized by massive unemployment, even among educated youths. This problem has made many Nigerians poor and frustrated and which has even culminated into so many vices particularly crimes in the form of armed robbery, kidnapping for ransom, cattle rustling and militancy.

f.   Unchecked inflow of lethal Weapons; There is proliferation of light weapons in Nigeria. Some politicians who procured lethal weapons for unemployed youths to use in guarding them to succeed in election campaigns did not recover such weapons from the youths. They now use those weapons to form cult groups or armed robbery or kidnapping for ransom. The end result is increase in violent crimes and security challenge to Nigeria.

g.   The Menace of Fake and Illicit Drugs; Our young people have become drug addicts in the increase and stay under such influence to commit heinous crimes.

h.   Greed and Self-Centeredness; Like the state of nature of Thomas Hobbes, everybody simply pursues their material wellbeing using the Machiavellian principle-the end justifies the means. This has made life brutish, short and nasty. Men have frequently come into conflicts of interests, quarreled and fought with one another, an aspect of security challenge in Nigeria. The quest for materialism has made people to either neglect God and His ordinances, or worship Him with lips service. Insecurity becomes imminent because human nature shows itself in greed, immoral, filthy and indecent behaviors.

IMPLICATIONS OF CONFLICT AND INSECURITY

In this section, this study explores the different which conflict insecurity has adversely impacted on the Nigerian nation.

i.   Economic Development. Economic development cannot be sustained without an enabling environment of peace and security. The business environment, small and medium scale enterprises, foreign direct investment in critical sectors are all negatively impacted by insecurity in Nigeria. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria still ranks low in socioeconomic indicators such as life expectancy, standard of living, and health status and literacy rate. Similarly, it ranks high in mortality rate, poverty rate, crime rate and unemployment rate. Health, housing, transportation, education and recreation infrastructures are grossly inadequate, and adversely affected by conflict and insecurity. The Nigerian economy continues to witness fluctuations and macroeconomic instability, largely as a result of overdependence on oil and lack of diversification. Huge chunks of government revenue that would have been channeled to various diversification initiatives are spent on insecurity, to fight insurgency. The latter deprives Nigeria of innovation, technology transfer and jobs creation which comes as a result of synergy with multinationals.

ii.   Religious Institutions. One of the most fundamental cases of insecurity in contemporary society is terrorism which is traceable to religious fanaticism and intolerance. Globally, particularly in Islam regions, religious extremism has been rife and devastating. Far Northern states in Nigeria such as Borno, Adamawa, Yobe and central states of Plateau, FCT and Kaduna have witnessed direct attacks on churches and mosques. Bombings and fire incidences have destroyed worship centers leading to loss of lives. Premeditated attacks have scared and frustrated people from active participation in pastoral and spiritual activities. Boko Haram has been responsible for over 20,000 deaths (worse than corona virus) of mostly innocent Nigerians which includes children, women, Muslims and Christians. Maiduguri, the ancient city of peace has become the city of fear, terror and gloom, making Nigeria among the territories of global terrorism. Ansaru acting in the likes of al-Qaida. Ansaru is an offshoot, and splinter group of Boko-Haram- the Islamic jihadist militant terrorist sect.

Insurgency is a devilish act. The devil came, masquerading with evil intents and before the innocent Nigerians knew what was happening, they became victims of the evil machinations of the devil.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Part of the objectives of this study was to examine the socioeconomic impact of insecurity and conflict on Nigeria. There is deep anguish, sorrow, pain and frustration on the faces of the people caused by conflict and insecurity. This is indeed a fundamental concern. The sorrows and anxieties of women and children, the aged alike, who are threatened, afflicted, maimed and killed on daily basis. Sadly, the uncoordinated efforts at self-help have further added to the confusion and insecurity in our society and the total lack of trust in the capacity of government and its agencies to protect us. The irony of our weakness lies in the fact that following our adoption of the British option in matters of security, the citizens have surrendered their rights to security and protection to the state. The state was to be trusted to look after the citizens. That is why it is the state that has the monopoly of the instruments of violence and even our collective resources. The state has so much politicized insecurity and in the process spent so much of our common resources without measurable results.

In the United States of America, for instance, the citizens' right to bear arms was one of the very first amendments in their constitution. To this end, citizen militias are often around to defend their communities which individuals also feel they do not have to rely completely on the state for self-protection. However, in spite of the general features of insecurity and democracy, there are regional and national peculiarities in Nigeria. What we can resort to is to force the hands of the state to do what the citizens and groups have voted them. When the government fails, it is for the citizens to appreciate the fact that the quality of leadership is tied to the choices they make at the ballot boxes. Choosing bad leaders is one of the root causes of insecurity and tragedies for the citizens.

