



THE NIGERIAN INTERNAL SECURITY POLICY: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE HUMAN  
SECURITY THREATS TO NIGERIA IN THE POST – MILITARY ERA (2006 – 2021)

By

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## **DECLARATION**

I Hyginus Onyeaghala Uzomah declare that this effort in this thesis is my original work. That this thesis has not been submitted for a graduate or postgraduate degree award at any local or international institution. To the best of my knowledge, this work does not contain materials copied and pasted from any student's research paper, dissertation, thesis or scholarly works from the internet without due acknowledgement.

Signed: 

Data: 04/01/2023.....

## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to **Chukwu Okike Abiama**, and in loving memories of my late father Mr. Sabastine Uzomah Duru, my late mother Mrs. Patricia Akuefuihu Duru, and my late elder brother Mr. Robert Nkemjurmafor Uzomah (Mmirikwe-Onwa).

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AMAC	Abuja Municipal Area Council
APC	All Progressive Alliance
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BVN	Bank Verification Number
CCTV	Computer-based Closed Circuit Television Cameras
CFR	Council for Foreign Relations
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CPIR	Corruption Perception Index Report
CFRN	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESN	Eastern Security Network
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
JTF	Joint Task Force
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IGR	Internally Generated Revenue

ICIR	International Centre for Investigative Report
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IDASA	Institute for Democratic Alternative in South Africa's
NDP	National Defense Policy
NNDP	Nigerian National Defense Policy
NPC	National Planning Commission
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NSS	National Security Strategy
NSSR	National Security Summit Report
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NIN	National Identity Number
NIC	National Identity Card
OPEC	Organization for petroleum Exporting Countries
PDP	People's Democratic Party
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TIR	Transparent International Report
UNHDI	United Nations Human Development Index
UNHDR	United Nations Development Report

UNTFHS	United Nations Trust Fund for Human security
UNFAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Commission
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
WHO	World Health Organization
WFP	World Food Program

## **ABSTRACT**

*The Nigerian internal security policy is designed to deter all forms of real or perceived physical and human security threats to the people's lives, property, interest and personal welfare. Since the post-military era, measures put in place to actualize this objective seems not to have yielded much needed outcomes. To understand this reality, this study examines the sources of internal security threat to Nigeria that are endemic across the country's six geo-political zones. The study critically appraises the ideas, opinions and belief of the various public policy makers and stakeholders across academia, and civil society who form the study population, on the key threat to human security and the measures to address it. The human security and securitization theories were the main ideas of human security that were advanced to elucidate the country's human security issues.*

*The study adopted a mixed method research approach where quantitative and qualitative information was sought. A sample of 95 participants was drawn from the identified strata within the study population in the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC), while secondary data sources were also explored. The main sources of primary data collection were survey instruments (questionnaires) that engaged 60 participants, and in-depth interviews were conducted among 10 out of 35 participants due to the Covid-19 challenges.*

*The study found that the present situation of human insecurity in Nigeria is abysmal, alarming, and scary, expressed in the high rate of crime, widespread of poverty, high rate of unemployment, economic inequality, and corruption. The study identified human displacement, human insecurity, lack of access to basic health, recurrent flood disaster and desperation for wealth as the major socio-economic consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria.*

*The study recommends the decentralization of Nigerian internal security architecture, rehabilitation of victims of crime, legislation for education rights, and the formation of youth empowerment programs. In addition to effective economic development policy, the*

*right to self-determination, de-emphasizing ethnic and religious sentiment and adherence to democratic principles and the rule of law, as part of measures to mitigate Nigerian internal human security.*

*The study concludes that so long as the Nigerian authorities continue to prioritize physical security and infrastructure development over human security, welfare and wellbeing, the threat of human insecurity will remain unabated.*

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

The national security policy is an integrated and multidimensional approach that contains measures to deal with imminent, perceived and or potential security threats to national security and interest. The national security concept, "is an elastic one; its meaning and implications have expanded, contracted, and shifted over time. National security refers to the safeguarding of a people, territory, and way of life. It includes protection from physical assault and in that sense comparable to defense" (Jordan et al 2009:3-5). However, national security is not an exclusive preserve of defense, it presupposes security issues and concepts that border on "food security, economic, political, energy, industrial, human and environmental security" (Azazi, 2011:90), which reflects human security concern for human welfare, needs and want, it is internally oriented and invariably a subset of national security.

The "acute relevance" of national security reflects the huge annual security allocation of states, international organizations and allies to deter or confront security challenges, primarily in the era of the persistent terrorist attacks and conflicts, particularly in Africa. The event of September (9/11) in the United States of America and the United Nations Development Report (UNDP) (1994) marked the unprecedented swift response in the new approach to the security issue, in terms of terrorism and human security. The existential security challenges posed by Al-Qaeda, ISIS, El-shabbab and Boko Haram have combined to constitute a serious threat to the international community, including poverty, unemployment, inequality and human rights abuse. Nigeria being part of the global community is not immune to these security threats to her internal and external security.

On this backdrop, the study examines the Nigeria's internal security policy in the post-military dispensation, aimed to determine sources of human insecurity and by extension the internal security threats to Nigeria that are endemic across the country.

The preferred choice of Nigeria for the study is significant, timely and intentional. Besides her persistent poor leadership and failings in local and international rankings and discourse, Nigeria remained a weak and sleeping giant other African countries are waiting to rise. Nigerian population, natural and human resources are too huge to be threatened and neglected by the international community because of her multiple internal security challenges. Internal peace and human security and development in Nigeria holds the promise to serve as a template for her neighbors and the rest of African continent. With her enormous population the international community, particularly Africa cannot afford to coup with the mass exodus in the event of any serious internal conflict/war in Nigeria.

This chapter presents the general overview of the study, namely: the background of the study, a statement of the research problem, the study's overall research objectives and the research questions to be addressed. The chapter also outlines the significance of the study, the scope of the study, the conceptual clarification of pertinent security issues, as well as the structure of the thesis and conclusion.

## **1.2 Background to the Study**

According to Osuji (2013:51) "threat to national security can be viewed from different perspectives; it can be viewed from the internal or external perspective; it can be man-made or natural, real or imagined, remote or immediate, low or high level". In each case, the state, human life, livelihood and wellbeing, property, and resources are continually at risk, which brings to the fore the need for state security. To this end, "a state is said to be secure and safe when it is protected and insulated from threat; and said to be insecure and unsafe when there is threat of any sort" (Aluko, 2008:15). According to Osuji (2013:15) "in contemporary times, the internal threats to the states have increased remarkably, while the threat from external sources such as inter-state wars have diminished". It is on this premise that nation-states articulate "short, medium or long term"

security policies to address real/potential internal or perhaps external threats to national security. Nigeria is not an exception to this universal standard practice.

For decades, events and the outcome in Nigeria have revealed that the country is faced with more internal security challenges than external threats to her national security. Since the Nigerian independence in 1960, external threat has remained virtually non-existent. Besides the Nigerian-Cameron border dispute and the subsequent court action over the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula, which she lost to Cameron after the "International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling in October 2002" concluded that "the most potent threats to the Nigerian state, are the internal ones – the weak social structure and fragile economy" (GlobalSecurity.org). It is on this strength that the study focuses on the Nigerian internal security with emphasizes on threat to human security. Internal security threat "relates to those internal forces or factors, including the human element, which could undermine the socio-political, economic or general well-being and stability of the state..." (Imobighe, 2013:7).

Literature evidence has shown that human security has remained a huge challenge that has assumed a worrisome dimension in Nigeria. Human security presupposes the capacity of a state to effectively protect its citizens, as well as "provide the basic needs of the people such as education, employment, health..." (Yusuf, 2012:61). Effective human security and to a larger extent internal security hold the promise of national unity, political stability, economic growth and a crime free environment. They guarantee human rights as well as development and by extension a boost to a country's national defense and foreign policy. Therefore, it is unreasonable for Nigeria to remain insecure despite her security capabilities because of lack of deserved attention to threats to human security and to a large extent human development. Nwolise (2011:406) observed that:

A country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient police force, the most active security service agents and the best quality prison, and yet are the most insecure nation in the world, as a result of

defense and security problems from within, bad government, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment, or even activities of foreign residents or companies.

In this sense, human security equates "security with people not just territory, individuals not just nations, development not through arms" (Haq, 1995:115). Human security holds that "a people-centered notion of security is a *sine qua non* for national, regional and global peace and stability" (Mbachu, 2011: ix). It is on record that since the return to civil rule, "Nigeria is said to have witnessed over 300 violent ethno-religious, communal and political conflicts of varying intensities and magnitude" (Osuji, 2013:49), coupled with "endemic corruption, extreme poverty, massive unemployment and poor economic growth" (National Defense Policy, 2006:12). The source of this condition can be expressed from different perspectives, such as ineffective internal security policy implementation, decades of intermittent military intervention in Nigerian government and politics, especially in the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, arms proliferation across Nigerian shared porous borders, clueless economic policy, inadequate infrastructure development, marginalization, unequal resource allocation, particularly in the sharing of oil blocks, poor political leadership and human rights abuse. Human insecurity according to Otolorin (2017:1) "has taken various shapes and faces in Nigeria cross-crossing the six regions and the 36 states of the federation... in the South-South kidnapping, militancy and armed robberies, in the southeast communal clashes and agitation for secession, in the north cattle rustling, banditry, ethno-religious violence, herdsman crisis, Boko Haram and terrorism, while in the southwest, cult rivalry and arm robbery persist".

Furthermore, Egharevba et al (2016:27) argue that "the lack of access to essential goods and services for a dignified human existence, the unevenness in the distribution of incomes and fruits of economic growth... self-esteem, and freedom coupled with the prevalence of ethnic, religious, gender differences and orientations have generated violence, unrests, war, terrorism and deepen social conflict-which reinforce the condition of growing social inequality". Additionally, the "failure of successive administration in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of

wealth among ethnic nationalities are the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria” (Nwagboso, 2012, cited in Okah, 2014:7). Alluding to the above position, Akpotor and Oromareghake (2013:67) point out that “the flood gate that releases them (insecurity) was consequent upon the democratic space opened by the 1999 democracy”. They observed that the causes of these are rooted in but are not limited to the corruption of the elites, increasing unemployment, underemployment, attendant poverty and insensitivity to critical demands by regional groupings. The effect of the above condition has “constantly disrupted good governance, caused massive deaths, created an atmosphere of fear and insecurity, threatened the corporate existence of the nation and portrayed Nigeria poorly at the international scene” (Osuji, 2013:49).

Regrettably, human security is a neglected area in the Nigerian internal security policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and research as demonstrated in “the increase in military expenditure which reduces government budget in critical areas such as health, agriculture, education, and critical infrastructure; thereby intensifying peoples’ vulnerabilities to hunger, diseases, poverty, inequality, illiteracy, violence, degradation, and attacks” (Okolie, Nnamani, and Nwoke, 2021:1). According to Okolie et al (2021:17) “Nigeria’s prioritization of state-centric security architecture which reflected markedly in the consistent rise in military expenditure and the concomitant negligence cum underfunding of the critical areas of human development ... has impacted negatively on human security”. For example, Nigeria spent 5.92%, 26.02%, 8.95% and 38.04% on annual defense budget in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 in that order. In the same period her annual education budget stood at 0.18%, 0.09%, 0.72% and 0.01, respectively, while the expenditure on health sector was 18.84%, 6.91%, 9.94% and 7.39% in 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018, in that order (Macrotrends 2022).

Despite the aforesaid anomalies, the Nigerian politicians from all spheres of government have persistently appropriated unprecedented huge budgets to themselves, particularly the National Assembly to the detriment of human security, welfare and development. Ajulor (2018:1-2) discovered that “Nigeria and most countries in Africa have entered economic recessions because of policy implementation challenges such as unrealistic goal

setting, political patronage, neglect of target beneficiaries and lack of consideration of policy environment". He further stated that Nigeria is still among the poorest countries in the world. Similarly, Nwagboso (2016:38) maintains that "the deteriorating security situation in Nigeria is partly because policy makers lacked the requisite knowledge to formulate robust internal security policies and effective strategies to mitigate human security in the country", hence human insecurity has continued to constitute a serious threat to the socioeconomic and political activities of the Nigerian citizens.

It is instructive to note that human insecurity is not peculiar to Nigeria. At the international level, the Arab world experienced similar human insecurity and welfare challenges that resulted in the 2011 Arab spring uprising that toppled the dictatorial regimes in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt in North Africa. The uprisings marked the genesis of the civil war in Syria, Yemen, and virtually dragged the governments of Algeria and Morocco to its knees. Specifically, the unresolved and unattended socio-economic and political human security needs inherent in these countries, such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, human rights abuse and dictatorial tendencies contributed to the uprising. To say the least, Johnson (2012:9) observed that "there was little opportunity for upward mobility of the lower classes. At the very worst—a trend evident in all the countries involved in the Arab uprising show a significant lack of human rights and human security". Lack of human needs and or security can be fingered as the major obstacle that propelled internal insecurity. Nweke (2011:106) observed that human need for existence, survival, security, protection, affection, participation, creativity, understanding and identity is irrepressible and shared by all the people irrespective of social status. He stated that no matter how a society or system tries to frustrate or suppress these needs, it will either fail or cause far more damage on the long run.

The current situation of insecurity in Nigeria has reached a crisis level such that if measures are not taking to avert this horrible trend the like of Arab spring is eminent, the time to act is now.

The importance of sustainable human security in Nigeria cannot be over-emphasized; hence the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, affirmed in Section 14 (2b) that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. It was on this provision that the Nigerian National Security Policy recognized the significance of “non-military and people-centered issues of security which are collectively referred to as human security. Issues that come under human security include freedom of individuals from persecution, want and fear, adequate provision of essential commodities such as food, water and shelter, environmental issues, the protection of culture and religious values” (Ogunedo, 2011:31). He further stated that when the human security aspects of national security are adequately addressed, it becomes much easier to guarantee the full spectrum of activities that constitute national security. In the same vein, Otolorin (2017:2) notes that “peace and human security are very vital for the growth and development of any country, the case of Switzerland and Singapore has shown that countries with relative peace and security tend to attract more direct and portfolio investment, while on the other hand countries like Somalia, Niger, Nigeria and Sudan are characterized by civil unrest, communal and ethnic clashes, terrorism, ethno-religious violence, armed robbery, kidnapping and assassinations attract low investment”.

To tackle security challenges, the Nigerian state “established the armed forces, police, security agencies and paramilitary forces” (Mbachu, 2013: vii). Fundamentally, the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) in conjunction with the Customs, Immigration, Correctional Service and other public and private security agencies are solely responsible for Nigerian internal security. Chapter 3 Section 13 of the Nigerian National Defense Policy document also affirms that “internal security is the primary responsibility of the Nigerian Police and other paramilitary forces. Nevertheless, ... the armed forces therefore have the additional responsibility to assist civil power in terms of civil disturbances, insecurity, as well as conduct counter insurgency operations as authorized by the president” (NNDP, 2006:14).

However, despite the above security institutions, the issue of insecurity has remained insurmountable and has continued to pose hydra headed challenges to the Nigerian authorities. According to Otolorin (2017:3-4) "the government, both at the state and federal level, have set up and inaugurated various security outfits, Peace Corps, Civil Defense, Joint Task Force (JTF), ... but with little or no significant success in aggregate terms". Furthermore, the government has also "embarked on criminalization of terrorism by passing the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011, installed Computer-based Closed Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV) in some major cities... aimed at deterring or disrupting potential attacks, strengthening of security agencies through the provision of security facilities and the development and broadcast of security tips in mass media" (Mbachu & Batura, 2013: vii). Besides, there were also concerted effort by the Nigerian authorities via the National Planning Commission (NPC) ... to tackle high rates of poverty and vulnerability in the country (Hagen-Zanker & Holmes, 2012:1).

On the issue of political corruption, the present administration led by President Muhammadu Buhari was quoted to have recovered huge sums of money, including the Abacha loots, as well as confiscated and sold properties acquired fraudulently by the political class and their cronies. However, some critics are of the opinion that the government is not committed in routing out corruption because of the way the crime fighting agencies in Nigeria are going about it, targeting, and harassing political opponents at federal and state levels.

Extant literature on the threats to human security in Nigeria revealed an array of evidence of arrests and prosecutions of perpetrators of crime against humanity, but there is less emphasis on the legislative measures to compensate the crime victims. Egbuji (2018:31) observes that, "some of the state laws and the one enacted by the National Assembly prescribed death penalty for convicted kidnappers in whose hands victims died, and long-term imprisonment for convicts in situations where the victims were not killed... in spite of the trauma, injury, loss of money and even life in some cases, the society is yet to appreciate the need for victims to be compensated".

In this study, the researcher approached the Nigerian internal security challenges from two perspectives: the need for human protection (freedom from fear), and the need for human welfare (freedom from want). The essence is to strike a balance between human survival and human welfare with the understanding that "life must be secure before man thinks about how to eat, clothe and shelter himself and then proceed to talk about politics, culture and ideology" (Aja-Akporu Aja, 1999:31).

For Nigeria to overcome the menace of human insecurity, specifically human welfare and the well-being of the citizens, there is the need to comprehensively review the Nigerian internal security policy aimed to address the old and new threats to human security.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The consistent neglect of human security in the Nigerian internal security policy has negatively impacted on the effort to address human security concerns in Nigeria. The Nigerian internal security comprises physical safety of life and property, in addition to social protection and the development of its citizens. Extant literature revealed that the human security policy issue in Nigeria is a relatively neglected area of study, in contrast to the remarkable scholarly efforts and attention given to defense and foreign policy. Besides, most of the existing works on human security in Nigeria appears to be basically desktop research filled with information already in the public domain. Consequently, there seem to be limited primary data on human security, welfare and development, particularly in thesis or dissertations that deal with comparative data analysis, interpretation and the discussion of research findings on the threat to human security in Nigeria. This gap in literature informed the choice of this research endeavor.

Since the civilian rule in Nigeria, the level of human insecurity has assumed a national emergency dimension, a situation which threatens to destroy Nigeria as an indivisible entity" (Mbachu, 2013:26). According to Nwolise (2013:125) "a large part of the insecurity pathogens have been self-inflicted because the Nigerian state has allowed social injustice, corruption, unemployment, arrogance of power, and poverty to reign in the land for too long"

The impact of human insecurity and poor governance on Nigerian economy, political process, infrastructure, and development cannot be quantified or measured in monetary terms, however it is clear to observers that human insecurity has cost Nigeria enormous human and material resources (Adegami, 2013;25). The frequent insurgency attacks on state institutions and private houses in Nigeria, particularly in the north-east have resulted in the kidnappings and killings of innocent citizens, the displacement of women, children, and other vulnerable groups to the neighboring states of Niger, Chad and Cameroon, while agricultural and business activities have drastically reduced productivity. Campbell (2018:12) observes that “from May 2011 - April 2018, insurgency, militia and ethnic crisis, religious riots, farmers and herdsman clashes, soldiers, civilian killings and police extra-judicial murder in Nigeria has taken the life of 51,115 citizens” (Council for Foreign Relations (CFR), 2018). In the same vein, “Amnesty International estimated that by October 2016 the Boko Haram insurgency had led to the death of several thousands of people and displaced well over 2 million persons in north-eastern Nigeria. This makes Nigeria home to the largest number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Sub Saharan Africa – 16 percent of about 12, 5 million IDPs on the continent” (Ojo, 2017:19). Similarly, “an assessment carried out amongst 207 local government areas in northern Nigeria revealed that, while a geographically expansive and densely populated northwestern state like Kano had 3,331 IDPs, the comparatively sparsely populated three north-eastern state of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe had 1,434,149, 136,010 and 131,203 IDPs respectively” (IDMC, 2015, cited in Ojo, 2017:19). Presently, local and foreign bandits in Nigeria have virtually taken over the entire northern Nigeria, precisely Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina and Kaduna, Niger, Yobe and Adamawa, kidnapping citizens for ransom and engaging in extra-judicial killings of innocent Nigerians.

Importantly, sociopolitical and economic challenges, such as poverty, unemployment, economic inequality, political corruption and human rights abuse have combined to constitute an enduring threat to human security in Nigeria. The Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) says “the country’s unemployment rate rose from 14.2% to 18.8% in 2017, while the labor population increased from 83.9 million in the second quarter to 85.1

million in the third quarter of 2017” (NBS 2017, cited in Vanguard Newspapers, December 23, 2017:1).

According to World Poverty Clock Report (2018:5) “Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the largest number of people living in extreme poverty, the report says extreme poverty in Nigeria is growing by six people every minute, the highest number in the world. At the end of May 2018, the survey showed that “Nigeria had an estimated 87 million people in extreme poverty, compared to India’s 73 million”. “In the list of top 10 extremely poor countries, Nigeria leads with 86.9 million people and is closely followed by the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) with 60.9 million people” (The Nigerian Daily Post Newspaper 25, June 2018). Within a short period of four years the figure rose to 133 million making Nigeria the global capital of people living in poverty (National Bureau of Statistics Report, 2022).

Additionally, “the International Centre for Investigative Report (2018:15) on inequality show that Nigeria’s position in the ranking has remained constant for two years in a row. Among the 157 countries ranked in terms of their commitment to reducing inequality, Nigeria took the last position at 157. The ranking was done based on three major indicators – social spending, tax and labor rights” The report added that Nigeria performed low with regards to respect for women in the workplace and the enforcement of gender rights... and more than 10 million children do not go to school while sixty percent of these children are girls, the report concludes. Collaborating, Martin (2018:14), argues that “combating inequality is not about being the wealthiest country or being the one with the biggest economy, rather it is about having the political will to pass and put into practice the policies that will narrow the gap between the ultra-rich and the poor”.

The above staggering statistics indicate that despite her abundant human and natural resources, the Nigerian government appears not to be able to manage the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality, and by extension the threat to human security. Based on the above human insecurity indices, one can argue that the

past and present administration have failed to successfully implement social security policies designed to alleviate the plight of the poor in Nigerian society.

The picture of insecurity in Nigeria portrays her in a bad light and demystifies her being the self-acclaimed giant of Africa, hence the urgent need to re-think the Nigerian human security policy. The study seeks to contribute positively to the existing literature on human security by expanding the frontier with emphasis on the need for sustainable social security policy program and for finding solutions to the persistent human insecurity in Nigeria.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

In line with the study objectives, the research questions are:

- What are the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria?
- What are the socio-economic consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria?
- What are the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria?
- How can human insecurity in Nigeria be addressed?

#### **1.5 Research Objectives**

The specific objectives of this research are:

- To examine the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria
- To examine the socio-economic consequences of human insecurity
- To investigate the factors that sustained human insecurity
- To examine measures to improve human insecurity in Nigeria.

#### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The key source of human insecurity in Nigeria can be traced to the nature of internal security policy that was adopted by the British colonial administration which focused on the economic and regime protection as against human security. Subsequently, the Nigerian political elites at independence religiously adopted this pattern of security policy approach to the detriment of human welfare and development. Most recent studies on the Nigerian internal security are basically oriented towards defense and physical security with less emphasis on the well-being and happiness of the people, hence the issue of

human safety and development has for decades been relegated to the background or marginalized in the Nigerian internal security policy. Part of the problem stems from the prolonged period of military administration when security issues were an exclusive preserve of the security agents. As a result, the members of the public were scared to criticize the security policies of the military administration to avoid harassment, torture, disappearance or out-right detention.

The study attempts to examine the nature of human insecurity and its effect on sustainable peace and development in Nigeria. It further interrogates the Nigerian internal security policy strategies with the aim to strike a balance between human safety, welfare and development.

The findings emanating from this study will add to the body of knowledge on human security and will serve as new sources of reference material to para-military agencies, academics, civil society, human rights activists, policy makers, politicians, non-governmental organizations, and security studies students. It will also add value to the scanty literature on human security threats, especially on the persistent issue of social insecurity in Nigeria.

Importantly, the study also attempts to establish the nexus between the internal security policy and human security as well as development with the purpose of finding a sustainable solution to the human insecurity in Nigeria. The essence is to ascertain to what extent the neglect of human welfare issues such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, poor health care, poor standard of education, corruption, and so forth, have contributed to the human insecurity in Nigeria. The government's inability to securitize existential threats to human security, majorly poverty contributes hugely to the enduring human security crisis in Nigeria since the advent of her nascent democracy in 1999. The study will seek to sensitize the political elites, security policy makers and other stakeholders on the need to urgently identify and label key security issues that constitute existential threats to human security in Nigeria.

The outcomes of this endeavor will provoke further research on human security and development studies, particularly on the need for decolonizing Nigerian education system, downwards economic growth, social security, and health care. Furthermore, the study will benefit the Nigerian armed forces and officers and men of paramilitary agencies in terms of policy direction and oversight, intelligence gathering and services, joint operation, and co-ordination.

Summarily, a study of this nature and at this time has become paramount because Nigeria has infamously assumed the number one position as the poverty capital of the world due to the government's neglect of the socio-economic need of the citizens as evidenced and expressed in the 2018 United Nations Human Development Index (UNHDI).

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The study location is Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. Nigeria is the "economic hub" of West Africa, and the biggest economy in Africa as well as the most populous country in the entire black race with an estimated urban/rural population of about 200 million people. The country has porous international borders with Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Nigeria is a diverse country with about 360 ethnic majority and minority cultural groups of which Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are the major and dominant tribes. Despite her diverse human and natural endowment, coupled with her huge foreign earnings Nigeria is still grappling with socio-economic and political issues of human insecurity.

Abuja is geographically located at the center of Nigeria, it comprises six area councils, namely the Abuja Municipal Area Council, Abaji, Qwagwalada, Kuje, Bwari and Kwali. Abuja is a semi-commercial city dominated by civil and public servants, politicians and businessmen and women. The research was undertaken in the Abuja Municipal Area Council where the head offices of the Nigerian military and paramilitary institutions responsible for security policy formulation, implementation and monitoring are located. The city of Abuja also harbors the three arms of government: the executive, the legislative and the judiciary, including paramilitary agencies, the National Human Rights

Commission, foreign missions/embassies, among other institutions. This setting made it possible to access the relevant information from the resource persons and other stakeholders targeted for the study. Surrounding area councils and states such as Niger, Kogi, Jos and Kaduna are not part of the study.

Due to the complexity and vast nature of security studies, the researcher limited the study on threats to human security in Nigeria in the post military era (2006 – 2021). Security issues that border on defense, civil-military relations, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peace building, cyber security and international terrorism were not part of the study. The researcher is also aware of the secrecy surrounding the security related issues and the ethnic and religious diversity that characterize the Nigerian state. To this end, sensitive questions that are classified or are top secret information that might implicate or provoke sentiments on the side of participants were carefully, consciously and tactically avoided. The questionnaires and interviews that serve as data collection instruments were deliberately structured to exclude sensitive questions without compromising the quality and objectives of the study.

## **1.8 Conceptual Clarifications**

In this section, an attempt was made to clarify in operational terms certain key concepts that revolve around the issue of internal security. This approach is aimed to assist the reader to have a better understanding of the “theoretical and empirical” meaning of the following concepts:

### **1.8.1 Internal security**

Internal security is the “edifice” of a nation’s defense and security. It is the sure lens through which the concepts of human security can be viewed, discussed, analyzed and understood. Internal security entails measures to safeguard a state from all manner of danger, disruption, real and perceived threats to life and property, symbolic government institutions and infrastructure, in addition to other distractions to the daily activities of the population of a state. It therefore presupposes a condition of absence of fear from all internal threats that have the capacity to undermine the state, human security and

development. According to Matazu (2013:49) "internal security is considered as the state of law-and-order prevailing within a nation. It is the act of keeping peace within the borders of a sovereign state or other self-governing territories". "Internal security is the summation of the security of individuals, their environment and the preservation of independence and sovereignty of a nation-state" (Mbachu, 2013:22). A nation with an insecure environment is doomed to internal upheaval and possible disintegration. Internal security management therefore is the constitutional mandate of the police in conjunction with other sister paramilitary security agencies. The Nigerian police are responsible for the "prevention and control of crime and disorder as well as the detection, apprehension and persecution of perpetrators of crimes and violence in society" (Alemika, 2013:290). In extreme emergency cases or "total breakdown of law and order the military is drawn in to boost operational confidence and capacity of the police and other security and intelligence outfits" (Aja Akpuru-Aja, 1999:32). Instances of military deployment in internal security are bound, namely the Nigerian-Biafra Civil War of 1967, the military operation in Odi community in Rivers State, the Jos military operation in Plateau State, the Zamfara joint operation, Operation python dance 1, 2 and 3 in the southeast and the current joint military task force battling Boko Haram insurgency and bandits in Bornu, Zamfara, Kastina, Niger and Sokoto states, aimed to assist the police to maintain internal peace and security in Nigeria.

### **1.8.2 Nigeria's internal security policy**

States around the world are confronted with different threats or crisis that endanger not only the lives and properties of their citizens, but also in some cases their very existence (Zabadi, 2011:84). With an estimated 180 million people, Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa. It is also its largest oil producer, and one of the continent's major economic and military powers (Bala and Ouédraogo, 2018:1). While Nigeria is making tremendous progress in sustaining her democratic rule since 1999, the internal security sector remains precarious, faced with myriads of physical and non-violence human security threat challenges. This is currently expressed in the old and emerging threats of banditry and kidnapping for ransom, porous international borders, self-determination

movements across southern Nigeria, ethno-political and religious crisis, inadequate funding of paramilitary security agencies, Nigeria, increase in point of sale (POS) crime and cyber-scam. Others include multi-dimensional poverty, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria, high rate of joblessness among the youth, astronomical increase of school drop-out in basic education, corruption and vested interest in public and private sectors, trust deficit between security agents and the masses, particularly the Nigerian Police Force and weak justice system.

On this premise, Nigeria, just as other nations of the world developed its national security strategy to protect its sovereignty, the lives and properties of her citizens from all forms of attack and vulnerability. Basically, there are no stand-alone text document specifically meant for Nigeria's internal security policy, rather an integrated national security strategy designed to shield the citizens from internal security threats. The overarching objective of Nigerian national security strategy are:

- Promote crisis response and resilience
- Combating terrorism and countering violent extremism
- Preventing and combating kidnapping, armed banditry and militia activities
- Critical national assets and infrastructure security
- Securing ungoverned spaces (National Security Strategy, 2019).

According to the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) Chapter 2 (Sections 16 & 17) provides the basis for the provision of social protection in the country. This includes:

- secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity
- provide suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled
- ensure that all citizens have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunity to secure suitable employment.

The goal of internal security is to create a safe and secure environment for the pursuit of peace, personal well-being, prosperity, and development (National Security Strategy, 2019:21), hence the Nigeria's internal security policy framework is designed to address real or perceived human security threat challenges and opportunities. At the core of the policy is the people, boiled down on the strategic measures (short or long term) to deal with all levels of threats to individual safety, welfare, assets and development. It covers efforts made to guarantee and promote peace and order within a state by addressing or containing sources of threats or dangers emanating within its territory (Zabadi, 2011:87).

In general terms, the security of any nation is the responsibility of everyone - the citizens and foreign nationals residing in or transiting the republic. At the institutional level in Nigeria, it is the statutory duty vested on the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in conjunction with all the security agencies established by law, (National Security Summit Report, 2021). The Nigerian internal security architecture majorly comprised the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), and other paramilitary sister security agencies, in addition to ministries of labor and productivity, environment, women affairs and social development, education and youth development. It therefore behooves these institutions to formulate and implement internal security policies and programs with human face.

### **1.8.3 Internal threat**

A threat can be explained to mean "anything that constitutes a danger to a country's territory, the life of its people, its political, economic and social systems, and its sovereignty; indeed, anything that jeopardizes a nation's core values" (Fwa, 2007:104). Imobighe (1992) defines a threat as a "declaration of intent to injure, harm or punish an opponent usually with a view to restraining his freedom of action or changing his future behavior along a desired direction" (1992:104). For a threat to take place, two parties must be involved: "on one side stands the threatening party who demands something, and on the other side is the threatened party, who must decide under pressure, whether he will give in to the demand or resist" (Krause & Vale, 1983:6).

The internal threat of a state therefore represents anything that disturbs the socio-economic and political values and stability of the state. Put differently, it is all about the moves, action, or inaction that are designed to undermine the formal and informal human activities of the state, classified in two categories: violent and non-violent threats. The former signifies any violent conflict or activity against the state and its citizens capable of overthrowing a legitimate government, or cause injury, harm, or deaths, while the latter is all about issues such as but not limited to poverty, unemployment, income inequality, and corruption.

In relation to the Nigerian situation, factors that constitutes internal threat to peace and security emanates from various factors; insurgency, banditry, kidnaping, poor economic policy, economic sabotage, human rights abuse, gender inequality, religious bigotry, Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), cyber scam etc.

From the analytical lens, a threat can be real or imagined, it can also be assessed and analyzed as "low, moderate, substantial, severe or critical" in that order of importance or danger. Threat analysis is a "function of timely and adequate intelligence information necessary to determine the level of danger posed by the threat and the most appropriate means of reaction or response" (Aja Akpuru-Aja, 1999:37-38). A country's internal security strategy and response is therefore determined by the nature and the level of threat, the security needs of the people and the available resources of the state to pursue and contain it.

#### **1.8. 4 Post-military era**

Nigeria gained her independence on October 1, 1960. In 1963 the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II granted her autonomy status that marked the end of the British administrative control of the Nigerian colonial territory. Subsequently, from 1963-1966 Nigeria became a republic governed by the first republican constitution based on a federal form of Westminster system. This arrangement was short lived and disrupted by two infamous events in Nigerian history - the first bloody military coup on January 15, 1966,

and the unfortunate 3-year Nigeria -Biafra Civil War that ended in 1970. The Second Nigerian Republic was a brief formation of the Nigerian state which succeeded the military governments formed after the overthrow of the first republic, while the third Republic (1992–1993) was an unsuccessful attempt to restore Nigeria to democracy initiated by General Ibrahim Babangida (<https://Wikipedia.org>).

The post-military era signifies a period after the decades of military involvement in the Nigerian government and politics, otherwise referred to in the Nigerian political parlance as the fourth republic. Put differently, it is the epoch when the military retired to the barracks after years of misrule and “unenthusiastically surrendered power” to the democratically elected civilian government in 1999. In terms of internal security, the post-military era is a period when the civilian government of Nigeria under former President Olusegun Obasanjo “formally lay down a policy framework governing the conduct of defense and security in Nigeria since the end of the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War in 1967, with the objectives to advancing Nigerian national security interest, containment of instability... and improvement of the welfare and well-being and quality of the life of every citizen” (Nigerian National Defense Policy 2006:2). In other words, and perhaps for the first time the issue of human welfare and security found an expression and space in the Nigerian internal security policy architecture, as stipulated in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, Chapter 11, Section 14 (2b) that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”.

It is important to note that this laudable feat informed the timeframe of the research. Before this period, human security was virtually a no issue in the socio-economic, political and development agenda of the military administration, hence human security was relegated to the background. For this reason, the return of civilian rule was climaxed by insecurity because of the decades of the neglect of human needs and security. The post-military era also seems to have been engulfed in anti-social activities and crime resulting in extra-judicial killings, police brutality, violence, the total neglect of individual welfare, uncontrolled corruption, poverty, unemployment, inequality and civil disobedience and unrest. Mbachu (2013: vii–viii) captured this period when he succinctly observed that

“since the return to democratic rule in May 1999, Nigeria has witnessed several security challenges in the form of militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery, political assassination, arms proliferation, piracy, ethnic-religious conflicts, and monumental corruption, alluding that the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in July 2009 heralded the worst kind of security challenge to the Nigerian nation. Conversely, Nwolisa observed that, “a large part of the insecurity pathogens have been self-inflicted because the Nigerian state for too long allowed social injustice, corruption, unemployment, arrogance of power, and poverty to reign in the land” (2013: 125–138). However, and most importantly, the present post military administration will be remembered in Nigerian history as a period when the country witnessed and enjoyed 23 years of uninterrupted democratic rule since her independence in 1960.

### **1.8.5 Human welfare**

Human welfare presupposes that all individual, organizational and government efforts and policies are put in place to alleviate the plight of the people, particularly those with low economic income. The welfare of the people is the constitutional mandate of any concerned and responsible government. It entails economic and non-economic assistance from government, individuals or charity organizations aimed to better the life of the people in the society. Human welfare can be achieved via government investment assistance and opportunities in trade and commerce, individual self-initiative and foreign assistance. It also involves social support grants for old age, people with disability and youth empowerment. In advanced economies civilized democracies, welfare programs are designed to assist those that have lost their jobs, poor income earners, as well as the impoverished people in the society. The essence is to instill sense of belonging to the low-income earners, reduce poverty and assist the people enjoy good life, good health, happiness and socio-economic prosperity. Human welfare appears to be one of the key areas where the Nigerian government, past and present have failed in terms of policy implementation, service delivery, monitoring, and adequate budget allocation compared to other sectors, such as defense and infrastructure.

### **1.8.6 Human development**

Development is a hydra-head concept in definition and meaning, hence human, infrastructure, economic and social development. In the past, the word was largely associated with “economic growth and development” which is a process of moving forward in terms of economic prosperity. According to the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2013), human development encouraged economic reforms to advance development in developing countries (Britton et al., 1975:1). In his work *Development as Freedom*, Sen, (1999:5) suggests that “political freedoms, freedom of opportunity and freedom in accessing credit, are just a few of the freedoms that can lead to development. This is an interesting view as it does not just focus on economic development”. Human development on the other hand is a broad approach to expanding the people’s choice or capabilities not only in terms of income, but also in areas such as health, education, technology, environment and employment. It clearly holds that the socio-economic policies should focus on people and other well-being as the final objective, rather than focusing on economic growth or any other situation as an end in themselves (Alkire, 2003:35). The core of human development is the freedom of opportunities to excel in human endeavor and to live a better life. Educating a girl for instance, “would build her skills, but it is of little use if she is denied access to job or does not have the skills for the local labor market” (UNHDR, 2018).

## **1.9 Structure of the Thesis**

### **1.9.1 Chapter one:**

Chapter one serves as the introductory overview of the study and comprised the background of the study and the statement of the research problem. It further highlights the research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and the explanation of key concepts that are necessary in the understanding of human security. They include, internal security, Nigeria’s internal security policy, internal threat, post-military era, human welfare, human development and the conclusion of the chapter.

### **1.9.2 Chapter two:**

The chapter comprised two sections. The first section presents the literature review on security with particular focus on the human security situation in Nigeria. The section encompasses the introduction, detailed explanation of the concept of security, the global perspectives of human security, and human security in the era of colonial administration in Nigeria, human security in the post civilian era in Nigeria, human welfare and human development. The second part of the chapter examined two theoretical frameworks that underpinned the analysis of the study, namely, the human security theory and the securitization theory.

### **1.9.3 Chapter three:**

Chapter three discusses the research design and the methodological strategies that are employed and the justification on the choice of the research tools that are used in the study. The study employed the triangulation/mixed method research design aimed to assist the researcher to compare the differences and the similarities between the responses of the participants in relation to the state of human security in the Nigerian internal security policy in the post military era. The chapter explains the steps taken to generate and analyze data from the administered questionnaire and the conducted in-depth interviews. The data collected from primary sources was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 23, specifically using frequent distribution, charts and mean score values and content analysis to present, interpret and analyze findings. It also describes the research location – Abuja, where the study was carried out. The ethical concern as it relates to both the participants and the researcher, especially issues of informed consent, data protection, respect for privacy, anonymity and confidentiality are exhaustively discussed in this chapter. In addition, the chapter revealed key challenges of the study as well as the strategies employed to overcome them to achieve the stated objectives of the study, in addition to conclusion.

### **1.9.4 Chapter four:**

Chapter four examines the causes and consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria from the survey, in-depth interviews, and extant literature perspectives. Specifically, it revealed banditry, threat of insurgency, threat of unemployment, poverty and economic inequality,

including inadequate human security policy implementation and balance of internal and external security threat, in that order as the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria. The chapter also highlights the impact factors of human insecurity to include human displacement, economic development, and lack of access to basic health care, recurrent floods, and desperation for wealth.

#### **1.9.5 Chapter five:**

The chapter examines the sustainable factors of human insecurity in Nigeria expressed in political corruption, political marginalization of some ethnic nationalities, inadequate human security policy, lack of political action and mono-culture economic policy. The chapter further highlights measures to mitigate human insecurity, to include the need for sustained poverty alleviation programs, people-oriented constitution, homegrown education policy, moral regeneration, securitizing poverty and effective database and conclusion.

