Effect of Security Challenges on Development Programmes in Nigeria, 2015-2019

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Abstract
Nigeria has in recent time experienced an upsurge of security challenges that threatens its national security and endangers the implementation of crucial development programmes. Conflicts and social unrest of different dimensions have beclouded the nation such as Boko Haram, banditry, kidnapping and farmer-herder clash among others. This study examines the effect of these security challenges on development programmes in Nigeria from 2015 to 2019. The theory adopted for this study is Frustration-Aggression Theory put forward by Gurr (1970), it states that marginalisation and socio-economic disparities in the society generates conflict. Qualitative data and content analysis is the methodology for the paper. The findings of the paper revealed that enormous resources that could have been used for funding basic needs of the people are diverted to contain security challenges in many states in Nigeria. So also, projects and programmes about to be executed or under construction are abandoned in states like Borno, Kaduna, Katsina, Taraba, Plateau, Niger Delta among others due to skirmishes and sporadic attacks by groups, and military action in such volatile zones. The paper recommends that the federal, state and local governments should evolve mechanisms to address the grievances of aggrieved groups through inclusion and social justice. So also, groups and sections of the nation with grudges should attempt to adopt diplomatic means to solve their problems rather than resort to aggression.

Keywords: Security, challenges, development, effect, programmes.

Introduction
The frequency and spate of killings and destruction of properties in Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram insurgency, kidnapping, farmer-herder clash and banditry has implications for national stability and development. Nigeria's security challenges has prompted the allocation of huge resources to security affairs for personnel cost, purchase of military equipments and prosecution of operations to the detriment of education, health and employment generation programmes. The security challenges are replete in states in Nigeria. In Niger Delta, there are the Avengers pushing for fiscal autonomy. In the northeast, Boko Haram is craving for an Islamic state. So also, in the northwest bandits are stealing and vandalising communities. Similarly, in the north central, farmer-herder feud has become a frequent exercise. In the south east, the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra are clamouring to secede. The Nigerian government since 2015 has been engulfed in coming to terms with these myriad of security challenges (Hassan, 2018).

The federal government envisage policies to restore the nation's dilapidating infrastructure across states in the federation through an unprecedented infrastructure renewal programme implemented through ministries, departments and agencies. The

government noble plan since 2015 has been hampered by plethora of security factors that either limits government sources of finance to execute the programmes or result to the abandoning of projects being executed due to insecurity. The construction of road, water, houses and other humanitarian interventions in the northeast through the Presidential Initiative on Northeast and Northeast Development Commission are thwarted by incessant Boko Haram attacks. Similarly, the efforts of the government in revamping agriculture within the scope of the National Agriculture Promotion Policy is constrained by farmer-herder conflict and banditry in the north central and northwest of the country, because of displacement of farmers and inability of agriculture extension staff to work in affected areas. In another dimension, the allocation of scarce resources to the defence sector to restore peace has impacted in reducing government focus on human development needs to fighting security challenges (Hassan, 2020).

The rate of security challenges in Nigeria has increased the rate of poverty, unemployment and destitution because government's energy and resources are sunk in fighting the menace. The consequences are economic and developmental backwardness due to the inability of the government to embark on meaningful development programmes in conflict zones and the nation at large (Ifeoma, Furity & Anagbogu, 2015).

The security challenges seem intractable for the government, because when government is achieving positive result in containing a crisis, another one emerges elsewhere. The inability of the government to address the security quagmire may not be unconnected with government's failure to decipher the developmental needs of the people from the policy plans it wishes to implement. The government's anti-corruption and economic reform agenda could also be adduced as

factors contributing to the security dilemma of the nation especially banditry and kidnapping for ransom. Conversely, it cannot be legally justified for aggrieved groups to use lopsided appointments and policy reforms to unleash mayhem on the society (Adofu & Alhassan, 2018)

The federal government's development priorities since 2015 have been in the areas of infrastructure renewal, economic revival and diversification, and instituting due process in state business. These reform agenda and refocusing of the national trajectory has been met with obstacles due to status quo agents at work. The government's focus may look attractive because of its future utility, but the immediate repercussions are creating tension in the polity resulting to series of security issues that are undermining the implementation of government's development programmes and projects (Oloyede & Bamgboye, 2019).