There is a direct link between corruption, bad governance, and consequences of liberal economic policies such as privatization leading to rent seeking among the political class, unemployment, mass poverty and insecurity in Nigeria. Inequality, marginalization and religious fanaticism are consequences of political corruption and weapons of intra-class rivalry among the political elites.

From the responses in table 1, there is significant causal relationship exist between insecurity, unemployment and poverty rates in Nigeria. There are so many street children and alimajirais around us. If the governments have not tackled poverty and unemployment, do not invest sufficiently in education, health, infrastructure and welfare, we do not need to wait to be kidnapped, our communities destroyed or our lives taken short before talking about insecurity. The first violent sign of insecurity is the illiteracy and squalor that have endangered the future of Nigerians and Africa as a whole.

There is high school dropout rate among Nigerian youths. This collaborates UNICEF (2018) report that about 10.5 million of Nigeria's children aged 5-14 are not in school, though primary education is compulsory. The kids would not come to school, because the security is not there, the Chibok and Dapachi girls' examples are glaring, leading to the "Bring Back Our Girls" struggle. Boko-Haram is a direct consequence of insecurity in Nigeria. The group had territorial ambitions and was evolving into the Islamic State of West Africa (ISWA), manifesting a desire to have their own expanded Islamic country. Boko-Haram is very active in the North East Nigeria. They are invisible enemies that make them more dangerous than battle fields and war fronts in Iraq and Syria. The popular mode of transportation in Nigeria is motorcycle, amidst unpaved and unmaintained roads network, even in urban areas and urban slums. The terrorists and kidnappers ride on motorcycles and sometimes look like regular people, but could really be suicide bombers or assassins and bandits. They are invisibly dangerous. The United Nations and other regional bodies should avert a situation that may not be controlled in the near future. Moreover, one in every five of the world's out-of-school children is in Nigeria. The situation is worst in the Northern part of the country with a net attendance rate of only 53 percent. High level of insecurity in Nigeria is associated with ineffective education. Although some Nigerians are literate, they are not sufficiently educated because the impact of education cannot be found in them; they have no value for life. Religious adherents have been pitched against one another and plunged into bitter rivalry, hostility and violence in the name of religion. Illiteracy is a major challenge to conflict and insecurity in Africa. Most of the school drop-outs end up in the urban areas without decent jobs and shelter, some as street beggars and

potential tools in the hands of selfish politicians and armed robbery gangs and kidnappers, and terrorist sect. The poverty, the sight of beggars and paupers in the streets of Nigeria is worrisome. There is child labor, elder and child abuse as a result of the mismanagement of common resources. It is common knowledge that even graduates end up as barbers, motorcycle (Okada) riders and taxi drivers with poor remuneration because there are no jobs. Some in their desperation have taken to crimes, drugs and substance abuse. Strikes in the higher institutions render students idle and worsen the situation. As we speak, the Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU has been on a total and indefinite strike due to government insensitivity to education. The national Association of Resident Doctor, who are on the war front against Covid-19 are also on strike for the same reason. Insecurity goes beyond guns, drones and fighter jets, but rather spreading quality education. Weapons can only kill terrorists and sometimes innocent people too, but the menace of terrorism and insecurity can be solved with quality education. Some of the youths contacted in a focus group discussion, said the minds were poisoned by government's lack of inclusiveness for the youths, religious prejudices and indoctrination. Most of the youths, Christians and Muslims, could speak objectively and dispassionately about the negative religious tendencies without taking offense because it concerned their religious group. Child labor hardens the children and makes them not to love their country and not to respect the rule of law. They have no respect for life as they are easily brainwashed and radicalized.

The consistent ethics of life means that everyone stands for the protection of the right to life and promotion of the rights which enhance life from womb to tomb. It joins the humanity of the unborn infant and the humanity of the hungry and jobless; it calls for positive legal action to prevent the killing of unborn or the aged and positive societal action to provide shelter for the homeless and education for the illiterate. Unfortunately, levels of participation at both social and political activities have all too often been inspired by the desire to amass wealth and exert undue authority. Large sums are budgeted for internally displaced persons without actual positive impact. Embezzlement of public funds meant to tackle insecurity and conversion of common wealth of our very rich nation to private estate is rampant with leaders. Human life must be held in high esteem and we all have moral obligation to protect it. Saint John Paul II stated in his Encyclical Evangelism Vitae: Man is called to a fullness of life which far exceeds the dimensions of his earthly existence. The loftiness of this supernatural vocation reveals the greatness and the inestimable value of human life even in its temporal phase. Life in time, in fact, is the fundamental condition, the initial stage and an integral part of the entire unified process of human existence. It is a process of human existence. It is a process which unexpectedly and undeservedly enlightened by the promise, and renewed by the gift of divine life, which will reach its full realization in eternity.

