



NIGHTINGALE PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL

INSECURITY AND TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

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Introduction

Nigeria, popularly known as the giant of Africa and the biggest economy that shelter the public outcry in Africa is not devoid of some fundamental problems that served as a lacuna to its security system. Prominent among these problems is the unending ethnic and religious crisis erupting out of the near discontent of the poverty driven minority societies. The high rate of population growth in the last two decades has outstripped the social and economic development of the country. Per capita income, remain lower than it was in 1980 and about 70% of Nigerians are said to be living below the poverty line. Nigeria ranks 151 out of the 174 countries in the United Nations Human Development Index (2000: 183 cited in Mamman, 2008).

Statistically, Nigeria's economy is characterized by low capacity utilization, high inflation rate, high unemployment, low per capita income, heavy domestic debt and dwindling external reserve (Kolawole, 2004: 4 cited in Adeyerni, 2008).

After almost half a century of independence in Nigeria, the self acclaimed super power of Africa, has traveled in reversed gear. If Nigeria had been a motor vehicle it would have been a scrapped,

Abstract

Poverty and its myriad astronomical trends, perspective and dimensions cannot be overemphasized while locating it within the context of national security. This work therefore explored the symbiotic relationship between poverty and national security in Nigeria. The work posited that the issue of poverty is essentially a multi-faceted phenomenon of bad leadership and governance, dependent and unproductive economy as well as poor patronage of Nigeria's indigenous technology. Using the secondary method of data collection and analysis, this work poised that developmental processes in Nigeria that could lead to poverty eradication with its attendant consequences on national security were unconventionally derailed at an alarming rate such that it snowballed and restricted the contested spaces and chances for expansion in Nigeria's national security. Poverty and national security flaws metamorphosed in such a way that the poor masses as a means to register their discontent took arms against

The state which manifest itself in various forms; the Niger Delta and the Boko Haram insurgencies among others. From the foregoing trends and developments of poverty and national security in Nigeria, the work concluded by recommending for a transformational leadership as a framework for a better Nigeria.

Keywords: *Insecurity, Terrorism, National Development.*

and the scrap dealer would probably have refused the metal because of its flaws. On every measure of performance for a state with its wealth has been a failure. The historical record is almost blank since 1976, with hundreds of billions in oil revenue, Nigeria has retrogressed, (Wilmot, 2007:20).

Poverty is a plague affecting the people all over the world with exception of highly industrialized and economically developed countries of the world. This does not in any way exclude the entire citizens of those countries completely from poverty. Such affliction is considered as one of the symptoms or manifestations of under development (Wilmot, 2007:8).

Poverty is a vicious cycle which keeps the poor in a state of detention and social disillusionment. Its manifestations varies from one individual, group of country to another. This is essentially why poverty affects many aspects of human conditions thus making it difficult to have one universally agreeable comment on its definitions. In a nation where majority of its people live in abject poverty thus lacking basic necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), the people's peaceful co- existence for the realization of these necessities is effectively being threatened or always endangered. Conflicts and violent demonstrations will be the order of the day. This is because a poverty stricken individual would not mind going against or breaking the law in order to satisfy his or her basic needs. It is therefore important to note that a nation's peaceful co-existence (security) is it's live, since the fulfillment of its interests depends partly (or to a large extent) on the level of peace and tranquility of the entire society(Wilmot, 2007:8).

Aluko(1975), sees poverty as "lack of command over basic consumption needs such as food, clothing and social phenomena such as housing, employment and functional literacy. Such lack of resources in meeting the basic needs incapacitates the individual and the society from protecting itself against social, economic and political deprivations.

Recently, more than eight million people around the world die each year due to poverty related factors such as malnutrition, environmental degradation, diseases and unemployment etc. In Nigeria, 70% of its people live below the poverty line, thus vulnerable to these poverty related problems (Akeredolu, 2010).