The rationale for the paper is to examine the relationship between security challenges and development programmes in Nigeria. The paper argues that insecurity has had negative effect on the execution of government development policies in the context of disrupting an enabling environment for the implementation of programmes which can only be achieved in a peaceful and stable milieu.

Methodology

The paper used qualitative data and content analysis. The study utilized secondary data involving literature such as books, journals, newspapers and magazines. The materials were obtained from library and internet towards achieving the mandate of the paper. The paper is limited to the period 2015-2019, that is, the beginning of President Muhammau Buhari civilian administration's first tenure to its re-election for second term. The emphasis is on the effect of security

challenges on the implementation of government programmes.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This section deals with the explication of the two major concepts in the paper which is security and development. Furthermore, Frustration-Aggression Theory is also discussed as the framework of analysis.

Security

Security is a complex phenomenon that unarguably needs not just counter-measures to deal with but concrete preventive and resilient decisions to manage in order to avoid loss of lives and properties. Security therefore, requires but not limited to physical protection from existing danger and harm, but also the establishment of resilient socio-political and economic structures to deal with its complexity (Johnmary & Francis, 2016). Security as a concept has no universally accepted definition due its complex nature and myriad of issues involved, which can be economic, political, social and cultural. According to Ali ksm (2013) security is the protection of life and property from intruders, attack, trespassers or theft. In a more professional term, it is the prevention of unlawful possession or to protect a person, people or place from attack. Security challenges within the context of this paper refer to a situation in which threats to lives and properties assume a perpetual occurrence over a long period of time. Adofu & Alhassan (2018) described insecurity as the manifestation of uncertainty, hazard, danger, need for safety, want of confidence, state of doubt, inadequately guarded and protected, lack of protection, being unsafe and instability among others.

Development

Development is a wide and multi-faceted concept. It has been growing in scope and substance since the beginning of civilisation. Development is a complex phenomenon with many dimensions. There is economic development, social development, and political development among others. The meaning of development has evolved from its earlier narrow conceptualization with economic growth expressed in aggregate economic indicator of Gross National Product to a more broad-based conceptualization as a multidimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty. Amartya (1988) is of the view that development is the process of change, change for better, improving people's well-being, raising peoples' standard of living, and improving peoples' self-esteem. According to Yahaya, (2002) development can be seen as the processes that bring about improvement in human life, enhanced environment, healthy living, and access to knowledge and availability of sufficient resources for decent living standard. Development programmes are therefore the strategies implemented by the government that bring about total transformation in the quality of life of the people.

Frustration/Aggression Theory

The paper adopts frustration-aggression theory put forward by Gurr (1970). The theory states that conflict is the direct response to accumulated frustration and anger, particularly in societies where scarce resources are unable to satisfy human wants and violent behaviour is seen as the last resort. In this sense, violent behaviour is regarded as a direct result of deep-seated resentment such that the greater the discrepancy between what is sought and what seems obtainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will be the outcome of economic, social and political alienation of some groups in the society. The theory posits that violence and insecurity are

not natural phenomena, but a direct result of frustration manifested in denying people of basic rights, necessities of life and social justice (cited in Wallensteen, 2007).

Zango and Ali (2017) are also of the view that aggression is the outcome of frustration occasioned by denial of legitimate desires of individuals either directly or indirectly, or through indirect consequences of the way society is structured. The feeling of disappointment may lead to such persons to express their anger through violence directed at those they perceive to be responsible for their plight. Marginalisation and feeling of rejection transforms a normal situation into aggression and subsequently to waves of unimaginable security challenges as being the case in Nigeria in the period 2015-2019.

The relevance of the theory to the paper is located in the premise that when individuals and groups are unable to accomplish objectives or have unfulfilled desires because of perceived injustice or alienation, they resort to malign attitudes to put forward their grievances reflected sometimes in violent reactions. The violent reaction leads to instability, loss of lives and properties. Consequently, protracted conflicts lead to a disorderly environment which is unfavourable for the implementation of development initiatives by the government.