#### **1.9.6 Chapter six:**

This chapter concludes the study. It articulates and presents the summary of salient findings/observations, draws conclusions of the thesis and recommendations. The study also made suggestions for further studies on the subject under discuss.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature for the study and provides the theoretical model that serves as the foundational guide in understanding the enduring issue of human insecurity in Nigeria. The first part of the chapter deals with the review of relevant works of scholars that have made meaningful contribution in the field of security studies and international relations. The purpose of this section is to summarize these pertinent postulation and ideas that are already in the field of security studies and to identify the existing gaps which the thesis intended to fill. The second part of the chapter examines the two theoretical frameworks upon which the study is anchored, namely: the human security theory and the securitization theory.

The literature review is approached from the following perspectives:

- An overview of the concept of security
- Global view of human security
- Human security in the era of colonial administration in Nigeria
- Human security in the post Nigerian Civil War era
- Security and human development
- Human security and social justice.

#### **2.2.1 An overview of the concept of security**

The security concept has been a subject of great debate among scholars in social sciences and in international relations. Some security experts are of the view that the subject of the ambiguity, contestation and debate is basically on the dovetail nature of the idea of security, the question of "what constitutes security" and the relevance of the persistent "use of military power" in the settlement of disputes in international relations. Booth (2005:21) contends that "the central focus of the security debate is on the different views about the primary referent to be secured, the type of threats most feared, and the key

agents for action". The author further argues that security is a derivative concept that is devoid of common understanding and consensus among scholars in terms of its definition and meaning. Nevertheless, from a more concise point of view, security is defined as the "protection of a nation from all types of external aggression, espionage, hostile reconnaissance, sabotage, subversion, annoyance and other inimical influence" (Shinkaiye, 2004:2). To Basu and Nunes, (2013:68) "security ultimately refers to a condition in which individuals and group do not have to fear for their own survival" They went further to argue that when people are secure in the sense of survival, they are not immediately worried for example, about where their next meal is coming from, or whether they will be gunned down by drug cartels, or whether they will suffer from a rampant cholera epidemic. Apart from the physical survival of the state, Imobighe, (2013) agrees with Basu and Nunes (2013:68) that "security must be seen to have a positive impact on the conditions of the life of the individual within the state, as well as provide them with the right environment for free interaction and for their individual and collective self-improvement and the actualization of their legitimate aspirations" (Imobighe, 2013:6). According to Lipman (1943:51) "a nation is secured to the extent that it is not in a position to lose core values, life, property and liberty, and if it wishes, to deter aggression or win war when unavoidable". From the brief discussion above, one cannot but agree that ultimately security as a concept lacks a universal definition, hence the various attempts that have been put forward by the experts to comprehensively define security have remained elusive. According to the American Society for Industrial Security (ASIS 2003:10) "every time we think we have got the definition of the security field nailed, somebody ... starts taking some of the nails away".

The first book to examine the broader questions of security and war prevention was Quincy Wright's Study of War published in 1942. Wright "deviated from the work of the classical strategists which considered war as a tool of statecraft. Rather than looking at the problems of national security or the alternatives for national strategy, Wright looked to diplomacy, international understanding, arbitration, national self-determination, disarmament, and collective security as guarantors of international peace and stability"

(Snyder, 2011:5). However, the end of the Second World War, the demise of the Soviet Union and more importantly the event of September 9/11 revitalized and reinvigorated the security debate and brought to the fore a new thinking and or a new dimension of the concept of security both in approach and in practice in the local and international security discourse. The essence was to rethink security from a different perspective beyond the traditional realist approach and discourse of national security.

In his article, *The Contested Concept of Security*, Smith (2005:32) acknowledged "six differing but overlapping schools of thought... beyond the traditional referent object - the state; the Copenhagen School and Security, Critical Security Studies, Feminist Security Studies, Human Security Studies, Constructivist Security Studies and Post-structuralism Security Studies". Alahira, (2013:295) observes that "these schools share a common dissatisfaction with the orthodox state-based approach to security, but however, acknowledged the importance and relevance of conceptualizing both perspectives (military and non-military) in security strategies and national development". For this reason, three relevant schools of thoughts stand out in this study - the Copenhagen School of thought, Critical Security Studies, and Human security.

In the Copenhagen debate on the broadening/widening of security, two scholars, Barry Buzan and Ole Waever stand out as the most prominent crusaders in the security development agenda. Buzan's "key move made in his book *People, State and Fear* was to broaden the security agenda to involve five sectors rather than the traditional focus on only one – military security. He added political, economic, social, and ecological security sectors" (Buzan, 1983:25). Importantly, the author also discussed the individual as the irreducible base unit of security, but not as a referent object for analysis in international security. Smith (2005:32) argues that "the state rather than the individual constitutes the primary referent object of security for three reasons: it was the state that had to cope with the sub-state-international security problematic, the state was the primary agent for the alleviation of the insecurity, and the state was the dominant actors in the international political system". The Copenhagen school idea of societal security featured prominently in Ole Waever's book on *securitization* where security was described as "a discursive, as

a speech act" (Weaver, 1995), using the bombing of the World Trade Center as a case study, where "the key agent of action" (American authorities) prioritized and labeled the Al-Qaida terrorist group as an existential threat to the United States and its allies. Expectedly, Buzan's state-centric notion of security was vehemently criticized. Jones and Booth (2005:33) noted that "Buzan's book should really have been entitled *States and Fear* since people; according to Buzan is not a referent object in the security analysis". Similarly, Booth argued that "the state was not the primary referent for security for three reasons: states are unreliable as primary referent because whereas some are in the business of security (internal and external) some are not", "even those which are producers of security (internal and external) represent the means and not the ends", and "states are too diverse in their character to serve as the basis for a comprehensive theory of security". "In place of the state, the author wants to place human emancipation at the center of security studies" (Booth, 1991:320). In his contribution to the security debate, "Martin Shaw criticized Booth's security focus on the individual, arguing instead that society is the missing dimension of security studies, with the concept of social relations needing to be interposed between and around the terms state and individual". He further stated that both the state and the individual's need to be understood within a sociological context and neither is seen as standing alone (Shaw, 1991:160).

Conversely, Hansen (2000:37) critically noticed the conspicuous "absence of gender-based insecurity in the work of Copenhagen school which she deemed as a significant silence in their security architecture". The author made a case of two omissions in Berry Buzan state-centric notion of security... first, security as silence, means that the securitization approach assumes that it is possible to speak about the security issue, secondly, there is an observation that Copenhagen definition of securitization can only take place when a referent object is existentially threatened; yet gender-based security issues do not fit within any of their definition of referent object. She concludes that the focus on speech produces problems in situations where the possibilities of speaking security are constrained, and the conditions for becoming a referent object are such that gender security is almost excluded from qualifying.

On the other hand, the proponents of critical security hold that "the precise definition of what it means to be secure, the causes of insecurity, and who or what the concept of security should apply to, have long been debated and has remained the subject of the ambiguity and contestation in security studies" (Peoples & Williams, 2015:2). The concept of critical security studies is usually associated with "the Frankfurt School inspired work by Booth and Jones and their Aberystwyth students and collaborators" (Booth, 1991, 2005a, 2007; Jones, 1995, 1999, 2005; Bilgin, 2003, 2004a; Dunne & Wheeler, 2004; Mutimer, 2007: 62-65; Van Munster, 2007). According to Krause and Williams (1996:231), "the main thrust of critical security studies is to lay emphasis on the need to move from a focus on the military dimension of state behavior under anarchy to a focus on individual, community, and identity". Conceptually, critical security studies argued that "individual humans are the ultimate referent for security, as states are unreliable providers of security and too diverse to provide for 'a comprehensive theory of security'" (Booth, 1991:324).

For Booth and Jones (1991) "security is all about human emancipation". Booth (2005:42) "sees emancipation as not being the following: it is not a universal timeless concept, it cannot be at the expense of others, and it is not synonymous with Westernization". He further argues that emancipation should logically be given precedence in our thinking about security over the mainstream themes of power and other. The author defines emancipation as: the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints which stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do. "War and the threat of war is one of the constraints, together with poverty, poor education policy, and political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin" (Booth, 1991:319).

Importantly, Smith (2005:43) considered emancipation as a powerful framework in understanding the motive behind the "September 11 attacks" on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC in United States of America, "as well as the complex questions of how to respond". He observes that, the Al-Qaida does not simply oppose the United States of America's influence in the Middle East

in general and its support for Israel specifically; it opposes the United States, and regimes such as Saudi Arabia in the Middle East, because it sees them as pursuing modernization, which it deems as diametrically opposed to authentic Islamic identity.

However, the critical security study has been criticized by some scholars for different reasons. For instance, Ayoob (1997) disagrees with Booth's definition of human emancipation. He was of the view that "Booth's definition refuses to acknowledge that a society or group can be emancipated without being secure and vice versa". Ayoob adds that to posit emancipation as synonymous with security and the panacea for all the ills plaguing Third World states can be the height of naiveté (Ayoob, 1997, in Smith 2005:44-45). Contrary to Ayoob's state-based approach to security, Smith (2005) observed that "the problem with this is that for many societies and populations the state is the main threat to their security". Therefore, Ayoob's disagreement with Booth ends up as a dispute over what is the referent point of security: for Booth it is 'individual', for Ayoob the 'state' (Smith, 2005:45).

A more substantial critique of critical security studies has been made by Peoples and Williams (2015:8) "who focus on what some scholars consider to be the media hyperbole of representations of 9/11". They observed that repeated images and footage of the collapse of the iconic twin towers were watched globally and received unprecedented media coverage. The authors argued that other events in global politics, such as the on-going conflict in Darfur for example, have by contrast claimed more lives yet attracted far less attention.

Importantly, the third school of thought is the concept of Human Security which served as the theoretical foundation underpinned the study. Human Security has been viewed as a potential response to the growing insecurity of security. An implicit assumption of human security is that the elevation of issues of human rights, economic inequality, and environmental change to the realm of security will allow greater priority to these issues, and thus maximize the potential for such issues to be addressed meaningfully by policy makers (McDonald, 2002:278). The thrust of human security is a concern for the

individual safety, protection, welfare, quality of life and development. At international level it seeks to address issues of humanitarian intervention, human rights, refugee movements, structural economic inequality, and environmental change (McDonald, 2002:278). The issue of human security discourse as originated from the United Nations Development Program Report, its relevance and criticism has been extensively discussed in the theoretical framework which formed the basis of the study (see pages 44-51)

The varying opinion of security and security studies notwithstanding, the key takeaway here is the common understanding among scholars and security experts, commentators, and policy makers of the important need to re-think security from different perspectives as opposed to the realist state-centric notion and tradition.

### **2.2.2 The global perspectives of human security**

Scholars are divided on what human security is and what it is not. The “end of the cold war” year and the growing number of threats to human security necessitated the renewed call for a shift of focus away from state-based approach to security to human safety and survival. Importantly, “the questions of which humans should be secured, what type of threat to them should be dealt with, who provides for their security have remained highly controversial because the answers depend on the ideological position or theory one adopts” (Peou, 2014:1). The concept of human security officially came into the spotlight in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) document published in its 1994 report. The document defined human security to mean “freedom from fear and freedom from want, resulting in a clear dissatisfaction and rejection of the prevailing realist (state-centric) approach to national and international security”. According to the UN report, human security is not a concern with weapons – it is a concern with human life and dignity (UNDP 1994).

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) defined human security as... “to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military, and cultural system that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity” (CHS

2003:4). Holding on to the above, foreign policy makers, states and non-state actors in the international relations interpreted the UN and CHS definitions of human security to include "conflict resolution, security intervention, social security, poverty alleviation and gender security. In the same vein, foreign policy analysts further linked the idea of human security with comprehensive security, collective security, global security, and power politics. Cooperative security pays growing attention to the need for intrastate peacebuilding, which involves, among other things, the promotion of human rights and democracy, building the rule of law, criminal justice, and economic reconstruction" (Peou, 2014:47). Similarly, Pattman (2005:61) opined that "global security denotes the wellbeing of individuals, firms, social movements, social classes, non-whites, wage workers, women, indigenous people, the poor, post-colonials, and planetary ecosystems".

From the foregoing, "the concept of human security equates security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms" (Muloongo, 2005:2). Human security is all about a re-think of the use of arms over poverty alleviation, defense over human welfare, conflict over social harmony, tangible over intangible security issues. Consequently, human security "in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that everyone has opportunities and choices to fulfill their potential" (Muloongo, 2005:1). The UN's definition of human security (freedom from fear and freedom from want) remained relevant and instructive in the contemporary Afghan security discussion and practice. The issue of poverty and insecurity in Afghanistan after the exit of the former Soviet Union, followed by the United States invasion in 2001 once more brought to the fore the issue of the "gun versus bread debate". The American security policy in Afghanistan remained the orthodox security strategy of state protection to the detriment of the ravaging poverty, unemployment, inequality, and human development in Afghanistan. The American security agenda in Afghanistan concentrated on "eliminating the threat of the Taliban, demobilizing the remaining Afghan militias and suppressing the narcotics trade" (Tadjbakhsh, 2005:4). Contrary to the US security policy approach, "the Afghan National Human Development

Report argued that "in a country where the GDP per capita was \$200, life expectancy 44.5, and the literacy rate 28.7%, the priority of the new government should be to provide human security as a public good for all" (ANHDR, 1990:4). Tadjbakhsh (2005:58) points out that "insecurity in Afghanistan is not only a problem of physical safety, but also of deprivation and restricted access to health and education facilities, legal and political rights, and social opportunities". He further stated that dealing with insecurity should not be sought through short term military solution... but a long-term comprehensive strategy that abides by promises of development and promotion of human rights. The author asserts that security is not only that of the state and its institutions or of the national territory but also, and especially, of the people living within Afghanistan.

Furthermore, the question of who provides human security brought to the fore the issue of humanitarian intervention. The resurgence of the principle of humanitarian intervention can be traced to the 1994 Rwandan genocide where about 800,000 people were brutally murdered in an ethnic conflict which raised the issues of human protection and the responsibility to protect in war or conflict situation. The core idea of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is that "all governments have an obligation to protect their populations from four mass atrocity crimes: genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity, it is primarily a preventive doctrine" (Adams, 2012:11).

The concept of the responsibility to protect argued that "at the core of this responsibility is the state's obligation to protect its citizens from violence. If a state fails to protect its nationals from harm, the international community must undertake the responsibility to do so" (Donnell, 2014:561). The UN Charter explicitly bans the threat of or use of force against one another in conflict situation (UNC, Article 14). The only exceptions to this prohibition are actions in individual or collective self-defense or actions approved by the United Nations Security Council" (Article 15). The Charter also authorizes members to utilize regional security arrangements (Article 17) but prohibits such entities from taking enforcement actions without authorization from the Security Council (Article 18). However, there are circumstances under which the United Nations Charter permits states to use force to defend its territory and people without its authorization or endorsement.

They include self-defense - when there is threat to state security, anticipatory self-defense in a case of armed attack, Hot-pursuit cross border raid on land, defense of nationals abroad, humanitarian intervention, collective self-defense, and self-defense on the high sea (Article 51)

In spite of the UN provision of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, the idea of the responsibility to protect was endorsed and made a matter of international discussion by... Kofi Annan, "who in relation to Rwanda and Kosovo pogroms raised a fundamental question of who is responsible for protecting people from gross violations of human rights in the event of an internal or external crisis and the issue of the use of force against another state" (Deng,1996). Annan argued that "if we are to take human rights seriously, we must embrace the concept of 'the responsibility to protect,' as a basis for collective action to prevent and stop instances of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity" (Outreach Program on the Rwandan Genocide and the United Nations (OPRGUN, 2012:1). As a "policy tool, Responsibility to Protect (R2P) allows a re-examination of the changing norms of sovereignty, collective security, and power politics. Ultimately, the question is posed as to who is in the best position to "provide" human security as a public good, who are the actors, what are their duties, and what are the factors that impinge on their responsibility to protect? (Tadjbakhsh, 2005:9).

The concept gained momentum in the report of the Canadian International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), after the UN's failure to prevent genocide in Rwanda. In its 2001 Report, the ICISS identified three fundamental elements that elucidate the idea of the responsibility to protect. The "first is the responsibility to prevent, under which states should tackle the root causes of conflicts before emergencies erupt, second "the responsibility to react, states should respond to crises through sanctions, military interventions, or other appropriate measures", third, "the responsibility to rebuild, involves states aiding states recovering from crises" (Donnell, 2014:562). Subsequently, "at the 2005 World Summit, 190 states produced an agreement declaring, in part, that every state has a responsibility to protect its citizenry and to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity" (Bellamy and Reike, 2011:81).

Bellamy and Reike (2011:81) argue that "should a state fail to uphold this mandate; the international community has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic and peaceful means to protect the civilian population. If such means are inadequate, the Security Council should be prepared to take "timely and decisive" action in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter".

Furthermore, "the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's conceptualization of the R2P contains three pillars, the first pillar is the state's R2P its citizenry, originating from the basic tenets of sovereignty, the second pillar revolves around the responsibility of the international community to help states fulfill the responsibilities described in the first pillar, the final pillar concerns intervention consistent with the UN Charter if a state is manifestly failing to protect its citizens as described in the first pillar" (Donnell, 2014:562).

However, "the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has been bitterly divided over whether humanitarian intervention is justified by the responsibility to protect, especially with respect to unilateral intervention" (Donnell, 2014:563). Unilateral intervention is explained to mean a situation where states or international organizations, for example NATO could single handedly intervene in other states' internal crisis through whatever means without the authorization of the UN Security Council. For example, the Security Council military action in Iraq, the NATO intervention in Kosovo and Libya, the United States military intervention in Panama and Nicaragua, to mention but a few. "In other instances, the international community has failed to intervene during or to prevent the commission of devastating human rights violations, including genocide" (Security Council Resolutions 940/794/688 of 1994, 1992 1991, respectively), for example, the Rwandan ethnic cleansing in 1994, "Bosnian town of Srebrenica in 1995", "Sudan in 2003" and in Cambodia. From the foregoing, the issue of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in the international community brings to the fore two perspectives of human security strategy: human protection through negotiation, sanction and military intervention in war situation and human security of the individual in terms of human welfare and development.

### **2.2.3 Human security and development in the era of colonial administration in Nigeria**

According to Deng (2008:192) “the African post-colonial states have been bogged down by its own political insecurities to such an extent that the issue of human security – which affects most of its citizens – has become, at best, secondary and at worse, completely irrelevant”. “Apart from the situation brought about by natural factors such as those of geography, ethnic or national composition, as well as the natural and human resources” (Imobighe 2003:1), human insecurity has remained for decades a part of an enduring internal inherited colonial legacy in Africa. The colonial administration’s security policy in Africa was oriented towards regime protection and economic benefits rather than the concern for the security and wellbeing of the indigenous people of Africa, notably in the British colonies. In the cold war era, the issue of security in Africa and elsewhere in the globe reflected the traditional state-centric approach, hence the issue of human welfare, and developments was relegated to obscurity. Consequently, “the newly established African states became preoccupied with the protection of their own state security rather than focusing on human security, which, by definition, consolidates the state’s security” (Deng, 2008:193). The Nigerian experience is not different. Nigeria being one of the British colonized states in Africa has since independence promoted and adopted state-based and regime security strategies and practices as opposed to human welfare and development. Human security and development in Nigeria have been seriously disrupted and disoriented by a series of events and outcomes in Nigerian history, government, and politics, to include the era of British colonial administration, the Nigeria-Biafra War (1967-1970), the epileptic military intervention in Nigerian government and politics a condition that span for three decades before the advent of the present democratic dispensation. The concern here is to ascertain the extent the phases of events and outcomes have impacted on - human security and development in Nigeria.

Nigeria is a British creation, a move that began with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates by the then Governor-general Lord Fredrick Lugard in 1914. The essence of the unholy marriage was to ease the financial burden of the British

government, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria, and for economic and administrative benefits and convenience than human security and development of the indigenous nationalities of Nigeria. Conversely, Ijomah (2017:4) opined that "indeed one of the reasons for the amalgamation was the fact that the British colonial government was tired of carrying the burden of the North and they thought that by merging the Southern and Northern protectorates, the country would be stable". The author argue that the motive was neither by political exigencies nor by a closer cultural understanding among the diverse elements of the conglomeration that was later to be called Nigeria. Geary (1927:124-125) observed that "due to its geographical location and cloudy economic prospects, the northern protectorate was not likely to be viable... the prosperity of the southern protectorate as evidenced by the liquor trade has risen by 57 percent, liquor trade alone yielded revenue of 1,138000 pounds in 1913 which he believed was the result of amalgamation of the Lagos colony with the Southern protectorates".

This unconsented union brought together the major and minor ethnic nationalities that are totally distinct in terms of historical background, level of education, level of economic and political development, cultural affinity, common language, and religion, hence forth, human security, national unity, peace, and development were compromised and elusive. With the amalgamation in place, the vital and contending issue of human security and national unity of the protectorate was virtually nonexistent, hence a secondary concern to the colonial administration, and where such exist it was for a specific reason and purpose. Uzomah (2018:2) asserts that "the establishment of Islam and Christianity in conjunction with Arabic and western education was aimed to strengthen the newfound faith not for economic benefit, security and development of the colonized indigenes". He further opined that the education prospectus of the colonial powers in Africa, as it were, was dominated by the study of... social science subjects, wherein the products ended up as teachers, pastors, Imams, office clerks and language interpreters. The policy deliberately excluded science programs from the African school curriculum. Consequently, the introduction of western education disrupted and disoriented African indigenous education system and communication, history, culture and religion, which in

part constitute the root cause of African poverty, high rate of unemployment, and poor economic growth, and to a larger extent Africa's underdevelopment.

Furthermore, there were instances where the colonial government were involved in human rights abuse, suppression of legitimate service delivery protests, tax increase, instigation of ethnic and community conflicts and wars, including the dethronement and replacement of native community heads with the so called "warrant chiefs," especially in the southeastern part of Nigeria, precisely in Igbo land. The Aba women's riot in 1929 is instructive, where the colonial administration imposed direct taxation on women, in addition to the introduction of new local courts and imposition of warrant chiefs. These colonial activities were deemed antithetical and taboo to the indigenous Igbo tradition, norms, values, and culture. "The change of traditional governance in Igbo land as opposed to the familiar republican system ultimately alienated individuals and communities from participating actively in the socio-economic and political affairs and development of their communities. Local communities became onlookers in their own environments depending on the "order" of the 'ruling' officers known as 'warrant chiefs'" (Anyanele, 2019:170).

In all, the imposition of traditional chiefs on the natives, the divide and rule policy and the anti-human security architecture established by the colonial British government in Nigeria resulted in community crisis, ethnic division, corruption, distrust, religious bigotry, and hatred between the north and south in general, and among the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo in particular. These unresolved existential challenges metamorphosed into one of the unfortunate bloodiest coups in Nigeria and subsequently the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War in 1967. To this end, one can strongly argue that the un-negotiated nature of the amalgamation of the Northern and southern protectorates and its attendance results impacted on human security and development in Nigeria.

#### **2.2.4 Human security in the post Nigerian Civil War era**

After the collapse of Biafra in 1970, the victorious Nigerian military led by Lt Col. Yakubu Gowon officially assumed office as the military head of state and commander in chief of

the armed forces. He subsequently commenced the daunting task of nation building and human security development. His "first action towards nation-building was to get rid of bitter regional politics to pave the way for Nigerian unity" (Gbor, 2004:232), and established the self-styled 3Rs process of "Rehabilitation" (to assist the victims of the civil war), "Reconstruction" (to rebuild damaged infrastructure on both sides), and "Reconciliation" (to make peace among ethnic nationalities in Nigeria). Unfortunately, this vision was short lived and truncated by a bloodless coup that saw the overthrow of General Yakubu Gowon in 1976. Subsequently, Nigeria began to experience frequent coups, attempted coups, and counter coups in the early 80s and late 90s. The era also witnessed a surge in human rights abuse, armed robbery, poverty and massive unemployment as part of the consequences of the civil war in Nigeria. However, with the return of civilian democracy in 1999, after decades of military misrule and mismanagement of resources, this condition continued unabated. Mbachu, (2013:26) observed that "since 1999... the level of insecurity in Nigeria has assumed a national emergency dimension, a situation which threatened to destroy Nigeria as an indivisible entity". He further stated that "the institutional and other mechanisms for managing national security are either incapable of functioning appropriately or are in dire need for complete overhaul". In the same vein, Matazu (2013:45) concurs that "the Nigerian internal security is threatened by heinous crimes perpetrated with impunity across the country, consisting among others unbridled kidnapping and hostage taking, violent crime, robberies, insurgency, political and civil disorder... aggravated by rapid socio-economic changes and deteriorating economic trends". All efforts put in place by the civilian regimes to change the insecurity narrative in Nigeria appears to have hit brick wall, because the security architecture is underfunded, hence lack all it takes to checkmate the array of human insecurity in the country.

It is instructive to note that since the advent of President Mohanmadu Buhari's administration in 2015, insecurity has surged to the extent that millions of people in the northern part of Nigeria are now refugees in hundreds of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Camps within neighboring towns and states. Most politicians from northern

extraction, such as Borno, Yobe, Zamfara, Katsina and Kaduna states are now scared to visit their ancestral villages, constituencies or senatorial zones to avoid being killed or kidnapped for ransom by bandits and Boko Haram sects. This reality remained the same in southern Nigeria where herdsmen have taken control of the bushes and forests harassing indigenous farmers, raping women and killing who so ever dares to challenge them. The above situation has led to “a weak, volatile and unpredictable internal security situation, which has, more than ever, resulted in heavy military provision of aid to civilian authority” (National Defense Policy, 2006). Under President Buhari’s administration, the Nigerian military has witnessed more internal military operations than any other time in history, hence the military is overstretched and weak to contain myriads of internal security challenges in Nigeria. The Nigerian police appears not to have the capability to take on armed bandits, the Fulani herders and Boko Haram brandishing all forms of sophisticated arms and ammunitions, particularly in the northern Nigeria and across the three geopolitical zones in the south. In all of this, the government seem to be weak and ill prepared to deal with these criminals from within and outside Nigeria. In the area of human security and development front, the government past and present have not demonstrated the capacity to tackle socioeconomic security challenges, primarily poverty, unemployment and economic inequality, *cum* educational and health care development.

### **2.2.5 Human security development in Nigeria**

There is no established common definition of development between and among scholars and researchers; the term can be interpreted in different perspectives depending on the purpose, orientation, discipline or institution. “The process of development is also complex and does not always follow one path. History shows us that one particular country might “priorities’ human welfare progression like education and health, whilst another country might prefer rapid economic progression” (<http://igeogers.weebly.com/development-and-human-welfare.html>). For instance, “while the World Bank and many other institutions still focus on economic and social development, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) places human beings at the center of all development efforts. Instead of asking: how much is a nation producing?

UNDP asks how its people are faring, hence human development is viewed as an alternative to economic and social development and even to human resource development” (Harald, 1991:236). In support of the UNDP perspective, Imobighe, (2013:7) aptly noted that “it is quite easy to give statistical figures showing rise in GDP, increase in the number of schools, hospitals and health centers that have been built within a given time frame, as indicative of development”. Besides, he argues that development goes beyond mere growth of the economy to indicate how the above figures translate to the improvement of the conditions of life of the average person within the affected society. This position captured the perspective of the study. According to the United Nations report (2005:56) “development means, to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community”. In this sense, “development is fundamentally human-centered reflecting measures for change, opportunities, fulfillment of needs and aspiration of the people in the society. It is a process of change from a lower to higher or better state of affairs” (Imobighe, 2013:6). Broadly speaking, “human development on the other hand means human flourishing in its fullest sense—in matters public and private, economic and social and political and spiritual” (Alkire, 2003:35). Put differently, Amartya Sen, in *People and William* (2015:157) argue that “human development is centered on the extent to which human beings have access to the basic facilities to maximize their potentials. In the same vein, Keeper (2011, cited in Onu, 2013:90) contend that “sustainable development does not involve capital accumulation and economic growth only, but the condition in which people in a country have adequate food, job and income inequality among them is greatly reduced”. The author was of the view that development encompasses growth and embraces the quality of life as social justice, equality of opportunity for all citizens, equitable distribution of income and the democratization of development processes.

On this backdrop, the UNDP established the Human Development Index (HDI) as “a composite measure of income per capita focusing on three basic dimensions of human development: the ability to lead a long and healthy life, measured by life expectancy at

birth; the ability to acquire knowledge, measured by mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling; and the ability to achieve a decent standard of living, measured by gross national income per capita” (UNDP Report, 2018). Subsequently, the UNDP report classified human development index in four categories, namely, “very high, high, medium and low human development” of which Nigeria falls within the lowest category in 2017. “Out of 189 countries, Nigeria ranked 157 on the table, with an HDI value of 0.532, Life expectancy at birth at 53.9, expected year of schooling at 10.0, Mean year of schooling at 6.2, Gross National Income (GNI) per capita at 5231, GNI per capita rank minus HDI rank at – 20 and HDI ranking at 156” (UNDP Human Development Report Statistics 2017). Comparatively, “the above statistics placed the average HDI achievement of Nigeria at 0.5 (lowest category), while developed and developing countries ranked very high, high, and medium at 0.9 and 0.8, 0.7 and 0.6 respectively” (UNDP, 2017).

In addition, Price Waterhouse and Coopers (PWC) (2016:3) x-rays the Nigerian human development from the people’s welfare perspective as opposed to state and economic development. “With GDP in Market Exchange Rate (MER) terms at \$490 billion in 2015, Nigeria ranked as Africa's largest economy and could be the 9th largest global economy by 2050 according to PWC estimates”. Prior to the recent decline in the price of crude oil, Nigeria enjoyed strong economic growth at a CAGR of 5.3%, post-rebasing. Today, the Nigerian government can proudly show long list of achievements in economic development demonstrated in agriculture, infrastructure, and exchange rate stability, maintaining a single treasury account, the decline in inflation and getting Nigeria out of recession. However, with this startling accomplishment, the baseline question remains to what extent have this “progress” improved the Nigerian human development index? Put differently, how does the economic development translate into “widespread benefit” to the ordinary Nigerian citizens, especially in food security, adequate shelter, good health care, standard of education and environmental degradation? How free and secured is the average individual on the street? According to PWC (2016:5) “despite strong economic growth at a CAGR of 5.3% post-rebasing, Nigeria has been plagued with jobless growth

phenomenon as employment growth has only averaged 1.3%, with persistent incidences of high increase of unemployment from 6.0% in 2011 to 8.2% in 2015, with a growing number of youths massively underemployed at 18.3% of the labor force.

### **2.2.6 Human security and social justice**

The term “social justice” entered the English language lexicon in the 19th century, “most often as a synonym of distributive justice”. Mill (1863:42) “made passing reference to social justice in connection with distributive justice: society should treat equally well all who have deserved equally well of it – that is, who have deserved an equally well period. All institutions and the efforts of all virtuous citizens should be made to converge on this standard as far as possible”. Scholars have various interpretations of the meaning of social justice. “Social justice can mean equal access to basic liberties and the fair distribution of goods and opportunities” (Rawls, 1971:2001). It can also mean “recognition of difference and elimination of oppression across institutions, including the family” (Young, 1990). “Social justice can be conceived as an opportunity to participate equally in social and political life” (Fraser, 2009). For the United Nations, “justice is an ideal of accountability and fairness in the protection and vindication of rights and the prevention and punishment of wrongs. Justice implies regard for the rights of the accused, for the interests of victims and for the wellbeing of society at large” (Arbour, 2007:4). These categories of meanings of social justice mirror the fundamental elements of human security, which according to the AU Summit (2004) “means... including the protection of fundamental freedoms, the respect for human rights, good governance, access to education, healthcare, and ensuring that everyone has opportunities and choices to fulfil his/her potential” (AU Summit 2004). Put differently, Obasanjo (2012) cited in Osah and Lyanda, 2016:128), argues that “human security is not narrowly about protecting lives and property, about barbed-wire fences around the house, body guards for senior government officials and military defense of the nation,... is about our physical, psychological, emotional, spiritual, economic, social and cultural wellbeing”, exemplified by access to social welfare, income equality, employment, security and individuals freedom from anxiety, depression and homelessness. For instance, the level of poverty,

sociopolitical and political injustices meted on the youth by her government accounts for the emergence of the infamous Boko Haram sects in the northeastern Nigeria, an indicative of the failure of government at all levels to make the welfare of the citizenry a priority. "A nation that allows its youths to be idle is sitting on a time bomb because frustrated people seek relief in religion" (Tell Magazine, August 5, 2009:8). Buttressing this point, Obasanjo (2019:5) stated that "with the prevailing high rate of youth unemployment currently put at over 70 per cent ... a revolution is imminent in Nigeria, unless government rises and takes decisive steps to checkmate the increasing youth unemployment and the resultant poverty".

Measured in every standard, Nigeria is typically an epitome of unequal and unjust society. The multiple faces of human injustices in the country can be experienced in both public and private sectors/institutions, specifically in school admissions and examination, job recruitment and staff promotion, political and religious appointments, unequal distribution of government contracts and development at all levels, the list is endless. An average Nigerian, especially the youth has totally given up hope of survival in anything concerning the government. The situation has deteriorated to the extent that if you have no "god-father" as a politician, a relative to assist in school admission, government connection for job opportunities, or in the good book of religious and traditional leaders, finance to sort yourself out, in the university to pass exam, in court to bribe Judges and magistrates, your life will ever remain miserable in Nigeria. It is an open secret that the former governor of Abia state in southern Nigeria won an election while in jail because he belonged to the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) and his political godfather was the outgoing governor of the state who rigged the election for his political godson to avoid being investigated for corruption. With this frustrating condition in place, achieving social justice that translates to equity and fairness, security will remain an elusive project in Nigeria.

## **2.3 Theoretical Approaches to Human Security**

This section examines two theoretical frameworks upon which human security and the threat to human security can be better analyzed and understood, namely: Human Security theory and Securitization theory.

### **2.3.1 Human Security Theory**

Human security is a post-cold war concept that involved multidisciplinary understanding. "It covers several research areas, such as development studies, international relations, strategic studies and human rights" (Enu & Udeh 2011:15). The human security theory takes its foundation from the United Nations "Agenda for Peace" report (1992) propounded by Boutros-Boutros Ghali in which he called for "an integrated approach to human security". According to the United Nations Trust Fund for Human security report (2009:9) "the concept of human security was used in relation to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict recovery". The report drew attention to the broad scope of challenges in the post-conflict settings and highlighted the need to address root causes of conflict through a common international moral perception. Based on this foundation, the idea of human security was given a boost in the 1994 UN Human Development Report that broadly defines human security as "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want". The UN Report further categorized human security in two aspects: "first, protection from such chronic threats as hunger, diseases and repressions, and second, protection from sudden, harmful upheavals of daily existence, touching on housing, employment and community life" (Tadjbakhsh, 2006:11). The 1994 UN Report also identified seven specific elements that comprise human security to include: "economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security" (Ohta, 2009:22).

The notion of the UN Report stems from the understanding that the threats to human security are not limited to the protection of state and its natural resources; "it also involves the security of individuals from the daily challenges in their quest to make a living. The essence is to protect the individual from human rights abuse by state or non-state actors... internally or externally organized, gender based and family violence and

disease and natural disaster” (Roger, Kibasomba & Kariri, 2009:2). Howard-Hassman (2011:2-3) also argues that “the focus of human security is people as opposed to state. Human security’s principal goal is to extend the concept of security beyond national security, as one way to force state to pay more attention to the needs of their citizens. The term also implies that states can be adversely affected by the insecurity of citizens outside their own borders; for example, by uncontrollable flows of illegal economic migrants”. Besides, the Commission on Human Security argue that “human security is needed in response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats – from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemic, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns” (UNTFHS, 2009:5). Human security means the “protection of the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment” (CHS, 2000). Alkire (2003:3) points out that “the vital core” may be defined in the space of capabilities, the freedom people must do and to be. The elements of the vital core are fundamental human rights which all persons and institutions are obliged to respect or provide, even if the obligations are not perfectly specifiable”.

However, it is pertinent to stress that the UN perspective of human security is not intended to displace and or replace state security, instead, their relationship should be seen as complementary to each other, hence “human security and state security are mutually reinforcing and depend on each other, without human security, state security cannot be attained and vice versa” (Human Security Centre, 2003:6). Similarly, Mahbub ul Hag, (1995:115) argues that “the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change-and change dramatically...as security of people not just territory, security of individuals’ not just nations, security through development, not through arms, security of all the people everywhere, in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment”. According to Kofi Annan, cited in Weller (2041:4) “before now, security is defined almost entirely in terms of military might and the balance of terror, but today, we know that... lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education and health, democracy and human rights,

protection against environmental degradation, and the proliferation of deadly weapons". Anan maintained that we cannot be secure amidst starvation, that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and that we cannot build freedom on the foundations of injustice.

At the international level, human security presupposes that the international community has the obligations to intervene to protect citizens' security when their own states cannot provide it. Human security, "in this sense... is a form of forward defense against common threats to humanity, utilizing new diplomatic and other tools" (Heinbecker, 2000:25), such as "the new agenda of... the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine (R2P)" (Axworthy, 2007:15). Under this doctrine, Deng (2013) emphasized "the responsibility inherent in sovereignty that at the core of this responsibility is the state's obligation to protect its citizens from violence" (Deng et al., 2013: 54-55).

In practice the Japanese, Canadian and Norwegian concepts of human security deserve special attention to demonstrate the feasibility or otherwise of the doctrine in the international security discourse. Tadjbakhsh (2005:20) argues that "Japan has been one of the leading countries that have provided leadership and funding for human security. The Japanese approach to human security concentrates on freedom from want... which promotes measures designed to protect people from threats to their livelihoods and dignity while supporting self-empowerment to bring out the people's potential". On the other hand, "the Canadian interpretation of human security focuses on "freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives" – the protection of civilians, conflict prevention, public safety, governance and accountability, and peace support operations" (Alkire, 2003:21).

Further to the above, "the Norwegian human security likewise focuses on the freedom from fear aspects of human security, and identifies a core agenda of preventive action, small arms and light weapons control, and peace operations" (Lodgaard, 2001:17). "Both nations found human security, with its emphasis on protecting individuals, to be useful in highlighting the new and necessary aspects of security from violence" (Alkire, 2003:21).

The foregoing ideas and principles of human security as put forward by the United Nations, policy makers, security experts and commentators formed the general framework in understanding the concept of human security theory as opposed to state-based realist notion of security. It is evident that Nigeria since independence in 1960 has been battling insecurity of fear and want. Human security as earlier indicated seems not to have received proper and deserved attention in the Nigerian internal security agenda. Physical security (freedom from fear) dominates the Nigerian security policy, exemplified by huge annual budget allocation to insurgency and banditry to the detriment of human security and development (freedom from want), such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, health, and education. Extant literature suggests that the threat to human security in Nigeria is more of socio-economic needs than physical violence and or political security. The common understanding and the perspective of the study is that both approaches complement each other, the essence is to strike a balance between "freedom from fear and freedom from want". In security policy agenda, none should be taken for granted. However, in a relatively peace situation human security should gravitate more on the individual security and development as the referent object of security rather than the traditional state-based view of national security.

### **2.3.2 Critiques of human security theory**

Human security theory has been criticized for so many reasons, particularly on its "complexity and confusion" over the theoretical and practical differences between human security, human rights, and human development, hence the concept is subject to varying interpretation. Proponents of human security saw the new approach in security studies as a welcome development and long over-due, whereas the opponents are skeptical over the broad scope of threat challenges inherent in the identified elements that comprise human security. Hudson, Kreidenweis & Carpenter, (2013:31) observed that in many international security circles, the concepts are used interchangeably, resulting in significant confusion... there has been almost no attempt within the UN system to articulate the differences, both in theory and in practice, between human security, human rights and human development". Evelien (2014:8) points out that "twenty-five years in

existence critics argue that the concept of human security is largely academic, that it is vague and too all-encompassing, hence it does not assist researchers in understanding what security means or help decision makers and practitioners to formulate good policies and programs". She infers that evidence are bound where some "states claimed to intervene militarily for humanitarian reasons, but their interventions generally aim to advance their own interest. Major Powers have used force to intervene in other states' affairs, justifying their actions on humanitarian ground.

One major flaw of the UNDP Human Security Report is that it labeled "everything" as a human security threat, which makes it difficult to study the connection between the components. Buttressing this point, Fukuda-Parr and Massineo, (2012:2) state that "human security theory is often criticized as ambiguous, and subject to as many interpretations, questions remain as to exactly what function it is serving. Is it a full-scale conceptual paradigm, a doctrine for a new global security policy, a norm, or just a term, hence scholars have questioned the relevance and practicability of human security as a policy approach and practice".