Nigeria's media is always agog with one form of news or the other portraying the level of poverty and the various disasters it engendered. The stories would put the stark number of people who lost their lives in such poverty- induced disasters in context. For example, up to 8,000 children die of malaria; 5,000 mothers and fathers die of tuberculosis; 7,500 young adults die of HIV/AIDS; 1,000 maternal/mobility rate and thousand more die of diarrhea, respiratory infection and other killer

diseases that preyed on those bodies already weakened by deprivation, chronic lunges and poverty. People die in hospitals that lack drugs, in villages that lack portable drinking water. They die namelessly often without any public comment thereby truncating their fundamental right to life. Most people are unaware of the daily struggles for survival and of the vast numbers of impoverished people around the world who lost that struggle.

Statement of the problem

Nigeria's national security is in a stage of dooms day conspiracy with multidimensional phases of threat flowing from different sections of the society. The dimension of Nigeria' security is largely centered on conventional method at the expense of grand strategy. The military and other defence and security apparatus are given primacy without considering the impact and level of perceived threat of poverty as a potent source of threat to the national security.

According to Mijah (1998), most countries especially the developed countries, perceived national security threats mainly in terms of nuclear demands, arms balance and hostile international alliance. But since the end of the cold war, international policy makers and statesmen have increasingly become attentive to national occurrence and national security question. These occurrences include poverty, over-population, which often for good or bad impacted on the nation's interest abroad. Similarly, the centuries old dynasty of Ethiopia under the reign of Haile Sellasi came to an end in 1974 not because of foreign power intervention but because of economic deterioration that resulted due to famine (poverty and misery) in the country (Moses, 2009).

In Nigeria, the Austerity Measure of the early 1980s, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the mid 1980s, the Minimum Wage Crisis of 1999 and 2000, the Ethno-religious crisis, the high rate of inflation, armed robbery and even prostitution among others are in one way or the other linked with poverty. All these problems are arising largely due to the craving need to satisfy our basic necessities (of food, clothing, shelter, health and literacy) (). Hence all sorts of social vices seem to be the only solution to attain these basic needs. The people's violent reactions to each other or to government policies could easily be explained in the popular adage that "a hungry man- is an angry man" due to absence of inadequate means of satisfying there basic needs.

It is however pertinent to note that apart from poverty related factors there are obvious, there are other factors that threaten or breach the national security. Some of these factors include absence of good and responsive/responsible governance, absence of justice, equity and rule of law, institutional and endemic corruption in both public and private conduct, cyclical nature of poverty which metamorphose as a result of wealth circulating only in the hands of few individuals which ascertain the draconian policies associated with capitalism and neo-globalization by extension. Manipulation of socio-economic, political, regional or religious factors or personal gains all put together or separately can serve as a great threat to peace, unity, development and progress and by extension affecting the national security.

objectives of the study

NIGHTINGALE

PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH INTERNATIONAL

IJHSS ISSN: 2395-1789
Vol. 9, NO. 6]

In outlining the objectives of this paper, attempt shall be made to among other things:

- i. Identify the main factors that chronicled the state of insecurity in Nigeria.
- ii. Describe the level of manifestations of terrorism, poverty and its linkages with national security question in Nigeria
- iii. Distilled the interface between terrorism, poverty and national security; and how this come to determine the survival of Nigeria's hegemony as an African big brother
- iv. Proffer stratagem/Recommendations on the state of terrorism, poverty and insecurity in Nigeria.

