Internal Security Challenges and Sustainable Development of The Nigerian State

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Abstract: This study, which was aimed at examining sustainable development and Nigeria's internal security challenges rightly, observed that sustainable development has been a major source of concern within the Nigerian polity. Thus, one of the major objectives of the study is to examine the various sources of internal security challenges facing the Nigerian state. In line with the above aim, the study adopted the frustration aggression theory which posits that aggressive behavior stems from frustration towards the attainment of specific goals. The study adopted the qualitative method of data collection and analysis with emphasis on content analysis. The study discovered that there are indeed several sources of internal security challenges in Nigeria some of which include, Terrorism/insurgency, Farmers/herders crises, Banditry, Armed robbers amongst others. These, the study discovered have posed a lot of challenges that have overtime affected the growth and sustained development of the Nigerian state.

Keywords: Security, development, frustration, sustainability, political.

Introduction

Over the years, Nigeria has been experiencing problems of internal security. The challenge of internal security has continued to grow in contemporary times. As a matter of fact the different facets of internal security faced by the country have not only negatively affected the political stability of the Nigerian state; they have also made the realization of sustainable development in the country difficult.

This paper seeks to examine the problem of internal security in Nigeria. It highlights some salient sources of internal security in the country. It then proceeds to discuss the impact of internal security on efforts made by the Nigerian government to achieve sustainable development in the country.

Theoretical Framework

Frustration-Aggression Theory

There are a number of internal security theories that may be useful as an explanatory approach for the relationship between internal security and sustainable development. Amongst these are the securitization theory, the structural value theory, the relative deprivation theory, the Human needs theory and the frustration-aggression theory. With regard to this work, the study will adopt the frustration-aggression theory as the explanatory approach on which to anchor our analyses.

The theory posits that aggressive behaviour sterns from frustration of goals. Thus, according to this theory, all aggression has its origin and root causes in the frustration of one or more actors as a result of another actor's achievement of a goal. The theory was propounded by John Dollard and his colleagues in 1939 and holds that aggression is the sure consequence of frustration. While it is not always the case that frustration would lead to aggression, in the context of this study, it is plausible that frustration (economic, social and psychological) is a major factor in the rise of internal security challenges that are bedeviling many parts of the country. It is also within reason to argue that these challenges constitute a great hindrance to sustainable development. The frustration-aggression theory sheds light on the dynamics of stereotyping and prejudice which are all visibly prevalent among groups in both the Northern and Southern parts of the country and which constitute stumbling blocks to development.

Concept of Internal Security

Issues and challenges related to internal security has long been a major concern and attracted attention in various studies and countries (Habtamu, 2013). Internal security is very critical to the functions of the state (Eghefo and Salihu, 2014). According to Egbefo and Salihu (2014) and Ohi (2015), a society without security threat is a dead society because it is a well-known reality that human existence consists of struggles. The need to review literature on internal security' is hinged on the fact that security threats and challenges have constituted major issues in development of Nigeria. Its elastic effects are felt in every nook and cranny of the nation's society and economy. There is an alarming level of insecurity in Nigeria fueled by the increasedcrime rate and terrorists' attacks, armed banditry, kidnapping for ransom amongst others in different parts of the country, leaving unpalatable consequences for the nation's economy and its quest for developmental growth (Exvetan and Urhie. 2014: Ohi, 2015). Bassey 2011) and Nwaghoso (2018) noted that such internal threats and challenges distort the socio-political and economic balance of the nation.

Internal security' refers to the ability' to maintain the survival of the nation-state through the use of economic, military, political power and the exercise of diplomacy (Egbefo and Salihu, 2014). It could also he conceptualized as the freedom from or the absence of the ability which could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the society and the nation coupled with its ability' to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values, sociopolitical and economic objectives (Imohighe, 1990). It is also referred to as the totality of the equilibrium state of the State which must be maintained to enhance the responsibility of state performance without interruptions (Eghefo and Salihu, 2014). Furthermore, it also involves government coordination of all actions that would guarantee the maintenance of the equilibrium of the state whenever it is threatened by some disturbances or distractions (Iweze, 1990).

