INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA; NATIONAL SECURITY, INTEGRATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS

Samuel Olugbenga Ojo

Department of Peace & Conflict Studies,
Faculty of Social Sciences
Federal University Oye-Ekiti (fuoye), Oye-Ekiti. Ekiti State. Nigeria
Email: pastorolugbengaojo@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Nigeria is a multiethnic society, with peculiar sociopolitical characteristics, bordering on national integration which affects the collective interest of any nation. Incidents in the past have shown that to unite the people, create a stable cultural, economic, political, and social community are prerequisites for sustainable development. Sustainable development is especially difficult when peace and security are threatened by acts of insurgency and other national security infractions. Insurgency creates acts of brutality, savagery, wanton destruction, callousness, insecurity and underdevelopment. This study therefore evaluates, the implications of insurgency, national security, integration on sustainable development in Nigeria. In addition to using a combination of frustration-aggression and cognitive dissonance theories, the study adopted analytical and thematic approaches as its methodology. Diverse secondary sources such as books, journal articles, newspapers, magazines and internet sources were used. Data obtained from secondary sources formed the bulk of this research's tool of assessment. Finally, the paper proffers solution by way of recommendations on how to mitigate insurgency, strengthen national security, improve on national cohesion and integration and facilitate sustainable development.

Keywords: Insurgency, National Integration, Sustainable Development, National Security Architecture., Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is, one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world with well over 400 ethno-linguistic groups, some of which are bigger than many independent states of contemporary Africa. As recalled by Onwujeogwu (1995), at the beginning of the 1960s, there were over 3,000 ethnic groups (tribes) in the world, about 1,000 were represented

in the geographical space called Africa and about 445 were represented in the geo-political space called Nigeria.

Nigeria is therefore a nation, under a precarious constitutional arrangement, because of its complex ethnic composition. This was brought to bear on the country by a colonial past. This unimpressive constitutional arrangement has caused unrelenting stress on the polity and unity of the nation. More importantly, it has created a lopsided socioeconomic and political situation that is positively skewed to the advantage of a section of the country. The concomitant is a rise in nationalist agitations and self-determination struggles, which in most cases transformed into insurgencies, criminality and national insecurity. In that wise, "Nigeria has a unique problem not experienced by any state in the world past or present. The pressing problem therefore, is that of achieving solidarity in action and purpose in the midst of hundreds of ethnic nationalities each exerting both centrifugal and centripetal forces on the central issue of the nation, bound in freedom, peace and unity where justice reigns (Ojo, 2002). The need to promote, national cohesion, unity, even and sustainable development among constituent ethnic nationalities gave rise to several constitutional amendments agitations, in other to find a line of best fit, that will ensure peace and stability in Nigeria.

However, the current agitations for independent national conference based on self-determination struggles, are indicative of the structural inequalities and inequities that have resulted in social, economic, political and security issues in Nigeria. Arising, from these are cases of insurgencies, ethno religious crises and several shades of self-determination struggles. Unfortunately, insurgencies in the North, militancy in the South, self-determination struggles in the South East and ethnic resistance in the South West constitute great threats to peace, security and unity in Nigeria. Furthermore, these forms of resistance have created problems for national integration, national security and sustainable development. The fallouts from these are, kidnapping, insurgencies and obvious disruption of peace and security. Incidentally, peace and security are

prerequisites for sustainable development. This paper therefore focuses on examining insurgency in Nigeria and its implications on National security, integration and sustainable development. It is also inclined on addressing the ways to mitigate insurgency through appropriate recommendations.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Insurgency

According to Powell and Abraham (2006), "Insurgency is a violent display of aggression or aggressive behaviour by a person or group of persons in opposition to a constituted authority, enforcement of law, and pattern of governance of state or of taking part in insurrection". Insurgency as defined above becomes a violation of law and in a broader perspective, infringement of international treaty obligations of a nation, when it involves external forces. Insurgency becomes illegal, when it constitutes an attack on defenseless citizens, individual or state property resulting into injuries, loss of lives and properties as well as forced or massive internal displacement of people out of their habitual places of residence. According to Powell and Abraham (2006), "insurgency becomes criminal and a threat to national security when it drives business/investors away from an insecure area". Furthermore, insurgency can be characterized by domestic and international crimes punishable by law such as treasonable felony, terrorism, murder, crimes against humanity and genocide.