Research questions

- i. What are the main factors that chronicled the state of insecurity in Nigeria?
- ii. To what extent did terrorism, poverty manifest its tentacles and by extension its linkages with national security question in Nigeria
- iii. What is the interface between terrorism, poverty and national security; and how this come to determine the survival of Nigeria's hegemony as an African big brother
- iv. Proffer stratagem/Recommendations on the state of terrorism, poverty and insecurity in Nigeria

Hypotheses of the paper

The hypothesis for this paper are to establish:

- i. That terrorism, poverty is one of the major threats to a stable national security system in Nigeria.
- ii. That terrorism, poverty become manifested in Nigeria to an extent that it has a devastating effect on national security;
- iii. That the interface between terrorism, poverty and national security is beyond the point of contest and also has a negative impact on the existentiality of Nigeria as the African hegemon
- iv. That from the foregoing analysis, the work recommend that attention be given to grand strategy as an alternative framework for sustainable national security

Scope of the paper

The work attempts to examine terrorism, poverty and national security. Its restricted period is from 2015 to 2019. The justification of this period is premised on the fact that the period serves as a point of reference that disposes the crucial effects of poverty on Nigeria's national security.

Significance of the study

The increasing level of terrorism, poverty in Nigeria with severe national security consequences for the country, made this paper not only necessary but also timely. The work examines the impact of terrorism, poverty on Nigeria's National security.

Although a lot of studies have been carried out on poverty and national security, these studies did not clearly demonstrate the relationship between government policies, poverty and national security. There is no doubt that there exist flaws and gap in policy decisions that affect national security in Nigeria. This is informed by the inadequacies of the existing studies and policy recommendations on security situation in the country as well as the lack of vision by security advisors to expunge the contested spaces and available chances for expansion in Nigeria's national security question. Effective policy decision depends on clear understanding of the problem. This is an attempt to provide a critical study that can contribute an effective policy towards reducing terrorism, poverty and by extension reduce insecurity situation in the country. Ebo argued that:

security cannot exist in a situation of high unemployment, gross inequality and chronic poverty, regardless of the quantity and quality of military hardware in the arsenal of the country concerned" (1997:33).

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Concept of poverty

Many writers have pointed to the difficulties involved in defining poverty. Some of the difficulties are associated with the fact that those defining poverty are usually not the poor themselves (Iyayi, 2002). Another difficulty in defining poverty is that it is perceived as a complex and multi-dimensional concept. For example, poverty has been defined as a "dynamic process of socio-economic and political deprivation, which affects individuals, households or communities resulting in lack of access to basic necessities of life" (National Policy on Poverty Eradication of the Federal Republic of Nigeria cited in Iyayi 2002:5), and as a state of "marginalization and exclusion" that has economic, structural or relational and personal or psychological dimensions (Engberg, 2002:7). While poverty may have several dimensions, it could be argued that it is largely an economic and social category. For example, there were many black South Africans who were marginalized and excluded under the apartheid regime but who were not poor. In Nigeria also, minority ethnic groups or nationalities often see themselves as marginalized and excluded from control of the polity but this is not to say that all the members of such groups are poor.

Viewed from another perspective Enberg (2002), further contested that, poverty involves a judgment of basic human needs and is measured in terms of the resources required to maintain health and physical efficiency. To Alcock (1997), poverty is "going short materially, socially and emotionally. It means spending less on food, on eating and on retching than someone on an average income above all; poverty takes away the tools to build the blocks for the future life chances". These definitions emanate from those who are not poor. Patel et.al captured a definition from a poor man. The man said "Don't ask me what poverty is because you have met it reside my house. Look at the house and count the number of holes. Look at my utensils and the cloths that I am wearing. Look at everything and write what you see. What you see is poverty" (A poor man, Kenya, cited in Patel et al. 2000:30). Another definition captured in Patel et.al's work was a woman from Moldova she ac "Poverty is pain; it feels like a disease. It attacks a person not only materially but also morally. It eats

away one's dignity and drives one into total despair," (A Woman from Moldova cited in Patel et al. 2000:65).