Security Challenges in Nigeria

The current security challenges in Nigeria are manifested in Boko Haram insurgency, kidnapping, banditry, Niger-Delta militancy and farmer-herders' conflict among others (Adofu & Alhassan, 2018). Some of these security challenges are discussed below:

Boko Haram Insurgency: Boko Haram came into the limelight as a radical religious sect in 2002 which was first reported in Kanama (Yobe state) and in Gwoza (Borno state). The devastating activities of the sect since 2009 constitute serious security challenge to the Nigerian state. The Boko Haram rebellion resulted to the loss of lives and destruction of properties, many people are displaced and subjected to miserable living in internally displaced persons' camp, disruption of businesses and other economic, social and political activities. The heinous activities of this sect ranges from killing of innocent Nigerians, raping and abduction of women, bombing of major cities, places of worships, schools, markets and police stations in the northern part of Nigeria, particularly, Borno, Kano, Bauchi, Niger, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, among others (Ifeoma, Furity & Anagbogu, 2015).

Niger Delta militancy: Niger Delta militancy has been one of the major security challenges in the country which is basically on resource control. The militants are engaged in armed struggle, hostage taking and pipeline vandalism among others. The instability in the region is forcing oil companies to move to other countries such as Angola and Gabon due to constant attack on their facilities and employees. The Avengers took up arms in 2015 to further disrupt oil production, but their activities have been contained to some extent as a result of government intervention to address some of their grievances (Daniel & Kwopnan, 2018).

Farmer herders' conflict: Farmer-herders' conflict in Nigeria especially in the north central have escalated in recent years and fast spreading southward threatening the country's security and stability with an estimated death toll of approximately 2,500 people, and tens of thousands displaced in Benue and Kaduna states in 2016 alone. The conflict relating to land and water use, obstruction of traditional migration routes, livestock theft and crop damage tends to trigger the dispute and thus becoming potentially dangerous as the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast. This is largely due to increasing availability of illicit firearms both locally produced and smuggled

from outside, worsens the bloodshed (International Crisis Group, 2017).

Banditry: Banditry violence has gradually turned Nigeria's north-western states of Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Kebbi to another major regional theatre of violence much like the northeast where Boko Haram insurgency have wreaked havoc in the past ten years (Suleiman, 2019). The banditry violence started as farmer-herders' conflict in 2011 and later intensified from 2017 to 2018 to include cattle rustling, kidnapping for ransom and incessant killings. Consequently, about 21 million people living in the banditry prone zone are exposed to insecurity from activities of bandits. Furthermore, the violent bandit activities have affected 35 out of 92 local government areas in the region (Adulralman & Akuva, 2020). The discovery of gold mines and the activities of illegal miners competing for the control of gold reserves have further intensify the existence and activities of armed groups in the northwest (Adulralman & Akuva, 2020).

According to Suleiman (2019) the activities of the bandits led to the destruction of over five hundred villages and thirteen thousand hectares of land have been devastated, and two thousand eight hundred and thirty five people killed between 2011 and 2018. It is also estimated that there are at least ten thousand armed bandits and cattle rustlers operating out of eight major camps in Zamfara state (Suleiman, 2019). Furthermore, about forty four thousand children were rendered orphans as a result of the bandit attacks since 2010. In Anka Local Government Area of Zamfara state alone, over sixteen thousand people have been internally displaced. Bandit attack has currently become the major highlight of daily news. For instance, Epron (2019) reported that on 15th June, 2019 34 people were killed in Tungar Kafau and Gidan Waya, Zamfara state. On 27th July 2018 42 people were killed

in the villages of Mashema, Kwashabawa and Birane Districts of Zurmi Local Government Area of Zamfara state. In May 2019, 23 persons were killed in Tunga and Kabaje villages in Kaura-Namoda Local Government Area by suspected bandits in Zamfara state (Epron, 2019).