Those behind the social ills are people who are benefitting from the unguided state of insecurity. They are usually not in the mainstream of criminality. They have technically become invisible by another shrewd act of manipulation. In addition to this is the orchestrated media hype that can be so full of lies and fake news for the sake of politics. What is the point deceiving the public that Boko-Haram has been "technically defeated" when they are carrying out attacks simultaneously and almost on daily basis? The strategies and time line to tackle insecurity have been faulty and ineffective.

In the North-East, Boko Haram insurgents, clashes between herdsmen and the farmers, communal conflicts and other forms of conflicts have adversely affected socioeconomic development. Most of the local populations have fled their homes. The farmers are no longer able to produce in sufficient quantities to meet the demand from other parts of Nigeria. Most of the youths who used to support agriculture in the rural areas have been killed or moved away from the farms. This has reduced the labour needed in the agricultural sector of this region of Nigeria. Others, for their own security, have escaped to neighboring countries as refugees which became an endemic problem. The government should come up with strategies to check the incessant killings in the land. In the focus group discussion, the Benue massacre, the Kaduna Killings and other forms of murder were described as barbaric, sad and tragic. Government was slow in deploying security to the affected areas to save lives and restore peace and order. Some contributors are of the opinion that Nigeria is experiencing an unprecedented insecurity in recent times because people are narrow-minded and self-centered. Other variables said to have fueled insecurity presently are poverty and illiteracy. Leaders must be fair to all citizens in their domain irrespective of status, tribe, religion or ethnic affiliations. Government at all

levels should have effective rapid response mechanisms that would reduce human sufferings while working to promote welfare, dialogue and reconciliation amongst the people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1.   One Nigeria is not negotiable. We must stay together for our strength is in our unity. However, there are a few issues that must be squarely addressed. There is urgent need to practice true federalism that recognizes diversity in unity. The right to citizenship of every Nigerian in any and every part of Nigeria, maintaining a federal character in all federal institutions including the judiciary, the military, the police and the civil service, without losing track of the value of merit and competence. Nigerians must imbibe a true democratic culture, embrace the principle of popular democracy, and respect the fundamental rights of every citizen including the freedom of association, the freedom of expression and religious freedom. The freedom of the press, the right of dissent, the right to basic amenities of life and the right to aspire for any and every office in the land. The constitution and conventions should ensure that the foregoing rights and basic amenities and infrastructure are guaranteed for every Nigerian irrespective of status I the society. These include pipe borne water, housing, electricity, means of transportation and communication.

2.   Religious extremism, bigotry and intolerance could cause the polarization and disintegration of Nigeria if proper steps were not taken to tackle the insecurity. This would be catastrophic for the entire African continent. The collaboration of ECOWAS, African Union and the United Nations is needed to curb the excesses of extremists, criminals, bandits and corrupt leaders across Africa. Through quality education Nigeria could step up the capacity of citizens to transcend narrow religious prejudices and indoctrination to shape better future through understanding, dialogue, reconciliation and peace building. Nigeria must invest heavily in civic education, national and inter-religious dialogue.

3.   The level of unemployment and poverty among Nigerians, especially the youths has reached an epidemic proportion. It is increasingly difficult for any government in Nigeria to adequately cater for the teeming population of jobless youths. Hence there is need for the stakeholders in government and private sector to come to a round table discussion, strategizing the way forward. Entrepreneurship should be promoted. There should be concerted effort in nurturing the entrepreneurial mind set of the youths. Entrepreneurship technically begins with self-development, skills acquisition, awareness and discovery. It begins with the realization that there are lots of things the youths can do to better their lives than to depend totally on the government, or parents or society or crime for daily sustenance and means of livelihood. The youths should venture out and discover opportunities that are abound in Nigeria to enhance room for investment and creativity. The deluge of unemployment in Nigeria is a cumulative effect of several years of bad governance, lack of proper planning, misplaced priorities and poor policy implementation. In recent years, various government poverty interventions such as N-Power, Yes-P, Traders' Money, and Market Money etc are only scratching the surface of poverty and unemployment with threatening population explosion. Many years of unemployment has led to frustration and low self-esteem, robbing the youths of the confidence they need to seek employment or to be self-employed. Consequently, many youths find themselves being lured into undesirable behaviors and criminal activities such as kidnapping, cybercrime, prostitution, human trafficking and the likes to survive. In addition, they have opted to migrate to foreign lands by taking the dangerous trans-Saharan Desert route. Some are being used as tools in the hands of unscrupulous elements to achieve selfish economic and political ends.