According to World Bank (2000/01), "poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being (cited in Ariyo and Jerome 2005:7). Well-being can be measured by an individual's possession of income, health, nutrition, education, assets, housing. Poverty can further be elaborated to mean all or any of these: hunger, lack of being sick and not being able to see a doctor, not being able to go to school and not knowing how to read, and not having job. Ravallion and Bidani (1994) refer to poverty as a lack of command over basic consumption needs, that is, a situation of inadequate level of consumption giving rise to insufficient food, clothing and shelter. Aluko (1975) sees poverty as lack of certain capabilities, such as being able to participate with dignity in societal endeavours. Poverty has also been defined as the inability to attain a minimum standard of living (World Development Report, 1990). For a proper definition of poverty, there is a need to separate the roots or causes of poverty from the state of being poor. The roots of poverty may well be marginalization and exclusion but they would not define who was poor and who was not poor. It is necessary that it be defined to imply some causation. This is why lyayi (2002) see poverty as a state of deprivation in the means needed to sustain life at some level of human dignity. This definition implies that poverty is 'caused' rather than self-imposed. In Nigeria, the World Bank consultation with the poor (Okumadewa, et al. 2002) reveal that poverty is associated with lack of dignity, status, security and hope.

Concept of security

However, the concept of security is a multifaceted one that covers every sphere of human endeavours. This is why people talk about social security, economic security, psychological security, job security, among others. Each type of security is directed towards a certain type of threat. Security does not have a universally accepted definition as various scholars have defined it in various ways depending on their intellectual or ideological orientation. For example Akpuru (1999) sees security as absence of threat or fear in a social system. Akinyele (2001) looks at security from the socio-economic perspective and defines it as "the prevention of property damage, injury and loss of lives caused by military means as well as limitation of such damage, casualty and death in the event of war". In his part Buzan sees security as the ability of a state and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity (Buzan, 1991).

Security has been defined from state-centric, militaristic and strategic calculations. It has been seen as the sum total of the vital national interest of the state. A vital national interest is one for which a nation is willing to resort to force or war (Onuaha 2007). Concepts of national security will vary from state to state in direct proportion to their individual states willingness to risk conflict or war at any given time (Hartmann 1983:13).

The definitions above are too narrow, viewing security only from the conventional point of view. The second definition sees security as having not to do with war alone. There are non-military threats such as famine, poverty, ecological disasters, which

are more devastating than military threat. Based on this, Ebo argued that "the traditional approach to security has had an overwhelmingly military bias which arguably limits the scope of the concept. There has therefore been the emergence of an alternative view, whose essence is that, properly understood, 'security is development'" (Ebo 1997:32). As in the words of Robert McNamara Security means development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it; security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development, and without development, there can be no security (cited in Ebo 1997:32).

Some western scholars who theorized on defence anchored their argument on physical or conventional security. By this, they postulated that once the military is well trained and equipped the country's defence is secured. In the views of scholars like Asobie, such territorial defence paradigm is highly inadequate for security analysis. He said national security goes beyond military security. Challenges created by non-military threats like unemployment, food insecurity, diseases and underdevelopment poses more security threats to nations in third world which Nigeria belong to than military threats. Thus, he argued:

This is an orthodox conception of the national defence problem. It is a conception which ignores the basic question why an enemy would want to attack and seize another state's territory. It is not the territory, geographical area but the material and human resources in it that other states desire. If a state is already exploiting the human and material resources in a territory, without formal conquest and military occupation so much the better (Asobie 1988: 33)

According to Barney et.al (1991), national security ought to be seen beyond military security and indeed the orthodox conception of national defence based on territorial defence. They argued "national security, properly understood includes not only military security against foreign invasion, but also food security, domestic order, educational security, old age security and national disaster security" (Barney et. al 1991:129).

The cold war has already taught us that it is not a matter of accumulation of more and more destructive weapons. As Silk argued:

The dominant feature of the postwar period -the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union and the danger that it would become hot - is giving way to a "cold peace," as a result of the threat of a Soviet economic breakdown and the desire, in both countries, to ease budgetary strains by cutting military outlays (Silk 1989:12).

