

Security Challenges and National Development in Nigeria: A Study of Boko Haram

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Abstract

Insecurity is a major challenge facing Nigeria today. Significant attention has not been given on how security challenges affect national development in Nigeria. No wonder since the country returned to democratic rule insecurity has slowed down national development. But for reasonable development to be achieved and sustained there should be security. Although Nigeria is blessed with abundant resources, security challenges in the country have created security situation that instigate violence and hinders development. Qualitative analysis was used to examine security challenges created by Boko Haram and the extent the insurgency has shaped development in Nigeria. This paper therefore, examines the security challenges caused by the Boko Haram uprising on the development of Nigeria. It concludes that Boko Haram aggression has severe effects on national development in Nigeria especially in the North East which reduced the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment. The study recommends that for insurgency to come to an end the Nigerian government should address its root causes, by fighting corruption, and providing employment to eradicate poverty and enhancing security.

Introduction

Nigeria is daily, becoming more and more insecure for its citizens. More people are not only getting involved in crimes but such crimes are getting more ruthless, sophisticated and desperate. Since the dawn of the present democratic dispensation, there have been new forms of violent crimes which include: kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalization, political violence, terrorism and more recently, the Fulani herdsmen killings among others (Otto and Ukpere, 2012). Security issues are very important for the development of any nation. This is so because

sustainable development is a function of an enabling environment. Hutchful, (2002), cited in Adebayo, (2014) posits that the survival of any society is the law and order which are predicated on national security. It is worthy to note here that every country in the globe has its own problems and challenges and Nigeria is not left out. As a developing country she faces her own economic, cultural, political, and social problems which have affected its citizens Adebayo, (2014).

Nigeria with a population of about 200 million ADB, (2012) happens to be Africa's largest country when viewed in demographic size; second largest economy after South Africa ADB, (2012) and the largest oil producer on the African continent. She is blessed with gas, mineral resources, and petroleum ADB, (2012). It has agricultural potentials, though the country is still an importer of food. This resource which ought to serve as a blessing to the people has now become a problem to the nation. One of the major challenges presently faced by Nigeria is the high level of unemployment which has pushed citizens' especially the youths into all sorts of crimes particularly joining Boko Haram.

Addressing security issues is significant in order to execute successful development projects hence the need for this paper. It is the duty of government all over the globe to protect the populace from social insecurity, structural violence and crime. Without the security of the citizens development plans, be it social, political or economic will not succeed Adebayo, (2014).

The emergence of Boko Haram brought about series of bombings which also include hostage taking of innocent citizens. The United Nations building was not left out in these bombings Awojobi, (2014). The continued activities of insurgency have led to low inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Therefore, crime is a threat to the economic, political, and social security of a nation and a major factor associated with underdevelopment; because it discourages both local and foreign investments, reduces the quality of life, destroys human and social capital, damages relationships between citizens and the state, thus undermines democracy, rule of law and the ability of the country to promote development Adebayo, (2013). However, Boko Haram has created wide spread insecurity in Northern Nigeria, interrupted development activities, scared off investors, and generated concerns among Nigeria's neighbours. This study will examine how security

challenges affect national development. Relying essentially on secondary sources.

From journal articles, textbooks, Internet and unpublished project. This paper is structured into four sections beginning with the introduction. Section two is the conceptual framework of the subject. Section three discusses the effects of security challenges (Boko Haram) on national development while section four concludes and gives recommendations.

Conceptual Framework

i) The Concept of Security: Security in Nigeria and its Challenges

Security as a concept has been a subject of debate over the century. Although, in the history of human existence there have been search for best way of ensuring the security of people, their properties, territories, states and institutions among others. Security just like other concept has no particular definition. It's on this note that various opinions by scholars on security will be examined.

Ighomereho, Achumba and Akpor-Robaro (2013), security is stability and continuity of income, being safe from crime, and freedom from psychological harm. This could also mean protection from emotional stress, knowing that an individual is wanted, loved protected in his/her community or society and by people who live within the same community.