According to Nwaghoso (201 8), internal security implies the act of keeping peace within the borders of a sovereign state or other self-governing territories, especially by upholding the national law and defending against internal security threats. Examples of such internal security issues in Nigeria are militancy, piracy/sea robbery in the South-South, secessionist agitations in the South-East geo-political zone, Boko-Haram insurgency/terrorism, Fulani Herdsmen crises, kidnapping for ransom, armed banditry, and abductions/assassinations in the North-East, NorthCentral and North-West respectively. Additionally, cultism and armed robbery are prevalent in the South-West. These internal security challenges throw up a plethora of dilemmas whenviewed in the light of attaining sustainable development. Hence, internal security' is quite a significant aspect of national security and development (Eghefo and Salihu, 2014).

It is in this light therefore that it is opined that internal security crisis becomes unavoidable because its sources of existence are many and could originate from individual and group reactions to situations of scarce recourses, to division of function within particular society coupled with the differentiation of power and several resultant competition possibilities for scarce supplies of resources which cuts across goods, states, valued roles, among others (Eghefo and Salihu, 2014). However, Ewetan and Urhie (2014) and Ohi (2015) noted that security measures and efforts taken to address the daunting challenges of insecurity in Nigeria by the governments have not produced the desired positive results. According to Nwaghoso (2018), successive governments have exhibited lukewarm attitude in handling internal securitychallenges hence, this has led to the distortion of the transformation and structural development of the Nigerian economy. This has the propensity to stunt development in any form. It is also responsible for the continuous perennial crises in the socio-political and economic development of the nation thus, affecting the national economy negatively (Ohi, 2015; Nwaghoso, 2016).

Additionally, Ewetan and Urhie (2014) stated that the inability to handle the internal security issues and challenges has compelled the Nigerian government to request for foreign assistance from countries such as USA, Israel, and EU countries to combat the rising waves of terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria. Internal security issues are critical to a nation's existence and leaders ought to maintain it to ensure that it does not lose core values, life, property and liberty (Eghefo and Salihu. 2014; Ohi, 2015). This calls for the need to tackle the levels of insecurity in Nigeria to ensure sustainable development.

Conceptual Review

Concept of Sustainable Development

`The concept of sustainable development has attracted much attention as much as confusion, due to the fact that it can be approached from different perspectives and fields of study (Mensah & Casadevall, 2019). To Mensah & Casadevall (2019), the scope and definition of sustainable development keeps increasing because of the need to meet the ever-increasing population need with available resources. According to Klarin (2018), definition of the concept is based on the concepts of development, needs and future generations. The concept in this context refers to socio-economic development in line with ecological considerations. The concept of needs implies the redistribution of resources to ensure equal quality of life for everyone. The concept of future generation implies the possibility of long-term usage of resources in order to ensure that the future generations equally have access to necessary quality of life.

According to Dudley Seers (1969) cited on Strongface (2018), development is when a nation experiences a reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment, and only on this basis that sustainable socio-economic development can be attained. Nworgu (2006) identifies socio-economic development within the context of three elements which include: life sustenance, which involves the provision of basic needs-income, housing, food, etc., self-esteem, which entails respect and independence, and freedom which entails freedom from three evils: want, ignorance and squalor. On the other hand, Dudley (2012) conceived development as "the reduction and elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within a growing economy".

Sustainable development is directed towards achieving social progress, environmental equilibrium and economic growth (Gossling-Gidsmiths, 2018; Zhai and Chang, 2019). Ominu(2012) defined sustainable development as the development that is stable, endurable, and consistent and does not crumble in the face of formidable challenges. It also refers to the improvement of the living standards

of the population without distorting or destroying the earth's ecosystems or causing environmental challenges (Browning and Rigolon, 2019).

Mohieldin (2017) and Evers (2017) referred it to as an approach seeking to use available resources in a way that allows such resources to continue to exist for others and subsequent generations. According to Kiarin (2018), sustainable development could be perceived as providing a socio-economic system that could enable human needs, coupled with its long-term progress towards ensuring a better well-being and improvement of overall quality of life, putting into consideration the environmental constraints.