Since the end of the cold war, the desirability of shifting from a state and elite focused view of security to one that places individuals at the centre of the security equation has gained increasing acceptance in many parts of the world. Protecting the state and its citizens from external aggression remains a consideration, the most serious threats facing countries on the African continent at the beginning of the 21st century tend to be those that either derive from internal causes or are transnational and collective in nature (Ball and Fayemi, 2004).

Onuaha (2007) argued that with the Cold War receding and the emergence of new threats to the survival of individuals as well as states, scholars not only began to re-

conceptualize security but to emphasize such concepts as cooperative security, societal security, comprehensive security, collective security, and human security as fundamental pillars in the discourse of security.

While the term 'human security' may be of recent analytical relevance and usage, it is not the case that human security suddenly developed out of nowhere and that the need for it did not exist in the past. Rather, the ontological and epistemological assumptions that have served to underpin orthodox security and policy formation did not recognize, include or value it, thus, neglecting the most daring aspect of security (Thomas 1999:5).

In this regard, the conceptualization of security from the human security represents a paradigmatic shift from orthodox security thinking which privileges protection of state power to that which absorbs human beings and their complex social and economic relations as the primary referents. It is premised on the fact that the security of all persons ought to be a moral goal of all governments and their citizens, not a narrowly conceived or poorly justified national security that protects state power or personal interests of privileged elite (Nelles, 2003:1).

The specific term 'human security' was officially introduced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 1994 Human Development Report (UNDP 1994:22). Two main aspects of human security are identified in the report: safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden disruptions in the pattern of daily life, whether in homes, jobs, or communities. Threats to human security were therefore subsumed under seven key dimensions of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political.

In this sense, Thomas (1999:3) conceives human security as a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met and in which human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community can be realized. Human security from this perspective has both qualitative and quantitative aspects. On one level it is about the fulfillment of basic material needs, and on another it is about the achievement of human dignity, which incorporates personal autonomy, control over one's life, and unhindered participation in the life of the community.

For Hubert (2001:62), human security does not replace national security. A human security perspective, according to him, asserts that the security of the state is not an end in itself. Rather, it is a means of ensuring security of people. Thus, state security and human security are mutually reinforcing and supportive.

Therefore, human security as conceived here entails freedom from actual and potential threats to human life, safety and survival which may arise as a result of human actions or inactions, or from natural disaster such as flood, earthquake, famine, drought, disease and other non-man-made calamitous events resulting in death, human suffering and material damage. In this sense, human security is one focal element of national security. Nevertheless, the emphasis on human security primarily derives from three basic convictions, namely the sanctity and inviolability of human life; the universality and dignity of human rights; and the existential imperatives of and value for individual safety in a world laden with multifarious threats. Hence, any threat which thwarts or curtails an individual's entitlement to

these three core values borders on human security and, by extension, national security (Onuala 2007).

In this sense, the responsibility to provide for and protect these rights is usually the challenge of the government. The grand norm of Nigeria is not blind to this. Section 14 (2) C of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria categorically emphasizes this point when it provides that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999:10). Thus, the irreducible minimum of human security entails prevention and minimization of threats to human rights, safety and lives. Like other dimensions of security - national security, economic security and food security - human security entails recognizing the importance of the people's security needs, side by side with those of states, minimizing risks, adopting preventive measures to reduce human vulnerabilities and taking remedial action when preventive measures fail (Nsirimovu 2005:184).

However, none of the sources of insecurity in countries like Nigeria can be resolved by the use of arms. That was why (Somavial, 1999), argued that economic and social development of a nation is the indispensable foundation on which the process of strengthening peace and security must be based. The voices of the poor in Nigeria reveal the deepening and multidimensional nature of ill-being and -security. According to the book, the impact of poverty is largely cumulative. The author states that "starvation as a result of poverty leads directly to death, where as frustration and crime arising from poverty are simply slower routes to death" (cited in voices of the poor, 2002:65).