Adebayo, (2011) cited in Iregbenu and Uzonwanne, (2015), argued that security can be seen as a measure that ensures peaceful co-existence and development at large. From Adebayo's point of view, when there is security, fear, anxiety, tension, and apprehension over the loss of properties, life, goals, values are absent. Nwanegbo and Odigbo, (2013), see security as an avenue for development of a state, and that where security is not present development will be difficult to achieve. Brooks, (2010), further stated that security means defence of a state, through the use of its armed forces to control its citizens. Security for Brooks may also mean public policing, with state employed public servants. Others may see security as crime prevention, security technology and risk management or loss prevention. Buzan, (1991), views security as freedom

from threat and the state's ability to maintain their independent identity. Buzan point is that security is survival, but also includes conditions for existence by a society or nation.

Igbuzor, (2011), opined that security is a situation where every citizen in a country can go about their day to day activities without fear or any form of threat to lives and belongings. For Igbuzor any act of this, is a challenge to security. In Nigeria citizens are scared of moving freely as a result of the present state of insecurity in the country especially in the northern part of Nigeria.

Iregbenu and Uzonwanne, (2015), noted that security is a vital aspect of business in Nigeria. Their study was of the opinion that crime and insecurity affects business negatively. It also argued that security influences business and investment decisions and that vital importance be given about security threat in business environment. Businesses are shutting down due to the state of security.

Nigeria has in recent times experienced an exceptional level of insecurity. Almost all the regions if not all are faced with insecurity. We have in the South, militant's groups, violence between farmers and nomadic herders who are taking lives and raping innocent women and young girls and in the North East we have Boko Haram insurgency and so on Obi, (2015). Security in Nigeria in all facets affects the lives of Nigerians and its overall development as a nation. The present security dilemma has become a serious challenge and has made government to place more priority on restoring security to the nation other than on development.

The country presently, is in dire need of infrastructural development, unemployment and other necessities of life. But what is obtainable is the loss of human lives almost on a daily basis as a result of its security challenges. For any nation to experience development, security must exist Iregbenu and Uzonwanne, (2015). However, the sect is still active as there was a recent attack by Boko Haram in Borno state which resulted in the killings of dozens in a three days follow up attacks and burning down about forty (40) houses, and killings of military men Aljazeera, (2018), these attacks have overall effect on security in Nigeria.

ii) The Concept of National Development and the State of National Development in Nigeria

The concept of national development is multi-dimensional in various ways. However, Odunola and Kolade, (2012), see national development as sustainable growth and development of a nation to a more desired one. For them national development should be based on the citizens and its success is accessed on the effect it has on improving the lives of the people.

In giving a definition of the concept, FGN, (1980), cited in Odoh and Innocent, (2014), states that:

True development must mean the development of man, the unfolding and realization of his potentials, enabling him to improve his material conditions of living through the use of resources available to him. It is a process by which man's personality is enhanced; this is the moving force behind the socio-economic transformation of any society (Odoh and Innocent, 2014: 170).

In the view of Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011) national development is the overall development, socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country. This can be achieved through planning by various leadership of a country. This concept on national development if critically compared to the present state of Nigeria's development will show that the country is lagging behind. The current state of Nigeria's national development is very alarming.

One of the features of a nation that is not developed is its unequal foreign exchange rate, inflation. These are the present features of Nigeria state, which have hindered its national development. Nigeria's persistent dependency on importation, poor roads, high rate of youth unemployment, epileptic power supply and, low standard of its educational sector leading to brain drain, political immaturity, lust for power and intolerance Obi, (2015). For instance, the Ajaokuta Steel Company in Kogi state, and Delta Steel Company among other production companies in the country are projects that have been neglected by various government which if put to good use will not only put Nigeria on the path of development but will create thousands of jobs

for unemployed youths. These however, are some of the reasons for the current security dilemma in the country, where Boko Haram recruits unemployed youths into its group to carry out suicide attacks.

Various administrations in Nigeria since Independence have at one point or the other adopted national development plans. Some of these plans failed to achieve their desired goals because there were no consultations with the masses, planning is supposed to also involve those in the rural areas. Where there are also no good governance national development plans will fail Lawal and Oluwatoyin, (2011). Most Nigerian leaders have no commitment to development. Some of the plans made by leaders to achieve development are the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the 1980s, the National Economic Empowerment and Development (NEEDS) and the National Transformation Agenda and Seven Point Agenda among others Joseph, (2014). Despite these development plans the state of national development is nothing to write home about and this is partly as a result of the security challenges which have rendered the efforts of government overtime irrelevant.