Owen (2004:378) argues that "in a theoretical sense, shifting the referent to the individual proliferates the concept without adding analytic value – the more harms that are labeled 'security threats' the harder it is to study the relationship between them". The author said, in terms of policy practice, labeling all potential harms to individual security threats makes prioritizing political action impossible. In the same vein, "policy critics points to the consequences of securitizing development and humanitarian assistance... making education a security issue facilitates more effective action, or instead leads to militaristic solutions for problem of social welfare" (Krause 1998, in Owen, 2004:379). Conversely, Trachsler (2011:2) added that "human security has been instrumentalized by traditional security actors and has therefore lost its radical transformation potential. Instead of challenging the global political and economic power structures that are responsible for most of the causes of human insecurity, the label of human security only serves to combat the symptoms of human insecurity, such as poverty, unemployment, or violent conflicts in a makeshift approach".

Importantly, Peou (2014:51) argued that “the UNDP approach does not equate human security with human development because the former is treated as a concept, whereas the latter is regarded as a policy means designed to ensure or enhance the security of people whose lives are under the threat of both political violence and economic underdevelopment”.

In all, human security debate is “unlikely to fade away, much has been written, more is being written and still much more is likely to be written about it” (Peou. 2013:9). The concept of human security “is rooted in history, events and outcome therefore are still relevant in the ongoing and emerging causes of human insecurity and has opened up a new line of analysis, given voice to new actors and added value in the field of security studies” (Alkire, 2003:22).

Despite these arrays of criticisms by scholars, governmental and non-governmental actors and policy makers, the idea of human security has undoubtedly laid the foundation for human security debate among scholars and students of international relations, precisely security studies. “It is increasingly being adopted as a doctrine to guide foreign policies and international development assistance, as well as a policy tool for programming in the field of security, development and humanitarian work” (UNTFHS 2009:12). The human security theory remains relevant and useful in assessing and analyzing the Nigerian internal security condition. The general concern of human security, according to the United Nations Development Report (1994) is the individual, as opposed to the traditional state-centric approach to national security. The import of viewing security beyond arms and troops stem from the Post-Cold War experience of persistent threats of poverty, inequality, human rights abuse and intra-state conflicts, which undoubtedly reflects the present Nigerian internal security threat situation. The security of any nation lies not only in its military capacity to deter or prevent external aggression, but equally in the ability to protect and provide the basic human needs of the citizens. It is instructive to note that “the circumstances that threaten national security do not just occur. They are due to external and internal insurrection and conditions that result from state/citizen needs and actions. In recognition of this, it is conclusive to say that crisis and conflicts that challenge

national security revolve on human needs in which the state ought to provide and protect to safeguard national security/stability” (Nweke, 2014:105). In this sense, rethinking national security in Nigeria will begin with the domestication of the UNDP human security paradigm into the Nigerian internal security framework, with the aim to address the complex nature of the Nigerian internal security challenges. In practice, the measure will take the form of redirecting the security budget to human security and development, particularly in sectors, such as health, education, agriculture and infrastructure, as well as in practical measures to safeguard the life and property of the citizens. It will also involve the strategies to strengthen the Nigerian legal institutions; the national human rights commission and the need to adequately respond to the welfare of the internal security agencies to enable them carry out their constitutional mandates.

The major implication of the current state-centric security approach through the massive allocation of the budget to the military and para-military security agencies for state protection is totally antithetical to human security and development. For instance, the huge budget in combating insurgency, herdsmen and farmers conflict, kidnapping, ethnic and religious conflicts, among other physical violence related internal security threats ran short of comprehensive human security. Presently, the Nigerian state is troubled with internal insecurity because of decades of gross neglect of human security related issues in her internal security policy. The constant demand for social justice, good governance, human rights and privileges, basic health care, quality education, good drinking water, good roads, and infrastructure development, which the Nigerian government ought to provide to her citizens have been elusive. Adopting peculiar human security strategy through the lens of the UNDP model and good governance holds the promise for enduring political stability, economic development, and social harmony, and by extension internal security. In summary, effective human security policy measures and or approach for Nigeria have the potential and capacity to striking a balance between state security and human protection and development, between “gun and bread”, “displacement and rehabilitation”.

### **2.3.3 Securitization Theory and Human Security**

The idea of securitization was first articulated by Ole Waever (1989:5) "developed by himself in *Securitization and De-securitization* in collaboration with Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wild in *Security: a New Framework for Analysis*"(see also Waever, 1995; Buzan, 1998; Brito, 2009:14). The theory of securitization "was built in search of the mechanisms through which issues become security issues. The main question, according to Buzan et al, is how to define what is and what is not security issue in the context of attempts to broaden the definition and usage of security as a concept (People & William, 2015:93). Given that context they argue that we need some sort of analytical grounding or principle to judge what is and what is not a security issue. Buzan (1991:432) "identified security in five sectors away from the traditional national security to new security sectors, to include: military, political, economic, societal and environmental sectors".

According to Buzan (1991:433) "in the military sector, for example, the referent object is the territorial integrity of the state, in the political sector... the legitimacy of a governmental authority, and the relevant threats can be ideological and sub-state, ... the concept of "societal" security, in which the identity of a group is presented as threatened by dynamics as diverse as cultural flows, economic integration, or population movements". In this context, however, the five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkage.

Fundamentally, Buzan (1998, cited in Smith 2005:32) also "discussed the individual as the irreducible base unit for discussion about security but not as a referent object for the analysis of international security". He centralized his discussion on the state as the referent object of security for the following reasons: (a) it was the state that must cope with the substrate-state-inter-national security problematic (b) the state was the primary agent for the alleviation of insecurity (c) the state was the dominant actor in the international political system. In this sense, Buzan sought to "widen the definition of security to encompass five sectors and to focus discussion about security on three levels, the substrate, the state, and the international system" (Smith 2005:32).

On this premise "certain theoretical concepts such as securitization was developed as a theoretical tool for security analysis" (Waever, 1995). Securitization is defined as "a discursive process through which an issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying action outside the normal bounds of political procedure (Balazacqtor 2005:178). As a process securitization consists of three units of analysis: the referent object, the securitizing actor, and functional actors.

The process of securitization begins with the pronouncement of the word security. When an issue not previously thought of as a security threat comes to be spoken of as a security issue by important political actor (President, Minister, Head of security agent or designate) as an existential threat, such as insurgency, banditry, poverty, inequality, health or education, for possible intervention. According to the securitization theory, when an issue comes to be treated as a security issue, it is justifiable to use exceptional political measures to deal with it. In other words, it is securitized: we treat it with the same degree of urgency as we would a military threat. The process of securitization can be understood in terms of "a spectrum that runs from non-political through politicized to securitized, hence the issue has a legitimate claim to survive" (Peoples and Williams 2015:94). To avoid making "everything" a security issue a successful securitization process must consist of three crucial conditions: "first, that the issue qualified as an existential threat ..., second that the securitizing actor is in a position of authority and has enough social and political capital to convince an audience, third ... if the objects associated with the issue carry historical connotations of threat, danger and harm or where a history of hostile sentiments exist" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015:96).

The concept of securitization seems to be very much relevant in violent conflicts (in terms of military security) but can the same applied in dealing with non-military socioeconomic threats to human security. Buzan et al (1995:51) argue that "we can, but that we need to be aware that the types of interaction, referent objects, and threats to referent objects associated with non-military sectors can be very different from those associated with the traditional military focus". He further stated that understanding securitization as a 'mode of thinking' allows the security analyst to investigate how 'the same logic' might apply to

non-military issue. However, "what constitute an existential threat in one sector may not necessarily be identical as threat in other sectors" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015:97). Hence, the researcher argue that the identified existential threat must be seen to have reached severe or critical threat level to qualify for securitization. Put differently, the level of internal threat to human security determines the urgency and unusual attention to be given to it by the authorities.

Securitization as a security approach has been variously applied to (non-military threats) issues, "such as immigration, health, and political dissidence and minority rights, particularly in the context of the post-2001 US-led 'war on terror'. It has also been applied to the analysis of state foreign policy behavior (Abrahamsen, 2005), to the construction of transnational crime (Emmers, 2003) and HIV/AIDS as security threats (Elbe, 2006), to various dimensions of the 'war on terror' (Buzan, 2006), and to minority rights" (Roe, 2004). Most prominently, "there is now a vast array of analyses of the securitization of migration, particularly since 2001" (Bigo & Walker (2002), Guild (2003), Sasse (2005), Huysmans (2006), McDonald, 2008:563). This analysis brings to the fore the need for the Nigerian authorities to do the needful, in view of the persistent existential non-military security threats and challenges that confront her as a nation. The key challenge is the inability of some Nigerian political elites to identify and acknowledge the negative impact of insecurity in the society, expressed in their body language and inaction, in addition to lack of political will, action and commitment to pronounce and prioritize at least one existential threat to Nigerian internal security, such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, corruption, political marginalization, ethnic and religious bigotry.

#### **2.3.4 Critiques of securitization theory**

In recent years securitization theory has been subjected to a seemingly never-ending stream of criticism. "Several authors have drawn attention to some of the shortcomings of Waevers controversial securitization theory. Most of the critiques were based on the question of its discursive approach" (Balzacq, 2011). The "process-audience conundrum of securitization theory has been questioned in reference to the alleged miss-governance in Bangladesh" (Barthwa-Datta, 2009). Others "queried the applicability of the theory

outside its Western source by questioning whether it can be applied to analyze security strategies on non-European states, where securitization moves in places such as Africa” (Wilkinson, 2007:12). Furthermore, the Paris scholars argue that “rather than have securitization theorized solely on discourse analysis, attention should also be given to the actual security practices of the state and its security apparatus in the conflict zone” (Julius, 2014:86). The Paris scholar’s argument... lies in its ability to unravel securitization moves that preclude public discourse or securitization moves done in silence.

Buttressing the above point, McDonald (2008, in Sulovic, 2010:5) argued that “the form of acts constructing security is defined narrowly, with the main focus on the speech of dominant actors, usually political leaders, which encourages an interpretation that securitization is only happening when there are discursive interventions of those who are institutionally legitimate to speak on behalf of a particular political community - usually a state”

Basically, “the audience is a central feature of the securitization framework, the nature and status of that audience remains unaccounted for” (Balzacq, 2005:173). Additionally, “one author challenges what he considers a misleading conception of threat in the securitization approach. He claims that by emphasizing subjectivity, securitization disregards an independent existence of what is perceived as a threat, thus treating as unimportant whether states really face dangers” (Knudsen, 2001:359-360). In sum, Huysmans in Aradau (2001:7) opined that “securitization is a technique of government, which retrieves the ordering force of the fear of violent death by a mythical reply of the variations of the Hobbesian state of nature. It manufactures a sudden rupture in the routinized, everyday life by fabricating an existential threat which provokes experiences of the real possibility of violent death”

Some security experts have questioned whether “securitization theory is inherently political, or simply a tool for practical analysis” (Taureck, 2006:53-61). Peoples and Williams (2015:100) argue that “security is not always a ‘good thing’, because securitization of an issue brings with it a particular type of emergency politics where the

space (and time) allowed for deliberation, participation and bargaining is necessarily constricted and brings into play a particular, militarized mode of thinking". For this reason, and perhaps more, Weaver in Buzan et al (1998:4) opted instead for de-securitization: "the shifting of issues out of emergency mode and into the normal bargaining process of the political sphere". De-securitization presupposes a condition where a contained securitized issue is re-pronounced as non-existential threat to national security.

Nevertheless, "the securitization framework constitutes an essential tool in the understanding of how issues become security issues, or as Wæver puts it, what really makes something a security problem" (Wæver, 1995:54), particularly when one is dealing with non-traditional security concern, as is the case of non-military security matters. The securitization framework is essential to understanding the mechanisms through which these issues qualify in the security agenda and is within the context of the above merits and demerits of this theory that the Nigerian internal security policy on human security threat can be situated. The Nigerian security policy challenge arises from the lack of clear local mechanism to identify and analyze threat(s) to human security. The concern here has to do with the Western source of the securitization theory and its emphasis on discourse analysis. The basic issue is whether the European model of securitization can fit as a framework to analyze security policies in the third world countries, including Nigeria. "Can securitization theory be applied to the analysis of non-military threats in Nigeria? If it can be applied, will it be adequate or legitimately valid so as not to be described as methodologically flawed? (Julius, 2014:84), by the same imperialists that are the source of most security failures in African continent.

In 2015 for instance, Nigeria experienced an outbreak of Ebola disease that shook the health sector to its foundation. As a curative measure, but in an "African way" (executive order) the Nigerian government declared within time (speech act) the dreaded disease an existential threat to Nigerian national security and used every available resource to contain it. The then president Good Luck Jonathan was applauded for this achievement

at home and abroad, but that may not in any way justify or give credence to this approach.

On the contrary, in 2017 President Muhammadu Buhari single handedly securitized the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), by ordering the court to declare the group a terrorist organization without any dialogue, consultation or investigation. The federal high court in Abuja proscribed a peaceful and armless group agitating for self-determination, alleging that the activities of IPOB constitute an existential threat to Nigerian national security. This action is instructive to demonstrate that the securitization theory can be unfairly applied in the African context where democratic principles and the rule of law are highly disregarded and disrespected by authorities. It is on this backdrop that the study advocates for *Constitutional Republican Model of Securitization*, wherein people directly or indirectly elect, appoint or nominate their representatives to take decisions on their behalf on issue that serve their interests and advance the common good. Representation means a process through which the attitudes, preferences, viewpoints and desires of the entire citizenry, or a part of them are with expressed approval, shaped into governmental action on their behalf by a smaller number among them, with binding effect upon those represented (Encyclopaedia Britannica, V OL. 19:135). Eulau and Karps (1977:233-54) identified four possible components of representation, namely policy, service, allocation, and symbolic representation, of which the study's focus is on policy representation.

Consequently, there are five different approaches to republicanism: constitutional republic, parliamentary republic, presidential republic, federal republic, and theocratic republic (<https://en.wikipedia.org>), hence the emphasis here is on constitutional republican model of securitization. A constitutional republican ... is one in which, rather than directly governing, the people select some of their members to temporarily serve in political office; the constitutional part means that both the citizens and their governing officials are bound to follow the rules established in that Constitution (<https://www.britannica.com>).

Republicanism is the doctrine that public power should always serve the common good of all those subject to its rule ... either through policies or through constitutional structure. The republican philosophical tradition began with Plato and Aristotle, flowered in the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero, and reappeared with the revival of learning in such authors as Niccolò Machiavelli, James Harrington, John Adams, and Immanuel Kant (Mortimer, 2015:1). The basic desiderata of republican government is the concern ... for the common good through the checks and balances of a mixed ... deliberative senate, and a regulated popular assembly, constrained by an independent judiciary, and subject to the rule of law (Sellers, 2001:1).

The republican model of securitization is supposedly a collective decision-making approach where all relevant stakeholders take security responsibility on behalf of the state and people. It is a representative arrangement where people take collective decisions as opposed to executive fiat, individual or minority pronouncement on security issue. The need for alternative security model stem from the fact that some African leaders lack the moral, competent, sincerity and commitment to carry out western model of securitization which is entirely alien to African values. The proposed constitutional republican model of securitization can be used to contain the excesses of a tyrannical regimes, from taking unpopular decision that could infringed on the fundamental human rights and freedom of the people. This approach has the capacity to deal with the nagging issues of endemic poverty and acute unemployment, and by extension human insecurity in Nigeria,

However, the Ole Weaver's Western securitization approach can serve as an alteration template or lens through which the constitutional republican model of securitization can be advanced. The constitutional republican model as we earlier alluded takes the form of a representative body drawn from security cluster, traditional leaders, faith-based organization and the civil society. This inclusive decision-making process is articulated and demonstrated in four stages that can assist to identify threat to human security and measures to address it.

Stage 1: The President, Prime Minister or designate mandates the security cluster and stakeholders to identify an existential threat to internal security (discursive approach) and ascertains the severity of the threat to national peace and security and recommend the best approach for action.

Stage 2: The president or an accredited government representative makes a pronouncement on the perceived threat (speech act) based on intelligence, while the National Assembly ascertain the legality of the recommendations and available funds for action.

Stage 3: The identified threat is given extraordinary attention for implementation by the relevant authority who ensure frequent feedback and advice to the president.

Stage 4: The outcome of the operation will determine the next move/action of the government. If the objective of the exercise is successfully accomplished, de-securitization process will commence, that is, "shifting issues from the realm of emergency politics back into the realm of normal political deliberation and haggling" (Weaver, 1995:2000).

The time frame for the whole process is determined by the nature and level of threat and the available resources for action. In this way, the president is constrained from the use of executive order/secret process to determine what constitutes a threat to internal or national security. It is important to stress that under this arrangement (constitutional republic model) the president still has the executive power to derail the process, however, ascertaining the legality of action and availability of fund by the National Assembly brings to the fore the issue of constitutionality of presidential action, provoking the principal of checks and balances, as well as the legitimacy required to drive the securitization process.

The propose constitutional republican model and the western securitization theory appears to have same objective. However, the born of contention here is the environment and orientation of leaders and their approach to securitizing existential threat to human

security. The constitutional republican model of securitization is quite relevant because security is local, hence it needs local policies and remedies. Therefore, the choice of this alternative approach differs considerably in terms of the proposed process but aligned to the western securitization theory that underpinned the study and provide the template for the securitization of violence of non-violence threats to human security in Africa.

### **2.3.5 Conclusion**

Through the lens of relevant literature this chapter traced the place of human security and security theories underpinned the study. Despite various linkages to human security, the chapter has substantiated the main argument of scholars, security experts and commentators on the concept of human security which maintained that the objective of human security is to "safeguard the vital core" of human lives in a way that enhance human freedom and human fulfillment. The chapter x-rays the concept of security, the global view of human security, human security in the era of colonial administration in Nigeria, human security in the post Nigerian Civil War era, security and human development, and human security and social justice. Besides, this section also addressed the theoretical framework that underpinned the study of human security. The study viewed and analyzed two theoretical perspectives: human security from the United Nations standpoint and securitization from the Copenhagen school perspective of securitization theory. The chapter concludes that, in so far as the Nigerian government lack an effective policy framework for human security, and in as much as the political class has the monopoly to determine what constitute an existential threat to human security, the persistent issue of human insecurity will continue to pose a danger to Nigerian internal security. The study postulate that the implementation of the proposed constitutional republican model of securitization and threat analysis has the capacity to turn-around human security policy challenges in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEACH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methods that are deemed as relevant for data collection, analysis and the interpretation of the study and to practically examine the subject matter. It brings to the fore the research design and the research methods that are applied in the investigation. This is "essential to ensure a tight fit between the purpose of the research question and the methods" (Nieuwenhuis, 2016:51). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011:38) "describe methodology as the bridge that brings our philosophical standpoint (ontology and epistemology) and method; it is related to how research is carried out. Research methods on the order hand, are the tools that the researchers use to collect data" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2011:38). The author states that these tools enable us to gather data about the social reality from individuals, groups, artifacts and texts in any medium. Empirical literature has revealed a series of research methodologies that can be used to investigate a research project. Each method has its merits and demerits. The preferred choice of research method essentially depends on the nature and objectives of the study, the timeframe, access to relevant material and the finance that is available to carry out the project. Wolhuter (2016:155-158) "identified and examined four levels of research methods: "research design, data collection, analysis of data and interpretation of data"

The focus of the study is on the Nigerian internal security policy with an emphasis on the threats to human security. The researcher investigates the phenomenon from two different types of research methods - quantitative and qualitative. "Quantitative methods are methods that are often based on the study of a representative sample of a research population, relying mostly on structured data that may be numerically stored and statistically analyzed to yield generalizable findings, whereas qualitative methods are methods that are based on the study of a non-representative sample, relying mostly on unstructured data that need not be numerically/statistically stored and analyzed, and

whose findings are not generalizable” (Unanka, 2008:13). The difference between the two can be explained in their aim and purpose. While the goal of quantitative research is to “describe the trends or explain the relationships between the variables” (Ivankova et al 2016:307) the aim of qualitative research is to “understand a phenomenon in its natural context and extrapolate those findings to other similar situation” (Bless et al 2014:220). Bless et al (2014:220) observe that “the quality of quantitative research is assessed through its reliability, validity and objectivity, whereas the quality of a qualitative research is evaluated through its trustworthiness, on the basis of credibility, transferability, dependability, triangulation and conformability”. This section comprises the research design, the population of the study, the sample and the sample size, data collection instruments and the method of data analysis.

### **3.2 Research Questions**

- (i) What are the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria?
- (ii) What are the socio-economic consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria?
- (iii) What are the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria?
- (iv) How can human insecurity in Nigeria be addressed?

### **3.3 Research Objectives**

- (i) To examine the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria
- (ii) To examine the socio-economic consequences of human security in Nigerian
- (iii) To investigate the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria
- (iv) To examine measures to address human insecurity in Nigeria.

### **3.4 Research Design**

The research design explains the type of research approach to be used and how it is suitable for the study and for data collection. “It refers to all the decisions taken in planning the study – decisions not only about the overall type or design to be used, but also about sampling, sources and procedures for collecting data, measurement issues and data analysis plan” (Fouche et al 2017:143). The research design is therefore the researcher’s overall blueprint for obtaining credible answers to the research questions

and/or tests to the hypothesis. The essence is to aggregate different research elements in a “cohesive and coherent way”. One characteristic of a good study design is that it “explains the details with such clarity that, if someone else wanted to follow the proposed procedure, he or she would be able to do exactly as the researcher had done” (Kumar, 2005:195). Therefore, for the purpose of this study triangulation mixed method research approach was preferred to explain in detail the phenomena under study. This method is related to “the concurrent and sequential mixed design in terms of using instruments such as surveys and interviews to triangulate the data collection process” (Wyk & Taole, 2015:180).

Delpont and Fouche (2017:442) describe the triangulation mixed method as:

A one-phase design in which the researcher uses both quantitative and qualitative methods during the same time frame and with equal weight to best understand the phenomenon of interest. It generally involves the concurrent, but separate, collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data in order to compare and contrast the different findings to see the extent to which they do or do not agree with each other. This will enable the researcher to produce more complete and well-validated conclusion.

This approach involves “mixing various methods and instruments which enable researchers to obtain a variety of information from the participants in a particular study” (Okeke & van Wyk, 2016:219).

The technique assists in the process of data collection, description, explanation, and analysis. It also helps the researcher in understanding the study in its natural context in terms of capturing the experiences, orientation, beliefs, preferences, and the opinion/position of the participants on the persistent threat to human security in the Nigerian internal security management. Okeke and Van Wyk (2016:219) state that “the purpose of triangulation is to assist researchers to achieve or reach a point of comparison between methods in order to discover the similarities and differences in the responses of the participants. It also helps strengthen the outcomes of the research process in terms

of findings. Such an approach assists researchers to avoid the presentation of assertions that may be misleading about the situation they have studied". The strengths and advantages of using the triangulation design is that "it takes less time to complete than a sequential design. Each type of data can also be collected and analysed separately and independently, using the techniques traditionally associated with quantitative and qualitative research. This lends itself to team research, in which the team can include experts from both traditional approaches" (Creswell & Clark, 2007:66). Berg (2007:23) explains that "by combining several lines of sight (e.g., different data-collection methods or theories) researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concept; and a means of verifying many of these elements".

In a general perspective, "mixed method research helps answer questions that cannot be answered by only qualitative or quantitative approaches. It also encourages the use of multiple worldviews or paradigms rather than the typical association of certain paradigms for quantitative researchers and it is practical in the sense that the researcher is free to use all methods possible to address the research" (Creswell & Clark, 2007:9-10). A "mixed methods research approach provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research, and therefore has the potential to provide better (stronger) inferences... it also eliminates different kinds of bias, explains the true nature of a phenomenon under investigation and improves various forms of validity or quality criteria" (Delpont & Fouche, 2017:436). Additionally, using mixed methods can be helpful in "measuring and explaining outcomes in an experiment, developing an in-depth case analysis, identifying and taking action to improve a practical problem, evaluating the development and outcomes of a program, or advancing social justice concerns based on multiple perspectives" (Creswell et.al., 2016:313).

However, Delpont and Fouche (2017:443) observe that, "triangulation or mixed method research approach is associated with the following challenges: that much effort and expertise are required to collect and analyze two complete but separate sets of data concurrently". He further said that researchers may face the challenge of what to do if the qualitative and quantitative results do not agree. To this end, survey and interview

questions were carefully constructed and subjected for validity test to avoid the above identified challenges. Conclusively, the triangulation mixed method approach is premised on its ability to increase “credibility”, ensure “trustworthiness” and provide a complete understanding of analyzing phenomena.

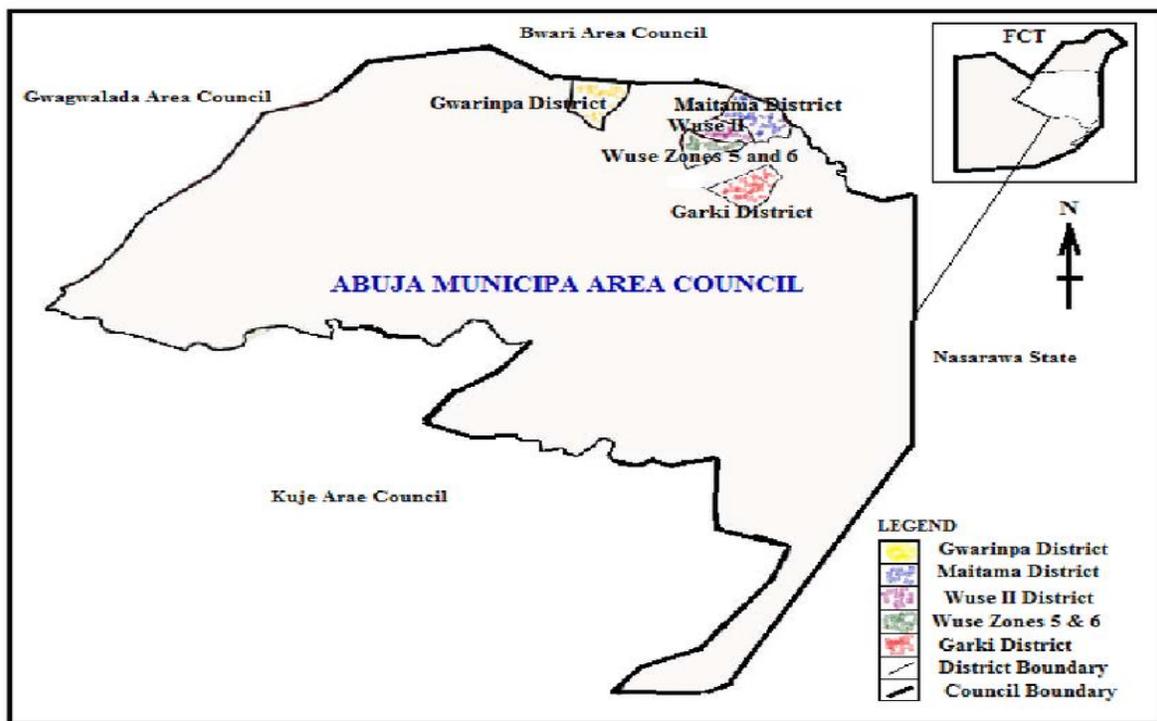
### **3.5 The Population of the Study**

Babbie (2003:100) “contends that a population of a study is the group (usually of people) about whom we want to draw conclusions”. Lumadi (2016:226) assert that “a population is a group of persons, objects, or item from which samples are taken for measurement; for instance, a population of cabinet ministers, mining engineers, medical doctors, or the dissertations and thesis of postgraduate students”. In this study, the researcher’s interest is focused on understanding the experiences, beliefs, preferences, opinion and/or position of the participants on the persistent threat to human security in Nigeria in the post military era. The interest in Nigeria’s internal security is born out of the fact that Nigeria is currently facing more of internal than external security challenges, especially the threat to human welfare and well-being. Based on the research problem, the population of this study constituted of the persons involved in the Nigerian internal security policy formulation, implementation, and the monitoring process. These resource persons are in various public and private institutions and agencies in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Nigeria.

### **3.6 The Study Setting/Location**

The study was conducted in the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the West African sub-region. Nigeria is the “economic hub” of West Africa and the most populous country in the entire black race with an estimated “urban/rural population” of approximately 180 million people. The country has porous international borders with Cameroon, Benin Republic, Chad and Niger. Nigeria has about 360 ethnic majority and minority groups of which Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are the major dominant indigenous tribes in terms of population. Nigeria is endowed with diverse human and natural resources. Abuja the federal capital territory comprises of six local area councils, namely, Abuja Municipal Area Council, Abaji, Qwagwalada, Kuje, Bwari and Kwali. The research is concentrated in the

Abuja Municipal Council where the seats of the three arms of government (executive, legislative and judiciary) are located, harboring the corporate head offices of the Nigerian military and para-military agencies responsible for security policy formulation, implementation, and oversight. This setting made it possible to access relevant information from the resource persons (officers and men of security agents and policy makers) and from the other stakeholders who were targeted for the study. As the capital territory of Nigeria, Abuja is a semi-commercial city that is surrounded by rural towns and villages, dominated by civil and public servants, politicians, as well as businessmen and women.

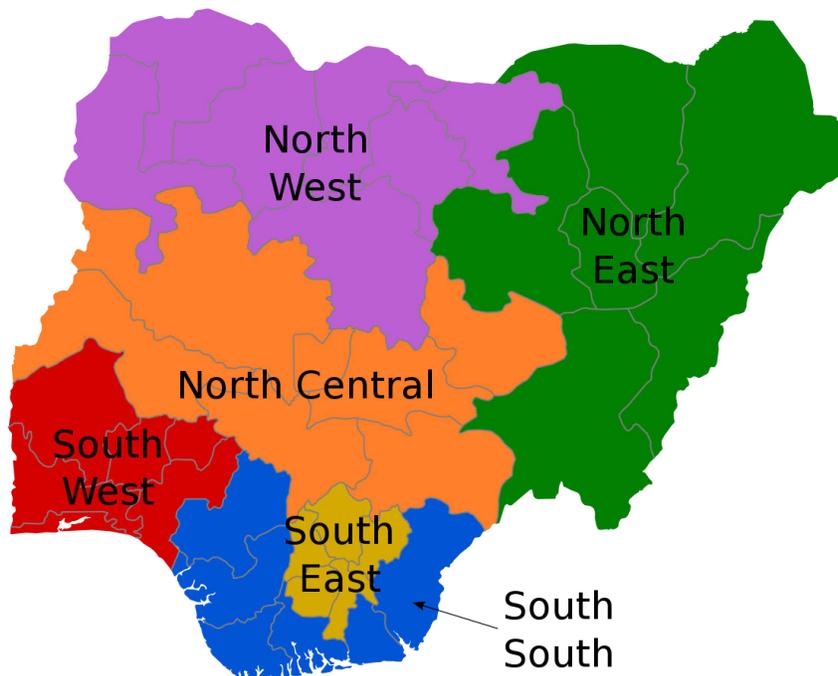


**Figure 0.1: Geographical Map of Abuja (Study Location)**

Source: Abuja Geographical Information System (AGIS) Abuja FCT, Nigeria (2021)



**Figure 0.2: Map showing the location of Abuja (FCT) in Nigeria**

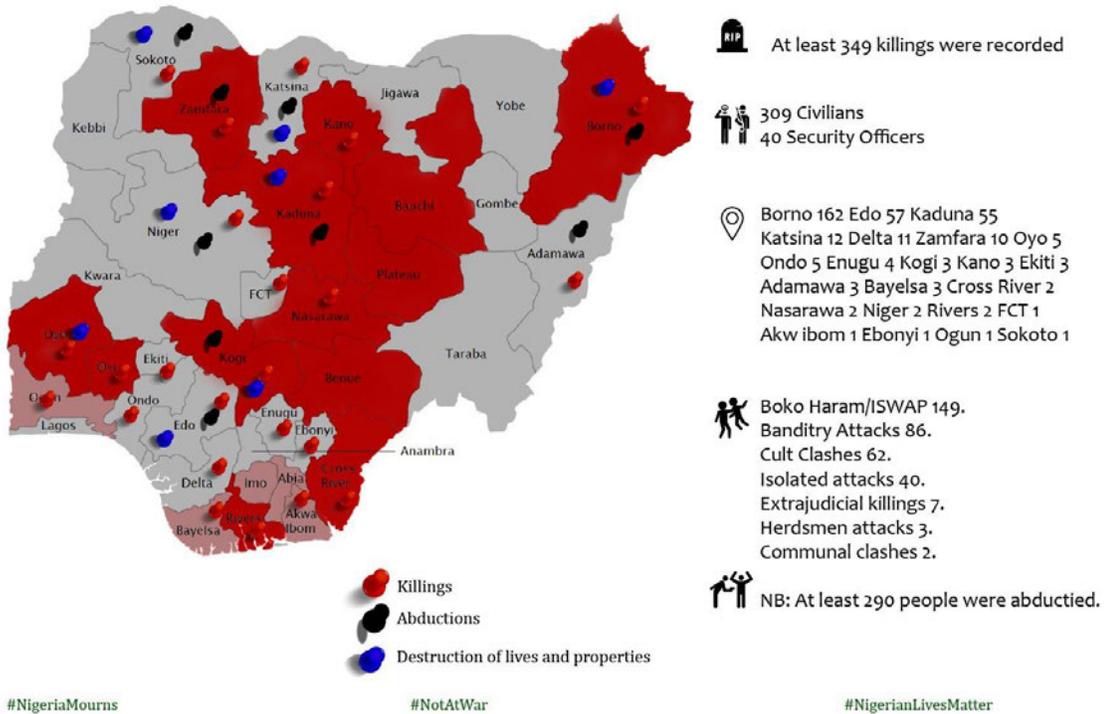


**Figure 0.3: Map showing the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria**

Source: Wikipedia (2021)



# Violent Incidents Report: November 2020



**Figure 0.4: Insecurity report showing violence attacks across Nigeria (2020)**

Source: Premium Times.

### 3.7 Sample and Sample Size

When dealing with people, “a sample may be defined as a set of respondents or participants selected from a large population for the purpose of conducting a survey. The sample should be representative of the population to ensure that the findings can be generalized from the research sample to the population as a whole” (Lumadi, 2016:226). A sample is, by definition, “a subset of the population, to be useful it must have all the properties of the population so as to be representative of the whole” (Bless et al 2014:165). A “sample will be representative of the population from which it is selected if the aggregate characteristics of the sample closely approximate those same aggregate characteristics in the population” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:172). This entails restricting “research investigations to a small but well-chosen group of participants in such a way that the result can be almost accurate and represent the population of the study. This is

so because, with a sample, time, money, and effort can be concentrated to produce better-quality research, better instruments, more in-depth information, and better-trained interviewers or observers” (Strydom, 2017:224). In selecting a sample, representativeness is of essence and therefore it is crucial to limit and/or avoid the conscious and unconscious chances of being bias.

There are “two types of sampling methods that are available to the researchers: probability sampling, which is based on randomization; and none—probability sampling, which does not implement randomization” (Strydom, 2017:226). “Probability sampling occurs when each member of the population has the same probability or chance of being chosen for the study, for instance, cluster sampling, random sampling and simple random sampling” (Lumadi, 2016:230). On the other hand, “non-probability sampling is when the probability of including each element of the population in a sample is unknown. In this case it is not possible to determine the likelihood of the inclusion of all representative elements of the population into the sample” (Bless et al 2014:166).

In this study, the researcher made use of two sampling techniques to select the participants, “the simple random sampling” for survey and “purposive sampling” for oral interviews, in the understanding that “properly drawn samples provide information appropriate for describing the population of the study” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:184). Similarly, Miller and Brewer (2003:268) state that “the rationale behind random sampling is that the characteristics of the good random sample (sample estimates) should mirror the characteristics of the population (the ‘true’ population parameters). A simple random sampling is the basic sampling method assumed in the statistical computations of social research” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 189).

A purposive sample of 35 respondents was drawn from the Nigerian security agencies and other stakeholders relevant to the study, and who are also knowledgeable of the Nigerian internal security policy. They include the participants from the Ministry of Interior (two respondents each from the Nigerian Police, Customs, Immigration and Correctional service), Ministry of defense two respondents, Ministry of Health four, Ministry of

Agriculture and Rural Development four, Ministry of Justice two, Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs five, Ministry of Labor and productivity two, the National Assembly two, Human Rights Commission four, Academic and Journalist one respondent each. Part of the criteria for the selection was that the respondents must be a serving or retired civil or public servant with not less than 5 years working experience. The allocation of the number of participants was based on the level of involvement in the human security related issues in Nigeria.

The use of purposive sampling was informed by the “knowledge of the population and the purpose of the study” (Lumadi, 2016:235). The purposive sampling technique prides itself with the following benefits:

- “It is less costly and less time consuming
- It ensures proper representation of the universe when the investigator has full knowledge of the composition of the universe and is free from bias
- It prevents unnecessary and irrelevant items entering the sample per chance
- It ensures an intensive study of the selected items
- It gives better results if the investigator is unbiased and has the capacity of keen observation and sound judgment” (Karuna, 2011).

To generate data that can be used to reach informed conclusions, at least 60 questionnaires were distributed at the Police Service Commission, the National Orientation Agency, the Youth Development Agency, the Anti-graft Agency, the Independent National Electoral Commission, the National Economic Council, the Federal Character Commission, and two major political parties, the All Progressive Alliance (APC) and the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and at the Abuja Area Municipal Council (AMAC). The participation of the institutions and the agencies targeted for questionnaire distribution was randomly selected, but it was done in line with their relevance, professional role and constitutional mandates to human security matters. The process of the selection of the participants was done by assigning serial numbers to the targeted security agencies, commissions, and other stakeholders to ensure that each agency has the opportunity of being selected for the investigation. Human security is a

multidimensional and complex concept that needs a wide coverage and to contextualize the nature of threats and trends of events in the Nigerian human security policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring. "The size of a sample is an important determinant of the statistical power of the research... the more heterogeneous a population is, the larger the sample must be to represent the characteristics of the population accurately" (Bless, et al 2014:174). Bless, Smith and Sithole (2014:174) further contend that, "the best sample size depends on three criteria: the degree of accuracy required for the degree of variability or diversity in the population and the number of different variables to be examined simultaneously in the data analysis".

### **3.8 Data Collection Instruments**

Bless et al. state that "a research project stands or falls on the quality of the data on which it is based. An excellent research design and a very representative sample are not sufficient to ensure good result if the analysis relies on incorrect data" (2014:183). Data is "any numeric or non-numeric information or fact about any phenomenon or variable" (Unanka, 2004:2). There are different forms of data collection instruments in social and scientific research, they include, but are not limited to tests, rating scale, questionnaires, interviews, focus group and observations. Research instruments are the means by which the researcher collects information that is suitable to his/her stated research problem(s). For the purpose of this study, the researcher used questionnaires and interviews to gather numeric and non-numeric data that was aimed at assessing the predetermined sample of the participants' viewpoints, experiences, attitudes, belief and feelings towards the prevailing human security threats in Nigeria. The study also made use of secondary sources of information to complement primary data, and these include relevant textbooks, published and unpublished works, newspapers and periodicals, articles and international network (internet sources).

#### **Survey (questionnaire)**

Babbie (2007:246) "defines a questionnaire as a document containing questions and or other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis". Gray

(2004:187) also defines questionnaires as “research tools through which people are asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order”. The choice of questionnaire as a data collection instrument is basically centered on the fact that the study used individual people as the units of analysis. Furthermore, a questionnaire is the most widely used data collection instrument because of its wider coverage of the target population. The researcher administered 60 questionnaires to the targeted respondents drawn from the selected internal security institutions and departments in the Abuja Municipal Area Council. The choice of the capital territory is because of the centralized nature of the Nigerian political administration, wherein the headquarters of the targeted internal security agencies from where the security decision emanates are all located in the three-armed zones in Abuja. The strengths of a questionnaires are articulated by Ganga and Maphalala (2016:321) as follows:

- Questionnaire can be quite affordable if properly planned.
- Questionnaires allow participants adequate time to make their responses.
- There is greater uniformity in measurement because the same tool is utilized across all the selected participants.
- The data that is gathered is easier to analyze than that from interviews and focus group discussions.
- Participants can consult, where there may be a need to do so.
- The questionnaire can be answered at the participants’ own pace and time because they are not seen as tests for assessments.
- Little or no training is required for the coding, analysis, and interpretation of data.