Fundamentally, the objective of insurgents is to overthrow an existing order with one that is identical with their political, economic, ideological or religious goals (Gompert and Gordon 2008). Insurgency, as conceptualized by Akanji (2007) is: "The act of terror committed within the boundaries of a sovereign state against civilians, the government and public and private properties in a bid to coerce or intimidate the government of people of that state". However, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (2009), defines domestic terrorism or insurgency as "Acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of any state; which appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian

population; to influence the policy of a government by mass destruction assassination or kidnapping and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the state in question".

It is therefore, an unlawful use of force or violence to intimidate or coerce the civilian population or government to further political, social or economic objectives through acts of insurgency and other crimes. Human lives and property are always threatened or afflicted in the process. According to Kilcullen (2006), "Insurgency is a struggle to control a contested political space, between a state (and a group of states or occupying powers), and one or more popularly based, non-state challengers". He further draws a line between classical and contemporary insurgencies indicating that the latter seek to replace the existing order, while the former sometimes strive for the expulsion of foreign invaders from their territory or seek to fill an existing power vacuum (Kilcullen, 2006).

It is instructive to observe that rising wave of insurgency has assumed a crisis dimension in Nigeria. Consequently, resource-based and sectarian insurgency have claimed many lives, destroyed sources of livelihood, and created a climate of perpetual fear and insecurity across the country. It is no longer news that Nigeria, since 2009, became one of the most dreaded places on earth with insurgency and alarming rate of terrorist attacks assuming centre stage. The Boko Haram terrorist group proved more ferocious than the Niger Delta militancy, deploying the lethal strategy of suicide bombing, hitherto unknown in the country which placed it in the global terrorist map. The terrorist activities of the group which had left thousands of people dead including policemen, soldiers and civilians and destruction of properties worth billions of naira, remains one of the recent terrorist-related dimensions to security challenges facing the Nigerian state. The continuous deployment of special military forces and regular violent clashes between these security forces and armed insurgents eventually militarized the nation, leading to violent clashes that often results in many cases of human rights violations and high civilian casualties.

Security

This is a process and legitimate order which provides national and international conditions favourable to the protection of a nation, state and its citizens against existing and potential threats (Nwolise, 2009). This is the acquisition, deployment and use of military and pseudo military force to achieve national goals and objectives. Security involves many processes and disciplines covering military protection, surveillance, protection of national values and human rights. It is also seen as the absence of threats to acquired values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. According to Baldwin (1997) "security is equated to state's commitment to upgrade its military capabilities in the Defense of national core valves such as sovereignty and territorial integrity". Nwolise (2009) asserts that "security is the appropriation of military resources by society to uphold its valves in the face of threats and challenges from both internal and external sources".

From a modern perspective, security is viewed as a shift from the state-centric to people-centric approach, where the peaceful existence of inhabitants are regarded as reference for security. This implies that where the inhabitants feel secured and free to pursue their business without fear and in a peaceful environment. Security processes tend to neutralize threats to human security by ameliorating the effects of poverty, unemployment, armed conflicts (diseases, hunger, refugee debacles) and human rights violation on the population (Richmond, 2012).

National Security

The term "National Security" can be viewed or defined from various perspectives. This is evident in the realities, nature and concept of insecurity which differs across nations. However, the term contains an ideological element which renders empirical evidence irrelevant as a means of resolving the debate (Ehi, 2009). An acceptable evaluation of national security entails a foreknowledge of national insecurity.
What then is national security? The Encarta dictionaries (2009 edition) aptly defined it as "the state or feeling of being safe and protected within the confines of a nation." According to Maier (2000) national security

is "a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes are necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing." The above assesses national security within the power and influence of the nationals.