The present day Nigeria is battling with various security challenges which have affected the national development efforts. Corruption and government neglect of some major projects that will put the country back on track are also challenges to national development. It's on the above note that the evolution and the impacts of security challenges caused by the Boko Haram insurgency on national development will be examined.

iii) Historical Evolution of Boko Haram in Nigeria

North-Eastern Nigeria is a region that is dominated by Muslims and has a very much detailed past of Islamic fundamentalism going back to the exceptionally effective Jihad of 'Uthman Dan Fodio between 1754 to 1817 Hickey, (1984: 251). Usman Dan Fodio began a holy war against what he saw as the unrepentant degenerated and Hausa administering leading class who renounced Islam at the time. He accepted the Sharia represented Caliphate of Sokoto one of the prevalent and greatest, in the African continent and most of Northern Nigeria, though it is significant to know that most of the zone now identified as the Middle Belt or North Central State opposed the Jihad Marchal, (2012: 2), Agbiboa, (2013c). The movement that started as a hunt for religious exploration

turned into a hunt for political empire Crowder, (1978; ICG 2010), the consequence being that 'Islam has continued to be the central veneer for the legality of the Northern decision-making class', 'it's government officials have dependably considered themselves to be warriors for the resistance of the belief' Udoidem, (1997:156).

A few writers have noted that the subjugation by the British in 1903, and its continuous relationship with colonial and post-colonial nations, made it vulnerable to the contaminating impact of unholy political control Agbiboa, (2013b). From that point onward, 'the region's Muslims have always opposed ideas from the West' Marchal, (2012: 2). For instance, the initial two decades after the country's autonomy in October 1960, there were violent attacks between the Nigeria Police Force and a radical Islamic sect known as Maitatsine in Kano in October 1980 and Maiduguri in December 1980. Hickey, (1984: 251), asserts that the Maitatsine revolutions had their foundations in the 'profoundly preservationist routine of Islam', that has prevailed in the area since the Jihad of Dan Fodio. Marwa Muhammed who is also known as the one, who curse, Maitatsine, was an intellectual in the doctrine of Islam who relocated from a city in Cameroon in 1945 to a town in Kano. Marwa recognized that Islam had gone under the contaminating impact of Westernization and the creation of the contemporary state Agbiboa, (2013d). Toyin Falola (1998: 146) as cited in Agbiboa, (2013d: 68): described Muhammed thus:

He was a Quranic educator and minister. Commanding, convincing, and alluring, he defied numerous mainstream sentiments among Kano Islamic circles, condemning certain parts of the Quran and notwithstanding condemning Prophet Mohammed... He was against most parts of modernization and to all Western impact. He criticized such innovation like radios, wristwatches, bikes, and even vehicles. For him the individuals who utilize this equipment or who read books other than the Quran were seen as 'pagans'.

The uprising by the Maitatsine brought about eleven days of fierce oppositions with state security forces in December 1980 in Kano state. The federal government set up a tribunal in 1981 to investigate the conflict. The tribunal found out that four thousand one hundred and seventy-seven persons lost their lives in the violence. This figure does not include members of the police force who also died in the clash. Even

though the government of Nigeria used its armed forces to suppress the Maitatsine revolts and killed the leader, over hundred persons lost their lives in retaliation assaults among the Maitatsine members who were left and state armed forces over the next five years Agbiboa, (2013c).

From the time Nigeria gained political leadership in 1960 power has moved from the Muslim North to the Christian South. The Iranian revolt in 1979 brought about developing interest for Sharia law to be embraced all over Nigeria Agbiboa, (2013c). What's more, Saudi-supported preachers from Pakistan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, and different nations were sent to Nigeria to advance Wahhabi tenet and universality starting in the 1990s. This assistance led to the implementation of Sharia law in twelve Northern states somewhere around 1999 and 2001, with Zamfara state taking the lead. Agbiboa, (2013b: 68).

The historical emergence of conflict in Northern Nigeria enlightens us about turning Nigeria into an Islamic State and fighting against Westernization, which the previous Jihadist of the 19th century stood for. Boko Haram, used to be known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad, began in 2001, and controlled by Mohammed Yusuf, Yusuf, the leader, a Nigerian lived most of his life in Chad and the republics of Niger studying before he came to Nigeria. For eight years the group's movement has been without violence, Yusuf had close to two hundred and eighty thousand followers Benjamin, (2012). This organization controlled by Yusuf is what is known as Boko Haram today.