On the contrary, using questionnaires also has its drawbacks. “Unless we can make completing the questionnaire intrinsically rewarding, the response rate can be depressingly low. This is even more of a danger if questionnaires are too long” (Gray, 2004:188). The researcher can “increase the return rate by using a covering letter convincing respondents of the relevance of research, by adding a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the questionnaire, and by keeping the questionnaire short and well

formulated” (Bless et al 2014:200). To avoid the above setbacks, the researcher religiously followed Gray (2004)’s advice as aforesaid.

The questionnaire in the study comprised of five Sections A, B, C D and E. Section A provided the individual details (gender, age, education, work experience and agency) of the research participants, whereas Section B, C, D and E contained closed ended (structured) statements drawn from the relevant reviewed literature. A “closed question provides for a set of responses from which the respondents have to choose one (or sometimes more than one) response” (Maree & Pietersen, 2016:181). “Common among closed-ended questions are those requiring yes or no responses; true or false responses; and one with rating scales” (Ganga & Maphalala, 2016:319). Neuman (2006:287) states that:

The advantages of closed questions are that respondents understand the meaning of the question better, questions can be answered within the same framework, responses can consequently be compared better with one another, answers are easier to code and statistically analyzes, response choices can clarify question meaning for respondents, there are fewer irrelevant and confused answers to questions, and replication is easier.

On this premise, the researcher deemed the Likert scale questionnaire model as appropriate to the study as it aims to ascertain the participants’ attitude, opinion and perception on the phenomenon under study. In this section, the researcher used four-point scales where a series of statements were made, and the respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree with a statement. It ranged from (1), Strongly Disagree (2), Disagree (3) Agree (4) Strongly Agree. Section B contained seven items on the main cause of human insecurity in Nigeria. Section C which comprised of five items was on the consequences of human insecurity in the Nigerian. Section D was made up of five items

on the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria, while Section E contained seven items on the strategies to improve human insecurity in Nigeria.

Close-ended questions also have its disadvantages. Ganga and Maphalala (2016:320) observe that:

Less informed participants may answer too easily, listed responses may miss other choices that respondents may prefer, too many responses may confuse participants, questions may be misinterpreted, respondents may give simplistic answers to complex issues, and participants may be forced to make choices they may not prefer.

Furthermore, “closed-ended questions can suggest ideas that the respondents would not otherwise have had; respondents may be frustrated because their desired answer is not a choice; misinterpretation of a question may go unnoticed; and they may force respondents to give simplistic response to complex issues” (Neuman, 2006:287). However, the closed-ended questionnaire model allows the participants to voice out their views on the research investigation, in this case the threat to human security in Nigeria. An effort was made to ensure that the questionnaire contained a manageable number of questions, and it was grammar simplified to attract the respondents’ interest and boost their confidence.

### **Open-ended Interviews and Interview Guide**

It is the view of the researcher that the use of a single instrument for data collection in this kind of study cannot answer the “how and why” pertinent questions in the study, hence the use of the interviews to gain significance and a rich understanding of the existential threat to human security in Nigeria. It is on this premise that the investigator separately administered questionnaires and conducted standardized open-ended qualitative interviews with those participants who were purposefully selected to attempt to “understand the world from the participant’s point of view, to unfold the meaning of people’s experiences, and to uncover their lived world...”, as well as, to compare the

extent of agreements and disagreements” (Greeff, 2017:342). An interview is “a data collection technique based on a series of questions relating to the research topic to be answered by research participants” (Bless, et al 2014: 392). It therefore implies that the interviewer and the interviewee must be guided by the research topic to find a sustainable solution to the investigation. Nieuwenhuis (2016:92-93) defines an interview to mean “a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behavior of the participant”. Due to the complex nature of this study, interviews were conducted amongst a wide range of purposefully selected individuals who are directly and indirectly involved in the Nigerian internal security policy formulation, implementation and monitoring, as aforesaid. Some of their responses were electronically taped (those who agreed to record their voice) and manually recorded. Maree (2016:94) concurs with this approach and advised that “even if you record the interview, it is often helpful to take notes so that you can review the answers and ask additional questions at the end of the interview”. The use of the tape recorder is vital for conducting interviews. Not only does it record the essential data, it permits the interviewer to concentrate on the process of listening, interpreting and re-focusing the interview” (Gray, 2004:227). “One of the biggest advantages of structured interviews is that there can be a greater use of open questions and the interviewer can provide additional information, if required, to aid the respondent’s understanding of the question” (David & Sutton, 2004:160). However, “it costs more to train and send interviewers to all the respondents in a relatively large sample, some of whom may be in difficult-to-access areas. As such, interviewing is often restricted to a relatively small sample size” (Unanka, 2008:56).

Despite the challenges involved, “the well-conducted interview is a powerful tool for eliciting rich data on people’s views, attitudes and the meanings that underpin their lives and behaviors” (Gray, 2004:213). One key benefit of the use of interview as an instrument of data collection is that it allows the researcher to observe the non-verbal behavior of respondents – facial expression/reaction, as well as the gesticulation of the respondent in a particular question.

The interview guide was constructed in a manner that adequate information was sought to address the research questions and the objectives of the study. The interview guide was prearranged in segments as follows:

#### Section A

This section comprised of the date of the interviewee, the starting time, concluding time of the interview, the name of the investigator/interviewer and the language used to conduct the interviews.

#### Section B

The section contained five demographic background questions for each of the research participant: gender, age, institution/agencies, education attainment and the participant's years of experience.

#### Section C

The section was made up of four lead questions on the interviewee's perception and experience on the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria. This section probed the participant's insight, sensitivity, orientation and knowledge on the present situation of human security in Nigeria, the deepest concern of the participants on the phenomenon, internal security policy implementation and the other relevant factors that constitute as sources of threats to human security in Nigeria.

#### Section D

This section contained five questions on the consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria. The section asked the participants whether human insecurity has any effect on the Nigerian state, the effect of food scarcity on the human population, the effect of flood disaster on human environment and on whether the high rate of crime among the youth is a consequence of unemployment in Nigeria.

#### Section E

This section was made up of five questions on the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria. The section probed if corruption, political marginalization, the lack of political will to securitize poverty, including the extent inadequate human security policy implementation have sustained human insecurity in Nigeria.

## Section F

Five questions on possible strategies to improve human insecurity in Nigeria were asked in this section. The investigator queried each participant if there can be any solution to human insecurity in Nigeria. The section went further to ask if the Nigerian government has the capacity to address the threat to human security. The section concluded by asking the participants if they have further suggestion(s) on the best approach to reduce the level of human insecurity in Nigeria.

In summary, the interview guide comprised of Sections A, B, C, D, E, and F, and contained 19 open-ended questions that were constructed in line with the stated research questions and objectives.

### **3.9 Methods of Data Collection**

#### **3.9.1 Primary data source and procedure**

The study utilized the survey method (questionnaires) and the oral interview (in-depth interview) to source relevant data to describe and explain the behaviors and experiences of security policy makers, security studies scholars and relevant stakeholders on the threat to human security in Nigeria in the post-military era. A letter requesting permission to conduct the study was written and sent to the head offices of the targeted institutions/agencies in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Nigeria. The letter was acknowledged by the relevant authorities allowing the respondents to freely engage in the study. The questionnaires and the interview documents contain an opening statement where the role of the participant was adequately explained with a guarantee of anonymity, confidentiality, safety and liberty, as well as the right to opt-out from the study at any point in time. Some of the issues explained to the participants were the project type (Doctoral research), school affiliation and the project objectives. The questionnaires were distributed to the institutions/agencies earmarked for the study and the participants were given at least five working days to complete the questionnaire. In the case of interviews, appropriate time was sought from the interviewees to conduct the interviews. This exercise commenced immediately after the collection of the

questionnaires after which the findings were compared to ensure validity and to check if they were in line with the design of the investigation.

### **3.9.2 Secondary data source and procedure**

The nature of this research project influenced the use of a wide range of relevant secondary sources of information that were already in the public domain to complement and sustain the primary data. Data was sourced from but not limited to the review of published journal articles, the reviews of newspaper articles, Google sources, security policy documents, government gazettes, and documentaries. Specifically, relevant information was sourced from the Nigerian National Defense Policy documents, Nigerian Defense College (Libraries and Bookshops), National Human Rights Commission, National Security Summit Report, National Security Strategy, Walter Sisulu University, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Imo State University, and Abia State University libraries. For the purpose of authenticity, data was also sourced from the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics, United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) and Commission on Human Security (CHS) which is compared with government sources, especially in the area of poverty, unemployment, inequality/wealth distribution, population, human protection and rehabilitation.

The “strength of secondary data is that they are readily available, neutral, cost-effective, accurate and authentic” compared to primary sources, while the key weakness associated with secondary data is that the researcher has no control over what is contained in the data set, and cannot vouch for the quality of the data with certainty or determine whether the data is accurate, or recent as it may be reported” (Okeke & Von Wyk 2016:365).

### **3.10 Method of Data Analysis**

This section represents the “empirical phase” of the data analysis, which Unanka (2018:1) describes as “the process of reasoning through and interpreting the meaning of qualitative or quantitative data towards the description, explanation or prediction of the social or political phenomenon”. Since the unit of analysis in the investigation is the individuals, formal internal security institutions/agencies in Nigeria, the administered questionnaires and interviews that were conducted formed the bases of data processing

and analysis. The idea of data analysis is to enable the researcher to empirically classify, present and interpret findings and observations in a statistical (quantitative) and non-statistical (logical/qualitative) manner. This technique is appropriate with the triangulation mixed method research design approach used in the study. This entails “analyzing the quantitative data using quantitative methods and qualitative data using qualitative methods. It involves the processes whereby quantitative and qualitative data analysis strategies are combined, connected, or integrated in research studies” (Delpont & Fouche, 2017:447).

To analyse quantitative/statistical data, the researcher used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software version 23. Tests such as frequency distribution and mean score values were used to analyze the data. The SPSS computer software helped the researcher to “summarize quantitative data, compile appropriate tables and graphs, examine relationship among variables... and develop a fairly sophisticated model” (Babbie & Mouton, 2003:583). The strength of the SPSS tool is that it ensures accuracy, reduce labor and time and also ensures easy interpretation of results. The SPSS has been criticized for the lack of “coverage and flexibility” especially in the area of “time series analysis and various versions of the SPSS”. However, the SPSS computer software has for decades remained a popular and user-friendly tool to analyze quantitative data.

However, the data generated from the participants through the interviews was non-numerical in nature, hence ‘content analysis’ was used to analyze and explain the qualitative data. “Qualitative analysis is the non-generalizable idiographic (narrative) inductive reasoning – the logical counting, sorting, coding, categorization, classification, linking and interpretation of qualitative data” (Schutt, 1999:310). In view of the above, the interview data was first sequentially arranged to enable the researcher to manage, explain, interpret and present the views, beliefs and experiences of the respondents with regards to the Nigerian internal security policy. Hosti (1969:14) defines content analysis as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”. Under the author’s definition, the technique of

content analysis is not restricted to the domain of textual analysis but may be applied to other areas such as coding student drawings or actions observed in videotaped studies. "The purpose of thematic analysis is to uncover the themes that are prominent in the data. Also, the objective of finding the thematic links is to assist the shaping and interpretation of the emerging themes" (Attridge-Sterling, 2001:387). Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual nation, comprising of three major languages, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba, in addition to English, for this reason any recording in any of these indigenous languages plus the notes that were taken in the process of interviews were transcribed into English for language uniformity and to enable the interpretation and the presentation of the findings. The narratives of the respondents were summarized and each question was reported to reflect the opinion and statements of the people that were interviewed. Sequentially, the content analysis was manually established, important statements identified and coded, information grouped into themes and linked to determine the relationships, interpreted and presented. The essence is that "data should be allowed to speak, demanding the researcher to engage with them rigorously" (Feza, 2016:464).

In sum, the study combined and analyzed three sources of data: questionnaire, in-depth interviews and extant literature to ascertain the corroboration/collaboration and the differences of the participant's views, ideas, opinion and beliefs on the threat issues of human security.

### **3.11 Ethical Considerations in Social Sciences**

For Bless (2004:14) "the word ethics is derived from the Greek word *ethos*, meaning one's character or disposition. It relates to the term morality derived from the Latin term *morals*, meaning one's manners or character". Ethics is "the science of morality: those who engage in it determine values for the regulation of human behavior" (Homan, 1991 in David & Sutton 2004:17). The ethics of social research is about "creating a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants are pleased to respond candidly, valid results are obtained, and the community considers the conclusions constructive" (Mcauley, 2003:95). The "ethical consideration concept involves all aspects of the

research process, from deciding upon the topic, through to identifying a sample, conducting the research and disseminating the findings have ethical implications” (Flick, 2006:49). Specifically, research issues such as, “personal disclosure, authenticity, credibility, the role of the researcher in cross-cultural contexts, and the issue of personal privacy all create a mirage of complexities” (Drake, 2016:98). Hence, research “should be based on mutual trust, acceptance, cooperation, promises and well-accepted conventions between all the parties involved in a research project” (Strydom, 2017:113).

It is on this backdrop that the research projects, especially in the Social Sciences is meaningless without human contact. When the human being constitutes the unit of analysis in an investigation, the ethical issue becomes a pertinent concern for the researcher. A researcher for instance, has the right to collect data through whatever means, but not to the detriment of the participants and/or the respondent’s rights to know about the entire research process. Gravetter and Forzano (2003:60) identified “two basic categories of ethical responsibility: responsibility to those, both human and non-human, who participate in a project; and responsibility to the discipline of science to be accurate and honest in the reporting of their research”.

Based on the above, ethical consideration was therefore considered while gathering data. Prior to conducting the interview process, the targeted institutions and departments in the Abuja Municipal Area Council were contacted in writing, to obtain permission to conduct interviews with the targeted staff members. The organizations granted the researcher’s request in writing and made arrangement for the conduction of the interviews. The researcher made a firm promise to the participants for the honest and fair reporting of the information provided. The survey questions were moderated and approved by the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal before administering it to the different government departments, commissions and security agencies that form part of the sample population.

The survey moderation was done for the purpose of quality assurance and to ensure the appropriate use of research instruments. Based on the nature of the study, the

researcher ensured that the following codes of ethics were strictly adhered to: informed consent, data protection, and the respect to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality.

### **3.11.1 The principle of informed consent**

Informed consent is “a principle which ensures that participants in a research project have the right to be informed that they are being researched” (Sotuku & Duku, 2016:117). It implies that “subjects are made adequately aware of the type of information you want from them, why the information is being sought, what purpose it will be put to, how they are expected to participate in the study, and how it will directly or indirectly affect them” (Kumar, 2012:244). The principle of informed consent entails that “all possible or adequate information in terms of the objective, process, outcome, duration, advantages and disadvantages of the research project be sufficiently communicated to the participants before they get involved in the investigation” (Mcauley, 2003:99). Informed consent can be achieved by signing consent documents by the participants to indicate that they understand the content of the document and the explanations therein. Furthermore, the research participants should not be directly or indirectly forced to take part in the research study and should retain the right to opt-out voluntarily from the project at any stage of the study. The essence of informed consent is to provide accurate information to the participants and to allow him/her to timeously make an informed decision on whether to get involved in the study. Sotuku and Duku (2016:118) identified “two forms of obtaining informed consent: direct consent and substitute consent or third-party consent”. They further elucidate that the former (direct consent) occurs when an agreement to participate in a research project is obtained directly from the people identified to be involved in the research, while the latter arises in a situation where the person who is going to participate in the study does not have the capacity and competence to make the decision, or is dependent on others for his or her welfare. For instance, “some very old people, those suffering from conditions that excludes them from making informed decisions, people in crisis, people who cannot speak the language in which the research is being carried out, people who are dependent upon you for a service and children are not considered to be competent” (Kumar, 2012:244).

In the process of primary data analysis and presentation, especially in interviews the researcher is, “ethically bound to protect the interviewee’s rights of anonymity and confidentiality and report without prejudice the accurate information obtained from respondents. To report the findings in a way that changes or slants them to serve your own or someone else’s interest is unethical. Correct and unbiased reporting of the findings are important characteristics of ethical research practice” (Kumar, 2005:247). However, “while reporting positive discoveries in data analysis, negative findings, as a matter of fact, should also be reported provided it does not impact negatively on the participants. In the process of data analysis, the researcher is ethically bound to tell the truth about all the pitfalls and problems they have experienced in a particular line of inquiry” (Babbie, 2002:62).

Again, it is essential to highlight the challenges inherent in seeking the participants consent in a research project. There are circumstances under which the identified participants may decline to sign informed consent paper. For instance, if the participant noticed that the interview questions are too sensitive, politically motivated or religiously biased, there is the tendency that the respondent may be unwilling to sign the consent forms and equally decline not to participate. To overcome this situation and being aware of the sensitive nature of the project the researcher drafted the interview questions from the literature that is already in the public domain. Political and religious security related questions were carefully crafted and presented without compromising the quality, aims and objectives of the study.

### **3.11.2 Data protection**

Data protection entails all the measures taken by the researcher to ensure the safety of the assessed information during and after the research process. These measures include how data is secured and stored, how feedback was given to the participants, the measures to ensure the accuracy of the data and the careful disposal of the data materials at the appropriate time frame. The researcher also “ensures that the signed consent forms are treated with the utmost discretion and stored away in the correct manner so

that a particular form can easily be found if need be – the researcher remains responsible for the ethical quality of the study” (Henning, 2005:73-74).

### **3.11.3 Respect for privacy**

The term privacy can mean many different things to different people and in different contexts, hence “privacy, in its most basic meaning, is to keep to oneself that which is normally not intended for others to observe and analyze. Every individual has the right to privacy, and it is his or her right to decide when, where, to whom and to what extent his or her attitudes, beliefs and behaviors will be revealed” (Strydom, 2017:119).

In research, privacy according to Sotuku and Duku, (2016:126) is the freedom a participant must determine the following aspects about their identity and private information:

- “Time: When, during the research process, one’s identity and private information should be shared or withheld from others.
- Extent: How much private information should be shared or withheld from others.
- Circumstances: Condition under which the participants’ identity and private information can be shared or withheld from others”

The respect of the right to privacy is the key factor that determines the participants’ interest or involvement in a research process. Once this is guaranteed, the participant will feel free to release private/confidential information, otherwise “it could result in individual rights being violated”. Beauchamp and Childres (2001:33) believe that “an invasion of privacy happens when private information, such as beliefs, attitudes, opinions and records, is shared without the participants’ knowledge or consent”. To keep private information safe has remained a huge challenge facing researchers, especially when it comes to the handling of research data and or information. The personal data that is needed to be kept confidential in research can include, but is not limited to, “health information, genetic information, information on behavior such as criminal records, financial information, travel records, information on religious beliefs and sexual orientation or ethnic identification records” (Olofinbiyi, 2018:136).

To overcome this challenge, and apart from the research team, the researcher ensures that no one else can have access to the participants' private information. To protect the data, and according to the university policy the researcher has the responsibility to hand over all the participants' information (oral and written) to the supervisor for safe keeping. It is important to stress that if the participants at any time (during or after the research process) discover that their private information has been made public by the researcher or their delegates, legal action can be instituted against the researcher for breach of the right to privacy.

#### **3.11.4 Anonymity and confidentiality**

Anonymity and confidentiality are two separate terms that can be used interchangeably, but none can be substituted with another in meaning and context. "Anonymity means that the researcher will not and cannot identify the respondent; for example, a postal survey in which questionnaires are returned with no identifying labels or codes, while confidentiality means that the researcher can match names with responses – for example, a face-to-face interview – but ensures that no one else will have access to the identity of the respondent" (Mcauley, 2003:97). While anonymity connotes the non-disclosure of anything that can be used to trace the respondents' identity, confidentiality entails measures in handling and or safeguarding all the sources of primary information throughout the research process.

The "protection of the participants' identity must commence from the day the research idea is conceived, through writing a research proposal, data collection, data analysis, data interpretation, through to publication of results, participant anonymity is thought about and maintained" (Sotuku & Duku, 2016:124). The principle of the non-disclosure of the identity of research resource persons is one of the ethical practices in social research, therefore, disclosing the participants' research information beyond official norms constitutes a breach of the contract between the researcher and the participants. "Participants identities may include their names, the name of the institution in which they work, their addresses, their relatives' names, their nicknames, among others" (Sotuku & Duku, 2016:124).

It was on these bases that the researcher made every effort to respect and preserve both the individuals' identity and data information (oral and written) by doing the following:

- The researcher gave the respondents concrete/genuine assurance that their personal identity will be respected, and the information released will be handled with care, especially private and sensitive/classified information.
- Assigning institutions/agencies to participants in place of their real names/nicknames "to ensure that the data remain anonymous".
- At the end of the research process, the researcher took concrete steps to ensure that the information provided by the participant is kept with the supervisor for security purposes.
- Furthermore, the researcher ensured that the research report, findings, presentation, and the interpretation are a thorough reflection of the respondents' ideas, beliefs, opinion, orientation and values.

### **3.11.5 Challenges of Data Collection**

It is an old normal that the researchers encounter various challenges in the process of conducting research particularly in an empirical study, hence this work is not an exception. The first challenge was obtaining permission from my employer to travel to Abuja because the researcher is also working at Walter Sisulu University, in the Eastern Cape in South Africa. To overcome this challenge, the researcher made an internal arrangement with the colleagues to assist in his official responsibilities while on field work and where necessary. As research ethics demands, the studies involving human participation demand official permission from the relevant institutions both in the public and in the private sectors, hence clearance was sought to conduct the qualitative and quantitative research from the relevant ministries, institutes, security agencies and other stakeholders in the study area that form part of the study population. During this process, the researcher experienced endorsement challenges from the aforesaid registry offices designated to approve research related issues. To overcome this and due to the sensitive nature of the study, the research took time to clarify the security boundaries of the study and its objectives.

In the interview process, the respondents were hesitant to either disclose their identity, record their voice in audio, or give sensitive information for fear of consequences. In one instance at a force headquarters in Abuja, the police commissioner in charge of research was worried that since I am a foreign student the outcome of my thesis could portray Nigerian human security policy in a bad light, hence they were reluctant to participate in the interview process. All the efforts made to convince him on the precise objective of the thesis fell on deaf ears. Again, the internal security situation in Nigeria at the time of field work was too cold for comfort. For example, the compulsory linking of individual phone sim cards with national identity after the October 2020 #EndSars civil disobedience youth protests in virtually all the 36 states and the federal capital territory, Abuja made it extremely difficult for the people to discuss security issues and policies either one-on-one or on cell phones for fear of being tracked and trapped by the Nigerian security agents. For this reason, the researcher invoked the ethical clauses of informed consent, respect for privacy, anonymity and confidentiality to appease the minds of the participants.

Despite this effort, the targeted respondents were reluctant to participate, and there is nothing the researcher can do; hence he had no control over the issue of sim card and national identity linkages as mandated by the Ministry of Communication and Digital Economy. Additionally, the quantitative and qualitative data that was collected from the different agencies at intervals also posed a challenge, the researcher used unemployed graduates in the study area to assist in the distribution and collection of survey questions, since the intention was to widen the net of data collection and to get credible information on the phenomenon under study.

### **3.11.6 Field work and covid-19 challenges**

The field work of the study was conducted in an era of the covid-19 pandemic which constrained the entire field work process that was due in June 2020. After waiting for a full year for the pandemic to abate and because the previous interview appointments in

Nigeria had been cancelled on several occasions due to the lockdown in South Africa, the researcher began traveling arrangements in May 2021. The psychological trauma of contracting the disease in the process, subjecting oneself to covid-19 tests as required by the travel agents and getting someone to perform my official duties at the workplace combined to constitute a daunting challenge to the researcher. Besides, and against all odds, the researcher made up his mind for the field trip to Nigeria. Since the covid-19 pandemic is a universal phenomenon and for the fact that the researcher was coming from a high-risk country (South Africa), they were isolated in a hotel for 14 days by the Nigerian authorities, and subjected to another covid-19 test which came negative before I was allowed to mix and interact with the people.

The field work commenced with the renewal of permission to conduct interviews at targeted government institutions and agencies which was challenging due to the covid-19 strict regulations; the compulsory wearing of masks, hand sanitizing and keeping social distance. Besides, some agencies could not trace the details of my first contact in the registry which prompted a fresh application and a long process of approval, all of which impacted on the field work process. At the federal secretariat complex where most of the ministries and interviewees are located, the researcher applied for permission to conduct the interviews at; the office of the Honorable Minister of Labor and Employment (26 May, 2021), the office of the Honorable Minister of Humanitarian Affairs Disaster Management and Social Development (26 May, 2021), the office of the Inspector General of Police, Force Headquarters (1 June, 2021), the Comptroller General Nigeria Custom Services (8 June, 2021), and at the Ministry of Health. Unfortunately, none of the application was approved for the fact that most of the resource persons who happened to be senior staff were working from home due to the covid-19 pandemic.

To this end the researcher had no opportunity to carry out a pilot test of all the aspects of the research measuring instruments. A pilot study is a procedure for testing and validating an instrument by administering it to a small group of participants from the intended test population (Barker, 2003:327-328).

Frustrated, the researcher resolved to take the unofficial route via individual contacts, those who were ready to help still needed permission from the authorities before they

could assist for fear of consequences. The intervention of some staff from my ethnic nationality at the complex still proved abortive. At the National Assembly, and at the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defense, the researcher was denied access to the premises, citing covid-19 related reasons even after presenting a copy of my previous application and the supervisor's letter of introduction that stated clearly the objective of my visit. For three weeks, the researcher consistently visited these institutions to seek for interview appointments but to no avail. At the end, ten out of 35 participants agreed to take part in the interviews, which accounts for a poor response rate as a result of the above stated reasons. Those who were interviewed are as follows: two senior staff from the Ministry of Health, one from the Ministry of Justice, one from Nigeria Custom Service, one from Nigeria Immigration Service, one Legal Practitioner, one university lecturer and three senior staff at the National Human Rights Commission. From the above, only five respondents agreed to be recorded while the rest declined. This challenge was complemented with the detailed literature sources that were used to triangulate the survey and the interview data during the presentation, the interpretation and the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5.

### **3.12 Demographic Profile of Respondents (survey)**

This section presents the data and the information gathered from four categories of the demographic profile of the respondents which was presented and interpreted below. First, the information about the gender of the respondents, which comprised whether they were male or female, the aim to gain insight about the percentage of the sex group that participated more in the survey conducted in the research area is presented. This is necessary to enable the research to have informed knowledge on the experience and interest of both genders on issues related to the threat to the Nigerian internal security. Secondly, the age category of the respondents is categorized within the range of 30 – 50 years, and above, the reason being to enable one to understand the age distribution of the participants in the study. It is expected that the respondents should be old enough to comprehend human security related issues. Thirdly, the educational background of the respondents was gathered to determine the level of knowledge and competence in

responding to the survey questions. The ability of the respondents to respond to the study questions depended largely on the level of the individual literacy level, experience, exposure and the necessary assessment skills to make an informed decision and observations. Fourthly, the work affiliation and the experience of the respondents were collected from five categories of government ministries, agencies and other stakeholders that are relevant to the study. The purpose was to assemble the verity of the respondents' work experiences, ideas, beliefs, orientation and preferences on factors that constitute human insecurity in Nigeria.

### **Gender, age and the educational background of respondents**

**Table 0.1: Distribution of respondents by gender, age category and educational background**

Gender	Frequency	%
Male	25	41.7
Female	35	58.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>
Age Category		
30 – 35	4	6.7
35 – 40	4	6.7
40 – 45	34	56.7
45 – 50	15	25.0
50 – above	3	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>
Educational background		
Primary	0	0
Secondary	19	3.7
Tertiary	41	68.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Research Survey 2021

The gender distribution of the participants in Table 3.1 revealed that slightly above half of the respondents are female, whereas the rest are male, which means there were more female respondents than males in the study. The age distribution of the respondents shows large numbers of respondents falling within the age category of 40-45 which accounts for 56.7%, and the age group between 45 and 50 stood at 25%. The ages between 30-35, 35-40 account for 6.7% and 6.7% respectively, while the age distribution

of 50 and above accounts for the lowest percentage among the age categories of the respondents in the study.

This means that the age category 40-45 appears to provide greater insights into the security related issues.

The educational qualification of the respondents was grouped into three categories. The findings revealed that more than half of the respondents acquired different categories of degree certificates, while the rest have secondary education. The results equally found that none of the respondents have primary education as their highest qualification. The result implies that all the respondents have a qualification above a primary school certificate, which means that the level of education of the respondents appears to be credible to determine the factors that constitute the threats to physical and human security in Nigeria. The respondents with a secondary school certificate account for 3.7%, while 68.3% had a tertiary education.

The findings in Table 3.2 indicate the distribution of the respondents' work affiliation in the study. The results show that more respondents (18.3%) are employees of the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC), and the same percentage originated from other institutions or agencies, followed by 16.7% respondents from the National Police Service Commission and the Ministry of Agriculture respectively. While 15% of the respondents were from the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and the National Orientation Agency (NOA).

## **Occupational status and experience of respondents**

**Table 0.2: Participants' work affiliation and experience**

Government Agency	Frequency	%
Police Service Commission	10	16.7
National Orientation Agency	9	15.0
Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs	9	15.0
Ministry of Agriculture	10	16.7
Abuja Municipal Council	11	18.3
Other	11	18.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>
Participants work experience in years		

5 – 10 years	7	11.7
10 – 15 years	36	60.0
15 – 20 years	17	28.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Research Survey 2021

The findings in Table 3.2 indicate the distribution of the respondents' work affiliation in the study area and their experience. The results show that 16.7% of the respondents came from the Police Service Commission, the National Orientation Agency and Ministry of Humanitarian 15% each, the Ministry of Agriculture 16.7%, the Abuja Municipal Area Council 18.3%, and other institutions 18.3%, respectively. These statistics reveal that the AMAC workers and other agencies participated in the quantitative study.

Regarding the participants' work experience, the distribution reveals that the respondents within the 10-15 years' work experience section comprise 60% of the sample followed by the category of the w15-20 years making up 28.3% of the sample, while the respondents within the 5-10 years' work experience accounts for 11.7%. This distribution on the duration of the employment suggests that the respondents with a longer duration of work experience are more than likely to be knowledgeable through the years of experience on matters concerning security.

### 3.13 Demographic Profile of the Interviewees

During the face-to-face interviews, the participants' personal information was collected, recorded and presented in the Table below. The interviews were conducted in the English language and each averaged between 35 and 1:45 minutes.

**Table 0.3: Demographic profile of interviewees**

Resource Persons	Public/Private Institutions	Age	Gender	Education Attainment	Work Experience
1	Customs Officer	56	Male	Tertiary	30
2	Immigration Officer	45	Female	Tertiary	9
3	Legal Practitioner	N/A	Male	Tertiary	22
4	Department of Justice	50	Male	Tertiary	20

5	Human Rights Commission	57	Male	Tertiary	Over 30
6	Human Right Commission	52	Male	Tertiary	30
7	Human Rights Commission	55	Male	Tertiary	25
8	Ministry of Health	50	Male	N/A	25
9	Ministry of Health	35	Male	Tertiary	20
10	University of Abuja	51	Male	Tertiary	22

Researcher Survey 2021

Table 3.3 shows the demographic profile and the distribution of the resource persons who were selected and agreed to participate in the interviews. As indicated on the referenced table, the age range of the participants is between 35 and 57 inferring that only adults were considered to participate in the interviews, with predominance of male over female. The average age of the participants is 50 years with an average work experience of 23 years. Considering the level of education attainment by the participants, the extent of knowledge, understanding and exposure on issues of their work portfolio is better and enables them to inform the study. The above demographic table revealed that all the interviewed participants hold a tertiary level qualification with an average work experience of 23 years.

### **3.14 Conclusion**

This chapter highlighted and justified the research approach that was used in the study. It brings to the fore the research design and the research method that was applied in the investigation. The study utilized the qualitative and quantitative instrument to gather empirical information. The participants were chosen via simple random and purposeful sampling techniques. The researcher used quantitative data to present the demographic profile of the respondents emerging from the survey and the interviews with the participants. The ethical issues and the challenges of data collection amidst the covid-19 pandemic were identified and discoursed extensively. This chapter also contained the

demographic profiles of the participants both in the survey and in the interviews with the participants.

## **CAPTER FOUR**

### **CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF HUMAN INSECURITY IN NIGERIA**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter examined two objectives of the study: the causes and the consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria. It proceeds to discuss the general outcome of the survey results, including the discussions, quotations, and narratives from the in-depth interviews to substantiate and support the findings from the survey. The essence is to examine the participants' perception and knowledge of the Nigerian internal security policy with an emphasis on the existential threat to human security in Nigeria.

The research questions that were addressed in this chapter were, what are the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria? What are the socio-economic consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria? On this premise, the participants were given the opportunity to share their opinion on these key research questions on the subject matter. The discussion of the findings is to create more and deeper meaning and understanding of the empirical data and to look at them side by side with the existing literature. Specifically, the survey data that was collected from the research participants was examined and analyzed using descriptive statistics, frequency distribution, mean score values and extant literature.

Apart from the presentation and the interpretation of the administered survey questions, a discussion on the face-to-face in-depth interviews was also carried out amongst the participants. These approaches provided a greater insight in understanding the "unusual forces" at work that "shaped, replicated and sustained" human insecurity, and by extension threat to the Nigerian internal security. Importantly, the inability to reach targeted resource persons due to covid-19 pandemic impacted significantly on the outcome of chapters four and five of this study (see pages 99-137).

It is important to reiterate that the choice of the study is Nigeria, hence the discussion and analysis of this section and the proceeding chapter is equally centered therein, precisely in Abuja the Federal Capital Territory where the research was conducted. Besides, relevant literature references were also made in respect to countries with similar or different issues bordering on threat to human security and development, and by default internal insecurity.

## 4.2 Causes of human insecurity in Nigeria

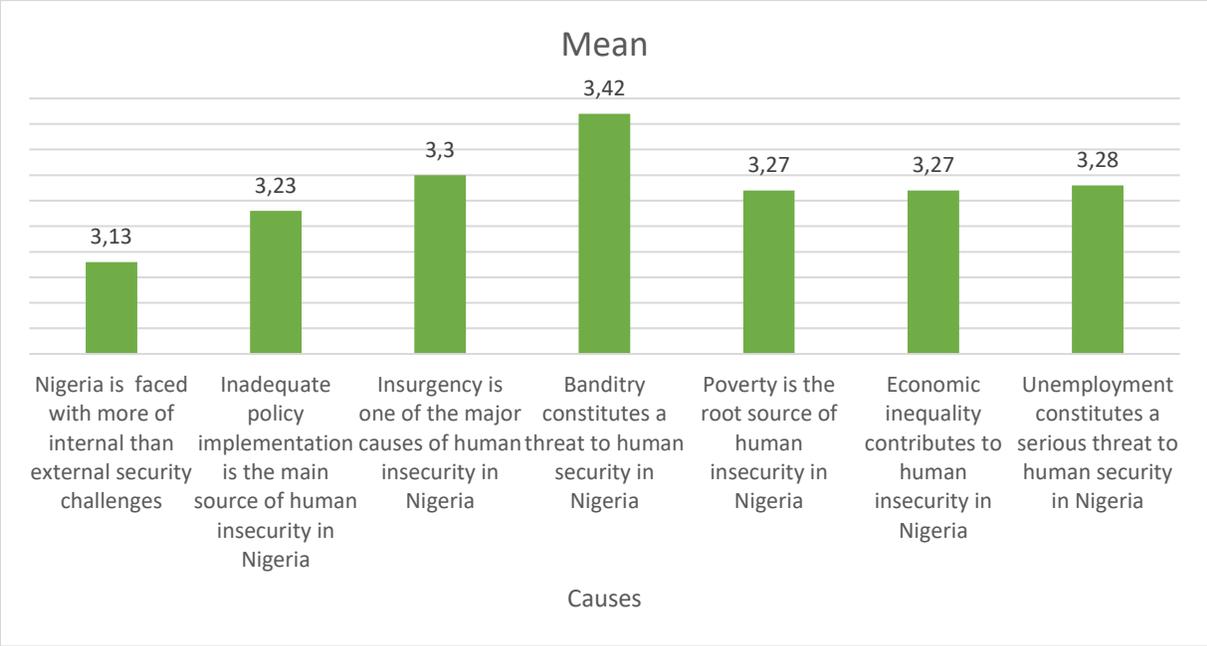
In this section, the views of the respondents were articulated from seven statements to ascertain what could be the cause of the persistent human insecurity in Nigeria in the post-military era. This section sought to address the question, what are the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria? In the respondent's scale in the table below, SD means Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, A = Agree, while SA means Strongly Agree, in that order.

Table 4.1 and pictorially in Figure 4.1 results revealed that banditry, insurgency, unemployment, economic inequality, poverty, inadequate policy implementation and whether Nigeria is faced with more of internal than external security challenges, in that order, are the respondent's perception on the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria.

**Table 0.1: Causes of human insecurity in Nigeria**

Items	SD	D	A	SA	T	Mean
Nigeria is faced with more of internal than external security challenges	10 (16.7)	2 (3,3)	18 (30)	30 (50)	100	3.13
Inadequate policy implementation is the main source of human insecurity in Nigeria	4 (6.7)	7 (11.7)	20 (33.3)	29 (48.3)	100	3.23
Insurgency is one of the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria	3 (5)	4 (6.7)	25 (41.7)	28 (46.7)	100	3.30
Banditry constitutes a threat to human security in Nigeria	1 (1.7)	6 (10)	20 (33.3)	33 (55)	100	3.42
Poverty is the root source of human insecurity in Nigeria	3 (5)	8 (13.3)	22 (36.7)	27 (45)	100	3.27
Economic inequality contributes to human insecurity in Nigeria	3 (5)	5 (8.3)	25 (41.7)	27 (45)	100	3.27
Unemployment constitutes a serious threat to human security in Nigeria	3 (5)	7 (11.7)	20 (33.3)	30 (50)	100	3.28

Source: Research Survey 2021



**Figure 0.: Bar chart showing the mean scores of the causes of human insecurity in Nigeria**

**4.2.1 Threat of armed banditry**

The study revealed that threat of armed banditry tops the list on the cause of human insecurity in Nigeria. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (88.3%) agree that banditry is the major source of threat to human security in the country, while a minority held contrary views, with a mean score value of 3.42 as shown in Figure 4.1. This suggests that banditry has a strong impact on human insecurity, hence it constitutes an existential threat to the state, human security, and development in Nigeria. Further interrogation of this question through in-depth interviews revealed a preponderant support for this finding. However, the extent of this corroboration may differ slightly amongst the participants.