4.   Inclusive growth and participatory development for the pro-poor: The poverty rate is too high in the land. There is misery, suffering and frustration of the youths, leading to a surge in crime rate. There should be policies and programs to integrate the rural areas and the disadvantaged segments of the population into the mainstream of development to reduce rural-urban migration and urban slums where criminals hideout. Government should get the poor involved and to participate in policies that affect them, to benefit from economic growth, to access basic infrastructure, to get jobs and earn income through community-based natural resources value chain. People need to organize themselves at various levels and platforms to educate, expose and speak out against insecurity; township unions, business associations, faith-based organizations, political parties, professional groups, youth groups, village meetings, age groups, women groups, persons

living with disability, persons living with albinism, farmers' group, traders' association, students' union etc. This is because security is everybody's business and insecurity affects all of us.

CONCLUSION

Insecurity and conflict have had serious socioeconomic consequences for Nigeria. The consequence of insecurity is insecurity and crime. Nigerians cannot outsource our duties and obligations to false gods or ghosts by assuming that somehow insecurity will disappear by way of miracles, or prayers and fasting while we do nothing concrete about illiteracy, street begging, unemployment, poverty and power politics. Insecurity has increased poverty, hunger, diseases, corruption, illiteracy and violence in the land. Poverty and unemployment cause insecurity and insecurity increases poverty and unemployment. Public goods; electricity, water, communication, education and health infrastructures are adversely impacted by conflict and insecurity. Furthermore, insecurity and conflict are a threat to domestic and foreign investment in Nigeria. Good governance is at the service of peace, security and economic prosperity. Politics remains an essential means of building human community and institutions, however, when bad governance crisp in, it has become a means of oppression, marginalization, deprivation and destruction. Good governance should promote fundamental human rights, mutual obligations and a bond of trust. When government concretely fosters the talents of young people and their aspirations, security will flourish and peace will grow in the land. There is a correlation between the character of the political elite, economic failure, conflict and insecurity in Nigeria. This has left the people pauperized, frustrated, insecure but still tolerant. Politicians must make genuine effort to protect all who live under their constituency irrespective of party affiliations. They should create conditions and equal opportunities for a worthy, sustainable and just future for all. The government should be careful with the state of anarchy and impunity because Nigeria cannot afford another civil war with all its monumental destructions. Security is a precondition for socioeconomic growth and development, and the precondition for these three variables is poverty reduction. Rapid and sustained poverty reduction requires inclusive growth that allows poor people to contribute to, and benefit from economic growth. Inclusive growth advances equitable opportunities for economic, social and political participation. National security can impact economic development and economic security can impact national security.

REFERENCES

1. Achumba IC, Ighomereho OS, & Akpor-Robaro M O (2013). Security Challenges in Nigeria and the Implications for Business Activities and Sustainable Development. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development.* 4(2); 80-99.

2. Adebisi ES, Azeez ZH, & Oyediji PK (2017). Effect of Boko Haram Insurgency on the Productivity of Local Farmers in Adamawa state Nigeria. Asian Journal of Economics, Bussiness and Accounting 5(3); 1-7

3. Adesina OS (2013). Unemployment and security challenges in Nigeria. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 3(7); 146-56.

4. Anzaki MB (2014). *Violence and thuggery in Nigeria"s elections. The Lawyers Chronicles*:

    http://www.thelawyerschronicle.com/violence-and-thuggery-in-nigerias-elections

5. Anyidoho H (2009).Role of Education in Alleviating Poverty in Africa: The Nigeria Experience *Journal of Economic and Social Studies* Volume 6. pp 19-31.

6. Ajodo, F. Adebanjoko B., and Ugwuoke, N. (2007). *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa:* Washington DC. The Brooking Institute

7. Attah NE (2011). Nigerian Inter-Group Relations: Emerging Trends and Challenges. Journal of African Identities, Vol.9(1), pp 140-167.

8. Bakoji S (2006). All our leaders are corrupt. *Independence, Daily,* 3(1012).

9. Bariledum K, & Serebe V (2013). Political Elites and The Challenges of National Development: The Nigeria Experience. *European Scientific Journal,* 9(31): 161-72.