July 2009 saw the rough radicalism of the organization. This was when followers of Boko Haram took part in an uprising against another law obliging motorcyclists to wear caps. Amid this uprising, state security forces captured Boko Haram followers including Yusuf. Before the day ended, Yusuf and other Boko Haram entities were killed by security forces. The uprising and its fierce determination are accredited with the expansion of extremism all over Nigeria. Boko Haram's beliefs are being aggressively hostile to Western principles, as clarified by their name, which generally means "Western culture or education is forbidden or sinful" Benjamin, (2012). This philosophy is underlined by radicalism embraced from Islam in Al-Qaeda as a result of the association among the two assemblies. It is significant to know that the insurgency in Nigeria is against the present Nigerian state, which is established on

basically Western ideas and secular state because of previous British colonialism. The radical gathering advances Sharia law as another option to the present state, asserting it would end administrative corruption and in addition better advance the necessities of the general population Benjamin, (2012). While direct Sharia law has been authorized in a few sections of the North, the terrorist made efforts to remove common laws and introduce Sharia courts in the country. This objective requires the removal of the state at all sectors of government, making terrorists a danger to national security.

The leader Yusuf got its members from youths who are unemployed, and were already fed-up with the country. Yusuf while he was alive took advantage of the corrupt system of government at all levels, unemployment, poverty and insecurity. While Yusuf was stating such failures, he was reciting verses from the Quran. The youths believed Yusuf the messiah who will take them to the promised land Carson, (2012). In health, children in the north are likely four times to be malnourished. The mortality of children is over two hundred deaths per one thousand live births, leading to lower life expectancy. The education system is very bad and literacy in the north is thirty-five percent as against seventy-seven in the rest of the country. Seventy-seven percent of women in the far north have no formal education, when compared to seventeen percent in the rest of the country. In the north youth unemployment is very high while its primary school attendance is only forty-one percent Carson, (2012). All of these contribute to unemployment and widening poverty Cook, (2011). Abdulkarim Mohammed stated that violent attacks in Nigeria are due to “the fallout of frustration with corruption and the attendant social dissatisfaction of poverty and joblessness” Carson, (2012).

Effects of Security Challenges on National Development

The investigation of the effects of Boko Haram on Nigeria’s national development is appropriate for different reasons. The economy of Nigeria, a nation with more than 170 million people, needs order, regional security and peace, in Africa; countries like Chad, Cameroon, Benin, Niger are reliant on the economy of Nigeria; Within Africa, Nigeria is too huge to fail, as its disappointment will mean suffering for large numbers of individuals and prevent progress and development that

has been made in that region over the previous decades Gillespie, (2014). The actions of Boko Haram have affected the national development significantly since the group began their attacks in the country. Boko Haram, the aggressive Islamist group, has made a joke of security and harmony in Nigeria and its troubles to security his well-known Gillespie, (2014). In fact, all that has been written on Boko Haram in academic Journal address its damaging consequences from a political perception. In this regard, the work of Agbiboa, (2013b), Cook, (2011), Carson, (2012), and Udoidem, (1997), will suffice. More often than not, these accounts fail to highlight that apart from the loss of possession and lives, the actions of Boko Haram constitute a threat to national development Gillespie, (2014).

Although, since the election of Buhari into office in 2015, the activities of Boko Haram have been curtailed, Aljazeera, (2018) although the sect is still very active as seen in their recent attacks in Borno state killing dozens of citizens including military men and burning of about forty homes Aljazeera, (2018). It's on this note that the effects of Boko Haram on national development will be examined.

The activities of Boko Haram insurgency have discouraged Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria. The US has advised its citizens not to do business with Nigeria which is not very good for a country like Nigeria that is still underdeveloped Awortu, (2015). However, with the activities of Boko Haram and other security issues faced in the country this is likely not achievable. Boko Haram attacks have paralyzed government institutions and have created an environment of suspicion and distrust among the political class which is not good for its democracy. It has also hindered government from fulfilling its developmental promises in the North-East Awortu, (2015).

Beyond the tragic loss of lives, terrorism has created a climate of insecurity with devastating economic impact on Nigeria. It was estimated in 2013 that the activities of Boko Haram cost the country 28.48 billion dollars. This has also affected the performance of Nigeria in global competitive index in recent times Onuoha, Ichite and George, (2015).