According to Brown (1983) "National security… is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders". Based on the above, national security is beyond the narrow conception of physical protection for citizens and preservation in a nation, it extends to issues on preservation of international social, political and economic relations. Furthermore, Cain (1973) indicated that national security is "the means of achieving safety and stability in the nation". Also Paleri (2008) asserts that national security is "The measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance, that can be indexed by computation, empirically or otherwise, and is extendable to global security by variables external to it".

Consequent upon the above definitions, it is obvious that the concept of security is ambiguous. However, it is instructive to note that security in concept and reality is the existence of a situation that promotes peaceful existence of all citizens. Furthermore, Gbenga and Augoye (2011) asserts that security is a result of peaceful environment dominated by man's sensitivity to man.

Flowing from all of the above, national security encapsulates a process and circumstance where a nation exhibits the ability and influence to protect and preserve its nationals from being victims of internal disorder that could infringe on their peace and prosperity.

It also a situation and process that ensures safeguards against internal and external attacks, social disorientation, de-humanization and attendant economic hardships stemming from domestic and foreign interplays of forces of retrogression. In fact, a nation is secured when its inhabitants express hope for a brighter future and certainty.

National Integration

National integration as a concept has attracted significant definitions and description in numerous literatures. The word "integration" is derived from a Latin word 'integratio' meaning the act or process of making whole. It is the act of combining integral components into a unified whole. According to Bello-Imam, (2018) "national integration is a harmonized co-existence of diverse social groups under a polity, be they classes, ethnic or interest groups, under some consistent national values or objectives in order to consolidate the unity of their people into 'one indivisible indissoluble sovereign nation".

Khurana, (2010) asserts that, "National Integration is the awareness of common identity amongst the citizens of a country… though we belong to different castes, religions and regions and speak different languages we recognize the fact that we are all one." He further avers that this kind of integration is very important in the building of a strong and prosperous nation. As a corollary, Coleman and Rosberg (1964) asserts that it is "the progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities in the process of creating a homogenous political community". It is a way and process of rating a mental orientation and dimensions that could elicit and inspire citizen's loyalty to his or her country, far above parochial and sectarian interests. These definitions aid an unambiguous understanding of the concept of national integration. In all, national integration could be generally defined as an exhibition of an unrepentant and absolute sense of commitment to national unity above sectional interests. It a situation of absolute loyalty to national course.

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

There are several theoretical models to explain the prevalence of insurgency as propounded by many scholars. However, this paper is situated on a combination of frustration-aggression and cognitive dissonance theories. The frustration-aggression theory is based on the works of John Dollard et al (1939). The fundamental assumption of the theory is that "aggression is always a consequence of frustration". This can be supported by real life situations. Frustration begets a violent approach to problem solving. Many authors on frustration Aggression Theory, argued that individuals are motivated to achieve life ambitions and fulfil destiny, but when these expectations are thwarted, frustration sets in (Rotberg, 2003; Osita-Njoku & Chikere, 2015; Tella, 2015). In line with these schools of thought, the occurrence of violent and aggressive behaviour presupposes "the existence of frustration which often leads to some form of aggression" (Dollard et al 1939).

However, it is important to note here that the existence of frustration does not in all cases lead to aggression. This is because frustration have multifaceted consequences other than aggression. It is also important to note that sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between instigation to aggression and the real incidence of aggression, but this study identifies with the view that aggression is a primordial consequence of frustration (Berkowitz 1989). According to Amaraegbu (2011), aggression may develop as a consequence of having been exposed to extremely frustrating conditions sufficient to provoke a sense of hopelessness and despondency. As a further explanation of the applicability of this theory, the New Partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD) pointed out eloquently that:

"Nigeria presents a remarkable paradox of an enormously wealthy country both in potential and real terms, serving as home to the third largest concentration of poor people in the world. The country, although with the substantial revenue it makes from its oil wells annually has failed

to provide the basic services for its people" (NEPAD 2008).