According to Klarin (2018), understanding sustainable development as a concept is derived from the balance among three pillars of sustainability which is known as the Triple bottom line concept". These include environmental sustainability; social sustainability and economic sustainability. Environmental sustainability focuses on the maintenance of quality of the environment which is necessary for the various economic activities and quality of life of people. Social sustainability ensures the preservation of human rights and equality, cultural identity, respect for cultural diversity, race and religion among the people. Economic sustainability involves the maintenance of the natural, social and human capital that are required for better income and living standards of the people.

Furthermore, Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2002); Gennari (2007); United Nations (2009); among others suggested that apart from the triple bottom concept, variables such as educational status, health wellbeing, social wellbeing, financial wellbeing, among others are good indicesofsustainable development. According to Kiarin (2018), the fundamental objective of sustainable development is to provide basic human needs such as home, food, water, clothing, among others to people equally towards improving the living standards, as well as achieving better life for humanity.

However, since not much was achieved with the Millennium Development goals (MDGs) especially in Africa (Blanchuield and Lawson, 2010; Easterly, 2010) which Nigeria is a part, achieving sustainable development through the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has attracted debate and fear especially among countries in Africa, Nigeria inclusive (Ighohor, 2015; Omisore, 2018). However, to be fully engrossed in the attainment of SDGs especially in Africa, there is a need to constantly investigate the level of sustainable development at intervals and alsothe major factors that could affect its achievement. Hitherto, there is scarcity of study directed to this effect in Nigeria-this is a gap this study seeks to fill considering the role that security plays in this regard.

The State and Sustainable Development

The responsibility of the State in attaining sustainable development cannot be overemphasized. Socio-economic welfare, among others, the State is continuously recognized as an important institution possessing important symbolism, and real authority' (French, 2002). To this end, we may pose the question, "what role should the State play in ensuring sustainability of development in any nation?" This could require the recognition of the changing nature of sovereignty which is shaped in terms of the functions of the State. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2015), reaffirms the key role of all levels of government and legislative bodies in promoting sustainable development at various local levels. Hence, the struggle for sustainable development should not end at the global level through the SDGs but further efforts to this end should be acknowledged and efforts put in place for the progress of SDGS at the national and sub-national levels.

To attain sustainable development, the state plays an important role in implementing and strengthening development (French. 2002; United Nations Department of Economic and Social

Affairs, 2015). For example, governments play key roles in achieving sustainable development which are encapsulated in the development goals and targets through setting and implementing related policy frameworks and standards, and regulating other challenges that could hamper the ability to achieve such development in the short and long run (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015). According to Aliyu (2011), this could also include strengthening the capacity of nation's security forces in terms of personnel, provision of funds and sophisticated equipment, deployment and rapid emergency response to such challenges which could include internal security challenges as referred to in this study.

According to French (2002) in the careful scrutinization of the actions of States to determine whether or not they are promoting sustainable development from a global perspective, it was discovered that the successful implementation and maintenance of sustainable development will require new levels of cooperation among the states, key sectors of the societies and the people. Hence, sovereignty should not be viewed as a static notion, but rather as a flexible tool through which states can more effectively act to ensure sustainable development in any nation. According to Baker and Eckerherg (2014), the central roles of the state in ensuring sustainable development are the transformation of public policymaking to include: multi-level governance, networks and public-private partnerships, participation and market-based instruments.

This made French (2002) to define sustainable development as development that is relying on the organizational ability of the State to manage, change and to promote a particular vision of public policy. This also made Baker and Eckerherg (2014) to affirm that the main function of the state is to act as coordinator between different interest groups on the one hand, and to act as stimulator for initiating new policy initiatives towards ensuring sustainable development on the other hand. To this end, the state both initiates and co-ordinates policy networks and also retains a great amount of power which is exerted on the nature and functioning of the different forms of governance.

The role of the State in ensuring sustainable development has yielded several controversies which are central to scholarly and development debates (French, 2002). The justification of reviewing literature with focus of the role of the state in ensuring sustainable development is hinged on the premise that no system left on its own, without the appropriate institutional direction and intervention, can sufficiently achieve public or societal development goals and objectives. Neither can the State be able to provide a sustainable future through a general edictand regulation. Hence, sustainable development requires a much more collaborative approach among the states' actors if sustainable development is to be fully attained and enjoyed in the society.