Security, thus, is not any longer preponderantly a product of military power, but more and more people see security underpinned by socio-economic, political, educational, scientific and technological dimensions. Tedheke (1999), asserts that 'alternative security doctrine' which is based on the world view that for security to be properly in place national security calculus has to go beyond military threats to security, but security based on the survival and well-being of the populace. Tedheke (1998), further argued that security goes beyond just well-being of the citizen. It must have to include capacity building of the people or populace through education, training and retraining to be able to maintain sustainable development.

Nigeria's state of underdevelopment is the greatest threat to our survival as a nation. The Nigerian ruling class because of their complicity with imperialism has failed to educate Nigerians while they romance with imperial powers. Most leaders in Nigeria feel that foreign skills and technical assistance are useful and in some cases very necessary without minding strings attached to these aid. Offiong (1980) asserts:

fundamentally, the disillusionment lies in the fact that a great part of aid has been counterproductive or "imperialistic," in relation to the actual goals of development, because the tendency is to supply it to regimes which anxiously want to promote quantitative economic growth through some rapid industrialization, which tends to benefit the internal elite and their international allies, than to carry out social reforms which benefit the masses (Offiong 1980:10).

Walter Rodney in his famous book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, has given a great deal of information that administrations and trading companies deliberately and systematically worked hard to bring about the underdevelopment of this continent. Rodney emphasizes that bringing Africa into the world economy may have had a few advantages but it did create the conditions for present economic problems encountered by Africa. Similarly Offiong posit:

In their vantage position as the conqueror, the dominant power-militarily, economically and politically were able to exploit Africa's natural resources which they sent home without paying just prices; in addition Africa served as a dumping ground for their cheap and surplus products. The end product of all these events was that Africa became a dependent economy, serving European interests and thus externally controlled and regulated by the metropolitan countries (Offiong 1980:80).

European Community by its action has added another dimension to contemporary imperialism. The better prices now received by the OPEC countries for their crude oil export to the rich countries is a bargain that takes place "within an old pattern, not a change of international structure". As John argued:

The price of the crude oil is still quite cheap for the rich countries. If the oil-exporting countries were to process their crude oil themselves and enjoy both the profits and the economic, research, educational, military, and psychological spin-off effects that accrue to the country where the processing is done, something very fundamental would happen which would have adverse effect on rich nations (John 1973:69).

In Nigeria where wrong pro-imperialist philosophy of development is adopted since the colonial period, the basis for an autonomous economic development is highly eroded. The demands for imperialism form our economic base and each time this demand changes, we are in a total economic mess as a nation.

Today's security threats go beyond our traditional understanding of defence threats (e.g. attack from another state) to include poverty, economic inequality, diseases. Those who argue for the adoption of a human security agenda believe that if our security apparatuses focused more on protecting individual citizens and groups from threats that may endanger their basic survival, rather than simply on perceived threats to the nation state, the world would be a more secure place. The United Nations Development Programme Report (1993:2), asserts that:

The concept of security must change from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security.

Poverty and National Security in Nigeria

The relationship between poverty and insecurity is axiomatic. This is because, poverty in a way leads to frustration, aggression and violence. Even the most rudimentary definition of human security describes this elusive concept as the 'freedom for death, poverty, pain, fear, or whatever else makes people feel insecure' (Ogota, 2001). However, one looks at it that, persistent levels of poverty are likely to force majority of the downtrodden citizens to search for points of relief

elsewhere. Hence many shift their allegiance to resort to violence and other engagements that constitute threat to security. The prevalence of poverty in Nigeria has made serious manifestation on certain fundamental threats to the security of the country and its wider bearing on sustainable peace and unity in the country. Perhaps, such issues as the wax and wad of political thuggery, armed robbery and violent insurrections pose incredible threats and major challenges to peaceful coexistence in the country.