In addition to the above theory, Festinger (1951) developed a theory about communication's social influences, referred to as cognitive dissonance theory. This is the most appropriate psychological concept that identifies the behaviour of insurgents or terrorists. According to Cunningham (2003) "Men prefer a situation of stability in respect of values, behaviour and their environmental conditions. When people experience a difference between what they perceive and what they desire (cognitive dissonance), they seek to reduce this dissonance by reducing this gap through actions filtering information or altering perceptions". Cognitive dissonance explains individual attitudes and reaction whenever there is a discrepancy between preferred value and actual value states. The outcome of a state is the tendency to express hatred, anxiety, fear and the desire to hurt or eliminate the source of dissatisfaction. These discrepancies could manifest within at individual levels in almost all spheres of human existence (Alao, Alao and Atere 2012). However not all cases of cognitive dissonance leads to insurgency or terrorism. Some may choose to absorb the pains and remain indifferent to the depressing or deplorable situation.

By way of further explanations, Galtung (1969) in his analysis of human behaviour, hypothesized the presence of significant socio-economic indicators that can serve as breeding grounds for insurgency. Unfortunately, all these didn't provide answers to, why some people or groups in the same structurally disadvantaged situations choose insurgent behaviour and others do not. Hence, insurgent groups operating in Nigeria cannot be identified within the real or perceived discrepancy between the preferred way of life and the actual state of living that influences the dissonance. In spite of these limitations, these theories offer in large extent an explanation for insurgency in Nigeria.

INSURGENCY, SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA
In trying to explain the low level of development in Nigeria, it is instructive to observe that the high level of poverty is a central issue. In

most empirical studies, poverty has been implicated as a primordial cause of under development in Nigeria. In the same direction, insecurity rises with poverty because; poverty impairs the people's ability to pay bills and provide basic necessities for house-holds and dependent relatives, which facilitates crime. Therefore, poverty constitutes a major threat to national security and development. As a consequence of poverty, unemployed youths could be manipulated to undermine national stability and cause violent disorder in the country at any point in time, thereby making it difficult if not impossible for any meaningful development to take place. The fundamental reason why developed countries make provisions for social security payments, is to make the youths and unemployed less vulnerable and susceptible to crime and acts that could create a state of general insecurity (Kirby, 2011). With the growing population of unemployed youths in Nigeria, the attraction to acts of insecurity that could endanger national security and sustainable economic development is high.

As at today, heightened social insecurity in Nigeria has arguably fueled the crime rate, leaving unpalatable consequences for the nation's economy and its growth. The socio-political and economic landscape in Nigeria is inundated with endemic twin evil of crime and violence. The obvious failure of successive governments in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inadequate distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities, ultimately result in frustration among youths, culminating in crimes. Such crimes as mentioned earlier include militancy, kidnapping, bombing, armed robbery, destruction of government properties, among others (Oladiran, 2014). Disruption of social order, as a result of criminal activities individually or corporately creates insecurity and breach of peace that are likely to or indeed affect legitimate social and economic activities in the country (Akintokunbo, 2011).

Unmitigated insecurity, gives a wrong signal to foreign investors, which has damaging effects on the economy. It gives the impression to the international community that Nigeria is not a safe and secure place and as such not suitable for economic investment and activities. Most viable