Hence, the State plays the part of mediators between the economy and society by correcting the negative consequences and anomalies that tend to threaten the development of the society towards ensuring sustainability of development. In Nigeria, sustainable development seems to have been more talk than action. Successive governments in Nigeria seem to have adequately tackled the issues about sustainable development on papers than in real life despite the abundant resources at their deposal.

Sources of Internal Security Challenges in Nigeria

There are indeed several sources of internal security challenges in Nigeria. These challenges have overtime affected the growth and development of the Nigerian State. These challengesinclude but not limited to;

1. Terrorism/Insurgency

Most acts of terrorism and insurgency are located in the North eastern part of the country. Nigeria has been at the receiving end of Boko Haram and ISWAP atrocious attacks since 2009. The Islamic group is insisting on establishing an Islamic state in the north eastern part of Nigeria, particularly in states like Bornu, Yobe, Gombe, etc., through a violent overthrow of the present secular government in Nigeria. According to Umor (2020), between February 2012 and March 2016, l3oko Haram and ISWAP offensive have led to the deaths of over 18,821 persons, including male, female and children. The United Nation's refugees agency (UNHCR), reported in 2019 that Boko Haram insurgency has displaced nearly 2.4 million people in the Lake Chad basin, rendering them homeless, while subjecting them to grave violations of human rights, forced recruitment, sexual violence and other gender based atrocities.

2. Farmers and herders Crises

There have been recurrent scenarios of farmers and herders clashes in Nigeria, which has assumed a worrisome dimension of recent. The incessant herdsmen attacks and killings is a key internal security concern in Nigeria. According to Egbas (2018), from 1996 to 2006, about 121people lost their lives in Bauchi and Gombe states as a result of conflict between herdsmen and farmers. Many communities in the north central and south-eastern states have recently faced several attacks perpetrated by Fulani herdsmen. Alexander (2019) and Ugwa (2020) reported that since January 2016 about 10 Agatu communities in Benue state suffered unprecedented hardship in the hands of men suspected to be Fulani herdsmen.

About 500 Agatu villages in Abia state, in the communities of Uzuakoli in Bende local government area, Ebens and Akanu in Ohafia and Umuchuze in Umunneochi have frequently reported cases of deadly clashes between rural farmers and cattle breeders. The endless fighting is said to be over depleting lands and water resources in the north. The farmers insist that the cattle breeders are destroying their farms and livelihood, and feel helpless that their state governments seem powerless to come to their aid. If meaningful sustainable economic development is to be achieved in the country then there is need to address farmers and herdsmen conflicts in Nigeria.

3. Banditry

Banditry is another rapidly growing internal security challenge in Nigeria. The menace is particularly witnessed in Northwest states of Nigeria, like Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina, Niger, Kaduna and Kebbi states. The activities of bandits include; kidnapping, murder, robbery, rape, cattle-rustling and the like. They maim and kill their victims when they least expect. According to Ugwu (2019), through criminal activities of bandits, over 1,100 people were killed in 2018 in six states of North West Nigeria. Over 2200 were murdered in 2019, and 1,600 killed between January and June 2020. About 247,000 people have been displaced, producing over 41,000 refugees. In Zamfara alone, according to Ugwu (2020), 800 people have been killed, within the last 10 years, 200,000 displaced internally. The Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammadu Sa'ad Abubakar lamented in Alexander (2019) that:

"Bandits now move from house to house in the North carrying AK47, and wept that the region had become the worst place to live in Nigeria".

In Sokoto state, more than 250 people have been killed in about 20 attacks, just to mention a few.Thus, banditry is one of the fastest growing internal security problems in Nigeria.

4. Armed Robbery Attacks/ High-Way Robberies

There is no doubt that armed robbery and high way robbery incidents are growing in Nigeria and they represent one important source of internal security challenge in Nigeria. It is however not a new phenomenon in Nigeria. Armed robbery and highway robbery in Nigeria according to Rotimi in the Journal of Indian Criminology (1984), is one of the oldest security challenges in Nigeria. However, with the advancement in technology and sophisticated weaponry, armed robbery appears to have taken a more dangerous turn. International criminal statistics show approximately 900-percent increase in armed robbery and high way robberies in Nigeria.