On the cause of the present situation of insecurity in Nigeria, a legal practitioner had this to say:

*"Since post-military era when our nascent democracy was born, we have not had it so bad, in short, the present human insecurity in Nigeria is scary. As a legal practitioner, I can see how we have degenerated to such appalling situation. There are existential threat to human security because all the elements of human condition which is the basis of accessing human security seem to come better outlook. There are threat of insurgency, herdsman and farmers, conflicts, banditry, poverty, unemployment, and so forth".*

A human rights lawyer in the National Human Rights Commission had this to say:

*"The security architecture presently in Nigeria revolved around Unitarian perspective, in that the whole arm of coercive forces are held by the federal government. By this we mean the military and paramilitary are all in the hands of the federal government as stipulated by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, hence you find out that the police force is under the command and control of the central government, precisely under the Inspector General of Police (IGP), notwithstanding the fact that Nigeria is a federation that required vertical and horizontal devolution of powers which allow different states of the federation through the governors to be chief security officers of the state. So, the concentration of powers under the IGP give very wide discretion to police to manage the entire geo-land space of Nigeria. This makes ineffective policing in terms of resource, thereby giving room for a lot of ungoverned spaces - forest, bushes, pathways, valleys, and mountain tops, which are less open without any form of security around these places, making it easy for criminal elements to practice art of crime and come to streets and township to kill, maim and kidnap for ransom. So, national security policing that does not allow second or third tier police operation create a huge gap in human security".*

Corroborating the above narrative, a custom officer stated that:

*"The territorial size of Nigeria is a challenge. The number of custom officers is very small, not up to 15,000, there are not enough manpower to police the entire border route that is over 1000 miles. As a custom officer at border post, you don't know the terrain so you can't police border smugglers, of which many of them are not Nigerians. It is difficult to differentiate a Nigerian and a person from Benin Republic, Niger, Chad and Cameroon. Above all, border communities sympathize and collaborate with foreign criminals which makes our work difficult".*

A senior staff in the National Human Rights Commission stated:

*"The escalation of insecurity in Nigeria is worrisome. In the past five years the security situation was so alarming. In the past it used to be armed robbery and farmers and herders' clashes, recently the rate of ethnic and religious sentiments, pseudo political structure, and disinformation and hate speech, abduction of school children by bandits, political killings, post-election violence and corruption combined to constitute sources of human insecurity in Nigeria".*

When asked further about other underlining threats to human security in Nigeria, the respondent had this to say:

*"There are two basic factors underlining threat to human security in Nigeria, ethnic and religious sentiments, those are the greatest factors, most elites look at issues from ethnic bias as well as religious sentiments, and this have led to excitement of the general populace and also increase the level of distrust between the people and government on one hand and also between the people and even their leaders on the other hand. I think this is a major source of human insecurity in the country. Then another great source has to do with the political structure of the country, majority of Nigerians are not comfortable with the current political structure that we run, and they have been so much clamor for what some people call restructuring of the country. Even though the government has been trying to look at the issue, but there is yet to be a conscious and deliberate will. As we talk, there is this constitutional review process we know but even many Nigerians don't even trust that process so when there's no trust between the people and those who are in authority, that itself is a major source of security challenge. Security is not only when you talk about physical threat, it also involves other threat issues that may lead to the cause of what we experience now in most part of the country, so the issue of distrust between the people and the government has been escalating. I think another issue I should also mention is what people call fake news, but for me is not fake news is false news, because news cannot be fake, false news means disinformation or misinformation, and insightful statement, hate speech, particularly through social media platforms. One unfortunate thing is that people tend to believe this information, even the elites, even those who are educated, and those who are posting them. Once there is a post in social media platform it spread so wide, and before you know it, it generates a lot of threat and a lot of insecurity issues. Unfortunately, the government has not been able to handle the situation, even though there's efforts being made by the national broadcasting commission to hold the license of fake news peddlers, maybe to even sanction the person or group. There's a big challenge on how to address the threat coming from social media platforms, false news, hate speech, insightful statement and all other views constitutes*

*great threat to our human security in our country”.*

Collaborating this point, a staff in the National Human Right Commission had this to say:

*"Like I said initially pull/push factors; firstly, we have the issue of environment, it is a major source and challenge, particularly in the north-east. Most times government or the current government have been talking about the issue of the Lake Chad Basin Authority one will appreciate the fact that there is much that can be done to persuade a lot of insecurity issues there. So, you can see the challenge even at the state level, assuming the state can even measure up just like what is obtainable now, the little that was save from federal level certainly there will be a lot of visibility of governance in those location, but the absence of that and the endemic corruption at that level, you can imagine the electoral system most of the local government chairmen are just nominees of the governors. You know the constitution provides that they should be elected councilors and chairmen at that level, these are good policies and laws that we have, but the state governors will not just implement that because of the endemic corruption they will not and if they attempt to do that, they ensure that their cronies and political friends are in charge. Take for example, Kano State, a single political party will clear about 44 local government in an election without any other party winning, how on earth can that happen, and the same things is applies to all these other states of the federation”.*

The findings from the survey and in-depth interview sources found that the respondents’ responses and interviews conducted on the major cause or causes of human insecurity in Nigeria appears to corroborate but with pockets of slight differences. This result may have been influenced by the experiences of the respondents in the study area, where most of the residents came from different parts of the country where armed bandits and insurgency are very much active, and where the interviewees may have also had the opportunity to interact with the public and policy makers in Abuja. The visible influx of foreign Fulani bandits from neighboring West African countries in conjunction with their local agents in Nigeria may have equally informed the participant’s position and serious concern about the subject matter, particularly in the Northwest, Northeast and North Central part of Nigeria. Findings also show that the interviewees without exception concur that the human security situation in Nigeria is saddled with multiple challenges. However, virtually all the participants could not present available statistics to demonstrate the rate and nature of vulnerability.

More importantly, the reality that banditry possesses a great security danger and will remain so in the foreseeable future has been documented in the previous literature. These literature sources clearly show the presence of armed bandits across the country. From the present study and extant literature, it is evident that armed banditry is a global security challenge ravaging nation states with enormous and far reaching “impact on the political, social, and economic lives of the people affected, thereby posing a serious threat to sustainable human development of the people in regions and areas affected” (Abdullahi, 2021:1). In Katsina state the governor, Aminu Bello-Masari had publicly confirmed the presence of “Fulani bandits in 10 out of 34 local governments of the state” (Sahara reporters, New York, August 05, 2021), which goes to establish the reality of the presence of armed bandits as the study result demonstrated.

On the contrary, Zubairu (2020:5) argues that “elite exploitation of ethnicity and religious differences rather than physical threat of banditry is the major cause of human insecurity in Nigeria, stressing that, political and religious leaders across the nation sometimes use ethnic sentiments to achieve their selfish ambitions”. This position lends credence to the opinion of one of the respondents, that “diversity is an issue in Nigeria”, but not so significant to derail the people’s socio-economic and political relationship, assistance, and mutual development. This is evidence in the existing inter-ethnic marriages, business collaboration, and political affiliation, academic and cultural collaboration among ethnic nationalities across Nigeria. Paradoxically, and unfortunately so, diversity only becomes a serious issue when it comes to federal appointments, promotion and national election where political and religious leaders take advantage of diversity to divert the attention of the citizens to advance their political and religious ambition and interest, “specifically in distribution of national wealth which in most cases... resulted in mass killings and property destruction of communities in various parts of the country” (Adagba, et al (2012); Achumba, et al (2013). Furthermore, despite the current atrocities being perpetrated by the armed bandits in the northern part of the country, Emedo (2021:31) still argues strongly that “corruption rather than banditry is the prime cause of insecurity in Nigeria, thereby claiming that the current ranking of the Transparency International Report (TIR)

places Nigeria on top of the list for the most corrupt countries of the world". The author observed that the corrupt Nigerian politicians have become a turn-off for international investors. Corruption unarguably is a serious threat, but it is an old normal to human insecurity in Nigeria. However, in Nigeria today, banditry has become a household name as hardly a day goes by without reports of armed banditry, hence the participants are of the view that banditry constitutes a prime source of human insecurity in Nigeria. The findings revealed government's inability to invoke Nigerian terrorism acts to deal with the insecurity posed by bandits, which corroborates with the respondents view that implementation rather than the formulation of security policies is the major source of human insecurity in Nigeria.

Apart from the threat of Boko Haram insurgency, poverty, unemployment economic inequality and the perennial herder-farmer conflicts appears to be a preeminent human security threat confronting President Mohammadu Buhari's present administration. The findings revealed that the surge in banditry is attributable to the lack of political will and action to contain the criminal gangs. It also infers that "the territorial landscape of Nigeria constitutes a barrier to control the influx of foreign bandits in the country. It has been observed that the scale of operations of armed bandits is so high that it attracts both local and international attention and concern" (Abudulahi, 2021:2). The nefarious activities of the terror groups have been chronicled to comprise "kidnapping and cattle rustling, which are on the increase due to the high economic payoff in terms of derivable financial benefits" (National Security Summit Report, 2019:9), in addition to arm proliferation, illegal exploitation of resources, village and market raids, hijacking, sexual harassment and raping of women and children, and the destruction of life and property. According to the National Security Summit Report (2021:22) "since 2011, there has been a surge in attacks between the Fulani herdsmen and sedentary Hausa farmers... as a result of environmental and ecological changes which has caused land and water to become valuable commodities, sparking fierce and often violent competition over resources".

Trend analysis suggests a correlation between armed banditry, militia groups, kidnapping and cattle rustling, in what appears to be a convergence of various illegal networks” (NSS, 2019:9). Empirical data suggests that inadequate work force (military and paramilitary) and centralized security architecture made it difficult if not impossible for the security agents to contain the brutal attacks of bandits in Nigeria.

In July 19, 2021 “the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that bandits in Nigeria have shot down an air force plane in a rare case of a military jet being brought down by a criminal gang in the country” (BBC News, 2021). Despite this sophistication and capability displayed by the bandits, the federal government appears to be adamant in the renewed calls to proscribe and designate the Fulani bandits as a terrorist organization. By so doing, the military would be able to trace the criminals to their hideouts, and subsequently arrest and prosecute them, alongside their sponsors and sympathizers according to the Nigerian Terrorism Act of 2013. Instead, the Minister of Information and Culture, Lai Mohammed was on defensive, and credited as saying that “the armed bandits terrorizing North-West, and some parts of Northern Nigeria are common criminals... unlike Boko Haram and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) who have ideologies and flags, they are simply criminals” (Sahara Reporters, October 2021). In a similar vein, Sheikh Ahmade Gumi was quoted as saying that “herdsmen only kidnap school children for money, hence they are better than IPOB and Eastern Security Network (ESN) who go about killing northerners,” (The Guardian Newspapers, 25 June 2021). These assertions corroborate with the interview findings where participants claim that in Nigeria, criminals are handsomely rewarded and supported for their crime.

Many factors account for the emergence and spread of bandits in the zone of operation, particularly in northern Nigeria. Interview findings point to the fact that Nigeria occupied large and unmanned geographical space bordering Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republic, hence it seems near impossible to control the movements of foreign nationals, and border communities who for ages enjoy social, economic and cultural affiliation with Nigerians. It has been established by the federal and state governments that most of the armed

bandits threatening, attacking, abducting, and robbing villages and travelers of their valuables are foreign Fulani ethnic nationality from Sahel region.

Furthermore, it was observed that the terrain under which the Fulani bandits carry out their infamous operations appears to be in *tandem* with their nomadic lifestyle and culture, hence the bushes and forests serve as a comfort zone and safe haven from where they launch attacks on nearby communities and cities. "The existence of huge forests in the borderlands between Nigeria and Niger Republic provide hideouts, operational base, and training ground for the bandits, which make it difficult for security agencies to locate and defeat" (West Africa Network for Peacebuilding 2020:6). Chikwuma and Francis (2014:112) argue that "in most of Nigeria's rural communities, there are many opportunities for criminal activity. Some of these communities are in remote areas where there is little or no government presence". The socio-economic condition of the border communities also made it easier for bandits to bribe and recruit the poor, unemployed and aggrieved youth in the area who have the feeling of abandonment by the Nigerian government. Above all, ethnic inclination and the seemingly nepotistic tendencies of the present administration towards foreign bandits appear to suggest that inaction against the group is tantamount to subtle encouragement to the bandits. Drawing from the opinion of respondents and literature evidence, one can strongly affirm without contradiction that banditry is one of the prime causes of human insecurity in Nigeria.

#### **4.2.2 Threat of insurgency**

The study revealed a significant threat of insurgency which most of the respondents, 81.6% are in consensus that insurgency is a serious threat to human security in Nigeria, whereas a minority had contrary views. Figure 4.1 shows that the mean score value for this element account for 3.30, representing a high threat level of insurrection to Nigerian state. This result show that the respondents are very much aware of the threat posed by insurgency in the Nigerian internal security and by extension foreign policy.

Further cross-examination of the threat of insurgency via in-depth interviews show some elements of agreement with the survey, which might somewhat vary among the participants. Insurgency is an act of rebellion against the state and its component units -

territory, population, government, and sovereignty. The interviews conducted in the study area revealed that the respondents acknowledged insurgency as a major threat to human security in Nigeria. A closer look at the empirical data suggests that decades of social neglect of human welfare and development, as well as political marginalization of some ethnic nationalities pioneered the emergence of insurrection in the northeast, southeast and southwestern Nigeria. Since the late 1990s, violent protests have come to the fore as notable platforms through which aggrieved ethnic nationalities vent their anger, frustration, and dissatisfaction towards the Nigerian state. The case of Boko Haram insurgency and self-determination protests across the southern region of Nigeria are fingered as some of the examples and sources of insecurity.

Corroborating this point a university lecturer stated that:

*"Presently Nigeria has multiple internal security challenges of insurgency, banditry, pervasive poverty and unemployment, high level of inequality and corruption. All efforts put in place by the government to contain insurrection seem not to have yielded the desired solution to human security, hence it remained unabated".*

A staff in the National Human Rights Commission opined:

*"Like I said initially we are living in unsecured environment, particularly in the north-east and northwestern Nigeria. The current government has been talking about the menace of insurgency along Lake Chad basin and the need to contain it. Next is the issue of population increase and the growing number of Alma iris (street kids) in the north that serve as a source of Boko Haram recruits and the influx of foreign criminal elements from neighboring West African countries are threat factors that constitute human security challenges in Nigeria".*

An officer in the Nigeria Immigration Service had this to say:

*"There is no security in Nigeria, everybody is destabilized by the activities of Boko Haram in the north, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the southeast, and IIana Omo Oodua in the southwest. The officer went further to ask, what exactly do they want? What is the intention of these groups? Look at the leader of IPOB Mazi Nnamdi Kanu who says he want freedom for his people, but he is residing outside Nigeria, he has dual citizen/passport, his group is allegedly destroying security infrastructure and engaging in violent protests. To make things worse, the Nigerian military are currently recruiting the so call repentant Boko Haram terrorists in the Nigerian army, really a lot has gone wrong".*

When probed further on the implication of recruiting some members of Boko Haram into the Nigerian military, the resource person declared,

*"It will not only weaken the Nigerian army, but also result in mistrust among the military and the international community in terms of peace keeping and peace enforcement missions".*

A legal practitioner had this to add:

*"Insurgency has taken over Nigerian sovereignty, Boko Haram, Maitesana and the Fulani Janja-weed whose enterprise is cattle rearing has destroyed farmlands, especially in southern Nigeria thereby offending their victims".*

A senior health officer in the Ministry of Health stated that:

*"The activities of Boko Haram insurgency in the northeastern Nigeria, the activities of the proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), the Niger Delta militant groups, and #Endears protests, tantamount to insurrection and disobedience against the Nigerian state and constituted authorities".*

On the contrary, a custom officer in the research area had this to say about insurgency in Nigeria:

*"What do you think will happen when people have no job? Some people graduated five years ago, but they are still looking for job opportunities here in Abuja. People are no longer happy with the government. Don't you see how some politicians are busy stealing public money, living large, while the unemployed youth roam all the cities in Nigeria seeking job opportunities, not everyone can be self-employed, and as the old dictum says, an idle mind is a devil's workshop".*

Findings from the survey and in-depth interviews strongly points to insurgency as a high-level threat factor and source of human insecurity, and by extension affects the national peace and unity of Nigeria. The extent of this confirmation of participants on this position demonstrates the rate of insurrection in the country. The interview evidence revealed

that insurgency and restiveness in the country grew out of the government's violation of fundamental human rights and gross absence of basic human needs and development.

Essentially, the truth is that the act of insurgency irrespective of the scope and size constitutes a great security challenge and a source of human insecurity in Nigeria, and perhaps may remain so in the foreseeable future. Besides the perception of the participants on the prevalent of insurgency in Nigeria, the researcher tends to agree with the view of the custom officer that lack of job opportunities constitutes the key factor that driver Boko Haram insurgency in the northeastern Nigeria. In biological parlance, in every stimulus there must be a response, hence the nexus between act of insurrection and poverty, unemployment and human rights abuse is not only strong but inseparable. A nation that neglects the welfare of her citizen, particularly the youth population stance the chance to experience restiveness, militancy, criminality, and act of disobedient against the state.

The history and activities of insurgency in Nigeria have been documented in the previous literature. Muzan (2014:223-230) argues that "previous insurgencies in Nigeria varied in their scope, sophistication and intensity, it began with the declaration of the Niger Delta Republic in 1966, the declaration of the Biafra state that led to the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967-70... Oodua People's Congress in 1997, Northern Arewa groups in the late 1970s and 1980s, Boko Haram insurgency in 2009 ..." in addition to the renewed agitation of the "proscribed" Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the southeast and Iana Omo Oodua in the south west. The interview sources found that since the inception of insurgency in Nigeria, the agitators have used different platform and strategies to try to expose the misrule of Nigerian political leaders with intent to win local and international support and sympathy for their struggle. In the specific case of Boko Haram insurgency, the findings revealed that the sect was said to be "critical of government inefficiency, lack of accountability and corrupt practices which has resulted in unemployment and increase in poverty in Borno state in particular and Northern Nigeria as a whole..." (Hamidu, 2020:7). The finding corroborates the view that at an early stage the Boko Haram activities were not violent, they were rather engaged in mere protest and civil

disobedience against the state, aimed to ventilate their frustration over the arrest and extrajudicial murder of their leader whose intention was to establish a caliphate and enshrine sharia law in Borno state.

Viewed differently, the findings infer that the main cause of insurgency and by extension human insecurity is “more of socio-economic and political issues than religion in north-eastern Nigeria where many people are living in abject poverty. The northern political leaders are not doing fine... they deprive most of their citizens of their fundamental rights to socio-economic opportunities” (Olofinbiyi, 2016:155). This position allied with the argument that “corruption of the northern political chiefs is also a factor, the political elites want to divert the attention of the masses from their inability to run the economy of the country efficiently and effectively, thereby enabling them to embezzle more money” (Ofinbiyi, 2016:151). Further to the above, and contrary to the religious factor is the position of the “outlawed” Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), led by Mazi Nnamdi Kanu who had alleged political marginalization, social injustice and exclusion of the southeast zone in sensitive political appointments and development projects, as the main cause of the group agitation.

Based on the respondent views and literature findings one can argue that poverty and unemployment rather than religious sentiments best describe the major cause of insurgency and human insecurity in Nigeria. However, in the case of Boko Haram, the issue of religion cannot be out-rightly wished away because the sect emerged in the first instance as a religious movement under a spiritual leader Mohammad Yusuf, whereas socio-economic and political marginalization combined should be blamed for the act of violent protest and youth restiveness in the southeast and southwestern Nigeria, respectively.

#### **4.2.3 Threat of unemployment**

The study clearly shows that unemployment constitutes an existential threat to human security in Nigeria, with most of the respondents 83.3% gravitating towards agreeing with the assertion, while minority disagree. Figure 4.1 indicates that the mean score

value of the variable stood at 3.28, meaning that unemployment is a sufficient impact factor and source of human insecurity in Nigeria. It also demonstrates the degree of the respondent's awareness and understanding of the serious challenge posed by joblessness.

Further investigation of the finding revealed as an enormous support for the result, but the extent of this backing may probably differ to some extent amongst participants in the study. The issue of unemployment and its attendant threat and causes have remained a concern among individuals, scholars, and social welfare commentators. While some are of the view that the surge on unemployment is because of years of neglect and bad government policies on industrial and human development, others claim lack of adequate skill and competence required for local and international labor markets, which seem to question the credibility of the Nigerian educational system. The following responses bring to the fore the views of participants in this respect.

An immigration officer opined that:

*"From my perspective the situation of unemployment in Nigeria is worrisome, compounded by the influx of foreign nationals across our ineffective border posts. Most of these illegal migrants are unemployed, hence on arrival, they compete with locals for few available job opportunities. Some individuals, public and private institutions have cashed in on this condition to defraud unsuspected job seekers. The government appears to have no practical solution to the issue of unemployment in Nigeria; hence the situation remains the same all year round".*

A human rights lawyer in the National Human Rights Commission had this to say:

*"From the National Human Rights Commission perspective, our greatest fear is lack of commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights all the time by the government. For instance, right for employment is part of the fundamental human rights as stipulated in the Nigerian constitution, but the citizens are not entitled to take the government to court to enforce right to employment".*

A senior staff in the Ministry of Health lends credence to the above statement by declaring that:

*"Our concern is lack of manpower in public institutions, government is not recruiting the streaming population of unemployed youth roaming the streets. Presently there are more senior than junior staff in the department, meaning that people get promoted without replacement of vacant positions. However, it is important to emphasize that in some cases, some of the unemployed are either underqualified or incompetent to take up appointment".*

A legal practitioner had this to say:

*"Unemployment is the key cause of human insecurity, a factor that has deeply attacked the fabrics of Nigeria caused by uneven distribution of patronage, lack of skill and competence".*

A staff in the National Human Right Commission identified and stated that:

*"The underlining threat to human security in Nigeria are: poverty, inequality, nepotism and tribalism. The researcher cuts in, are you excluding unemployment? The respondent said, oh not at all, unemployment is on top of the multiple social challenges confronting the country".*

Being probed further the participant opined:

*"... It has to do with fear for want because we know that the level of unemployment, particularly among the youth in the country now is very high caused by population growth and lack of economic diversification and employment policy. Even those that have employment most of them are under employed, for the majority of people the reward and compensation is very low and this may not be able to satisfy their basic human needs".*

The findings of the survey and in-depth interviews indicate that unemployment constitutes a major threat to human security in Nigeria. The high response rate in the survey is an indication of the prevailing rate of joblessness in the country. It might interest the reader to note that the provision of job opportunities is a socio-economic obligation of the private sector, hence in a practical sense, government does not create jobs rather it provides an enabling environment and the necessary friendly economic policies to attract local and foreign businesses to thrive. Keynes (2015:5) asserts that, output and employment creations are functions of investors' short and long-term expectations. He further stated that such expectations, which feed into investment in productive enterprises and employment generation would be baseless and non-existent in the absence of the right policy and institutional frameworks.

The interview evidence suggests that unemployment in Nigeria is caused by the influx of foreign nationals who are either seasonal, clandestine, professional or refugee workers. Since the 1970's, highly skilled migrants, including doctors, paramedical personnel, nurses, teachers, lecturers, engineers, scientists, and technologists have moved from Ghana first to Nigeria and later to other African countries ... attracted by relatively higher salaries and better prospects of living conditions (Yaro, 2008:5). Between 2020 and 2021, Nigeria counted 1.3 million international migrants and over 70 thousand refugees and asylum seekers (Sasu, 2022). According to one of the participants, population growth contributes to the high rate of unemployment in Nigeria. Akinyemi and Mobolaji, (2022) observes that with a population estimated at 206 million in 2020, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and seventh in the world. The country's population is growing at 2.6% a year, one of the fastest rates globally. At this rate, Nigeria's population could double within the next 25 to 30 years. Besides the galloping population growth as envisaged by the participant, the major issue is endemic corruption and mismanagement of funds inherent in private and public institutions in Nigeria. After all, China, India, Brazil, and United states with about 1.4 billion, 1.3 billion, 300 million and 350 million people in that order, are more populated than Nigeria, but have less people out of job, courtesy of good economic policies and good governance.

Fundamentally, the reality remained that unemployment is one of the main causes of human insecurity and may likely remain so in the coming decades. An array of evidence has been documented in the previous literature as regards the factors enabling unemployment in Nigeria. Historical evidence and experience have shown that part of the unemployment challenges in Nigeria stem from the Eurocentric system of western education that was adopted by not only Nigeria, but Africa as a whole. The western education curricula as it were, lacks the local content that speaks to the promotion and preservation of indigenous knowledge and initiatives geared towards practical solution to local needs. Put differently, inadequate homegrown education curricula, and ineffective governance has resulted in the rollout of a mismatch of tertiary graduates that are "poorly prepared to provide the necessary skills and competence for the job market. Collaborating

the views of the participants on the current educational system in Nigeria “lack of national employment policy, sub-optimal quality of graduates, educational system not tailored and aligned to industry need and inappropriate educational curricula” (Institute of Personnel Management of Nigeria, 2016:7), combined to impact negatively on Nigerian educational system. Lack of legislation for education right in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended also pose a serious challenge, see (Chapter 1V Section 33). The unemployment situation in Nigeria cannot be addressed without embarking on genuine restructuring of the Nigerian education system. Olukayode (2017:8) argue that “poor governance and policy direction, inconsistent government policy, including... lack of synergy between the production of graduates and employment opportunities underscore the complexity of the graduate unemployment issue in Nigeria”. Analyzing the sources of graduate unemployment in Malaysia, Sirat and Shuib (2012:3) and Noor (2011:170) opined that “job miss-match, English proficiency, misguided educational qualification and lack of employable skills were factors accountable for unemployment among university graduates”. A similar view was expressed by Madoui, (2015:40) that, “the disconnection between the university educational system and the world of work are the striking cause of graduate unemployment in Algeria”. A respondent’s view on the alleged issue of under qualification and the incompetence of some unemployed graduates as the reason for unemployment in Nigeria was supported by the study position that the Nigerian authorities seem to underestimate the worth and capability of the indigenous engineers in terms of management and execution of mega projects for lack of “technological know-how”, proficiency and confidence. The Nigerian government is in the habit of awarding lucrative tenders to foreign multinational corporations from preferably the United States of America, Germany, France and most recently China and other Arabian companies, resulting in the astronomical increase in graduate unemployment in Nigeria. One interviewee asserted that the inability of government to fill vacant posts in the ministries and departments is to be blame for the rate of unemployment in Nigeria. This demonstrates neglect and lack of commitment to engage skilled unemployed graduates who could best use their services to improve some ailing public sector.

Based on the views of participants and extant literature findings, one can argue that a combination of political issues, socioeconomic and policy related factors rather than incompetence and the so-called technological know-how contributes to the persistent issue of unemployment and human insecurity in Nigeria.

#### **4.2.4 Poverty and economic inequality**

The study established that poverty and economic inequality significantly form part of the sources of human insecurity in Nigeria, with an overwhelming majority of the respondents (86.7%) generally agreed with the assertion, whereas a minority of the respondents held contrary opinions, which accounted for a mean value of 3.27 as shown in Figure 4.1. This suggests that poverty and economic inequality contribute immensely to the rate of insecurity in Nigeria, as highlighted in the respondent's awareness of the pervasive poverty and the high degree of economic inequality in Nigeria.

To further understand the main causes of these variables, a human rights lawyer in the National Human Rights Commission stated:

*"Presently in Nigeria there is an existential threat of human security of insurgency in the northeast and art of banditry in the northwest of the country, including other socio-economic and cultural issues of poverty, religious crisis, social injustice, income inequality and marginalization of some ethnic nationalities. Indeed, one can safely say that almost all the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria have not felt well in the provision of facilities by the government or the ruling class to better the human condition and human security in Nigeria".*

Probing further on how this condition affects human insecurity, the human rights lawyer opined that:

*"An average Nigerian cannot afford three square meals or that average Nigeria lives less than one dollar a day, ironically, in a country blessed with huge and untapped natural and human resources. The provision of the right to life and survival enshrined in Section 33 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, appears not to be effective, while Section 14 Sub-section 2(b) categorically states that the provision of welfare and security is the main duty/essence of the government and for governance".*

Contributing, a staff in the Ministry of Justice opined:

*"In Nigeria militants are being paid salaries in the name of amnesty, while law abiding youth still depend on their parents for survival. 'Repentant' Boko Haram members are pardoned and recruited into the Nigerian military and para-military agencies, while other agitators are being hunted and punished, and in most cases killed. The threat of poverty and deprivation in the country has reached an alarming rate, inequality is widening by the day and seem to have been institutionalized. Nigeria is a country where anything goes, where some criminals and terrorists are rewarded and celebrated by the government and the society".*

Findings from both quantitative and qualitative sources point strongly to the issues of poverty and economic inequality as significant threat factors and causes of human insecurity in Nigeria. The interview sources demonstrate high rates of poverty and inequality in a country that is richly blessed with abundant human and natural resources, to the extent that most of the citizens are unable to provide basic or sufficient human needs. Part of these challenges appear to be man-made rather than a natural phenomenon, traceable to long years of military dictatorship, poor political leadership, inadequate policy implementation and monitoring, disrespect for legal instruments and human rights policies.

Basically, evidence has shown that poverty and economic inequality are sufficient sources of human insecurity in Nigeria, a trend that may possibly continue for a longer period if not addressed. The nagging issues of poverty, economic disparity and deprivation of basic needs have been previously chronicled by interested local and international organizations, human security experts and social commentators. The findings from the World Poverty Clock revealed that "more than 643 million people across the universe live in extreme poverty and about two-thirds of the total number is attributable to Africa" (Adebayo, 2018:1). Similarly, Kazeem (2018:1-2) observed that "Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo are among the top 10 African countries living in extreme poverty accounting for 86.9 million and 60.9 million people, respectively. Meaning that Nigeria, with a population of about 180 million people equally has about 50% of its population living in extreme poverty..." (Adebayo, 2018:1). In 2022 the poverty rate galloped to 133 million in an interval of just 2 years. The aforesaid global ranking statistics highlights the

extent of deprivation and inadequacies climax the rate of human security challenges in the country.

The high percentage of the respondent's response on the variables under discourse demonstrate the poor economic condition of the country, which in part contributed to the proliferation and surge of churches in Nigeria. These churches attract poor congregants seeking for divine healings, spiritual welfare and economic breakthrough from prosperity preachers who consciously extort money from the poor followers to maintain their flamboyant lifestyle, thereby compounding the rate of poverty and economic woes of the poor in the society. Today, biblical injunctions of moral ideals and hard work which ought to be at the core of the gospel have been relegated to the background. Scripture references are no longer about humanity and spirituality, the focus today is on the need to pay tithes, church offerings and other forms of church contributions and activity. Collaborating this view, Kitause and Achunike (2013:51) posits that "today there seems to be so much church contributions and activities, such as conferences, conventions, retreats, crusades, pilgrimages, night vigils, picnics, evangelistic campaigns, without corresponding spiritualities and moral growth".

Apart from poverty, further findings revealed that Nigeria is one of the countries of the world where individuals face all forms of inequalities, such as income, class, gender, ethnicity, wealth, religion, health, and education. Particularly significant and worthy of reference is the unprecedented income inequality in monthly wages and allowances of Nigerian law makers and their senior counterparts in civil and public service. Comparatively, extant literature found that the Nigerian lawmakers are probably the highest paid members of parliament (MPs) in the world. Analyzing this view, Murse, (2017:2) and Stober, (2018) observed that "a Senator in the United States of America, for instance earns \$174,000 per annum and a member of parliament in the United Kingdom earns about \$64,000 per annum; a senator in Nigeria is entitled to monthly expenses of \$37,500, translating into well over \$450,000 annually", in a country where the average Nigerian lack "access to power, health care, employment, education, potable water, good roads and other basic amenities" (Aloma 2017, in Ojo 2017:20). In mathematical terms, the above Nigerian

Senator's earnings in a year imply that with the current minimum wage of humiliating 37 thousand Naira, exchanged for \$50 per month for federal civil and public servants, a newly employed graduate must work for over 134 years to earn one month's salary of a Nigerian lawmaker. This is unfair, morally unjust and totally unacceptable; it goes to demonstrate the astronomical level of income imbalance and wealth disparity in Nigeria.

Further causes of poverty and economic inequality have been documented and referenced in the works of Akinbobla and Saibu (2004), Chimobi Ucha (2010), (Animasaun, 2013), Ogbeide and Agu (2015) Ayegba (2015), Ezeugo (2016), Ajibola, Loto and Enilolobo (2018), Kola and Owumi (2019), Obalade, Ebiwonjumi, and Adaramola (2019), Edem, Agbu and Ojong (2020), Slule and Sambo, (2020), Abdul and Kigbu, (2021), Omiegbe, (2021) and Prasad (2021).

Drawing from the enabling source factors of poverty and economic inequality one can argue that the socio-economic condition of the poor masses rather than political leadership and military dictatorship best describes the source of human security and development in Nigeria.

#### **4.2.5 Inadequate security policy implementation**

The study revealed inadequate human security policy implementation as one of the main sources of human insecurity in Nigeria. An overwhelming majority of the respondents 81.6% affirmed this assertion, while few had contrary opinion. This result accounts for 3.23 mean score value in pictorial figure 4.1, which demonstrates sufficient threat factor to social security and human development in Nigeria. It therefore demonstrates the respondent's awareness of the lingering human security challenges in the study area and the entire country. Previous findings of the study assert that Nigeria has good human security policy documents, but the problem lies in effective implementation and oversight.

Further interrogation of this threat variable through in-depth interviews show some elements of corroboration. The interview responses revealed that virtually all the respondents admitted that inadequate policy implementation is a source of threat to human security and development in Nigeria. A closer examination of the empirical data suggests

that socio-economic and political factors, such as inadequate funding, wrong policy initiative, poor legislation, ethnoreligious sentiments and so forth, constitutes an impediment to the implementation and monitoring of human security policies in Nigeria.

Lending credence to the above, a lawyer in the Ministry of Justice had this to say:

*"Yes, I agree, most times policies are not implemented by the government because of lack of fund, take a case of pension scheme that says upon retirement you get your gratuity, some retired workers spend 10 years to get paid, while some even die without getting their due retirement benefits".*

In collaborating, a health officer in the Ministry of Health acknowledged that:

*"Policy implementation is one of the major sources of human insecurity in Nigeria. From a health care perspective, policy implementation is meant to improve the quality of health delivery in the country, most times policies are drafted without being used, we renew them without using them, and it goes a long way to show lack of professionalism. Sometimes we use home-made remedies due to lack of operators and unwillingness by the government to pay service providers, resulting in negligence on the side of government to implement health care delivery policies, poor attitude to work on the side of staff, poor supervision on the side of health managers across the country, and quackery on the side of unqualified staff, combined to affect health care development in Nigeria".*

An officer in the Nigeria Immigration Service had this to say:

*"Some government policies are not even on paper, but just verbal statement from the top. For instance, in this agency foreign service is supposed to be four years as policy demand, but some people stay in their choice countries for eight years or more, passport intervention as stipulated in policy are no longer for all, but for a selected few. Allowances for housing, leaves and training are all in the policy but are not implemented".*

Being queried further on inadequate policy implementation, this participant stated:

*"Policy implementation is a serious challenge; the Nigeria government is paying lip service to human security issues. Policies are all over the place in the presidency, legislature and judiciary, but to translate the paperwork into action is the major problem".*

A senior staff in the National Human Rights Commission stated that:

*"Yes, I agree with you, I think the greatest policy issue has to do with social and economic development, the present government in the last six years have introduced a lot of social security measures to mitigate adverse economic consequences, but one major challenge in this country has to do with effective implementation of this policy. In my view this has to do with ground level of corruption in public sector. Government has not been able to have effective means of tracking and monitoring the implementation of policies which have to do with social security issues. There are so many good policies, micro credit facilities, social protection measures, grants, even loans to setup businesses, loan for farmers in different areas. There is challenge of effective implementation of all these policies in a sustainable manner, in a way that the impact will be felt by the people, so I quite agree with you 100%".*

A university lecturer affirmed that:

*"The assertion of inadequate policy implementation on the side of the government is correct, policy implementation is a huge security challenge in Nigeria".*

Being probed further the lecturer opined:

*"Yes, there are good human security policies out there, but the problem lies in the implementation and monitoring, resulting in frustration and restiveness of the Nigerian youth across the country".*

A staff member in the National Human Rights Commission stated that:

*"The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the electoral system laws provide for three tiers of government and periodic election for Chairman and Councilors of local governments, of which, if implemented there will be a lot of visibility of governance in local governments in Nigeria. Besides, the state governors will not implement them because of endemic corruption, instead governors nominate incompetent cronies and political friends to occupy such political positions, thereby hindering service delivery to the poor masses".*

On this question, an officer in the ministry of health also affirmed that:

*"There are policies and renewed policies of human security in Nigeria, especially in public institutions, but the problem remained implementation. Yes, I agree with the statement".*

The findings from the above sources therefore suggest that human security policy implementation is a serious threat to security in Nigeria. Study findings overwhelmingly suggest that the level of threat posed by the inadequate implementation of human security

policy in Nigeria is high. Public policy formulation, implementation and oversight are the constitutional mandate of the government and its agencies at all levels, hence “the primary responsibility of the government is to do for the people that which the people cannot do for themselves” (Nweke, 2021:33). Interview evidence points to the government’s inability to effectively carry out its lawful obligation and responsibility, which perhaps might stem from incompetency, political interference and the lack of political decision and action. It also demonstrates the government’s lack of commitment and interest in the implementation of the social contract reached with its citizens.

Principally, there is sufficient documentary evidence to show that human insecurity in Nigeria, is a condition that may likely to persist in a foreseeable future. The findings revealed that “over the years in Nigeria, excellent policies have been formulated, but the problem is that only an insignificant part of these numerous policies are implemented” (Dialoke, Ukah, & Maduagwuna, 2021:22), without exception, the participants generally affirmed the assertion as a big development challenge in Nigeria. Building on the respondents view on the subject matter, Ikelegbe (2006:2) argue that “government sometimes does not budget adequately to enable the public bureaucracy to properly implement formulated policies”. To “effectively implement policies, the implementing agency needs adequate resource... which in part contributes to the failure of certain public policies to achieve desirable ends” (Nweke, 2006 in Ugwuanyi, and Chukwuemeka, 2013:64). This study shares the same sentiment with Akanle and Adesina (2015:425) that, “corruption is often encouraged by the collection of social networks and kinsmen who place demands that are beyond the official capacity of the public officers from their section of the country, ethnic and religious groups... thereby jeopardizing implementation of policy programs”. Based on the views of the respondents and the existing literature sources, one can strongly argue that inadequate policy implementation rather than formulation, contributes to the decades of poor human security record in Nigeria.

However, if the right people are put in the right place to initiate public policy, and stakeholders and beneficiaries are carried along in the execution process, necessary funds

budgeted and released, there is every practical tendency that the objectives of the policy will be realized because good policy formulation begets a reciprocal good if not better implementation and monitoring.

#### **4.2.6 Balance of internal and external threats**

On the statement that Nigeria is faced with more of internal than external security challenges, the finding infers that 80% of the respondents gravitate towards agree and few disagree, accounting for a mean score value of 3.13, categorized as the lowest mean in Figure 4.1, suggesting that the external threat to Nigerian national security rarely exists, hence does not constitute a danger to human security. This finding demonstrates the level of warm diplomatic relations between Nigeria and her West African neighbors, African continent, and the world. The respondents lend credence to the domestic threat of physical and human security, which for some years have overwhelmed the security cluster and defied government effort to maintain peace and unity in Nigeria.

However, the external threat to Nigerian national security cannot be wished away in view of the following natural, economic, and strategic reasons: Firstly, Nigeria is naturally blessed with abundance of natural resources, intimidating young human population and huge agriculture land space, significant to attract potential rivalry and ambitious nations with imperialistic motives. Secondly, Nigeria is the economic giant in Sub-Saharan Africa, a condition that might influence external forces, especially the superpowers to seek political and economic inroad, control, and domination. Thirdly, Nigeria is strategically located along the Gulf of Guinea that serves as sea corridor for resource exploration across West African sub-region and a safe haven for piracy and other criminal activities, hence a potential theater of war for ambitious territorial and economic seeking world powers. Fourthly, the spread of Boko Haram insurgency and its affiliate across the west and central African sub-region, in addition to the influx of Fulani bandits across shared international borders, appears a serious potent external threat to the Nigerian internal security.

From the lens of empirical data and literature sources on the cause or causes of human insecurity in Nigeria, this section argues that physical threats and socio-economic

challenges of poverty, unemployment and economic inequality can only be won through effective and sustained internal security policy with human face.

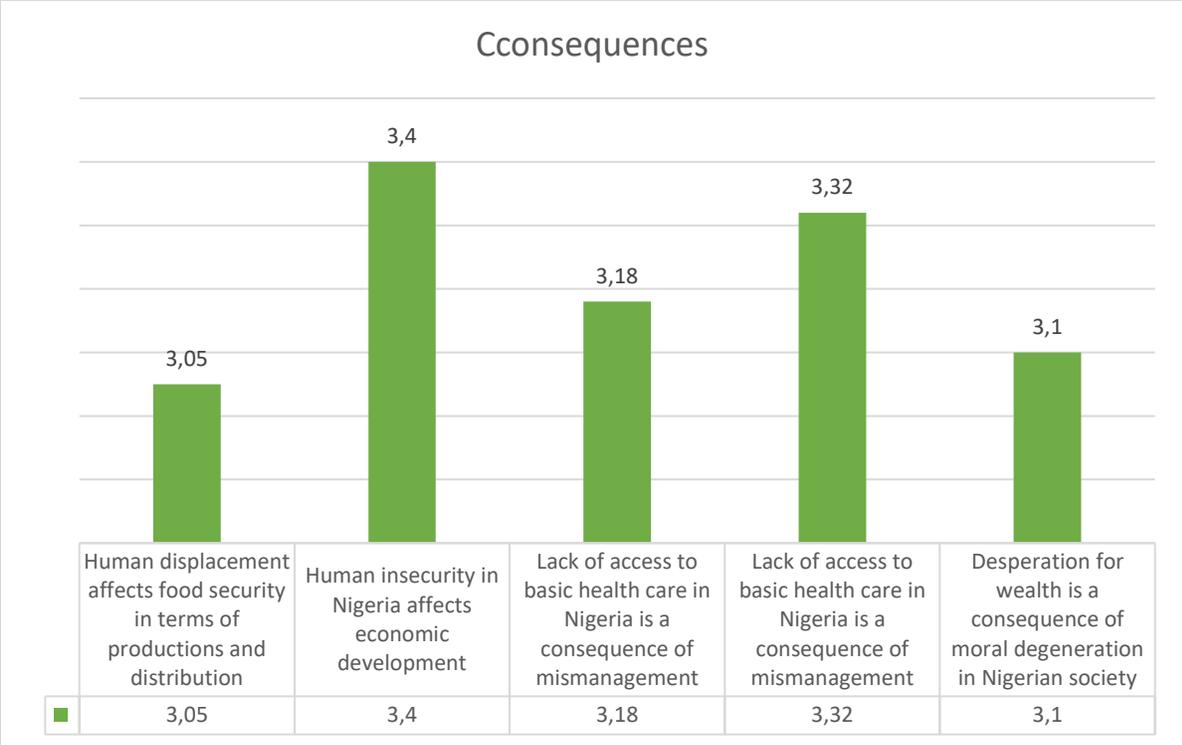
### 4.3 Consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria

This study was designed to determine what could be the socio-economic consequences of the prevailing human insecurity in Nigeria. Given that every action has its consequences, human insecurity in the country, which has been orchestrated mainly by banditry, insurgency, poverty and unemployment threats among others, had led to some far-reaching consequences. In other words, insecurity affects the country’s population on both national, regional and even individual level and capacity. This section highlights the consequences of decades of neglect of human security in Nigeria in the post military era. Table 4.2 and pictorially in figure 4.2 reveals the effect of human insecurity on economic development, recurrent flood, basic health care, desperation for wealth and human displacement, in that order.