10. Beland D (2005). *The political construction of collective insecurity: From moral panic to blame avoidance and organized irresponsibility*. Center for European Studies, Working Paper Series 126.

11. Ben-David J (1973). The state of sociological theory and the sociological community: A review article. *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 15(4): 448-72.

12. Cervallati M & Sunde U (2011). *Democratization, violent social conflict and growth,* Discussion paper of the school of Economics and political science, Department of Economics, university of St Gallerio.

13. Chinwokwu DY (2012). Public Capital Expenditure and Employment Insecurity in Nigeria: An Empirical Study. *Jos Journal of General Studies,* 6(1), 119-132.

14. Crammer C (2002). The Economics and Political Economy of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. SOAS, Center for Development and Policy Research (CDPR). University of London. Discussion Paper 1099.

15. Egbefo D (2015). Aspect of Inter-Group Relations in 21st Century Nigeria: Emblem of Ethnicity, Religious Fundamentalism and National Security Crisis 2000-2014. International Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol.4(1), pp45-80.

16. Emile Durkheim (1917). Empirical Research with Sociological Theory.www.thought.com/sociology. Accessed, February, 2020.

17. Gaskin J CA (ed.)(1996). Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 104.

18. Global Peace Index (GPI, 2020). Most Peaceful Countries; Measuring Peace in a Complex World. www.visionofhumanity.org. and, worldpopulationreview.org. Accessed March, 2020.

19. Greenfall NF & Jane A K (2009). *The challenges of agriculture and rural development   in Africa: The Case of Nigeria*. International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development. 1(3), 2226-6348.

20. Haruna C & Jumba KC (2011). Government Expenditure on Agriculture and Economic Growth in Nigeria*International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)ISSN (Online): 2319 -7064.*

21. Hellesen JL(2008). International Politics: A Framework for Analysis (7th ed). Englewood Cliffs N.J. Prentice Hall International

22. Kure IS (2002). Poverty Deeping, a Consequence of Civil Unrest in Nigeria: A Case Study of Jos Crisis.*Jos Journal of Economics*.Vol.2(1). Pp40-46.

23. McGrew T (1988). "Security and Order" in Smith, M., Smith, S. & White, B. (eds.) British Foreign Policy: Tradition, Change and Transformation. London: Allen and Unwin Lt Mosca G (1939). *The Ruling Class*. McGraw-Hill: New York.

24. Nwolise C (2006). Kidnapping in Nigeria: An emerging social crime and the implications for the labour market. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* 4(1): 133-45

25. Obaro I (2011). Inter-Group Relations and the Search for Nigerians. Boydell and BrewerPress. University of Texas. Pp157-170.

26. Obasanjo OO (2002). 42nd Nigeria independence anniversary national broadcast in tell magazine. (41):

27. Ojogho O & RA Egware (2015) Impact of Insurgency on the Agricultural Development in Nigeria. The Journal of Agricultural Sciences 1(11) 35-41.

28. Omedee A A (2012). Government Expenditure and Poverty Reduction in Ekiti State, Nigeria: *Research Journal of Finance an Accounting. Vol. 4,(5). Pp* 95-104.

29. Otto G. & Ukpere W (2012). National Security and Development in Nigeria. African Journal of Business Management, 6(23), 6766-6770.

30. Pareto V (1963). *A Treatise on General Sociology, edited by A.* New York: Dover Publications: Livingstone.

31. Saliu A H, Luqman S & Abdullahi A A (2007). Environmental degradation, rising poverty and conflict: Towards an explanation of the niger delta crisis. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* 9(4).

32. Shu-Acquaye F (2013). Human Trafficking: Trends in Africa. *Journal of International Law*: Available on: https://www.law.gonzaga.edu/gjil/2013/01/human-trafficking-trends-inafrica.

33. Siegel M (2007). *Public Expenditure, Employment and Poverty in Bangladesh: An Empirical Analysis*. Dhaka: Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD).

34. Smith D J (2001). Ritual killing, 419, and fast wealth: inequality and the popular imagination in southeastern Nigeria. *American Ethnologist,* 28: 803–26.

35. Tomoloju B (2007). How the elite underdeveloped Nigeria culture. *The Constitution,* 7(3): 3-27. Trading Economics (2019). Economic Indicators for Nigeria. www.tradingeconomics.com. Accessed January,2020.

36. Worldmeters (2019). Realtime World Statistics; Population by Countries. www.worldmeters.info. Accessed April, 2020.