P.E. Arinze in the Journal of research in National Development (2010), observed that while the evil act has caused the death of over 20,000 Nigerians since 1999, there seems to be no relationship between unemployment rate (UER), and the even increasing incidence of armed robbery attacks in Nigeria. Ake (1985) seems not to agree with Arinze that armed robbery and crime has nothing to do with joblessness in Nigeria, according him, all crime is caused by the political economic state of the country, the high unemployment rate and inequality.

5. Kidnapping for ransom.

This is one of the most gruesome and ruthless violation of human rights. Kidnapping for a ransom has become an alarming security challenge in Nigeria. From the Chibok incidence of 2014 where over 270 students, mostly females were abducted by Boko Haram terrorist groupsfrom a school in Northeast Nigeria, abductions have become more indiscriminate across northern Nigeria, and even in the south, as local criminal gangs view victims as a source of income, and villagers who have been abandoned by the government seem disposable. One of the incidences took place in Bethel Baptist High School Kaduna in May 2019, where 140 students from the boarding school were abducted.

The assailants opened fire and overpowered security guards. According to the WANEP's National Early warning system, over 3,312 people (including 373 females and 574 children) were kidnapped between January and December 2020 across the 36 states and Abuja. This rise in kidnapping for economic and ideological reasons by various criminal groups including suspected armed bandits, militants, pirates and terrorist groups (Boko Haram and ISWAP), among others remain a critical internal security concern in Nigeria.

6. Secessionism/Ethnic Agitations

The spate of separatist agitations in Nigeria has increased, while violent demonstrations and its attendant crackdown by security personnel have led to the deaths of many citizens in Nigeria. This phenomenon is mainly domiciled in the south-west and south-eastern parts of the country. Prominent among these is the Indigenous peoples of Biafra (IPOB) led by Nnamdi Kanu, and Oduduwa Republic, led of recent by Sunday Igboho. Agitations around Brafia and Oduduwa Republic according to Adibe (2017) seemed to have drowned other separatist agitations, giving the wrong impression that Biafra and Oduduwa are the only separatist threats in the country. He noted that the truth is that there are separatist agitations in virtually every area in the country - underlying the fact that the foundation of Nigeria's nationhood remains on shaky ground.

Among the Yoruba for instance, echoes of separatism come in different forms - from a direct call for Oduduwa Republic to those championing a Sovereign National Conference to decide if the federating units of the country still want to continue to live together, and if so, under whatarrangements. In the north, there are intermittent demands for Arewa Republic, even though many believe that the north has been the greatest beneficiary of the present arrangement of Nigeria. Our concern here is the number of lives and businesses lost during the protests and demonstrations in favor of secessionism.

Impact of Internal Security Challenges on Nigeria's Sustainable Development

Below are some of the implications of internal security challenges on the socio-economic development of the Nigerian state:

1. Disruption of Economic Activities

To begin with, all the factors that lead to sustainable economic development in a nation do not exist in different boxes, but are intertwined in such a way that disruption or failure in one of them can create collateral damage or disruptions in the other areas. This inference is necessary if we are to appreciate the fact that the internal security challenges of a nation, for instance, can have collateral impact on every other development index. In this way, sustainable socioeconomic development in Nigeria is intricately linked to its national security. This view was articulated by Omole (2020).

With pervasive security challenges comes attendant massive internal displacement of people, abandonment of local businesses and the crippling of economic activities in many parts of Nigeria, particularly in the North-eastern states of the country. Over the last decade, this has been the situation in Nigeria due to violent Boko Haram insurgency, armed banditry and terrorism. This has affected agricultural production in Benue and a number of other states in central Nigeria.

According to Omole (2020), this situation has led to disruptions of economic activities of many people who used to be independent, turning them to internally displaced persons and refugees in their own country, while preventing them from contributing economically to the development of the country. Job loses as we saw earlier in the study, is an important component of the securitychallenges facing the country.