**Table 0.2: Consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria**

	SD	D	A	SA	T	Mean
Human displacement affects food security in terms of productions and distribution	3 (5)	5 (8.3)	38 (63.3)	14 (23.3)	100	3.05
Human insecurity in Nigeria affects economic development	1 (1.7)	4 (6.7)	25 (41.7)	30 (50)	100	3.40
Lack of access to basic health care in Nigeria is a consequence of mismanagement	1 (1.7)	9 (15)	28 (46.7)	22 (36.7)	100	3.18
Recurrent flood disaster in Nigeria is because of government neglect of human environment	2 (3.3)	6 (10)	23 (38.3)	29 (48.3)	100	3.32
Desperation for wealth is a consequence of moral degeneration in Nigerian society	3 (5)	11 (18.3)	23 (38.3)	23 (38.3)	100	3.10

Source: Research Survey 2021



**Figure 0.1: Bar chart showing the mean scores of the consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria**

**4.3.1 Economic development**

This study revealed that human insecurity affects economic development in Nigeria, this variable tops the list on the immediate tables above. Table 4.2 revealed that 75% of the respondents affirmed that human insecurity affects economic development, while minority of the participants disagree. The item accounts for the highest mean score value on the chart with 3.40, which suggests the participant’s awareness of the economic effect of human security and development in Nigeria. Economic development is a function of human activity, hence the nexus between human security and economic development is not only strong but inseparable. The economic development of any nation is significantly linked to its internal peace and security, hence the saying that development is a function of “local milieu”. The effect of economic development was further investigated through qualitative data, finding established that human insecurity affects economic development, as expressed in long periods of poor economic policy implementation and oversight. The essence of economic policy monitoring is to enable government and other stakeholders to identify gaps and to make informed economic decision geared towards human security

and development. The in-depth interviews on the subject matter found that the participants are of the opinion that human insecurity affects economic development of Nigerian.

In support of the above assertion, a human rights lawyer stated:

*"Yes, when there is human insecurity or better inhuman condition it affect economic development, question the legitimacy of government and impact on the society, because a hungry man is an angry man, hence individuals would not be able to contribute meaningfully to the national treasury. The Nigerian state almost always finds it difficult to carry citizens along be it military or democratic regime, hence there is constant trust deficit between the government and the citizenry".*

Similarly, a legal practitioner had this to say:

*"Yes, human insecurity affects trade/commerce, education, health care sector and farming. It also results in loss of capital, property, life, and livelihood. Human insecurity result in hunger, oh yes, the whole effect is centered on hunger because people are not able to go about their normal businesses, and insecurity puts people's life in danger and at risk. It is the bedrock of domestic violence and inter-tribal rage, conflict, and wars. The presidency has been fingered as the projector of human insecurity in Nigeria based on conduct, word of mouth, body language, action and inaction on issues related to insecurity. Those involved in criminal activities are either not arrested or prosecuted by the law enforcement agents".*

A lawyer at the Ministry of Justice shared the same view by declaring that:

*"Human insecurity affects economic development in the sense that movements are circumscribed, and everybody lives in fear, in short, we live in a country of survival of the fittest. There is hunger in the land, economic power is not there, religious leaders are not helping matters, they aligned with some corrupt politicians and pray for them in return for favor and contributions. As we speak, some public schools are closed either because of insurgency, banditry or for non-payment of teacher's salaries in some states of the federation. Internal insecurity leads to forced/communal displacement caused by mostly herder farmers clash, insurgency and banditry which in turn affect food security in several quarters".*

Findings from quantitative and qualitative information affirmed that human insecurity affects economic development, revealing the reality of human insecurity in Nigeria. The

study shows that socioeconomic and human development is a function of good governance, social harmony, political stability, peace and security. It also demonstrates that individual economic growth and development are made possible by economic transformation, access to income, choice of opportunities and other factors that can enhance human development in health care, education attainment and employment prospects.

More significantly, the effect of human insecurity on economic development posed a serious challenge to human existence and may continue to do so in the foreseeable future. This is evident in the preceding works of scholars and commentators on the phenomenon. The main thrust of economic and human development entails a process of moving forward to actualize economic objectives, the freedom of opportunities to excel in human endeavor and to live a better life. Hence the finding suggests that the economic development and human security nexus is in tandem with literature sources and the participant's perception on the subject matter, which identified lack of economic reform, trust deficit between the government and the citizens, inadequate health care and education opportunities, corruption and lack of political decision are the fundamental factors impacting on human security and economic advancement in Nigeria.

The concept of human security involves "access to food, nutrition, clean drinking water, hygiene and sanitation and housing, which could only be got through relatively peaceful condition, displaced populations for instance, are subject to a variety of health risks and are prone to a high mortality rate" (Adegbami, 2013:11). On the other hand, the insecurity of the economy affects manufacturing businesses in terms of regular supply of raw materials for production. Besides, "it affects the marketing of finished products, increase security spending in maintaining private security outfits, hence security is critical for the nation's development and its absence means that economic growth and development cannot be achieved" (Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013:11). Further to this is that "the inability of government to provide a secure and safe environment for the lives, properties and the conduct of business and economic activities

has led to resentment and the disaffection among ethnic groups in Nigeria” (Ewetan, & Urhie, 2014:53).

Wrapping up the views of the respondents and literature findings, the result appears to have stabilized the complexities of the socio-economic concept of human development by focusing on the people’s welfare and wellbeing rather than economic growth and development which might not have any impact on the lives of poor masses in rural communities. A closer look at the result infers that human insecurity is a consequence of policy gaps and government inaction on the persistent issues of inequality, poverty, and unemployment.

#### **4.3.2 Flood disaster**

This study revealed that flood is a major factor that affects human security, in which the majority 86.6% of the respondents generally affirm this position, while few had a contrary view. The mean score value of the variable stood at 3.32, signifying the level of threat posed by flood and the extent of the respondents’ understanding of the effect of the subject matter on human security. The study revealed the devastating impact of floods on the socioeconomic activities, infrastructure, life, and livelihood of Nigerian citizens.

The impact of frequent flood water was further examined side-by-side in-depth interviews. The finding demonstrates an appreciable support for the result on the socio-economic implication of unattended devastation posed by floods to the individual, property and the environment.

Corroborating this opinion, a health officer in the Ministry of Health had this to say:

*"There are so many effects of flood disaster: it leads to loss of life, destruction of farmland, destruction of food produce and directly and indirectly affects food, shelter and by implication clothing. It destroys roads, properties, and business due to water action. It overflows riverbanks and communities, and displaced people from their homes, villages and towns".*

Similarly, a legal practitioner in the study area stated that:

*"Flood affects riverine areas and those close to the sea because they depend on the rivers for economic activities and survival. Flood can restrict people's movement, cause environmental pollution, human displacement, life and livelihood".*

Contributing, a university lecturer opined:

*"From my experience, flood impact on public and private infrastructure like markets, schools, hospitals, farmlands, and communities, resulting in human displacement, halt in economic activities, temporary closure of learning and teaching, among other devastating consequences".*

A senior health officer in the ministry of health stated:

*"Flood affect businesses, cause soil erosion, wash away drainages and roads, overflow dams and communities and impact on the volume of imports and exports".*

The outcome from the survey and interview data proved that flood water impacts immensely on the socio-economic wellbeing of victims. Specifically, it revealed the impact of flood on government and private infrastructure and large volume of agricultural produce, thereby weighing heavily on the Environmental and Disaster Management's budget, increasing the rate of unemployment and homeless population, and above all posing a danger to people's health, lives and livelihood. It also infers that floods in most cases are a consequence of human activities and government neglect of human environment, expressed in inappropriate dumping of trashes in drainages, erecting structures along natural waterways, inadequate budget allocation for flood management and misappropriation of disaster relief funds. Nevertheless, the respondents held no view on the efforts of government to mitigate the menace of flood and the policy implication on human security and the environment.

The distressing issue of floods and their attendant havoc to humanity has been chronicled in the previous literature. "Between 1995 and 2015, the lives of 2.3 billion people were affected, making floods accounted for 47% of all weather-related disasters globally" (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR, Executive Summary, 2015:1), "while over 40 billion dollars are being lost annually to floods globally" (Kamrava, 2018). "The United States of America loses over \$6 billion to flood disaster"

(Klein and Zellmer, 2014). According to “the World Health Organization, floods led to poor hygiene and an increased risk of disease outbreaks, especially among displaced people, in this sense potable water may be contaminated by pollutants from overflowing sanitation facilities, resulting in increased risk of waterborne diseases such as typhoid fever, cholera, leptospirosis and hepatitis A” (WHO n.d.). “In Nigeria in 2018 more than 441,250 people were affected by flood as confirmed by the National Emergency Management Agency” (NEMA, 2020). In the same year, “more than 141,369 people were displaced... 108 deaths were recorded, 192 injuries were documented, 13, 031 houses were destroyed. The worst affected states were Adamawa, Anambra, Bayelsa, Delta, Edo, Kebbi, Kwara, Niger, and Rivers State” (Nwigwe & Emberga 2014:309-310). The benefit of floods to urban planners, agriculture and public policy cannot be overemphasized. Post flood investigation and expert analysis assist town planners to map out risk areas of potential flood control, flood increases the water level of dams, which in turn benefit agriculture and domestic use. The result of flood investigation will assist the government to make an informed decision on how best to control the devastation of potential coastal or ground water flood which poses a human security threat to those victims of flood disasters.

Based on this argument, the literature findings appear to balance the participant’s views on the impact of floods on the economic environment, education activities, health and human development. In spite of the benefit of flood water to agriculture, the overflow of dams for drinking water, and so forth, the findings revealed that the devastating effect of floods on human security outweighed its benefits.

#### **4.3.3 Basic health care**

The study unfolds the consequences of inadequate health care on human security, wherein 83.4% of the respondents are of the viewpoints that human insecurity is as a result of inadequate access to basic health care, while minority had contrary view, accounting for the mean score value of 3.18, which demonstrates the level of the respondent’s knowledge and experience on the consequences and or impact of inadequate access to basic health care on human security in Nigeria.

The impact of this variable was further interrogated with literature sources, which demonstrates significant support for the result, the extent of which may probably vary to some extent with the perspectives of the participants. The literature source acknowledged the effect of poor access to basic health care on human security and development. Health care is a public good and a serious human security challenge across the globe, particularly in developing countries, such as Nigeria. Basically, "health care implies the provision of condition for normal mental and physical development, functioning of the individual or group" (James and PHS, 2021). The "goal of health security is to promote and establish a health system based on primary health care that is preventive, restorative, rehabilitative and protective at the macro level for every Nigerian" (National Security Strategy Report, 2019:39).

The large number of views on inadequate access to basic health care in Nigeria is in tandem with the challenges of poor medical funding by the government, poor life expectancy, high infant mortality, high prevalent of malaria, HIV/AIDS, typhoid and high level of medical pilgrimage undertaken by Nigerian politicians as well as other members of the society since the democratic dispensation. This is evident in the following seven years' health expenditure embarked by the government: "in 2010 (3.3%), 2011 (5.7%), 2012 (5.8%), 2013 (5.7%), 2014 (5.6%), 2015 (5.6%), 2016 (4.1%)" (Nwachukwu, 2016:265). Omoleke and Taleat (2017:2014) further exposed the country's health sector budget described as inadequate, "as it has never moved closer to the World Health Organization template and the 2001 Abuja Declaration which stipulates that 15% of the annual budget be allocated to the health sector". A report from the African Union (2007) indicates that, "appropriate health funding encourages early detection of diseases, as it will stimulate efficient services". Consequently, Nigeria's gross underspending on health care facilities demonstrates the poor record in social welfare development, particularly in the health sector, which in the long-term impacts on human security and infrastructure development.

The inability of the government to spend sufficient resources on health has resulted in a mass exodus on medical tourism, which this study shares the views of Uneke et al. (2007) who argue that "one of the greatest problems causing medical tourism in Nigeria and

underdevelopment of the health system is the problem of brain drain of medical doctors and other health professionals. Nigeria is a major health staff-exporting country in Africa". For instance, there are about "50,000 doctors in Nigeria and about 20,000 are practicing in the United States" (Jeol, 2021), 10,296 currently working in United Kingdom (ThisDay News Paper, 2022:1), and over 5,000 in South Africa (Premium Times, 2022).

The high percentage of the respondent's position on the near absence of access to basic health care demonstrates the quest for medical care in Nigeria, and corroborates the Daily Independent Newspapers reports that "out of the 47 percent of Nigerians that visited India for medical purposes amounted to 18,000 persons out of a total of 38,000 visas issued to Nigerians visiting India in 2012. The Nigerian medical tourists to India expended N41.6 billion (US\$260 million) in foreign exchange in the process" (DIN, 2014:3). Furthermore, the high level of human insecurity on basic health care envisaged by the participants also constitutes a serious health implication on medical tourists. Singh et al (2016), and Parel-Amini et al (2019) in separate works opined that, "medical tourists are a vulnerable, sentinel population, who may import infections from the destination countries to their home countries, including emerging, Multi-Drug Resistant (MDR) infections, which in turn constitute a significant public health risk for their home countries".

The comparative views of the respondents and the literature sources demonstrate a low level of basic health care system in Nigeria, influenced by an array of factors. Whether social, economic or the lack of socio-political will or inaction on the part of the government, the whole idea demonstrates a wakeup call for the Nigerian authorities to live up to her health care responsibilities. Importantly, the government should rethink the health care funding as data has shown gross underfunding of health care, resulting in deplorable health conditions for the citizens and the persistent rat race for medical tourism.

#### **4.3.4 Human displacement and food insecurity**

The study revealed the nexus between food scarcity and human displacement in which 86.6% of the respondents affirmed the strong and inseparable linkages, while a few disagree, accounting for lowest mean score value of 3.05 on the chart table. This survey finding demonstrates the level of food insecurity in Nigeria, a condition that appears to suggest the respondent's awareness of the persistent threat activities of insurgency, banditry and the Fulani herdsman on food security.

Further investigation on the survey data and in-depth interviews, found tremendous corroboration, which may slightly differ among the resource persons targeted for the study. The study demonstrates participants' common understanding of the consequences of food insecurity in Nigeria.

In support of this view, an immigration officer articulated the following perspective:

*"Food scarcity in Nigeria is a consequence of inadequate storage facilities, lack of good feeder road network and transportation to convey agricultural produce from the farm to the consumers in the cities. The activities of Boko Haram and bandits in the northeast and northwest posed food security challenge because farmers are no longer going to farm for fear of being kidnapped, raped or killed. Nigerian youths seem not to have interest in agriculture, those who show interest are short of initial capital to provide modern farming implement and logistics for their dream farms. Further to the above is lack of electricity and advanced technology that would enable farmers add value to farm products. There is also poor agriculture policy to attract local and international foreign investors to engage in agriculture. Nigerian veterinary doctors are redundant and underutilized in agriculture sector, all these factors contribute to food insecurity in the country".*

Corroborating, a senior staff in the National Human Rights Commission had this to say:

*"The effect generally would be increase in poverty and unemployment level because food is not only about eating, people also depend on this food as their means of livelihood and not even only farmers, there are a lot of value chain in food production. There are some people that don't farm, but they sell farm produce, there are some people that are even intermediaries, but they buy from farmers and go and resell, there are some people that their business depends on product from the farm. There are yet some people that their means of livelihood in terms of even formal employment*

*depends on what comes from the farm, so apart from eating, it also has a lot of effect on poverty levels, employment, even capital growth. In all, we need economic growth and development, so food security is very important in this part of the world because of the leakages between food and economic development. Food has a lot of impact, and the link now will be when people do not have means of livelihood of course it will also lead to increase in crime rate. When you don't have a viable means of sustenance, so people start to think of criminal things to do and is also easier for criminals to enlist people into their gangs and use them for their own interior activities, so it is an important issue to be addressed in terms of economic development".*

In the same vein, a university lecturer had this to say:

*"We cannot talk about food security without talking about climate change because they are related, climate change affects food security in terms of crop and animal health and production. The basis of human security is to provide food for human existence and sustenance, hence the issue of human security and availability of food cannot be overstated or overemphasized".*

Still on food insecurity, a staff at the National Human Right Commission affirmed that:

*"Food scarcity is a consequence of anti-state activities of insurgency, kidnapping and armed robbery, wherein criminal elements do not allow peasant farmers to gain access to their farms or distribute farm produce to targeted consumers. Further to insurrection is Covid-19 lockdown regulations where all forms of travel and businesses were restricted, resulting in an increase in crime, increase in food prices, and an upsurge in gender-based violence, loss of jobs and untimely death".*

A senior staff in the Ministry of Health opined:

*"Food insecurity affects quality of food and by extension the health of an individual, particularly children. It also increases the rate of crime wherein the poor and hungry people target the rich in the society. Without food security there is bound to be insecurity".*

Corroborating, a legal practitioner stated that:

*"Food security is what everyone needs, if there is no food the people will be in distress, which brings about high prices of the commodity and austerity. No one works at its best without access to food".*

The result from the empirical sources points to the effect of human displacement and food scarcity as part of major consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria. The study found collective agreement on the subject matter, but the degree of this support may

slightly differ amongst respondents. This outcome may have been influenced by the participants experience on the persistent increase on food in the market coupled with the activities of non-state actor's impact on food security in the country. Nonetheless, participants contribution on the subject run short of instances, places and statistics of victims of food insufficiency and displacement as consequence of threat of insurgency, banditry and herdsman conflicts in Nigeria.

Importantly, empirical data from the study has established an overwhelming influence of food shortage on human security and which has been documented in the previous literature. Corroborating the respondents view on the importance of food to human existence and sustenance, "the United Nations Human Rights Commission stated that the right to food is one of the fundamental human rights enshrined in the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) which has become a theme song at various global fora" (World Food Summits, 2010 and 2011). Empirical data also demonstrates that food insecurity, not only increases hunger and poverty, but also directly or indirectly affects the entire health and wellbeing of people. Buttressing this view, the World Food Program (WFP) argue that "hunger and malnutrition is a much greater threat than AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis combined". One of the respondents pointed out that climate change affects food security, which is in agreement with the position of "the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) that increase in average global temperatures of just two to four degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels could reduce crop yields by 15-35 percent in Africa and western Asia, and by 25-35 percent in the Middle East" (UNFAO 2008). In similar but separate works, Schienker (2010), Rosenzweig et al. (2013), and Sultan et al. (2014) argue that "the yield of cereal by 2050 which is the most staple food of West Africa will reduce by 10% as a result of climate change".

Corroborating the respondent's view on the shortage of agricultural facilities in Nigeria. Nwofia, (2021:372) posited that "modern farming technologies are very expensive, and many stalk holder farmers cannot procure and maintain the facilities for their farming activities". This study shares the views of Matemilola and Elegbede (2017:14) that "civil

insecurity borne out of the Boko Haram insurgencies has persisted in some parts of Borno, Yobe and Kano states, thereby, causing the affected inhabitants to be displaced from their ancestral and farming communities". They revealed that "frequent change of agricultural policies affects food security in Nigeria, each time a new government takes power, the previous food and agricultural policies are abandoned, and new ones are set-up".

On the contrary, Gilbert (2004, cited in Mikalauskiene, et al 2018:60) argued that "the world has enough food to feed all who suffer from hunger. This requires the appropriate political decisions, the balancing of the extraction and production of food resources, and the adjustment of the society's food consumption habits", but food availability does not imply access to food.

Drawing from the views of the respondents and the literature sources on the effect of human displacement on food scarcity one can argue that the social, economic, and geographical factors combined constitute serious challenges to food security in Nigeria. The result also points to the inability of the government to deal with the menace of anti-state and anti-social elements as threat factors to food production and development. The study argues that the Covid-19 pandemic and its attendant regulations and lockdown contributed immensely to the hike in food prices and the shortage of food items in the market, and by default impacted on the economic and social activities of the people and the government at large, hence in the words of a respondent, no one works best without access to food.

#### **4.3.5 Desperation for wealth**

Research revealed that desperation for wealth is a consequence of the government failure to provide economic opportunities for her citizens, wherein majority 76.6% of the respondents affirmed the assertion, whereas minority disagree. This assertion accounts for a mean score of 3.10. This finding demonstrates that desperation to amass wealth poses a threat to human security. However, the significant minority position/stand of the respondents represents different perspectives on acquisition of wealth.

This result appears to have been influenced by the increasing rate of wealth-seeking young Nigerians both at home and in the diaspora, who are extensively involved in anti-social activities to make ends meet. Before now, it was an aberration and or abomination for an individual or the community to shield criminals and people with questionable characters as per the pursuit of illicit wealth. Today, the cultural mix due to migration, social media, print and electronic media, and advanced technology have combined to encourage all forms of conducts antithetical to African cherished values and orientation. For instance, the high rate of ritual killings, human trafficking, cultism, kidnapping, drug peddling, prostitution, money laundering, pool betting and internet frauds are some of the forms of illicit wealth creation activities engaged by the Nigerian youth. What is worrisome is the ostentatious lifestyle of these disparate individuals and the way they are celebrated and given a red-carpet reception in Nigerian society. What people often hear are stories of youths that have amassed wealth in the community, but the how part of the conversation is no longer important, so long as the community benefits from the ill-gotten wealth. The point being made is that the failure of the government to engage the citizens on socioeconomic activities and opportunities have pushed some people, particularly the youth to involve in anti-social activities for economic benefits. The virtue of honesty, dedication, commitment, and hard work that ought to be the moral compass of this young people appears to have become a scarce commodity in our localities.

The respondent's position reveals a common understanding of the nexus between desperation for wealth and lack of economic opportunities. Fundamentally, desperation for wealth is an economic phenomenon, rooted in poverty, unemployment, inequality, unhealthy competition, and bad governance. In the quest to get rich quicker and acquire recognition in the society many youths have found themselves on the wrong side of the law, some have dropped out of school, while majority have lost their lives.

Basically, desperation for wealth constitutes human security threat and will remain so in the predictable future. The high percentage of respondent response on this discourse corroborates literature sources which points to an "overwhelming desire for economic gains and the parlous economic, social and political situation in Nigeria" (Anah and

Nwosu, 2021). Osuntuyi, Ireiyomi, and Aluko (2021:58) argue that "when the government of the day is not making life easy for the governed, people would find means to survive". The finding shows similar views in extant literature that the poor economic condition in Nigeria has resulted in mass exodus of professionals and able-bodied men and women for a better living condition elsewhere in the globe. The "impact of this migration on Nigeria and Nigerians in diaspora is unquantifiable in terms of the battered image, mistaken identity, victimization, stereotyping and unavoidable circumstantial police brutality sometimes leading to death" (Owoyemi, Haji-Din and Sabri, 2015:59). Unfortunately, "some innocent Nigerians who happen to be at the wrong place at the wrong time are being lumped together with criminals so that they pay for the crimes of their fellow countrymen..." (Owoyemi, Haji-Din and Sabri, 2015:60-61). In addition to the above, Nwaechefu and Kalama (2020:136) also reveal that "frequently reported cases of kidnapping in Nigeria creates a bad image for Nigeria, tourists, researchers and investors or even students who may wish to undertake their studies as they are scared away by the growing trend of insecurity".

Holding on to the views of the respondents and the corroborative arguments from literature sources, it can be affirmed through the position of the two sources that desperation for wealth is a consequence of the failure of government past and present to diversify the Nigerian economy and provide job for her streaming population.

### **4.3. Conclusion**

Chapter four presented and analyzed two research objectives to determine the root causes and consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria. The researcher examined the outcomes of the quantitative, qualitative and the existing literature on the subject. The study observed significant corroboration among the participants, regardless of minor differences. The results demonstrate an array of causes and consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria, however, the study lays no claim to have exhausted the causes and effects of insecurity in Nigeria, hence further studies can be conducted to unravel the factors associated with human insecurity and development in Nigeria.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **FACTORS THAT SUSTAINED HUMAN INSECURITY AND POSSIBLE MEASURES TO IMPROVE HUMAN INSECURITY IN NIGERIA**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed the causes and consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria. Building on that, this section equally examines two research objectives: The factors that sustained human insecurity and the strategies to improve human insecurity in Nigeria. This in turn discussed the findings arising from the survey and in-depth interviews conducted in the study area. This chapter is aimed at ascertaining the respondent's opinion, ideas, knowledge and understanding of human insecurity, in corroboration with relevant literature. The essence is to explore widely and to create a better meaning and understanding of the participant's position on the existential threat factors that sustained human insecurity and to suggest possible remedies. To this end, two research questions are addressed, namely, what are the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria? And how can human insecurity in Nigeria be addressed?

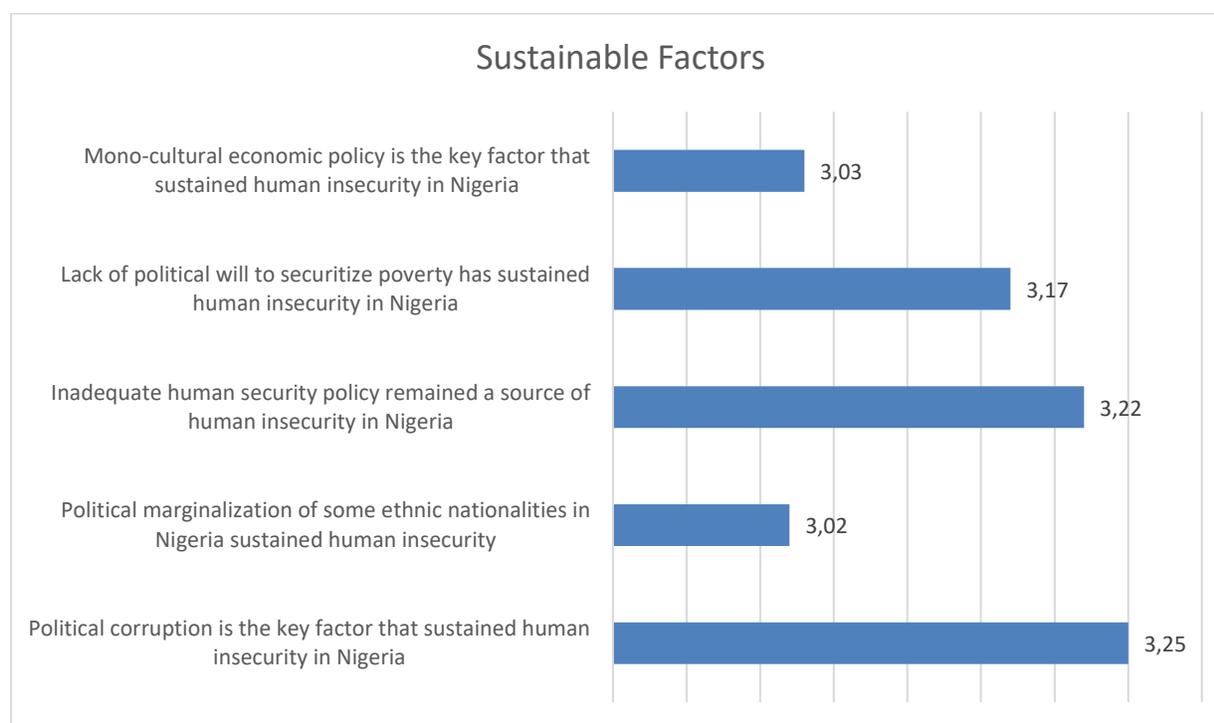
#### **5.2 Factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria**

This study was meant to determine the factors that have sustained human insecurity in Nigeria in the post military era. The persistent threat of insecurity has remained a serious concern to the Nigerian government, local and international investors, concerned citizens and the international community. Table 5.1 and pictorially Figure 5.1 revealed political corruption, inadequate security policy, lack of political will, monoculture economic policy and political marginalisation, in that order, as the factors that majorly sustained human insecurity in Nigeria. The respondent survey scale is clarified as follows: SD – Strongly Disagree, D – Disagree, A – Agree, and SA – Strongly Agree, respectively.

**Table 0.1: Factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria**

	SD	D	A	SA	T	Mean
Political corruption is the key factor that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria	5 (8.3)	5 (8.3)	20 (33.3)	30 (50)	100	3.25
Political marginalization of some ethnic nationalities in Nigeria sustained human insecurity	4 (6.7)	9 (15)	29 (48.3)	18 (30)	100	3.02
Inadequate human security policy remained a source of human insecurity in Nigeria	4 (6.7)	4 (6.7)	27 (45)	25 (41.7)	100	3.22
Lack of political will to securitize poverty has sustained human insecurity in Nigeria	6 (10)	4 (6.7)	24 (40)	26 (43.3)	100	3.17
Mono-cultural economic policy is the key factor that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria	5 (8.3)	10 (16.7)	23 (38.3)	22 (36.7)	100	3.03

Source: Research Survey 2021



**Figure 0.1: Bar chart showing the mean scores of factors sustained human insecurity in Nigeria**

### **5.2.1 Political corruption**

The study expectedly revealed that political corruption tops the list on the table as the key factor that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria. An overwhelming majority, 83% of the respondents concur with this assertion, whereas few disagree. The highest mean score value of this item stood at 3.25, an indication that political corruption is prevalent in Nigeria, hence constitutes an existential threat to human security and development in Nigeria.

Further examination of this variable via in-depth interviews revealed majority support for this result. The findings demonstrate consensus on the widespread of political corruption in Nigeria which varies according to political divide, environment, school of thought, orientation and the extent of involvement of individual, group and or associations. Hence, what is referred to as political corruption in one part of the country and elsewhere in the world may be entirely different in another environment.

Contributing on the issue of political corruption as the major factor that sustained human insecurity a lawyer in the ministry of Justice had this to say:

*"Corruption is the key factor that sustained insecurity in Nigeria. It is a systemic issue, and embraces all, the high and the mighty, civil and public servants. Politicians took what belongs to the people and convert it to personal use. The police, customs, immigration, presidency, politician, and so forth, are all involved directly or indirectly in the act of corrupt practices. Political corruption affects government poverty alleviation efforts, it deprived the masses what is due to them in terms of security and development".*

Similarly, a human rights lawyer in the National Human Rights Commission stated:

*"Yes, I should think so, because when resources meant to provide roads, facilitate agriculture development, provide electricity, health care and education are diverted by individual it creates room for the poor living condition of the citizenry, hence the feeling of human insecurity".*

Corroborating this view, a legal practitioner opined:

*"Yes, because the security officers are not being remunerated very well, so their morale is low. Secondly, security officers lack proper training, they are ill-equipped and are not motivated to fight crime, hence they are not even prepared to confront the situation, and they only react after the*

*situation. Some of the leaders of these security agencies, always finds a way to siphon the budget of their department, hence they leave the service a billionaire, which means they go away with the money they would have used for security purposes”.*

In support of the above a Nigerian immigration officer declared:

*"Social media has become a trending platform for political corruption, some youth work as political thugs to corrupt politicians committing one electoral fraud or the other, such as using cyber space to hack with the intention to reg an election”.*

In support of the above, a senior staff in the National Human Rights Commission stated that:

*"Well, like I said I'm sorry I keep on repeating this issue of political corruption because it is an endemic issue in every government, every successive government in Nigeria claim to have program of poverty alleviation, eradication or whatever it is called in their agenda. And to be fair to these successive governments, who always embark in one form of intervention or the other, for example, in this administration, we have the EN-Power, we have all those other series of intervention, all geared towards poverty alleviation issues, again the corruption issue in terms of implementation becomes the challenge. For instance, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) will release funds to states as a bail-out or whatever it is to further the intervention, but respective government agencies and individuals end up cornering the whole fund into their respective pockets. The few that are even caught, the judicial issue becomes a problem also, because is like looters become more creative than even the government itself. When you end up arresting a looter and then presenting him/her before the court, no substantial evidence to either prosecute or even when you have the evidence, the criminal will end up using his loot to buy the judiciary, so it come back to square one. The society can also be blame, because we have seen instances where we celebrate looters instead of people who have integrity or whatever it is simply because they don't have the means, they are being looked at as fake, but looters are respected in the society. As we speak today 4 point something million Naira is been investigated in Edo state, at the initial stage, Edo state government says they don't have any money missing to that amount. When eventually this money was recovered, they suddenly woke up to say that is their money and I can bet you if this money is entrusted to Edo state, they will give it to them. So, you can see how we celebrate criminals among us, while the people in government are also doing their own in terms of finding remedies, we also as people we must change our attitude towards this issue otherwise it takes two to tangle. If we don't really show semblance of seriousness people in government will not after all they are from within us that get to that level, so reflects the society that is been played at that level. If we are not individually okay, the tendency*

*is that those in government will continue to use us. The corruption aspect that has really hindered to some extent the issue of the intervention from the respective government regarding the issue of poverty or eradicating or whichever come in use. It is corruption really that has impacted on these programs, but there are more than this, of course, we are aware of the fact that most of the policies are geared towards in reaching themselves because if for example you created EN-Power alleviation program and end up putting your own cronies to run the system and such cronies can now have the liberty to siphon the money, in that case you cannot have the political will to arrest or prosecute your own, so those are the challenges”.*

Corroborating, a Custom Officer had this to add:

*“There is a high level of corruption in poverty alleviation programs, money meant for intervention projects and youth development are stolen by some politicians and friends, ministries and agencies that drive the program. Yes, corruption is a serious threat and a public concern”.*

These narratives collectively point to political corruption as the lead factor that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria. The study found an overwhelming corroboration of opinion among the participants on the widespread political corruption, a factor that has for decade’s sustained human insecurity and socioeconomic underdevelopment of the country. This result is evident in the way some political elites and cronies amass and display public wealth to the displeasure of the poor and the downtrodden members of the society. The participants fingered politician, ministries and agencies as chief drivers of corruption, specifically political corruption, but failed to consider the private sector, particularly those involve in inflecting government tender/contracts. What is worrisome is the level of impunity and lack of accountability on the part of political leaders on the issue of corruption.

Essentially, the fact that political corruption posed an existential threat to human security has been recorded in the preceding scholarly works on human security. The Corruption Perception Index Report ranked Nigeria as number 146 in the least corrupt nations out of 180 countries, and it scored 26 points out of 100, with a decrease in business confidence to 6.60 points in March from 26.60 points in February of 2020 (CPIR 2019).

Nigeria has dropped five places in the 2021 CPI ranking 24 out of 100 points. Nigeria's current 154 ranking out of 180 countries in the 2021 Corruption Perceptions Index is a drop of 149 in the 2020 index (TheGuardian Newspaper, 25 January 2022). Comparatively, South Africa scored 44 points out of 100 in 2021, Uganda is the 144 least corrupt nation out of 180 countries in 2021, Egypt scored 33 points out of 100 in 2021, Kenya scored 30 points out of 100 on the 2021 Corruption Perception Index (TIR, 2021), expectedly these shows that Nigeria is one of the most corrupt countries in Africa in ranking and point scores, which translate to unfortunate high threat factor that sustained human insecurity, and by default internal insecurity in Nigeria. According to the National Service Delivery Survey (2008) in Uganda, there was no action taken on 40 % of cases involving abuse of funds in the health sector. As is the case in the health sector, 35 %, 23.1 % and 33.8 % of the cases involving misuse of funds in primary education, sub-counties and local councils respectively went unpunished (National Service Delivery Survey 2008). The study also shared the views of Uga (2019:3) that "while corrupt individuals with political power enjoy a lavish life, millions of Nigerians are deprived of their basic needs such as food, health, education, housing, access to clean water and sanitation".

The study generally found low remuneration of public and civil servants, poor funding of government institutions and agencies, weak justice system, lack of accountability, poor governance, outsourcing of government contracts, and over budget estimates as the key factors that sustained corrupt practices in Nigeria. Similarly, Tanzi (1998:563) identified direct and indirect factors that promote corruption. The author named regulations, taxation, public spending, and lobby investments in political parties as factors that constitutes direct corruption, while indirect factors include, a bureaucratic system, wages of public officials, institutions, and the rule of law".

On the other hand, political corruption involves government officials who are privileged to take political decision. It takes place when politicians and public office holders who are entitled to make and enforce the laws use their political power to sustain their statues and wealth and/or make decisions in the benefit of private interests (Transparency

International Report, 2009:2). Political corruption appears in different forms and shapes, majorly in political finance, election corruption, corporate influence on decision making, favoritism, impunity of politicians and members of the government (TIR 2009:2-3). There are pockets of all the above forms of corruption in the Nigerian government and politics, which according to one respondent affects poverty alleviation programs, and deprives the masses what is due for them in terms of security and development. It can drive up the price and lower the level of government output and services (Shleifer and Vishny, 1993). Further, political corruption can reduce investment in human capital (Ehrlich and Lui, 1999). Moreover, it can also reduce government revenue (Shleifer and Vishny, 1993, Hindriks, Keen and Muthoo, 1999) which in turn can lower the quality of publicly provided services, Gupta et al (2000:3), hence one can argue that the main "agent provocateur" that has sustained human insecurity in Nigeria and largely Africa's underdevelopment is Political corruption, particularly in Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA).

Awojobi, (2014:8) lends credence to the respondent's opinion and argues that "at the infrastructure level, political corruption hinders health services, water supply, power supply, good roads and sound education". Collaborating this view, Nwolise (2013:126) opined that "political corruption has retarded our national development, weakened the moral fiber of the society, and dented Nigeria's national image". Besides government officials involving in corruption, what is worrisome is the endorsement and support the society gives to corrupt individuals "in the context of collectivism, where the family and community may to a certain extent for context specific reasons be encouraging someone to engage in corruption for the benefit of the family, lineage or community" (Bukuluki, 2013:32).

At the government level, findings also revealed how "the former Governor of Delta state who had "victoriously" passed through investigatory and prosecutory systems in Nigeria but was jailed in the United Kingdom on corruption matters, an indictment on the Nigerian criminal justice system, an insult on all Nigerians, and a dent on our nation's image" (Nwolise 2013:126). Further to the above, in the 2019 party primaries proceeding general election, the candidates of both the ruling party and the opposition parties were seen in

public sharing thousands of dollars and Naira to party delegates to secure their votes, including promises of elective positions, contracts and jobs.

The national dailies were agog with stories of how parliamentarians or state governors squander their constituency funds and security votes that are meant for constituency development and state security, resulting in political assassination and post-election violence across the country. The Human Rights Watch (2004:11) reported that "at least 70 incidents of election-related violence occurred in Nigeria between November 2006 and March 2007 in 20 states out of the 36 states in which at least 70 persons lost their lives, and many were injured". The Institute for Democratic Alternative in South Africa's (IDASA) conflict tracking project "complemented media monitoring of election-related violence with community-based monitors providing even a more frightening picture. For the same period, it reported 280 incidents of election-related violence cases of deaths and injuries involving over 500 people" (Egwu, 2013:113).

From the aforesaid, the study has established that the issue of corruption or specifically political corruption is not an exclusive reserve of politicians, civil and public servants, rather a pandemic and enduring disease that has sustained internal insecurity in Nigeria.