Education is a panacea for national development all over the globe. There is no society that does not give adequate attention to her educational growth and development. Boko Haram insurgency has been an obstacle to educational development in Nigeria particularly in the

North East. One of the reasons for the attacks on education is the fact that Boko Haram considers western education a sin. In Borno State for instance, 882 classrooms have been destroyed as at 2013 while in Yobe, Adamawa thousands of schools have relocated Awortu, (2015). Nigeria has been struggling with educational infrastructure and qualitative manpower to improve its educational standard and insurgency has compounded its challenges by attacks on schools, hostage taking of school children, killing of teachers and students. This will further increase the rate of uneducated people; for it is education that brings development. Boko Haram will in the near future create a generation of unemployed youths in the north so that they consistently have school dropouts and illiterates to recruit as suicide bombers and fighters Awortu, (2015).

Besides, monetary and economic effects associated with insurgency, there is also the psychological cost. Terrorist's activities erode trust between communities and destroy the reservoir of social capital that is very important to building pleasant societies and bringing together community efforts for national development. The proliferation of light weapons and the militarization of society results in a vicious cycle of violence which hinders national cohesion and stability. The long term impact of violence on towns and regions is best seen in Kaduna and Jos. Kaduna used to be one of the most flourishing cities in Nigeria. In various ways it was the industrial hub of the North, a city with various textile firms and prosperous trading companies. As of today Kaduna is tragically divided between Muslim North and Christian South Adebayo, (2014). Most of the companies that deals on textiles have been shut down and most investors have folded up.

According to Kalu, (2012), the ongoing insurgency has had negative effect on the economy of the north. Indian and Lebanese expatriates who had businesses in Kano have relocated to Abuja and the South. While most of them have left the country, hotels, banks and other business sectors have witnessed important reductions in their activities. Countries who share borders with Nigeria have also been affected because of restrictions on cross-border traffic. An estimate of 126 industries have shut down in Kano state alone Kalu, (2012).

Nigeria's quest for industrialization over the years has suffered setbacks as a result of its security challenges. Nigeria has suffered

setbacks as a result of the attacks of Boko Haram. Global media such as CNN, BBC, quickly put Boko Haram attacks on news headlines at every given opportunity. Although, the sect's activities are basically carried out in the North, the whole of Nigeria suffers the global consequences because those outside the country believe that the insurgency is all over the country, thus, making investors not to come to Nigeria Awojobi, (2014). When media houses like the CNN broadcast the bombings in the North they make the world believe that the whole of Nigeria is on fire hence, putting fears in the mind of investors.

The activities of Boko Haram are also worrisome to manufactures in Nigeria. Goods produced by manufacturers are no longer sold out as before the emergence of terrorism. This has made them to produce below capacity and the consequence is reduced earnings for the manufacturing firms. This however, would affect the profit and in the financial year, the companies in the stock market, will not be able to declare dividends. When this continues the work force would be threatened with attendant labour agitations Adebayo, (2014). It's on record that between 2015 and 2018 thousands of Nigeria's have lost their jobs, the above reason is not farfetched from the cause as insecurity which can affect every sector of a country. For the company to exist they would have to let go of some workers and if the loss continues, they will shut down operations completely.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The above findings show that Nigeria is faced with different security challenges, ranging from Boko Haram insurgency in the North, herdsmen killings, Niger Delta militants among other security challenges. Based on the findings of this paper, it is obvious that security challenges in the country have negative effect on Nigeria's national development. Insurgency in particular has made investors both within and outside Nigeria to change their investment destinations as a result of security challenges, thereby making the rate of unemployment in the country high and foreign Direct Investments low. This has moved the country further away from the path of development.

However, it is evident that despite her enormous resources; national development remains elusive as a result of Boko Haram and

general insecurity. It is on this note this paper will give the following recommendations:

The Nigerian government should endeavour to build viable institutions that respond actively to security challenges by enhancing security efforts with weapons to combat terrorism.

The fight against corruption should be followed strictly and laws that will make it possible for anyone caught on corruption charges to go to jail and forfeit all its properties.

The root cause of insecurity should be addressed. Nigerian government should deliver quality governance to the citizens and create institutional framework that will ensure effective management of resources to improve the lives of the people.

Government should pay more attention on poverty alleviation which includes creation of jobs and welfare packages. When the youths have something doing Boko Haram will not be able to convince them to become suicide bombers.

Government as a matter of urgency should give more allocations to education especially in the North. When youths are educated they will be able to stand their grounds to know what is good and wrong and not easily deceived by religious believes.

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