2. Decimation of Investors' Confidence

Protracted security challenges as has been the case of recent in Nigeria, could depress and deflate investors' confidence, drive away most of them or prevent them from investing in some parts of the country, which in turn would reduce both local and foreign investments flow into the country, particularly states of the north-eastern parts of the country. Omole argues that not only does security challenges affect people's demographic concentration; it also affects businesses and consumption, because it creates uncertainties, which leads to hesitant or no investment decisions, thus affecting economic output, which is a major factor in the slow growth environment in Nigeria.

According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), FDI flows into Nigeria averaged $5.3 billion annually from 2005-2007. However, UNCTAD data shows FDI to Nigeria averaged $3.3 billion from 2015-2019, a period that has been marked by heightened and widespread insecurity in the country. Insecurity is making the country unattractive for foreign direct investment which is a great source of job creation and socioeconomic development. He wrote that:

According to UNCTAD, the 71 percent surge in FDI last year was due to "resource seeking inflows in the oil and gas sector, we see a reversal due to heightened insecurity in the country.

3. Increase Defense and Security Spending Over Other Sectors

While responding to the increasing internal security problems in the country, the government has been allocating hundreds of billions of naira to defense and security related expenditure. This large chunk of money could have been used elsewhere in the economy, especially in education and the health sectors.The domestic economic impact of this exorbitant defense and security expenditure is further devalued as long as it is mostly foreign procurement based. This is negatively affecting the

country's sustainable development goals as more resources are expended on defense related expenditure rather than on infrastructural or socio-economic development.

4. Increased Rural Urban Migration

Insecurity is more intolerable in the rural areas where security presence is almost absent. Urban areas appear to be safer, and it seems the military and the police are more concentrated there. This has occasioned displacements around the country, and rural-urban migration. Many rural dwellers lament that the government does not seem to care about them; one writer reported witnessing an incident that happened in a certain village in Bornu state on the 17th of April 2019. The inhabitants of the village were attacked by gunmen in the very early hours of the day when it was still too early for the people to offer any resistance, and since there was no military base until some eight villages away, the assailants had total control and fulfilled their evil mission, many people were killed and many women were raped. This incident led to the total abandonment of that community, because there was an exodus of people out of that village. This has inevitably led to the creation of ungovernable spaces with zero government presence and an abundance ofjihadists and so-called bandits.

5. Decline in Productivity

Continued insecurity and government's inability to bring an end to it is already leading to decline in productivity. Omole (2020) argues that it is leading to the feeling of helplessness and hopelessness among citizens. This state of affairs is affecting productivity. For example, with rampant kidnappings on major high ways in some parts of the country, many roads have become no-go areas in the country. The inability of citizens to travel freely for their various businesses can reduce productivity of those affected.The recurrent circle of insecurity in Nigeria has diminished public confidence in the government, making many not to key into government plans and policies and opportunities in business and agriculture.

Conclusion

The problem of internal security crisis cannot be properly understood nor decoded, unless the analysis and the interpretation of the underlying causes, types, effects and solution are premised on the contemporary global financial and economic crisis. The under currents of the inter connectedness between the contemporary nation states pose a fundamental challenge to the issues of internal security, conflict management and development especially in developing third world countries.

In contemporary times, it has become extremely difficult to divorce internal security from external pressures. Indeed, internal security is symbiotically linked with global politics and its other dynamics. For example, while the revolution in information technology has impacted positively on the global economy, it has also radicalized the perceptions of the victims of globalpolitics on the issues of justice, poverty, ethnicity and inequalities arising from the contradiction of western imperialism. It has reawakened the minds of the oppressed to seek for justice and equity outside the framework of the nation state. The 'Arab Spring' of Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, South Sudan etc., readily comes to mind. In the same vein, the struggle for the control of scarce economic resources has resulted in proxy wars which are termed internal security challenges in the countries that they occur.

In conclusion, the level of internal security challenges in Nigeria is high, the use of the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Police force, the NSCDC, have been the major responses used by the government in addressing insecurity in the country which is apparently no longer effective. The use of force has been the usual and traditional response, and in the light of increase in internal security challenges in the country, this strategy has been proven to be deficient. There is a significant relationship between

internal security challenges and sustainable development in Nigeria; hence, there is urgent need to rejig and address the lingering menaces of insecurity inthe country in order to foster sustainable development.

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