### **5.2.2 Lack of political will**

This study found that lack of political decision to securitise poverty sustained human insecurity in Nigeria. Majority (83.3%) of the respondents were in consensus with the assertion, whereas a few had a contrary viewpoint. The mean score value of the variable stood at 3.17, meaning that lack of government's political action contributes significantly to the lingering state of human insecurity in Nigeria. Political will entails the readiness or ability of any government to act on its socio-economic and political policy issues and programs for the benefit of the people and the state. On the other hand, securitisation involves the process of labelling a security issue or issues found to constitute an existential threat to an individual, society or the state for immediate or extra ordinary urgent attention that goes out of the normal process to counter it. The inaction of government on vital security issues demonstrates the level of inept leadership or absence of legislation to legitimise political decision. When political leaders are short of the necessary

administrative skill or competence to pilot the affairs of the state, it perhaps means lack of appropriate legislation to enforce state laws and government policies, and strong judiciary to dispense justice, as well as adequate budget to accelerate securitised threat, human insecurity will remain unabated. poses

Basically, it is evident that lack of political will or action to securitize poverty, for instance possesses a danger to human security. The study revealed that high percentage of the respondents viewed the government's inability to run proactive and sustained social security and welfare programmes contributes to a large extent internal insecurity in Nigeria. Ezemenaka and Prouza's (2016:89) account "affirmed that one of the main problems of the Nigerian government is that it often overlooks the challenges that undermine social security until a serious problem presents itself". This could seemingly be attributed to the myriads of persistent security challenges which required urgent attention. In most cases, such effort is marred by poor leadership, corruption, and ethno-religious sentiment and lack of policy implementation.

### **5.2.3 Monoculture economic policy**

A mono-cultural economic policy as a concern factor that sustained human insecurity and development in Nigeria has been identified by the study. Survey results revealed that majority (75%) of the respondents acknowledged the above assertion, while a minority disagree, a position expressed by those who believed that good governance and effective economic policy implementation rather than diversification is the major challenge of human insecurity in Nigeria. The mean score value of the statement accounts for 3.03, which suggests a sufficient threat to human security. The Nigerian economic policy has over the years remained undiversified amidst a high rate of unemployment, poverty and economic deterioration, a persistent condition that influenced the high rate of respondent responses on its mono-cultural economic policies.

Importantly, the survey response and extant literature corroborates on the importance of economic diversification to boost economic growth, human security, and development. Traditionally, economic diversification involves transitioning away from dependence on one or a few commodities such as crude oil, minerals, and agriculture production toward

a broader range of sources of production, employment, trade, revenues, and expenditures. The objective of economic diversification is structural transformation, which is characterized by rising productivity, sustained growth, and broader development (Usman and Landry, 2021). There are different dimensions of diversification: the first relates to the expansion of economic sectors that contribute to employment and production or gross domestic product (GDP) diversification, and the second is associated with international trade or exports diversification and fiscal diversification which involves expanding government revenue sources and public expenditure ... (Usman and Landry, 2021). With the weak economic condition, poor foreign earnings, low domestic production, galloping inflation and acute unemployment, Nigeria needs the three dimensions of diversification to survive.

The reality remained that "the Nigerian economy is heavily dependent on crude oil exports for socio-economic and political development. Crude oil exports account for Nigeria's major source of foreign exchange earning representing about 90% of export products" (Itumo, 2016:25).

Besides crude oil, "Nigeria has other natural resources, such as gas, zinc, limestone, tin, iron ore, coal, niobium, lead and large table land" (OPEC, 2016:15), which ought to complement the crude oil earnings or exports, but these resources have remained untapped due to poor economic policies, unspecified legislation and approach, as well as lack of political decision or action to diversify the economy by the Nigerians' past and present authorities. From the reality on the ground and with reference to the high percentage of the respondent response on the subject under discourse, it is evident that the transition from a mono-based resource policy to a high-income diversified economy holds the promise of economic growth and development in Nigeria. Besides, it will also surge the increase in internally generated revenue (IGR), an increase in job opportunities, alleviate poverty and economic inequality, and to a greater extent attract local and foreign investors.

Research revealed that, "on the eve of Nigerian independence, before the discovery of oil in 1956, Nigeria was famous in her agrarian economy through which cash crops like

palm produce, cocoa, rubber, timber, and ground nuts, were exported, thus making Nigeria a major exporter in that respect" (Ogbeh, 2016:4). It therefore inferred that "the agricultural sector has been the leading provider of employment in Nigeria since the sixties and seventies, when the sector provided employment for more than 70 percent of the Nigerian population" (Kemi, 2016:104). The study also reveals that Nigeria has made "about \$760 billion" from crude oil exports with virtually nothing to show for it in terms of poverty alleviation and development, especially in health and education sectors. The proceeds from this product have not only been shamelessly misappropriated by some greedy politicians and bureaucrats, but also has been wrongly channeled to wasteful expenditures, such as the huge salaries paid to the members of the National Assembly and religious tourism either to Saudi Arabia or Jerusalem.

On the contrary, Dode (2012:14) argues that "the discovery of crude product in a number of other nations like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya, among others has contributed immensely to the social, political and economic growth of those nations". This feat can be attributed to good leadership and smart economic policy, policy implementation and oversight. The reality of poverty and underdevelopment facing Nigeria today remained a "sad paradox" amidst enormous human and natural endowment, which seems to suggest that "the state have, indeed, abdicated its primary responsibilities to provide the basic needs of the citizens" (Eze, 2009:7). It is worthy of note that Nigeria is nonetheless, the only country in this quagmire. In the words of Zainab Usman, in fact, Africa is home to eight of the world's fifteen least economically diversified countries. This reality weakens the foundation of their economic transformation and slows their pace of progress. It also makes these countries particularly vulnerable to sudden external shocks, as the pandemic-induced disruption of tourism and oil-dependent economies has illustrated (Usman and Landry, 2021).

With reference to the views of the respondents and existing literature, one can strongly argue that the current monoculture economic policy which entirely rests on crude oil export is unsustainable in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Crude oil exports and products are gradually becoming less attractive in the international markets, oil producing nations are fast

moving away from fuel to electric cars and green energy. Nigeria has the largest population in the entire black race with an unbelievable youth population seeking for opportunities to actualize their dreams, hence the need to rethink the Nigerian mono-economic policy. A nation that fails to diversify its economy runs the risk of a limited GDP, low exchange rate earnings, low productivity, and shortage in infrastructure development.

#### **5.2.4 Political marginalization**

This study revealed political marginalization of some ethnic nationalities as an enduring threat to human security in Nigeria. Most of the respondents (78%) affirmed this result, while minority had contrary view. The variable had the least mean score value of 3.02, which seems not to be a potent factor capable of disrupting and disorienting the Nigerian political activities, social security and development. The low mean score appears to be real in the northern part of the country (the study area) where the zone has dominated the political space since the Nigerian independence in 1960. The issue of political marginalization in the Nigerian government and politics has remained a controversial and debatable subject, depending on the geographical divide. The high percentage of the respondents in favor of political marginalization demonstrates the level of threat and the effect of the variable on human security and by extension internal peace and development.

Further investigation of this variable via in-depth interviews revealed a significant support for this finding, but the extent of this support may differ among the participants. Findings revealed a significant corroboration between survey questions and interviews, alongside literature sources. The study acknowledged political marginalization as a sustainable threat to the Nigerian internal security peace and unity.

Lending credence to the above assertion, a Nigerian immigration officer stated:

*"Yes, political marginalization is the cause of political agitation from the east, north central and other minority ethnic groups in the country. This is because people are wiser now, not everyone can be used any longer, it cannot continue to be business as usual and the concept of obi is a boy, now obi is a man, people need equal justice even in the distribution of the national wealth".*

A human rights lawyer in the National Human Rights Commission had this to say:

*"Yes, good governance is supposedly managed for different nationalities in a country and this call for inclusivity. Consequently, where some segments or nationalities are not included in the political governance of the country or have the perception that they are marginalized create a space for human insecurity. Politics is who gets what, where how and when. And so, if ethnic nationality is excluded in the distribution of national resources, invariably it makes a particular group insecure, especially when resources are not allocated to them".*

Still on political marginalization, a legal practitioner in Abuja held this view:

*"Yes, I agree, the word in itself (marginalization) is inimical, it is an attempt to exclude, for instance the indigenous Igbos of about 70 million from getting what is due to them in the government setting in Nigeria, such as promotion, appointments, employment and so forth. It also deprives them of federal presence, like good roads, rail, and electricity, and other amenities made available for all the citizens of Nigeria, these are the factors that sustained insecurity in Nigeria".*

Being probed further on why the indigenous Igbo nation should not complain about marginalization because of their economic power, the lawyer said:

*"Such argument is flat, few Igbos are rich, but the number is not satisfying the needs of the Igbo people. However, the issue here is government presence, in terms of development in Igbo land not individual or group financial standing. We mean federal government projects, such as the provision of railways, waterways, and other means of transportation. By extension, all ethnic groups are entitled to use the facilities provided by the government, whether Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe or Igbo".*

Further information on the political marginalization of some ethnic groups was captured in the declaration of a lawyer in the ministry of justice

*"Social injustice, not marginalization is not peculiar to a particular ethnic group in Nigeria. Political marginalization sustained the call for self-determination by some ethnic groups, example the Igbo nationality has the highest number of millionaires per square meter, but their political marginalization has made them agitate for self-determination with the believe that political inclusiveness will make them have a sense of belonging".*

Fundamentally, the reality that political marginalisation poses a threat to human security may remain so in the near future has been recorded in the previous works of concerned scholars and social commentators. Drawing from the present study and existing literature,

it is apparent that political marginalization of some ethnic groups constitutes a potential danger to the Nigerian national unity, social harmony, social justice, peace and security. This participant's view seems to have been influenced by the persistent clamor and agitation for self-determination and true federalism, as opposed to the current pseudo-federal executive system. Unfortunately, self-determination has no place in the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria. However, Nigeria as part of the international community and signatories to the United Nations and African Union treaties and conventions, it behooves her to abide to these international provisions. Besides the contested issue and clamor for self-determination put forward by the participants, the issue of political and religious politics also constitutes major instruments that propel the engine of inequality and unjust practices by the dominant ethnic group in Nigeria. So long as ethnic and religious affiliation and sidelining remained measures for elective position, promotion, execution of national projects and decision making, marginalization will continue unabated.

On this premise, (Osibanjo 2017, in Adangor, 2017:18) admonishes that "the right to a decent existence, to education, health care or jobs must not depend on how loud an ethnic or religious group agitates". He stated that it is the failure of the state to deliver on these essentials of life and livelihood that compels our people to run to their tribal and religious camps to seek succor by way of agitation for basic rights and services. The respondents view on even representation and equitable distribution of national privileges corroborates Mbah et al's (2019:25) position that "in a multi-ethnic and plural societies such as Nigeria, appointments into major political positions are critical elements of politics" ... in this sense, position means wealth and money, and to get them, one has to occupy a good political position in government". It can also be "expressed in the siting of projects like major industries, huge irrigation schemes and agricultural projects in other parts of Nigeria which deliberately excluded the Igbo heartland" (Uduma, 2015:94). It was on this premise that the Federal Character Commission was established for equitable distribution of national privileges (see Chapter 4 Section 153(c) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, 2010). Unfortunately, this constitutional

provision appears not to have been respected by the past and present government, hence the cry for marginalization and the quest for self-determination continue to garner support, particularly in southern part of the country.

Duruji (2009:60) argue that “when compared to other tribes in Nigeria, the Igbo area suffers the worse neglect of federal government presence, especially good federal roads, rail transportation, functional seaport and standard international airport”. Udoma (2015:94) “strongly shares this sentiment just as the participants that “*Ndigbo* (Igbo people) have suffered tremendous marginalization through clearly designed and well-crafted state policies, all of which have left them emasculated... politically, economically and materially dispossessed and pauperized”. In this way, “citizen’s loyalty gravitates towards their respective ethnic groups and the legitimacy of the federal government becomes questionable” (Natufe, 2001:6).

Table 5.2 illustrates in percentages the uneven distribution of leadership positions in Nigeria (from 1960-2021) among the three major ethnic nationalities which comprises the Hausa/Fulani in the north, Yoruba in the southwest and the Igbo in the southeastern part of Nigeria.

**Table 0.2: Distribution of leadership position in Nigeria from 1960-2021**

S/N	Name	Tribe	Decision making body	North %	West %	East %
1	Balewa	Fulani (North)	Cabinet	37.3	37.3	25.4
2	Ironsi	Igbo (East)	SMC	50	33.3	16.7
3	Gowon	Tive (North)	SMC	60	40	0
4	Gowon	Tive (North)	Cabinet	41.7	41.7	16.8
5	Murtala/Obasanjo	North and South	Cabinet	44	36	20
6	Shagari	Fulani (North)	Cabinet	37.5	22.5	20

7	Buhari	Fulani (North)	SMC	61.1	27.5	20
8	Babangida	Nupe (North)	AFRC	55.6	38.8	5.6
9	Shonekon	Yoruba (West)	ING	47.9	31.2	20.9
10	Abacha	Fulani (North)	PRC	63	27	9
11	Abubakar	Nupe (North)	PRC	65	26	9
12	Obasanjo	Yoruba (West)	Cabinet	56.5	25	19.5
13	Yar Adua	Fulani (North)	Cabinet	64.5	12.5	23
14	Jonathan	Ijaw (Niger Delta)	Cabinet	20	32.5	47.5
15	Buhari	Fulani (North)	Cabinet	70	30	0

Source: Nnamani (2013), modified and updated by the researcher)

Table 5.2 show glaring evidence of political marginalization against the Igbo tribe in the east as they were neither selected as president, military administrator, or befitting cabinet office. The table show that besides President Good luck Jonathan’s administration (2011-2015) that recorded 47.5%, Murtala/Obasanjo 20% (1976-1979) and Shagari’s cabinet 20% (1979-1983) the rest revealed a gross marginalization of the Igbo tribe in decision making positions in their father land, Nigeria. The worst-case scenario as the table indicates was in Gowon’s Supreme Military Council and Buhari’s military regime, where the Igbos had 0% representation, whereas Igbo region harbors over 80% of the Nigerian foreign exchange earnings - oil and gas.

In an interview with Aljazeera journalist in 2015 in the United States of America, President Mohammadu Buhari was asked how he would preside on Nigerian affairs in terms of appointments and development, the president was quick to respond that “the North (Hausa/Fulani) and the South West (Yoruba) that gave him 95 percent votes will get more political benefits and patronage during his presidency than the South East (Igbos) that gave him 5 percent of votes”. This opinion demonstrates the willingness of Mr. President to sustain the marginalization of Igbos despite the constitutional provision of the federal character commission.

Table 5.3 revealed President Buhari's top 20 political appointments according to geopolitical zones and ethnic origin from 2015-2021.

**Table 0.3: President Buhari's top 20 political appointments**

S/N	Position	Zones	Ethnic Origin
1	President	North-East	Fulani
2	Vice President	South-West	Yoruba
3	Senate President	North- East	Fulani
4	Speaker of the House of Representative	South-South	Yoruba
5	The Chief Judge of the Federation	North-East	Hausa
6	Chief of Army Staff	North-West	Fulani
7	Chief of Defense Staff	South-South	Ika (Agbor)
8	Chief of Air Staff	South-West	Yoruba
9	Chief of Naval Staff	North-West	Fulani
10	Inspector General of Police	North-East	Fulani
11	Comptroller General, Customs	North-East	Hausa
12	Comptroller General, Immigration	North-Central	Fulani
13	Comptroller General, Prisons	North-West	Fulani
14	Accountant General of the Federation	North-West	Hausa
15	Chairman, Independent National Electoral Commission	North-East	Hausa
16	Governor of Central Bank	South-South	Irobo
17	GMD, Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)	North-East	Kanuri
18	Secretary to the Government of the Federation	North-East	Biron
19	National Security Adviser	North-East	Kanuri
20	Chief of staff to the president	North-Central	Fulani

Source: AITEO 2017:4 (Compiled by the researcher)

Table 5.3 reflects an unprecedented and lopsided political appointment made by President Buhari, which conspicuously show absence of Igbo representation. "From 2015 to date, President Buhari had made over 100 top level appointments and the North have taken over 80% of these slots including nearly 90% of all the top 30 appointments into the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation" (The-Will, 2017:4). This is in flagrant violation of Chapter 2, Section 14 (3) P37 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, which explicitly states that, "the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies ... shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, ... national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance ...". The above tables revealed the reality of political marginalization in national political appointments.

Drawing from the views of the participants and from the literature, one can, however argue the fact that in a multi-ethnic and complex society as Nigeria where a group dominate the political space the enduring problem of political marginalization will be insurmountable and can never be addressed.

### **5.3 Strategies to Improve Human Insecurity in Nigeria**

This research was intended to find the possible strategies to address the persistent human insecurity in Nigeria. Given that every security environment is unique and locally oriented, the solution to the threat to insecurity should apply the same principle. For decades, Nigeria has been grappling with human security challenges which presently need attention and a lasting solution. The central focus of this section is to highlight the possible strategies to improve the lingering human insecurity in the country. Table 5.2 and pictorially Figure 5.2 reveal that moral degeneration, effective database, securitizing poverty, sustained poverty alleviation, capacity to address human insecurity, people-oriented constitution, and homegrown education system, in that order, as possible measures to address human insecurity in Nigeria.

#### **Table 0.4: Strategies to improve human insecurity in Nigeria**

	SA	D	A	SA	T	Mean
Nigerian government seems to lack the capacity to address the existential threat to human security	5 (8.3)	2 (3.3)	30 (50)	23(38.3)	100	3.18
Sustained poverty alleviation program has the capacity to improve human insecurity in Nigeria	1 (1.7)	8 (13.3)	29 (48.3)	22 (36.7)	100	3.20
A people orientated constitution is a panacea to the internal security crises in Nigeria	2 (3.3)	12 (20)	28 (46.7)	18 (30)	100	3.03
Home-grown education policy can improve the rate of unemployment in Nigeria	4 (6.7)	16 (26.7)	20 (33.3)	20 (33.3)	100	2.99
Moral regeneration is the key to combating crime in Nigeria	1 (1.7)	5 (8.3)	26 (43.3)	28 (46.7)	100	3.35
Securitizing poverty (special attention) remained the key to improve Nigerian internal security	2 (3.3)	5 (8.3)	31 (51.7)	22 (36.7)	100	3.22
Effective database has the capacity to address internal security challenges	1 (1.7)	4 (6.7)	29 (48.3)	26 (43.3)	100	3.33

Source: Research Survey 2021

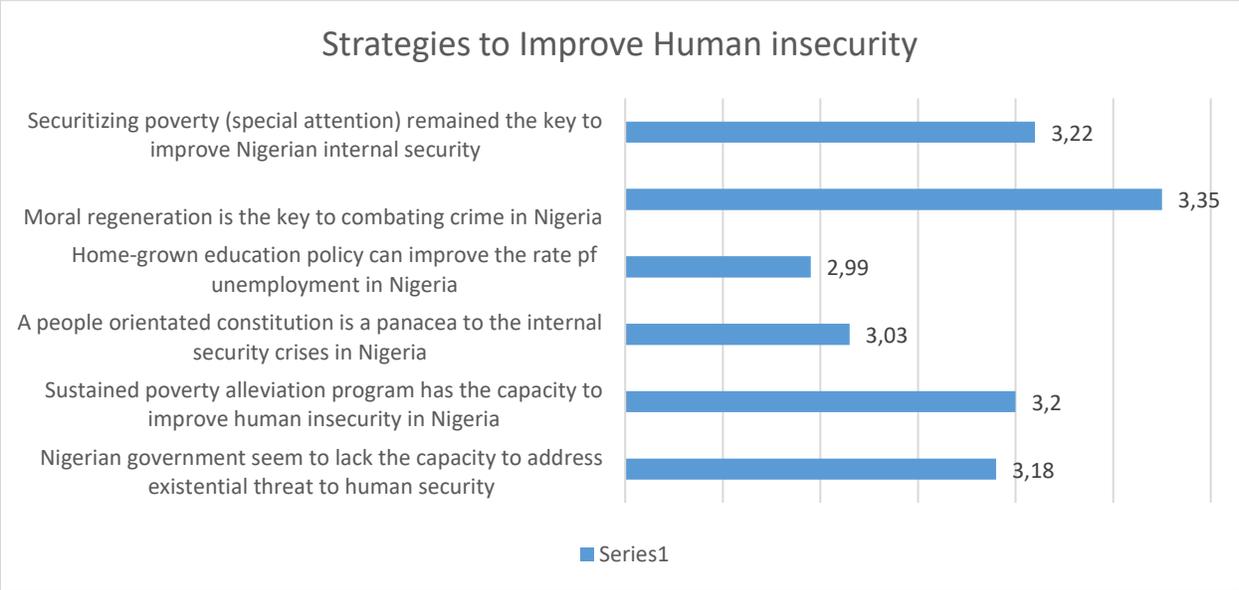


Figure 0.2: Bar chart showing the mean scores of strategies to improve human security

### **5.3.1 Moral Regeneration**

This study revealed that moral regeneration tops the list on the best strategy to improve human insecurity in Nigeria. Virtually all the respondents (90%) agreed with this assertion, and only a minority had a different viewpoint. Moral regeneration recorded the highest mean score value of 3.35, which demonstrates the unprecedented high rates of moral decadence in the country. Moral regeneration is a renewed program of the government or the society to bring back those that are morally, and integrity challenged into the accepted norms and values of the society.

The overwhelming response of the respondents is evident in the Nigerian society where poor socio-economic conditions have forced the citizens to involve themselves in anti-social, anti-state activities and criminality. The result also demonstrates that the present act of civil disobedience, violent protests and the insurrection against the Nigerian state and its citizens is a pointer to suggest the necessity to reinforce African values on the present generation.

Further examination of the moral regeneration question through literature review found that majority of the respondents support the above results. The idea of moral regeneration as a panacea for human insecurity in Nigeria corroborates with Onifade, Imhonopi, and Urim's, (2013:53) views that, "the insecurity challenge in Nigeria has assumed a formidable dimension that not only requires a multi-stakeholder approach... in quelling this conflagration threatening Nigeria's statehood, but also necessitates a revival and reinforcement of moral values and virtues". They further revealed that government has tried everything from "force-for-force" to carrot-and-stick approach to diplomacy, but the problem seems to rise with greater monstrosity like the proverbial phoenix.

The problem lies with the leaders particularly the political class, who seem to have lost their moral compass, only good and interested in strategizing for the next election, but run short of ideas, policies, and programs for the next generation.

The study suggests that the leeway to moral regeneration lies in a reconnect of trust deficit between the people and the government, and the vital need to inculcate a sense of discipline, moral ethos, and socio-cultural reengineering in the lost youth population of the Nigerian society. The general understanding is that the government and the society have failed the present generation, therefore it behooves parents, guardians, teachers and faith-based organizations, the government, and other relevant stakeholders to rekindle their moral and spiritual obligation to their children for the benefit of the society.

Sustained moral and socio-economic alleviation policies and programs as opposed to police brutality, arrest and imprisonment, community sanction, gun and bullet approach of the government hold the promise of mitigating decadence and criminality in the society. Leaders should endeavour to practice what they preach in churches, mosques, political rallies, schools, and communities to show a good example and to be role models to the people. The moral basis of Nigeria's security is a vital imperative for national reconciliation, national survival, and national development" (Ujomu, 2001).

Drawing from the perceptions of the respondents and extant literature from scholarly works, it suggests that moral reorientation of African value system starting from the family unit can assist to bring back morality and hard work, respect for elders and constituted authorities, adhere to societal norms, value and tradition at homes and communities. The philosophical concept of "ubuntu" (being your brother's keeper) can reinvigorate and regenerate lost values, bring sanity, social justice, fairness, and oneness, and to a greater extent human security

### **5.3.2 Effective Database**

This study found that effective database is part of the solution to human security challenges in Nigeria. An unprecedented and overwhelming majority (91.6%) of the respondents affirmed to the above viewpoint, whereas an insignificant minority differed from this assertion. The mean score for this statement accounts for 3.33, which shows a sufficient sustainable factor that can address human insecurity and development challenges in Nigeria. The high rate of responses on the subject stem from the knowledge of the deplorable state of the country's socio-economic and political database, which is

evident in inaccurate census records, poor birth and death rate registration, as well as the absence of the precise number of legal and illegal foreign nationals in the country. The study found that most government social security policy programs ran short of successful completion not because of funding or poor policy implementation, but specifically because of inaccurate statistical data management at the policy foundation stage which makes it extremely difficult for the concerned agencies to effectively complete community projects. This brings to the fore the need for a comprehensive, effective, and advanced database for socioeconomic and political development of Nigeria.

More investigation of this variable through literature findings shows majority support for this result. The importance of effective and comprehensive database in the Nigerian economy cannot be overemphasized. "In a more technologically advanced societies of the world, birth and death registration... play significant roles in national security, especially when combined with DNA, facial recognition, and fingerprinting technologies" (Ekwutosi, Effiong, & Inyang, .2021:51). It is a polling that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century "the Nigerian security personnel, particularly the Police Force has continued to be dependent on circumstantial evidence, eyewitness testimonies, interrogation, and confessional statements" (Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019, Stephen et al 2021, Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2021, Udogadi, 2021), in the prosecution of offenders in courts. Agubosim, et al (2021:85) argue that "as research and innovation become more complex globally... to estimate generalized poverty we need information on individuals within population simultaneously for the key variable... we require information on the levels of each variable for each individual". King and Murray (2001:601) opined that "the essence of an accurate database is to assist the government or its agencies to make an informed statistical policy decision". This can be actualized through collapsing all the authorized identity registration cards, such as the "National Identity Number (NIN), National Identity Card (NIC), Bank Verification Number (BVN), driver's license, voters' card, national international passport, birth certificate, declaration of age and certificate of origin into a single database" (National Identity Management Commission, 2019). This effort can assist the security agents, primarily the police, immigration, and customs to track down criminals in

communities, cities, at borders and at ports of entries, reduce certificate fraud and to prevent other foreign nationals from committing crime using Nigerian identity documents. Accurate census, as well as the death and birth certificates would help Nigerian policy makers to formulate and implement trusted and reliable economic and social security policy document that can assist in fighting corruption and criminality.

These statistical data are fundamentally important for social deliverable services, budget allocation, electoral process, crime investigation, education development, health care, and a host of other benefits. Inaccurate database affects the government's development plan and effort to provide infrastructure, electricity, good drinking water, quality education and health care.

### **5.3.3 Sustained poverty alleviation program**

This finding revealed that sustained poverty alleviation program has the capacity to improve human insecurity in Nigeria. The majority (85%) of the respondents gravitate positively towards this assertion, while a few had a contrary view. The mean score value of the variable stood at 3.20, which constitutes sufficient threat factor to human security in Nigeria. The high percentage rate on the statement demonstrates the degree of the respondents' understanding of the importance and mitigating capacity of the variable to improve and promote human security and development. Poverty alleviation program is designed with a different outlook, strategies and needs, but with the same objective to provide skills and job opportunities for the beneficiaries. Despite the government's relentless efforts to overcome the socio-economic challenges confronting her citizens, poverty and unemployment remained perpetually and stubbornly high and continued to raise their ugly head. Part of the reason being that most times the citizens arrogantly display sense of entitlement believing that government is bound to provide all their needs without any effort to assist the government. This expected assistance from the poverty alleviation beneficiaries and the society can come in different ways: through committing themselves to the program policies, safeguarding all the facilities of the program in their communities, and applying the knowledge and skill acquired in the private sector.

Further examination of this variable via extant literature found appreciable support for this result, nevertheless the extent of this support might differ among the participants which has been clearly documented in a series of scholarly works on human security. According to the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics Report (2019:6), "40.1 percent of the total population of Nigeria was classified as poor, in other words, on average, 4 out of 10 individuals in Nigeria have real per capita expenditures of 137,430 Naira per year. This translates to over 82.9 million Nigerians who are considered poor by national standards", bringing to the fore the urgent need for pro-poor initiatives, not only by the government but also by the private sector.

Findings revealed that the failure of poverty alleviation efforts in Nigeria is attributable to certain factors, namely, "lack of targeting mechanisms for the poor, political and policy instability... lack of accountability and transparency, and lack of mechanisms for the sustainability of the programs" (Oshewolo, 2010:218). In the words of Nwaobi (2019:11) "weak synergy between states, federal and local government areas, issues of identification, unreliable mechanisms for targeting beneficiaries... weak monitoring and evaluation contribute to the failure of anti-poverty programs in Nigeria". The nagging issues of poor funding and corruption, tribal and religious sentiments as well as incompetency on the part of the drivers of the program also constitutes a barrier and the abandonment of most government anti-poverty initiatives and projects. In some cases, political parties use pro-poor and pro-youth agenda as part of their campaign promises just to deceive the poor masses and the electorates. Contrary to the respondents' perspective, Hussaini (2014:718-719) argues that "poverty alleviation programs failed due largely to the fact that they were mostly not designed to alleviate poverty, they lacked a clearly defined policy framework with proper guidelines for poverty alleviation ..."), which demonstrates the reality of the inept, desperation and corrupt tendencies of the government officials in their bid to siphon the resources meant for the program to the detriment of the beneficiaries.

An evaluation of the findings suggests that the success or failure of any government-initiated policy, in this case poverty alleviation program, hugely depends on the concerted

effort put in place by the policy makers at the foundation phase of the program, which therefore imply that if the formulation stage is on point with an appropriate team and funding, the evaluation and monitoring of the program becomes very much easier. A sustained poverty alleviation program has the capacity to improve human security and development. Besides these identified setbacks, alleviation program has provided opportunities for youth employment, infrastructure development, entrepreneurial training and skill development to thousands of the beneficiaries across the country.

#### **5.3.4 Capacity to address human security**

On the statement on whether Nigeria has the capacity to address the existential threat to human security, the study revealed that preponderance number (88%) were of the view that Nigeria lack the capacity to tackle human security challenges, whereas a few had different opinion. This statement accounts for a mean score value of 3.18, which constitutes a significant impact factor on Nigeria's internal peace and human security.

A further study of this variable through in-depth interviews revealed majority support for this finding, which to a reasonable extent corroborates with the result which may slightly differ amongst the participants. The respondents exhibited mixed responses on the statement. Empirical evidence generated from interviews that were conducted in the study area are here under highlighted.

A legal practitioner in the Department of Justice stated:

*"The federal government does not have the manpower or financial capability to secure Nigeria. This is evident in the common good-will of states to the federal government in terms of security assistance; buying of vehicles, motor bikes, and other logistics, particularly to the Nigeria Police Force, which shows that the federal government has no capacity to confront human security challenges. If you see a smartly dressed Nigeria Police Officer, there is the tendency that he/her bought the uniform for himself/herself. Even if the federal government has the capacity to secure the country, the present centralized security structure appears to be a serious challenge to internal security. The Nigeria police and other security agencies needs a living wage to motivate them to perform their constitutional mandate".*

Buttressing the above viewpoint, a human rights lawyer in the National Human Rights Commission offered the following insight:

*"The present government don't seem to have the capacity to address this issue. The way and manner the government is going about human security issues, such as agriculture and infrastructure development, education and health care seem to lack the mandate to provide human security. Yes, lack of capacity is a big problem/challenge in the Nigerian security".*

On the contrary, a legal practitioner resident in Abuja had this to say:

*"Yes, the government has the capacity and know-how to the solution of human insecurity in Nigeria in terms of military funding, infrastructure development and the closure of Nigerian international borders to monitor who goes in and out of the country. The security agencies should live up to expectation and be dedicated to their duties and responsibility. Any government that comes to manage the affairs of Nigeria should be dedicated to it, accept each religion in all honesty and do the bids of Nigerians so that elected person (s) in that position, be it President, Governors, House of Reps. members, Senators or Local Government Chairmen should be up and doing. The Nigeria project must be supported by all. The labors of our hero's past shall never be in vain should be the cardinal principle of politicians and other stakeholders in position of power"*

Building on the above, a staff in the ministry of health opined:

*"The Nigerian government have the capacity to address threats to human security but lack the political will to provide security networking and local policing to monitor the behaviours of criminals. Nigeria has all it takes to afford modern technology to track conversations in social media, track the movement of criminal elements from one location to another and to install CCTV cameras in government institutions to monitor anti-government activities. However, lack of accurate database, improper security check on border posts by Nigeria Immigration, Custom, and corruption within border communities, including weak legal system, armed robbery, banditry, kidnapping and terrorism, combined to constrained government effort to improve human security".*

The study found significant corroboration and balance opinion on this variable. This outcome appears to have been motivated by the respondent's awareness of the persistent corruption, inadequate security funding, poor training and recruitment of security personnel, poor salaries and inadequate social welfare package combined to impact on the government's inability to find a lasting solution to the enduring insecurity in Nigeria.

In fact, the inability of the Nigerian government to find sustainable measures to human insecurity poses a serious security threat that is evident in the previous literature. These literature sources clearly show the nature of violence, the government's action, or inaction to successfully address human insecurity across the country. Research identify forms of human insecurity and zones of operation in Nigeria to include: "the activities of militia groups in the south; insurgency and murder by herdsmen in the north; kidnapping in the east and south; ritual killings in the east and west; with political and non-political assassinations across the nation" (Sandler & Ender, 2008; Oyibo, 2016), in addition to abject poverty that is prevalent in the north, political marginalization of the south, the inadequate presence of public infrastructure in the south, unemployment and inequality across the entire country. Section 14 (2b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, states that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government" (CFRN, 1999:37). The escalating level of human insecurity in Nigeria currently points to the fact that the security agents are far from realizing the afore-cited constitutional provision. Joshua, Gberevbie and Onor(2021:117) opined that "the inability of the Nigerian Police to cope with the magnitude of the surge of violence in recent years has prompted the involvement of the military, a core component of traditional security apparatus to deal with internal insecurity issues" The joint effort of the police and military operation to combat insecurity has instead increased human rights abuse, extortion, harassment, trust deficit and extrajudicial killings of innocent civilians across the country. The cases of the infamous operation in the Borno state in the northeast, the Zamfara state in the north-west, Imo and Anambra in the southeast, Kaduna and the Niger states in the northwest Nigeria are instructive. The study argues that managing the socio-economic threat to human security in Nigeria appears to have gone beyond military approach alone - the solution lies in a combination of military/police action and more importantly a sustained welfare package that is designed to ameliorate the sufferings of the have-nots in the Nigerian society.

Comparatively, the empirical data and extant literature demonstrate lack of appropriate strategy and capacity on the part of the Nigerian government to address human insecurity

despite the huge natural and human resources at her disposal. However, this position does not in any way dismiss the contrary views of some of the participants on the variable under discourse.

On whether Nigerian government has or does not have the capacity to stem the tide of human insecurity depends on tangible and intangible factors: the political will to take decision, available resources to carry out security projects, numerical strength and the moral of security operatives, availability of modern facilities, and the competence and commitment of government agencies to implement security policies. In practical terms, Nigeria has all it takes to confront her internal security challenges, but endemic corruption, ethnic loyalty, misappropriation of funds, and misplacement of priority constitute a barrier in achieving human security, and largely internal security.

Based on the present deplorable condition of insecurity in Nigeria, and participants opinion, one government capacity or otherwise, one can conclude that the gun and bullet approach of the government to deal with insurgency and banditry are grossly inadequate to maintain internal peace and human security, hence the need to rethink other security measures with human face.

### **5.3.5 People oriented constitution**

This study revealed that people orientated constitution constitutes a panacea for internal security crises in Nigeria. The study found that majority (76.7%) of the respondents affirmed this statement, while significant minority disagree, accounting for a mean score value of 3.03, which demonstrates a significant impact factor to human insecurity in Nigeria. The high response rate in favour of the statement is a clear manifestation of the respondent's awareness and understanding of the importance of consultation and inclusiveness in the legislative processes. However, the significant minority opinion on this variable may be because of the positive feelings of some respondents from northern the extraction (the study area) responsible for drafting the 1999 draconian military-oriented constitution of Nigeria. A closer analysis of the empirical data suggests that the quest for people-oriented constitution as opposed to the current unitary structure of the 1999 military-imposed constitution is a pointer to the fact that the present legal

framework lacks true federalism, people's support, and all it takes to make Nigeria a better place for everyone. There is need for honest reform of the 1999 constitution, the reason for this position is not farfetched. Critics, from the southern extraction claim that the content of the 1999 constitution lacks the due process required in the modern constitutional democracy. It's not only fraud, but short of legitimacy. Fundamentally, the constitution is a product of military dictatorship short of a conventional referendum to determine people's opinion and participation. Furthermore, the document was hurriedly and horribly midwived and packaged by a committee single handedly established by the then President General Abdusalami Abubakar's military regime influenced by ethno-religious bias, hence the persistent clamor for devolution of powers through people-oriented constitution. The study found that stakeholder consultations hold the promise of ownership, eliminates suspicion and fear of ethnic domination and influence over other component units. When people are not carried along in public and common projects, in this case the constitution, there is the tendency for dissatisfaction, civil disobedience and abandonment on the part of the citizen.

Further examination of this statement through literature sources found support for this finding. The study revealed the general views of scholars on the benefit of a people driven legal framework and true federalism in Nigeria; first it would allow the citizens to be part of the constitutional process, second, to decide the terms for national co-existence and the nitty-gritty of devolution of powers to the component units. These measures would assist to effectively address the socio-economic and political issues of insecurity, diversity, disparity, suspicion, and fear of domination by any ethnic nationality. This is fundamentally crucial because "the process by which a constitution came into being is even more important than the content of the constitution" (Ozokhome, 2021).

The high percentage of response on the variable corroborates the successive government constitutional review effort which had resulted in "state creation, power rotation mechanism, quota system and federal character, ...yet the quest for constitutional development continued to generate opinions and thoughts of individuals in different

strata of the Nigerian society” (Bribena, 2019:26). According to the New African Magazine report, “the constitutional problems currently overwhelming Nigeria are the direct consequence of the lack of adequate participation by civil society before the current constitution was imposed in 1999 by the military government...” (NAMR 2013:35). This study shares the views of Watts (1994:7) that “federalism is not an abstract ideological model to which political society is to be brought into conformity, but rather a way or process of bringing people together through practical arrangements intended to meet both common and diverse preferences of people”. In line with the respondent’s view, Wheares (2007:76) argues that “in constitutional terms, a federal system generally takes the form of an arrangement where governmental powers are shared between a national government and a varying number of subnational governments, with some emphasis on the autonomy and independence of each type of government”.

This model (federalism) was adopted in Nigeria in 1954 which led to the autonomy of the Northern Region, Western Region, Eastern Region, and subsequently Mid-Western region through a referendum. According to Ademolekun and Ayo (2020:158-159) “this political strategy made the regional government stronger than the central government in terms of quality political leadership, development plans, administrative leadership, robust debate in the regional assemblies and strong, impartial, and courageous judiciary”, hence the clamor to return to the status quo. However, research revealed that “what accounted for the weakness of this arrangement was the decision of the leaders of the three major political parties to serve as the head of each of the regional governments, each party leader kept his "first eleven" team at home in regional government while sending his "second eleven" team to the national” (Adamolekun & Ayo, 2020:158).

Based on the above analysis, it can be argued that any constitution that emanates from the people’s consensus through town hall meetings, national conferences and subsequently a referendum or plebiscite stands to enjoy “legitimacy, credibility, believability” and sustained support from the stakeholders. A comparative study seems to suggest that the key threat to human insecurity in Nigeria is traceable to the obscure and unpopular process of the 1999 military imposed unitary constitution. This section submits that devolution of powers to the component units is a leeway for financial

independence of the component units in the federation, in place of the current “feeding bottle” or “*Banbiala*” (beggar) arrangement where the 36 states heavily rely on the federal government for financial support, security and survival.

### **5.3.6 Home-grown education policy**

On the question of whether home-grown education policy can improve the rate of unemployment in Nigeria, the study found that more than half of the respondents (66.6%) affirmed the statement, while one third of the respondents (33.4%) had a contrary view which translates to significant and concerned minority. This result shows the level of the respondent’s poor understanding of the benefit of decolonizing the western educational system and the need to incorporate an African values system in the Nigerian educational curricula. This variable accounts for a mean score value of 2.99, which represents an insufficient mean factor that can impact on human security and activities. Nonetheless, this result appears not to be a true reflection of the reality on the ground, because there are still pockets of colonial elements in the African education curricula, overtly or covertly designed to promote and sustain western values and colonial legacies to the detriment of the indigenous knowledge system. The western educational system contrasts with the pre-colonial African educational policy structure where the African child is exposed to varieties of life-long careers, job opportunities, African history and African value systems. Despite the galloping rate of graduate unemployment, moral degeneration and inequality influenced by the western values in Nigeria, a significant number of respondents still believe in the age long narrative that foreign education curricula from either Europe, Asia or the United States of America, is preferable to the African indigenous knowledge system, notwithstanding the mountain of challenges that are inherent in the western educational system. However, one can argue that the myriads of education challenges in Africa are self-inflicted, hence her poor standard of education cannot be solely attributed to the western influence and control.