and reputable investors have left the shores of Nigeria because of the general atmosphere of insecurity. The few that are still around, operate skeletal services which have no significant impact on the economy. This situation, has created more unemployment, and added to the volume of criminal activities. Consequently, insecurity also leads to loss of human capital that would have been gainfully invested for national development. The rates of kidnapping, banditry, herdsmen attacks well as other violent crimes in recent times have led to a prevalent massive loss of the nation's human resources. Most farmers in the southern states find it unsafe to go to their farms. This ugly trend poses a threat to the future of the nation's agricultural productivity level, private sector investment volume, and overall economic development. Also, the food industry in the north is under great strain over a number of reasons, with the main issue being human mobility. With the increase of Boko Haram attacks, those employed in the industry have decreased their movement outside protected areas over fears of attacks carried out by the insurgents. Many farmers in the states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe now fear being attacked while many local processing companies have lost workers after families opted to leave the conflict area. Traders have also limited their movements as Boko Haram militants have increasingly targeted major markets across the region. The agricultural sector has effectively developed into a target for those militants in need of supplies, with many stealing food, equipment and money.

Annually, unspecified millions of naira is being paid as ransom for the release of victims of kidnapping most of whom are foreigners or expatriates. Under normal circumstances these monies are supposed to be invested in businesses, human capital development and other critical sectors of the economy (Oladiran, 2014). In summary, the effects of insurgency on national security and development can be explained in the fact that it tends to limit the capacity of the people to harness the resources that will improve their living conditions.

CONCLUSION
It is obvious that Nigeria is experiencing a highly turbulent period,

characterized by high level of insecurity caused by insurgency, kidnapping and high rate of youth unemployment with consequences on national development. Incidents of insecurity and criminality are all time high and widely spread. It would appear that government is not doing enough to address the situation. Consequently, the actions and activities of government to mitigate the situation seem not to be working as expected. The promises made by Muhammadu Buhari since assuming office as the President of Nigeria in 2015 to provide security for lives and property; and improve the living conditions of the people remain unfulfilled. The various protests by youths and other self-determination struggles by some ethnic groups are evidences of general dissatisfaction, disillusionments and frustration. Therefore, it can be concluded that one of the greatest threats to national security and sustainable development in Nigeria is the large population of unemployed youths, inability of government to address the national question and high poverty level in the country. Thus national development can be achieved in Nigeria only if government addresses these problems, particularly through a restructuring to focuses on the national integration. Furthermore, if poverty and insecurity are allowed to prevail in Nigerian communities, then the dream of sustainable national development and national stability will be a mirage.

RECOMMENDATIONS
This paper makes the following recommendations, to mitigate insurgency, enhance national integration and sustainable development:

i. Consequent upon increasing rate of poverty and attendant security threats in Nigeria, there is the need for government to address the national question, through restructuring.

ii. It is imperative for government to design an acceptable social security policy that will address grassroots poverty, and ameliorate hardship in the land.

iii. Government, should address the poor state of infrastructures, to encourage direct investments and improve employment urgently.

iv. There is a need for government, to look into the state of human capital development, particularly through an efficient and responsive

educational system. The current state of education is discouraging and leads to graduate unemployment. The quality of graduates from our institutions of higher learning is optimally discouraging.

v. Government should through its policies, address the ever-increasing rate of socio-economic disparity which has a tendency to increase the number of poor people in the society.

vi. Government should enforce the policy of withdrawal of illegal arms and ammunitions currently in place. There is need to mop up illegal arms and ammunitions currently in circulation in the country. Thus, strict enforcement of the gun control law in Nigeria is needed to reduce the array of small and light arms in the hands of unauthorized people (especially the youth) across the country.

vii. There should be transparency in governance and accountable to the people. The need for government to be accountable and transparent need not be overemphasised. Much of the violence we experience today is due to lack of transparency on the part of government. Most policies of the government that do not favour the poor. Government, should address this.

viii. There should be a reliable data base for government; to be appropriated in planning and implementing fiscal policies for the benefits of the poor in the society

ix. The Judicial system in the country should be reviewed to ensure a dispassionate dispensation of justice.

x. Governance devoid of nepotism and a culture of impunity must be eschewed from our national psyche and life.

xi. The current democratic structures, and processes should be reviewed to address the evident inadequacies, which are implicated as the main causes of dissatisfaction and insurgency in Nigeria.

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