Questions that frequently solicit for answers are; why the tarrying conflicts in Jos, Nassarawa, Benue, between the nomads and the farmers? Why the rampant cases of Armed Robbery on our major highways? Why the doggedness in corrupt practices in virtually all sectors of our social life? Why the dispersed militant insurgence on high alert? Why the unending ethno-religious conflicts especially the Boko Haram saga in the northern axis? Answers to these questions and others, indicate the prevalence of poverty in the country. Equally implicit in the above notion of insurgency, particularly in the Northern part of the country flummoxes the most potent threats to sustainable unity in the country. Yet, many may not acknowledge the direct linkage between poverty and the breakdown of social order in Nigeria.

Boko Haram Tragedy

The origin of Boko Haram seems could be traced in a group of radical Islamist youths who worshipped at the Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri a decade ago hence in 2002, an offshoot of this youth group (not yet known as Boko Haram) declared the city and the Islamic establishment to be intolerably corrupt and irredeemable. Thus the group declared that it was embarking on hijra (a withdrawal along the lines of the Prophet Muhammad's withdrawal from Mecca to Medina). It moved from Maiduguri to a village called Kanama, Yobe state, near the border with Niger, to set up a separatist community run on hard-line Islamic principles. Its leader, Mohammed Ali, espoused anti state ideology and called on other Muslims to join the group and return to a life under "true" Islamic law, with the aim of making a more perfect society away from the corrupt establishment (Adagba, 2012).

Many members of the Borno religious establishment are of the opinion that the group received funds from Salafist contacts in Saudi Arabia following two hajj trips that the leader made during this time. Another possible source of funding during this period was donations from wealthy northern Nigerians. In 2006, a wealthy northern businessman was arrested by the State Security Services after a group of children alleged that they had been sent by the group to an al-Qaeda training camp in Mauritania. The businessman says his donations to the group were an innocent attempt to contribute zakat, an obligation of wealthy Muslims to give charitably (Booth, 1994).

Strategically, until the June 16, 2011, bombing of the Nigeria Police Headquarters in Abuja, the sect had restricted its terror campaign mostly to the North East part of Nigeria. Remarkably, the attack on the Police Headquarters came barely after the then Inspector-General of Police, IGP, Hafiz Ringim returned from a duty tour of Maiduguri where the sect had just carried out some terror campaign and stated he would soon smoke them out. The sect followed up that attack with the bombing on

August 26 of the United Nations House, also in Abuja, a place Shekau described as a “forum of all the global evil,” (Eme, 2011). Since then, Boko Haram has either claimed responsibility for or has been credited with most terror activities in the northern part of the country. Its operations have also grown in scale and sophistication (Iduh, 2011).

On Christmas day of 2010 many bombs were detonated near churches and a market in two districts of Jos, Plateau state, killing scores of people. At the time it was not assumed to be a Boko Haram attack; it was thought to be a nasty twist to the long-standing ethno-political conflict there. Then, on New Year’s Eve 2010 a bomb was detonated in a popular open-air fish restaurant and market inside the grounds of the Mogadishu barracks, just outside Abuja, killing ten people. While it sits very close to a military barracks, the market is frequented mostly by civilians and was loosely protected (Buzan, 1991).

In June 2011 Boko Haram allegedly bombed the national police headquarters in Abuja. A car laden with many explosives forcefully drove into the compound of Louis Edet House, a block of offices previously thought secure in Abuja’s government zone, by following a convoy of senior officers through the gates. It is believed that the driver aimed to put the car near the entrance stairway as the senior officers entered, but he was directed around the back of the building by guards, where the bomb detonated (Adagba, 2012).

More recently, there have been deadly bomb and gun attacks on the offices of This Day newspaper in Abuja and Kaduna, the Catholic chapel in Bayero University Kano, and a cattle market in Yobe. Dozens were killed in each attack. The Boko Haram insurgency are too numerous to mention specially with the recent attacks at Nyanya Abuja (two times), Kano Sallah attack, the General Buhari’s and Sheik Dahiru Bauchi’s simultaneous attacks in Kaduna.