### **5.4 Conclusion**

This chapter examined the factors that sustained human insecurity and strategies to improve on the persistent insecurity in Nigeria. The study found significant corroboration

among the participants and relevant scholarly documents associated with human insecurity in Nigeria. The results of the frequency and mean score distribution was compared and analyzed referencing all the variables on the table. The findings revealed series of socio-economic threat factors that sustained human insecurity, primarily political corruption, poverty, unemployment, inadequate policy implementation, political marginalization and lack of political will to securities poverty. This section also proffers some possible strategies to address the scourge of socioeconomic and political factors that constitutes human insecurity and development in Nigeria. The preceding chapter summed up the study.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

#### **6.1 Summary and Major Findings**

The underlining purpose of the study was to examine the Nigerian internal security policy: An assessment of the human security threats to Nigeria in the Post – Military era, between 2006 and 2021. To accomplish the aforesaid goal, the study interrogates the under listed research objectives: (a) To examine the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria (b) To examine the socio-economic consequences of human insecurity in Nigerian (c) To identify the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria (d) To examine measures to improve human insecurity in Nigeria. Based on extant literature, in-depth interviews and quantitative survey, the outcome of these objectives was able to illuminate an array of factors that constitutes an existential threat or danger to human security in Nigeria. The study addressed the pertinent socio-economic and political issues that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria, the causes and consequences of human insecurity, including possible measures that can be put in place to improve internal peace, human security and development. To realise the purpose of this research effort, secondary and primary sources of data that is relevant to the study was gathered. Secondary sources emanating from scholarly journal articles, reports from conventional newspapers, the United Nations reports, relevant textbooks, documentaries, and thesis were investigated, whereas the field data (in-depth interviews and questionnaires) that relates to internal security was used to interrogate the challenges and threats of human insecurity in Nigeria. The primary data that was gathered from the resource persons (participants) was used for analysis to compare and review the pertinent issues in line with the stated objectives of the study.

This study was sequentially structured in six chapters: Chapter one comprised the introduction and background of the study, the statement of the research problem which was briefly highlighted from the statistical and factual relevant records of human insecurity in Nigeria. The research objectives were revealed together with the intended

aim of the study, while the guiding research questions investigated “what” and “how” question statements. The significance of the study provided the essence and benefit of the study, whereas the study location and conceptual clarification were also highlighted for the geographical understanding of the study locality.

Chapter two consists of two sections. The first part presented an extant literature review that is relevant in understanding the subject matter, while the second part examines two foundational theoretical frameworks of the study.

Chapter three discussed extensively the design and methodological strategies that were employed in the execution of the study and further justified the choice of each of the elements in the study. Social ethical consideration was expressed in informed consent, data protection, and respect for privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality.

Chapter four focused on data presentation, interpretation and analysis of the quantitative and qualitative information that was gathered from the study locality, including extant review of the literature on the causes and consequences of human insecurity in line with the stated objectives.

Chapter five centered on the data presentation, the interpretation and analysis of the sustainable threat factors that contribute to human security and the possible measures to improve the human security in Nigeria.

Chapter six provides an overview of the study, specifically it presents the summary of the findings, and the policy direction and conclusion. It further offers suggestions for future research.

Further to the above are some salient findings and or observations that were made during the study.

- The study addressed the interview question on the present situation of human insecurity in Nigeria, which revealed a preponderant validation of the participant’s perceptions on the astronomical escalation of insecurity in the past five years under

the present administration, a condition the respondents described as abysmal, alarming, and scary. Considering the outbreak of Covid-19, the study found that the mitigating lockdown rules, and the regulation of the pandemic impacted heavily on the socio-economic activities of both the poor and the rich in the Nigerian society, coupled with the menace of insurgency, banditry, and herder-farmer conflicts, particularly in the three geo-political zones in northern Nigeria.

- The study examined the main causes of human insecurity in Nigeria, which revealed the government's inability to implement human security policy due to corruption, incompetence, inadequate security personnel, and lack of political will to take informed decision, all combined to constitute a serious threat to human security and development in Nigeria.
- The major socio-economic consequences of human insecurity and development were observed as accounting for the poor standard of living, income inequality, low life expectancy, huge school dropout rate, and human displacement, poor health care and low standard of education. These indices are paradoxically emerging from a country that is heavenly blessed with abundant human and natural resources and with the highest GDP in Africa.
- Closely related to the above is the lingering issue of economic diversification. The study found that part of the human security challenges is the government's inability to diversify sources of national income earnings, such as agriculture, gold, coal, palm produce, cocoa, rubber, timber and ground nuts against the current practice where crude oil constitutes about 85% of foreign exchange earnings. Effective and sustained economic diversification policy has the capacity to boost the Nigerian industrial sector, surge in local and foreign direct investments, infrastructure development, increase in import and export, and above all, it provides sustained job opportunities to the Nigerian population.
- It is observed that the poor state of the Nigerian economy and weak institutions accounts for the high rate of crime in the country, expressed in anti-social activities and practices, such as internet fraud (known in Nigerian social media parlance as

yahoo-yahoo), ritual killings, proliferation of worship centers where congregants seek for spiritual healing and prosperity.

- The study also revealed that lack of political decision, endemic corruption and god-father syndrome, inadequate budgets, unmanned international borders and ethno-religious sentiments combined to significantly constitute to the enduring state of human insecurity in the country.
- Since the advent of the nascent democracy, internal security has remained the major source of concern for the Nigerian government. Outside the Nigeria-Cameroon border crisis in the 1980s and 1990s over the Bakasi Peninsula in the present Cross River State, Nigeria appears not to have experienced an external threat to her national security. Meaning that the country has been at peace with not only her West African neighbors, but Africa and the world. The study found that Nigeria is faced with more of internal than external threat to her national security, peace and development.
- The study revealed that the root cause of human insecurity in Africa is traceable to the nature of the internal security policy designed by the British colonial masters and implemented by their foot soldiers in the continent, wherein the security plans and strategies were basically centered on economic interest and regime protection to the detriment of the security and empowerment of the indigenous people of Africa, including Nigeria.
- The study found serious gaps in the Nigerian legislative and judicial process where victims of crime turned state witness and source of information for the arrest, prosecution and possibly sentencing of perpetrators if crime. Despite the torture and humiliation, and in some cases loss of property and life, there are no legal provision for any assistance or compensation for crime victims. The government, society and even the victims appear to be comfortable with the sentencing of the perpetrator without commensurate justice to the victim(s).

## **6.2 General Conclusion of the study**

This study has explored and advanced an array of ideas, opinions, beliefs and orientations of participants and relevant literature concerning insecurity in Nigeria. It interrogates the existing theories and pertinent sources of the root causes of human insecurity in Nigeria, its consequences, key factors that sustained insecurity and possible remedies. Presently, the state of human security in Nigeria can be described as very poor, abysmal, and below average. It is against this backdrop that this research effort is focused on the existential threat to human security in Nigeria. On this backdrop, it is inferred that the socio-economic threat to human security which for decades impacted on the Nigerian internal security will continue to thrive unabated if accurate measures are not urgently taking to mitigate the plague of physical violence and high rate of poverty, unemployment and inequality. The researcher believed that the three branches of government (the executive, legislature, and the judiciary) have separate roles in Nigerian internal security. This can be made possible through effective legislation, unbiased and corrupt free judicial system and committed leadership in government, private sectors, organizations, and communities across the country. At international front, it behoves the Nigerian law makers to domesticate and ratify all bilateral and multilateral human security treaties signed at sub-regional, continental, and global levels, aimed to safeguard her citizens from local and international vulnerabilities. Nigeria is currently at a precarious situation that the government cannot afford to sacrifice her citizens on the altar of insurgency, banditry, kidnapping, endemic poverty, and acute unemployment. International intervention through humanitarian assistance cannot serve as a lasting panacea for internal peace and human security in Nigeria. Representative democracy has provided a diamond opportunity for Nigeria to improve on the welfare and security of her enviable huge population.

An appraisal of the literature shows that human insecurity is part of the enduring colonial legacies that have continued to haunt humanity in African continent, including Nigeria. At independence most first-generation African leaders did not deem it necessary to turn the tide of insecurity and unjust colonial system - instead they embraced and advanced the

course for selfish and parochial interest. This is exemplified by the issue of decolonizing the artificial boundaries established by the colonial masters in Africa, where the leaders of the new independent states blatantly refused to return to the status quo. Besides, poor economic policy, social injustice, inequality, and inept leadership combined to exacerbate the socio-economic condition of the people, resulting in abject poverty, acute unemployment, human rights abuse, poor health care, surge in banditry and insurgency in Nigeria. The government's use of force rather than carrot (or combination of the two) appears not to be the right strategy to mitigate human insecurity challenges, and to a greater extent internal security in Nigeria.

For broader understanding of the subject matter, the researcher carried out an in-depth interview to unravel the persistent factors that have "produce, reproduce and sustained" human insecurity in Nigeria. Drawing from the general concern of the participants, human insecurity is a consequence of decades of government neglect and failure to provide a meaningful and sustainable welfare packages and social security to the millions of her citizens in Nigeria. A further outcome of the study revealed tangible and intangible security threats that sustained human insecurity, specifically insurgency, banditry, inadequate policy implementation, moral degeneration and so forth. The study suggests that the leeway to alleviate security challenges lies in addressing the root cause of the problem, which the study has alluded earlier.

The study also revealed some frantic government effort to reduce threat associated with human insecurity, but this endeavour seems not to be effective to cushion the effect of insecurity in Nigeria. The study suggests a change of policy strategy and mind set on issues bordering on security, which remain a viable and potent solution to internal security and human development in Nigeria.

On whether this study will impact on other state's national security, the researcher is of the view that Africa and indeed developing nations virtually have common human security challenges, of which some emanates from enduring colonial legacy, others are self-made and inflected by inept and corrupt leaders, while many are post-colonial anti-African

development policies deliberately designed to keep the continent perpetually in bondage. Without making bogus claim, the researcher believe that this little contribution, in terms of policy direction of the study may assist interested African leaders and security policy makers to tackle the menace of human insecurity, and to a larger extent internal security in their respective environments.

### **6.3 Contribution to Knowledge**

This study has advanced an alternative theory to the western oriented securitisation model where an individual can solely make a pronouncement on perceived threat to national security with the instrument of executive order. The proposed approach takes the form of constitutional representative body with the mandate to identify and analyze categories of threat either from internal or external sources and collectively proffer possible solutions to Mr. president for action. Based on the failure of the government to run an effective youth empowerment program, the study advises the federal government to adopt the Igbo form of alleviation program popularly known in Igbo language as *Igba-odibo* a tasted and trusted apprenticeship practice that has sustained the Igbo dominance in commerce and industry in Nigeria. This apprenticeship method according to the researcher can be used as a template to advance a new model of government-Igbo traders' partnership tagged National Empowerment Training and Partnership Program (NETPP). Furthermore, extant literature revealed gross injustices against victims of crime in Nigeria, hence the study advocates for the domestication of international obligation for the rights and rehabilitation of victims of crime via economic compensation and psychological assistance. The arrest, prosecution and possibly sentencing of perpetrator of crime cannot be seen as a victory to the government or the victim of crime. To put perpetrator of crime behind the bar is not commensurate with the psychological trauma, torture or even death of the victim. Importantly, this study effort has expanded existing literature on human security and development, and to a large extent security studies. Put defiantly, the study has the potential to serve as a source of literature and policy direction to governments, interested members of the public, the private sector and importantly students of politic and international relations.

## **6.4 Recommendations**

This section attempts to provide policy direction and practical measures that can be put in place by government institutions, agencies, departments, private sectors, and other relevant security stakeholders to improve the Nigerian internal security. These recommendations are drawn from the following: (a) the present reality of human insecurity in Nigeria (b) Research findings from the field work (3) existing literature on the Nigerian internal security policy (4) personal experience and as a concerned Nigerian citizen. It is the hope of the researcher that these fourteen points recommendations if implemented would bring lasting solution to the persistent threat to human security in Nigeria.

### **6.4.1 Legal provision to decentralize the internal security architecture in Nigeria**

The study revealed that the present security architecture in Nigeria is highly centralized and controlled by the federal government, a condition that hugely impacts on effective policing and intelligent gathering services. The researcher is of the view that the executive and the legislature should as a matter of priority and urgency ensure a re-think of the current structure of the Nigerian security architecture, with the aim to devolving powers across the federal, states and local government councils. This has become paramount because the war against insurgency, armed banditry, cybercrime, and the herdsmen menace cannot be won in the present security arrangement, where paramilitary security heads, for instance the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), Immigration, Customs, Civil Defense, and Directorate of State Security (DSS) are all under the command and control of the ministry of interior. Devolution of powers allow the component units and communities to take charge of their security environment, hence the saying that security is local. More importantly and given the inadequate numerical strength of the Nigerian Police Force and other sister security agencies, the study recommends for mass recruitment of officers and men of the above security agencies and community vigilante group for effective policing.

#### **6.4.2 Constitutional provision for the rights and rehabilitation of victims of crime in Nigeria**

Literature finding fingered the Nigerian Criminal Justice System of gross injustice, neglect, disregard, and disrespect for victims of crime. It is common knowledge that the interest or concern of prosecutors, presiding judge or magistrate is basically on possible ways and means to bring perpetrators of crime behind bars without commensurate effort to compensate the victim that had suffered all forms of harassment, torture, rape, and starvation in captivity. In every court sitting the victim would be expected to appear before the judge or magistrate to give evidence against the accused. In some cases, the perpetrator of the crime uses legal instruments, ethno-religious connection, or position in the society to avoid arrest and prosecution. The case of the foreign Fulani bandits is instructive, where the government has failed to either arrest or prosecute the criminals while their victims languish in internally displaced camps across the country.

The study therefore recommends strong legislation or revitalization of legislation (if any) to accommodate the rights and rehabilitation of victims of crime as enshrined in the United Nations Victims Bill of Right. The National Assembly should make provision for adequate compensation, in addition to psychological assistance to the victims of crime. In the event of the death of victim(s), the government should take full responsibility of the funeral arrangements of the deceased. Importantly, the Nigerian government should realize that non-compliance to the international obligation of this right would negatively impact on the lives of the victims, the members of their family, the judicial system, and the diplomatic relations with the international community.

#### **6.4.3 Legislation for education right of the Nigerian child.**

It might interest the reader to note that Nigeria is one of the countries (if any) that does not recognize education as part of the fundamental human rights of her citizen in her constitution (see Fundamental Rights in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, Chapter 1V Section 33). For decades, the Nigerian education policies had originated from national conferences and the establishment of education

commissions. In other words, the right to education has no identifiable provision in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

There should be a commitment on the part of government to protect and promote the fundamental human rights of the citizens not only for education, but also for employment and access to food. Under the present circumstances, the citizens are denied the opportunity to education, and no one has the constitutional right to take the government to court to enforce education right. It therefore behooves the Nigerian authority, particularly the National Assembly to make provision for this clause in the constitution to encourage the citizens, especially parents and guardians to demand for the right for education when they cannot afford it for their children.

#### **6.4.4 Restructuring the Nigerian educational system**

The Nigerian government is notorious in copying education policies from advanced countries of the world without adequate local need assessment or political will to successfully implement the plagiarized education system. However, despite the government's efforts to decolonize the Nigerian educational system through curriculum transformation, there are still pockets of colonial character in the Nigerian educational system, primarily in the use of English Language as a compulsory admission criterion, medium of instruction and assessment in Nigerian schools.

The study recommends a home-grown education curriculum with local content that speaks to the current socio-economic and technological needs of the indigenous people of Nigeria. These can be achieved via restructuring the western education system that promotes and sustains colonial legacy, culture, and value system. It is therefore the responsibility of the ministry of education to prioritize the use of indigenous languages as a medium of communication, instruction, and assessment at all levels of education in Nigeria.

#### **6.4.5 Empowerment program for poverty alleviation in Nigeria**

Despite the government's relentless measures to empower some segments of the society through mitigation programs, poverty and unemployment remained unacceptably high

due to political corruption, insufficient funding, and inadequate implementation of the program policies. Hence, the study strongly recommends that the federal government should consider and adopt the Igbo age long practice of entrepreneurial apprenticeship model of skill acquisition, popularly known in Iboland as *Igba-odibo* – which literally means to serve. In Nigeria the Igbo-tribe is naturally enterprising, hard working, progressive, innovative, self-made and development minded, a rare attribute that has facilitated and improved the living standard of Igbos in the rural and urban areas, including those in the diaspora. This model of skill acquisition has been tested and trusted for decades, where a successful businessman or woman would accept to mentor young people from his/her family, community, or from his or her in-laws, with the intention to imparting business skill, philosophy, tricks, and risks associated with the business and empower them thereafter.

The fundamental question then is how best can the government harness this unique apprenticeship model of empowerment? The researcher advocates for National Empowerment Training and Partnership Program (NETPP) where government and successful Igbo businessmen and women, and relevant ministry/department can collaborate in training Nigerian youth in trade and commerce. The beneficiaries of NETPP can be attached to selected Igbo shops and industries of choice where participants learn the art of business. In return for the services rendered, the government can build and allocate free shops to the mentors in designated areas for the training program, and in addition pay beneficiaries monthly allowance within the period of training. At the end of the training which may last between two to three years, depending on the business of choice, the government would empower the beneficiaries with the necessary tools and initial capital to start their own business.

For sustainability and effectiveness, government can provide legislation to legitimize the program to encourage in-coming government to consolidate on the empowerment policy. The program can be attached to the Ministry of Trade and Industry in conjunction with youth development agencies for the purpose of monitoring and evaluation. The NETPP trainers would be mandated to submit independent annual report on the beneficiary attached to him or her to the ministry to complement notes and evaluate reports.

The major difference between previous government empowerment programs and NETPP is that while the former was solely initiated, sponsored, and monitored by the government, the later involved private sector partnership, joint monitoring, joint assessment and more years of training as opposed to the fire bridge approach of the previous poverty alleviation initiatives. The potential challenges of NETPP would be as usual corruption, commitment on the part of government, the trainer and the trainee's zeal and patience to complete the program, including ethnic and religious bias and sentiments constraints. A successful implementation of NETPP driven program holds the promise of producing future entrepreneurs of note that would be self-employed, self-sustained and ready to adequately compete in the global market.

#### **6.4.6 De-emphasizing ethnic and religious sentiments on national issues**

Ethno-religious politics remained the biggest human security challenge in the Nigerian society and history. Virtually every political and religious decision in Nigeria, particularly at the national level is influenced by ethnic origin, religious affiliation, or class benefit. This is evidently expressed in political appointments, promotions, allocation of resources and federal projects, as well as in support of presidential candidate in an election. The concept of unity in diversity seems to be a political jargon used by the political class to deceive the gullible to achieve political ambition and religious interest. Moving forward, and considering the current issue of human insecurity, ethnic distrust, and suspicion in Nigeria the researcher recommends that government should put in place a strong mechanism to deescalate and deemphasise ethnic sentiment and religious bigotry in public businesses – ministries, departments, agencies, parastatals and so forth. The schools, national orientation agency, faith-based organisation, non-governmental organisations, civil society, communities, in short everyone, should get involved in this crusade and conversation. The problem of ethno-religious politics in Nigeria has gone beyond rhetoric, government should provide practical measures/platform (national conferences, conversation on social and traditional media, and town hall meetings) to discuss this monster that has the capacity to derail Nigerian national unity, human security, and national development.

#### **6.4.7 Promotion of economic development policy with human face**

The study exposed the mismatch of economic policy development of the present administration, where infrastructure and defence budgets outweighed social security and human development. High investment on defence and physical development is appropriate in a country whose government has already made provision for social security to cater for the poor and the middle class. However, it makes absolutely no sense for any government to spend billions of Naira on mega projects in urban cities constructed by foreign contractors without competent local skill to maintain the infrastructure. The federal and state government should re-think their present infrastructure development policy and pay more attention to human rather than physical development, with the understanding that adequate funding and effective management of health and education sectors can improve the standard of skills, physical and mental health of the people. Importantly, government should stop playing politics with education and health care delivery, otherwise the present trend of education and health migration because of the persistent university strikes, medical tourism, and economic migration of Nigerian medical doctors and other professionals will unfortunately continue unabated. There is need for the ministry of education to transform the Nigerian education system and invest more in engineering, science and technology programs, where the products in the long run can handle mega infrastructure projects and demonstrate competence in the competitive global market.

#### **6.4.8 Effective legislation for corrupt practices**

Extant literature revealed that corruption is not an exclusive preserve of the government officials in Nigeria, virtually every adult is directly or indirectly involved in corrupt practices. Many have justified their involvement in corrupt activities citing poor economic condition, failure of the political class to demonstrate leadership and moral degeneration in the society. Systemic corruption constitutes existential threat to the socio-economic and political development of any nation-state, including Nigeria. To fight corruption, the government should demonstrate leadership, courage, and political will to spell out modalities to recover all looted public funds and properties. The anti-graft agencies,

particularly the Economic and Finance Crime Commission (EFCC) should be fair and prompt to arrest and prosecute corrupt individuals in competent court of jurisdiction irrespective of age, position, tribe or religion. However, the government should not put those culpable behind bars, instead, they should be forced to invest the recovered loot in critical sectors of the economy, preferably in agriculture, education, health, and infrastructure development. The legislation should also compel all former presidents, governors, senators, inspector general of police, comptroller general of customs and immigration, members of house of representatives, permanent secretaries and service chiefs to invest in the above identified sectors or build skill acquisition centres of their choice for youth training and empowerment. The essence is to encourage them to plough back their excess salaries and loots into the society and to create job opportunities and skill necessary for socioeconomic development. Importantly, there shall be constitutional provision for national, state, and local government council database where the names of public fund looters will be captured and displayed for posterity.

#### **6.4.9 Mandatary inclusion of alleviation program in the political party's manifesto**

The Nigerian political parties should during registration mandated by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to attach specific human security alleviation program/plan detailing in bullets format the ways and means to tackle the existential threats of poverty, unemployment, inequality and human development at the national state and local government. The trend presently is that during campaign party flag bearers usually and always make general and bogus statements of intent in their manifestos but fall short of a simple explanation on how to achieve those promises and pronouncements. The National electoral commission should be compelled by law to disqualify any party voted into power but fail convincingly to deliver its alleviation program in the next election season. Put differently, such political party should be deregistered and should not be allowed to contest in the subsequent election. With this measure in place the electorates would be able to evaluate political parties on the bases of their alleviation program and track record.

#### **6.4.10 Constitutional provision for the right to self-determination**

Self-determination is a political opinion and fundamental human right enshrined in Article 1 paragraph 2 and in Article 55 of the United Nations Charter (UN Charter 54-73). Holding to the above, Article 1 of the Organization of African Unity, currently (AU) stipulates that the African states parties to the present Charter shall recognize the rights, duties and freedoms enshrined in the Charter and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect to them (Chapter 1 Article 1 of OAU charter). Nigeria being a member of the aforesaid international bodies and having ratified these treaties ought to have domesticated the UN and AU self-determination provision in her constitution, presently this has not happened. The essence is to encourage any section of the country that feels excluded, marginalized or unsafe in the Nigerian union has the inalienable right to ask for exit. Failure to comply tantamount to a breach of international obligation and standard practice. The conspicuous absence of the right for self-determination in the 1999 Constitution, as amended appears to be deliberate and part of the northern agenda and conspiracy to keep Nigeria one at all costs resulting majorly in the persistent agitation for the independence of Biafra in the southeast and Oduduwa Nation in the southwestern Nigeria. The Nigerian political elites should understand that agitation for freedom is not a crime in the lens of local and international jurisprudence, hence the government should take a bold step to domesticate this provision, dialogue with agitators and possibly conduct a referendum for any section of the country that wants to exit Nigeria. A political solution rather than a kinetic approach as it were, is counterproductive and will never bring peace, unity, and security in Nigeria.

#### **6.4.11 Legal provision and promotion of effective security policy**

This study found that security policy formulation has never been a challenge to security policy makers in Nigeria, rather effective implementation, and oversight, which is usually blame on inadequate funding and corruption. To translate policy papers into action has remained a huge impediment to human security and development in Nigerian. For this reason, the relevant authorities should provide adequate funds to implement and monitor security policy projects. Government officials should de-emphasize the issue of religion

and ethnicity in discharging their official responsibilities. Party affiliation and other discriminatory tendencies should not be a yardstick to benefit from national privileges and development assistance.

What is worrisome is the lack of continuity of human security policy initiatives by incoming administration at all spheres of government, resulting in the abandonment of projects and establishment of parallel human security policy. The study recommends for effective legislation mandating incoming governments to complete vital security programs before embarking on a new initiative. The envisage legislation should be potent enough to overcome major obstacle that might inhibit the implementation of human security and development programs.

#### **6.4.12 Effective Policing of international borders**

During the interview process one retired Deputy Comptroller General (DCG) of Customs shared with me some major challenges inherent in the agency and at the border posts, particularly in Northern Nigeria. He revealed that the major obstacle to Nigerian internal security remain the persistent influx of Fulani terrorist and jihadist from Sahel region masquerading as bandits and herdsmen. He further fingered inadequate personnel to man the vase Nigerian territory bordering Chad, Niger, Benin Republic and Cameroon. The retired officer also blames inadequate funding of the department, poor remuneration of staff, and low custom tariff as significant challenges faced by the officers and men of customs and immigration service, and by extension human insecurity in Nigeria. Further existential challenges include the cultural and historical affiliation of border communities on both sides of divide, and trust deficit between custom and immigration officers at border post and the border communities regarding the activities of smugglers and other criminal activities across borders.

On this breath, this study recommends mass recruitment and training and adequate funding of para-military security agencies to enable them police Nigerian shared borders. The department of interior should introduce the use of technology in border management for prompt surveillance, for instance Close-circuit Television (CCTV) camara at ports of entry and drones for pictorial intelligence and information gathering. The government

should prioritize the welfare of border communities in terms of job creation and provision of service delivery. This measure will encourage the border communities to display sense of patriotism, and to divulge the necessary sensitive security information to Nigerian authorities. Similarly, there shall be incentives for officers and men at the border post to forestall the tendency of being bribed by money bad smugglers and desperate migrants.

#### **6.4.13 The need for the autonomy of local government council**

Recently, the National Bureau of Statistics released startling figure of Nigerians living in poverty. According to the report, out of over 200 million population, 133 million are living in poverty (NBSR, 2022). This revelation triggered prolonged blame game between the presidency and the state governors. The former accused the latter of under spending on human welfare at the grass root level and emasculating the powers and finance of local government, resulting in the high rate of poverty. The governors on the other hand cited the federal government dominance in revenue allocation and too much exclusive legislative powers of most crucial items supposedly for states. On further enquiry the researcher shockingly found no constitutional evidence backing the establishment of local government council as the “third tier” of government in the Nigeria constitution. Rather, Part 111, Section 7(2) of the Nigerian Constitution merely assigned the local council the following functions: (a) provision and maintenance of primary, adult, and vocational education, (b) the development of agriculture and natural resource ... (c) the provision and maintenance of health services, and any other functions conferred on it by State House of Assembly (CFRN, 1999:279). In other words, local government council in Nigeria have no verifiable constitutional provision establishing it, a horrible constitutional gap the state governors took advantage from to control the so called “third tier” of government.

Considering the important place of local administration in rural security and development the researcher makes a strong case for the review of the status quo. Local government council should be granted autonomy with legal powers to initiate and implement policies and programs for the welfare and wellbeing of the people at the grass root. There should be legal provision granting local councils direct access to federal government allocation

as opposed to the present situation where state governors hijack the money meant for the provision of delivery and development of rural communities. Further, local councils should be allowed to conduct periodic elections organized by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to elect chairmen and councilors of local governments. Presently, the chairmen of most local councils in Nigeria are appointees and or nominees of state governors who use such power to patronize their cronies and party faithful. With direct funding from the federal government coupled with the internally generated revenue (IGR) local councils can be able to initiate and implement alleviation policies and programs that can provide basic education, primary health care, effective sanitation, and provision of electricity to the rural communities and by greater extent half acute poverty.

#### **6.4.14 Adoption of legislation, policy and or sanity on health care tourism in Nigeria**

Africa is perhaps the only continent where virtually all her political leaders frequently travel overseas seeking medical care but fail abysmally to establish good medical facilities in their respective countries while in office. It is also a place where religious leaders spend millions of dollars building mega Churches and Mosques without commensurate effort to provide good health care and fitness facilities for the welfare and wellness of their followers. Nigeria is infamously known for this practice. For example, in the last 7 years of his administration President Muhammadu Buhari has “spent 237 days in medical trips abroad for either treating or checking undisclosed ailments. Despite his pledge to cut cost, presidential fleet racks up N64.15b in taxpayers money, including landing, fuel, and parking charges” (Vanguard News Papers 15 November 2022:1), despite N2.3tn health budgets, out of which Aso Rock Villa (seat of power) clinic gulps a total of N6.2bn in six years (Punch Newspapers, August 1, 2021), meaning the Mr. President has no trust and confidants in Nigerian medical professionals and the health care system. Expectedly, this narrative and behavior remains the same among Nigerian politicians, government officials, church leaders, and those who can afford the cost of the trip abroad.

Comparatively speaking, the South Africa experience is instructive and should be commended. It is a fact that all through his old age and medical care, late President Nelson Mandela was never flown abroad for medical treatment, rather South Africa is a preferred destination for medical tourism. The same narrative is applicable to other South African citizens irrespective of position, wealth, or race. This is possible because relatively South Africa has one of the best medical facilities in Africa, and possibly across the globe.

On this premise, the study recommends for a legal framework, policy, or sanity to control the rate rate for medical tourism overseas, especially among government officials and their families. Since 2023 is election year in Nigeria, the study recommend that the incoming administration should take the issue of health care as a matter of priority by providing world class specialist hospital in each of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria with the intent to cut cost on medical tourism. Further, the new administration should map out new friendly medical policy enveloped with good incentives to attract thousands of Nigerian medical doctors and other sister professionals back home. The administration should also consider free medical treatment for minors between 1-18 years, and medical aid subsidy for government workers and those in private sector. Government should also partner and financially assist private medical practitioners, including indigenous medicine to keep them afloat in their practice.

## **6.5 Suggestions for Further Research**

This study focused on the Nigerian internal security policy: An assessment of the Human Security threats to Nigeria in the Post – Military era (2006 – 2021). The study was conducted in the Municipal Area Council, Federal Capital Territory, in Abuja, Nigeria. Human security is a verse area of study that needs further research for better understanding of the underlined factors that constitute an existential threat to human security. Further effort in this topic will provide information that can assist the government to make an informed policy decision on the socioeconomic and political issues of human security and development in Nigeria. A further study of this nature, and in

different location can go a long way to unravel human security challenges, health insecurity, and so forth.

To this end, there is high possibility that the primary information gathered from the study area including extant relevant literature and the recommendations of the study can be utilised for broader examination of the subject matter. Further research may target rural poor communities around Abuja area councils, or elsewhere in the country, particularly those that may have experienced neglect, social injustice, and abandonment from the government, including victims of physical violence of insurgency, kidnapping, banditry and herders-farmers crises. Since this study does not make bogus claim to have covered all aspects of human insecurity, similar study of this nature can advance the frontiers of nexuses between physical and human security.

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## APPENDIX A



UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL  
INWVESI  
YAKWAZULU.NATALI  
14 October 2019

Mr Hyginus Onyeaghala Uzomah (216041767)  
School of Social Sciences  
Pletermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mr Uzomah,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0521/019D

Project title: The Nigerian Internal Security Policy: An assessment of the human security threats to Nigerian the ~~lost-Militara~~, (2006-2016)

Approval Notification — Expedited Application In response to your application received 15 March 2019, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 1 year from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.  
Yours faithfully

.....  
[Redacted Signature]

Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair) /ms

Cc Supervisor: Dr Sultan Khan cc Academic  
Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu cc  
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Website: [www.ukzn.ac.za](http://www.ukzn.ac.za)

1910 - 2010  
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE  
■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville



## APPENDIX B



*Senator Samuel N. Anyanwu*  
REPRESENTING IMO EAST SENATORIAL ZONE (OWERRI)  
CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS, PRIVILEGES, AND PUBLIC PETITIONS  
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON BANKING, INSURANCE AND OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
MEMBER, COMMITTEES ON NIGER DELTA, MARINE TRANSPORT, DOWNSTREAM PETROLEUM AND PRIMARY HEALTH

REF: SSNA/07/24/2017/UKN/259

July 24, 2017

Mr. H. Uzomah  
School of Social Sciences  
University of KwaZulu-Natal  
South Africa.

### Permission to Conduct Research

Dear Mr. Uzomah,

In response to the letter written by Prof. Sultan Khan, your PhD supervisor at the University of KwaZulu-Natal South Africa where he introduced you to the government and agencies of the Federal Republic, I hereby acknowledge the receipt of the letter.

With reference to your request in the letter, it is my pleasure to welcome you to our agency. In that regard we will facilitate the process and make the necessary arrangements to assist you in accessing the relevant data and information that you may need from us.

Besides, you will be allowed to conduct interviews with the relevant individuals that we may recommend to you, provided such information will be strictly used for academic purpose only.

Thank you for the anticipated cooperation.

Accept assurances of my highest regard.

  
Sen. Samuel N. Anyanwu

## **APPENDIX C**

### INFORMED CONSENT

#### TITLE OF STUDY:

The Nigerian Internal Security Policy: An Assessment of the Human Security Threats to Nigeria in the Post-Military era.

#### PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

Hyginus Onyeaghala Uzomah

Political Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, South Africa.

Cell: [+27780908200]

E-mail – huzomah@wsu.ac.za

Dear Participant

You are being asked to take part in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine the existential threat to human security in the Nigerian internal security policy. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is vital that you understand what the research is all about. Please feel free to seek clarity on issues you do not understand in this consent paper. The study is aimed to achieving the following specific objectives:

- To examine the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria
- To examine the socio-economic consequences of human insecurity
- To investigate the factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria.
- To examine measures that can be adopted to improve human insecurity.

### **PROCEDURES**

This investigation will be carried out through survey (questionnaire) and in-depth interview which serves as research instruments to objectively examine people's views, ideas, beliefs and opinions on the causes, consequences and factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria, including measures to address it. A total of 95 participants (comprising 60 questionnaires and 35 interviewees) are expected to take part in the study. The participants will be drawn from various para-military security agencies, in addition to the National Assembly, National Human Rights Commission, Health and Justice Departments. As a participant we may seek your consent by making a request for your photograph or have your voice recorded on tape.



## APPENDIX D

### Nigerian Internal Security Policy: An Assessment of Human Security Threats to Nigeria in the Post- Military Era (2006-2021)

#### Questionnaire:

Section A:

#### Demographic information

1. Gender

Male	
Female	

2. Age of participants

30 – 35	
35 – 40	
40 – 45	
45 – 50	
50 – above	

3. Educational attainment

Primary	
Secondary	
Tertiary	

4. Agency/Department

Police Service Commission	
National Orientation Agency	
Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs	
Ministry of Agriculture	
Abuja Municipal Council	
Other	

5. Participants working experience in years

5 – 10 years	
10 – 15 years	
15 – 20 years	

Section B:

#### Causes of human insecurity in Nigeria

Instruction: Please indicate your response by making the option that best suits your opinion with an **X**, in line with the scale hereunder provided.

Variable		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
6.	Nigeria is faced with more of internal than external security challenges				
7.	Inadequate policy implementation is the main source of human insecurity in Nigeria				
8	Insurgency is one of the major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria				
9	Banditry constitute a threat to human security in Nigeria				
10	Poverty is the root source of human insecurity in Nigeria				
11	Economic inequality contributes to human insecurity in Nigeria				
12	Unemployment constitutes a serious threat to human security in Nigeria.				

Section C:

#### Consequences of human insecurity in Nigeria

Variable		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
13	Human displacement affects food security in terms of production and distribution				
14	Human insecurity in Nigeria affect economic development				
15	Lack of access to basic health care in Nigeria is a consequence of mismanagement				
16	Recurrent flood disaster in Nigeria is as a result of government neglect of human environment				
17	Desperation for wealth is a consequence of moral degeneration in the Nigerian society				

Section D:

#### Factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria

Variable		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
18	Political corruption is the key factor that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria				
19	Political marginalization of some ethnic nationalities in Nigeria has sustained human insecurity				
20	Inadequate human security policy has remained a source of human insecurity in Nigeria				
21	Lack of political will to securitize poverty has continued to constitute a threat to human security				
22	Mono-cultural economic policy is the key factor that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria				

23	Inadequate infrastructure development has sustained human insecurity in Nigeria				
----	---	--	--	--	--

Section E:

**Possible Strategies to improve human insecurity in Nigeria**

Variable	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
24	Nigerian government seems to lack the capacity to address threat to human security.			
25	Sustained poverty alleviation program has the capacity to improve human insecurity in Nigeria			
26	A people oriented constitution is a panacea to the internal security crises in Nigeria			
27	Homegrown education policy can improve the rate unemployment in Nigeria			
28	Moral regeneration is the key to combating banditry in Nigeria			
29	Securitizing poverty (special attention) remained the key to Nigerian internal security			
30	Effective database has the capacity to address internal security challenges in Nigeria			

## APPENDIX E

### Topic: Nigerian Internal Security Policy: An Assessment of the Human Security Threats to Nigeria in the Post- Military Era (2006-2021)

A qualitative study involving 35 participants in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Nigeria

#### Section A:

Date of Interview -----

Start Time -----

End Time -----

Name of Interviewer -----

Language of Interview -----

#### Section B: Demographic background of the research participants

1. What is your gender -----?
2. What is your age -----?
3. What is your agency/institution/Department -----?
4. What is your education attainment -----?
5. What is your years' experience -----?

#### SECTION C -----

##### Objective 1: Major causes of human insecurity in Nigeria

Q6: How would you assess the present situation of human security in Nigeria?

Q7: What is your deepest concern about the Nigerian internal security policy?

Q8: Policy implementation is one of the major sources of human insecurity in Nigeria, what do you think?

Q9: What other underlining threats to human security in Nigeria you know? (Do response include insurgency, banditry, kidnapping, poverty, unemployment, economic inequality. If not probe further).

##### Objective 2: The Consequences of Human Insecurity in Nigeria

Q10: Does human insecurity have any effects on Nigerian state? If yes, can you please mention any effect you know? (Do responses include; economic development, flood disaster, basic health care, human displacement, desperation for wealth, lack of basic health care, low educational standard. If not probe further).

Q11: What effects does food scarcity have on human security in Nigeria?

Q12: Is persistent poverty in Nigeria a consequence of poor policy implementation. If yes how?

Q13: What effect does flood disaster have on human environment in Nigeria?

Q14: Do you think that the high rate of crime in Nigeria, especially among the youth is a consequence of unemployment? If yes, how?

### **Objective 3: Factors that Sustained Human Insecurity in Nigeria**

Q15: Do you think that corruption is one of the key factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria? If yes, to what extent?

Q16: In addition to Question 15, what other factors that sustained human insecurity in Nigeria? (Do responses include political corruption, lack of political will, mono-cultural economic policy, political marginalization, inadequate infrastructure, human rights abuse, and n. If not probe further)

Q17: Do you agree that political marginalization of some ethnic nationalities in Nigeria has sustained internal insecurity? If you agree how?

Q18: To what extent has inadequate human security policy implementation sustained insecurity in Nigeria?

Q19: Would you agree that lack of political will to securitize poverty has sustained human insecurity in Nigeria?

### **Objective 4: Possible Strategies to Improve Human Security in Nigeria**

Q20: In your opinion, can there be any solution to human insecurity in Nigeria?

Q21: If yes to Question 20, does the Nigerian government has the capacity to address threats to human insecurity? (Do responses include; effective data base, poverty alleviation program, effective legislation, home-grown education policy, equal justice. If not probe further)

Q22: Do you think the above factors in Question 21, if implemented can alleviate human insecurity in Nigeria?

Q23: In your opinion, do you think effective internal security policy implementation can address human security challenges in Nigeria?

Q24: Is there any further suggestion, which you think can address human security threat to Nigeria?

Thank you for your co-operation and time!

**Hyginus Onyeaghala Uzomah**

APPENDIX F



You Write. **We Edit.** You Love it.

2 May 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: CONFIRMATION OF LANGUAGE EDITING SERVICES: HYGINUS ONYEAGHALA UZOMAH

I confirm that I have done language editing for Hyginus Onyeaghala Uzomah's thesis titled:

**THE NIGERIAN INTERNAL SECURITY POLICY: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE HUMAN SECURITY THREATS TO NIGERIA IN THE POST – MILITARY ERA (2006 – 2021)**

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Lynn N Sibanda Moyo". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Lynn N Sibanda Moyo

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