Theoretical frame work

The implications of poverty on security may also be looked at from empirical and theoretical stand points. Over the last decades, a significant body of work on the potential effect of poverty on national security has emerged, (Collier & Hoeffler, 1998; Elbadawi, 1992; Stewart, 2002). It can be argued that conflict is likely to occur in poor countries and conflict affected countries generally have higher levels of poverty and lower growth rates. Collier (1999), and Deininger (2003), demonstrate that increased perceptions of poverty by communities in Uganda increased the propensity of conflict escalation. Collier & Hoeffler (2001) argue that prioritizing investment in education and health may signal a government’s commitment to peace by keeping the population contented. In other words, increase in equal opportunities in the access to education by the excluded groups, may decrease social tensions. Thus, Justino (2004), avers that increase in public expenditure on social services and improvements in education enrolments are effective means of reducing civil unrest as they directly affect important causes of social conflict, notably poverty. Within the context of theory, the Relative Deprivation Theory and the Reference Group Theory, provide the most robust framework that explains the risk of violent conflicts in countries with higher levels of poverty. The Relative

Deprivation Theory was developed by Davies (1962) to explain individual or group violence. The theory places the relative sense of deprivation as the most important factor in creating grievances and mobilizing people for conflict behavior. Hence, at the heart of individual and group grievances is the idea of unrealized expectations. Ouit (1970), explains that the greater the deprivation an individual perceives relative to his expectations the greater his discontent; the more widespread and intense is discontent among members of the society, the more likely and severe is civil strife.

Nigeria, thus, has over the years been afflicted by the debilitating problems of poverty, both in absolute and relative terms. Thus the poor have a deep sense of frustration and grievances with the political system due largely in part to the inability of the country's leaders to effectively handle the affairs of the country in such ways to lead to the attainment of better life for all (Umar, 2008). Consequently, the citizens are discontented with the system's inability to actualize their cravings for prosperous living. This necessitates the rising waves of violence and foundation of insecurity potentialities in the North Western States of Nigeria.

Conclusion

This paper sets out to reappraise poverty and national security situation in Nigeria. The paper submits that persistence of insecurity in the country is associated with profound deprivation, perceived injustices and forms of social exclusion that creates condition for the onset of violence. This is because governments' performance in poverty alleviation has been far from satisfactory which unequivocally lead individuals to engage in violent agitations as a form of coping with poverty. The paper therefore suggests that poverty and national security must constitute the centerpiece of government policies and programmes so as to be able to arrest the problem of national security in the country by meeting the aspirations of the people through employment generation, infrastructural development and meaningful democratic opening in political contestation.

Recommendations

- i. Nigerian government ought to make sound and nationalistic policies consistent with the salvation of the masses. The NEEDS, SEEDS and other related national and internationally oriented poverty eradication programmes should be attended to and should serve as the breakeven point that could guarantee sustainable national security.
- ii. Nigerian government should improve in harnessing its potentials particularly in the non- oil sector. Agriculture for instance is the main stay of the larger percentage of the populace in the rural areas should be given special attention. Crucial to this mission is the indoctrination of modern farming system and equipment's in our agricultural activities. Reliability and sustainable agricultural production capable of inducing sense of patriotism and self reliance amongst the citizenry that could guarantee national security can only be actualized through industrial revolution similar to that of Europe.

- iii. Poverty alleviation and development strategies need a spatial vision, proper articulation, and patriotic execution of aimed policies. Decentralization of policy formulation process on matters relating to poverty and national security question is paramount at this point for a more universally acceptable national security doctrine. Decongesting the policy process would allow chances for wider communal participation in security/poverty policy formulation and would serve as a synergy for better assessment of the contested spaces and chances for expansion in Nigeria's national security.

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