Kidnapping: Kidnapping started in the oil-rich Niger Delta area when it was used as a tool to address the wanton neglect of their communities by successive administrations. It has since grown to become the new multimillion naira business now thriving outside the region. (Ifeoma, Furity & Anagbogu, 2015). Nigeria is among the countries in the world with the highest rate of kidnap for ransom cases, other countries on top of the list include Venezuela, Mexico, Yemen, Syria, the Philippines, Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia. Many Nigerians have been kidnapped for ransom and other purposes over the years. This heinous act has prevailed in spite of measures put in place by the government (Okoli, 2019).

The spate of kidnapping in the country has reached an alarming proportion. This is evident that within a period of 12 months from 2016 to 2017; Nigeria recorded 1,177 kidnap cases. For instance in May 2015, Prof. James Adichie was kidnapped and ₦50m demanded, and an undisclosed amount paid. In September 2015, Mr. Olu Falae former finance minister was kidnapped and ₦100 Million demanded, undisclosed amount paid. In March 2016, Sierra Leone's High Commissioner to Nigeria was kidnapped, and 40 Million Dollars demanded, undisclosed amount paid, and in May 2019, Umar Musa (President Buhari's townsman) was kidnapped (Ogbuechi, 2018).

Security Challenges and Development Programmes in Nigeria

The political and economy landscape of Nigeria is confronted with many security challenges that undermine the ability of the

government to effectively implement development programmes relating to infrastructure projects, agricultural transformation and employment generation (Usman & Mathew, 2014). Nigeria has continued to witness tremendous setback in its socio-economic development due to multiple security threats of different kinds perpetrated by banditry, kidnapping, Boko Haram insurgency, farmer-herders' conflict, Niger Delta militancy among others (Epron, 2019).

The budget allocation to fight insecurity in Nigeria has been on increase over the years, given the percentage increase of annual budget allocated to security agencies on yearly basis, while education and human capital development are degraded. The government allocates huge resources for defence annually to resolve the security challenges bedevilling the nation to the detriment of other pressing sectors of the economy (Usman & Mathew, 2014). Government's expenditure on security is over 4.62 trillion in five years. The security situation remains Nigeria's major challenge to socio-economic development (Epron, 2019).This huge amount is enough to relieve Nigeria of major socio-economic and developmental issues. The implication is that if Nigeria continues to spend such amount other sectors will be relegated due to inadequate resources.

The scorching effect of Boko Haram insurgency on the people and economy of the north-east of Nigeria does not only pose threats to the lives and properties of citizens, it discourages local businesses, scares away foreign investment, and portrays a bad image to the country (Ifeoma, Furity & Anagbogu, 2015). Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the country has drastically dropped as foreign investors are scared from coming to invest their capital and contribute towards economic development. The government's agriculture promotion policy is under threat in the northeast, farmers are not benefiting from the initiative due to Boko Haram insurgency that displaced majority of them. It is estimated that 3.7 billion dollars have been lost as a result of displacement of farming communities, loss of livestock and damage to farmlands. The Lake Chad region acclaimed for fishing and irrigation farming is disrupted by the conflict which is a setback to government's policy of domestic food sufficiency. The Boko Haram attacks in Borno state forced the federal government to abandon some sections of the Maiduguri end of the Kano-Maiduguri road project (Lhebade & Benjamin, 2019).

The violent activities of the Niger Delta militants have posed a bigger loss for the Nigerian economy. Annually, approximately 300,000 barrels of oil worth 18 million dollars per day is lost. The GDP is falling at 2.79% every year which consequently resulted to low income of government from oil revenue, low GDP rate, and low participation of local and foreign investors in economic development. Furthermore, the low level of oil production as a result of insecurity in the region posed by the Avengers has a strong negative impact on the Nigerian economy, as low revenues from oil entails a drop in the execution of development projects and programmes for the well-being of the people (Daniel & Kwopnan, 2018).

The economic toll of farmer-herder conflict has been huge. In a study by the International Crisis Group (ICG), it is reported that the federal government was losing 13.7 billion dollars of revenue annually because of farmer-herders' conflicts in Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa and Plateau states. The revenues lost by the government could have been utilized to implement social and physical infrastructure programmes for the well-being

of the people (International Crisis Group, 2017).

The atrocious activities of bandits in the north-west states of Zamfara, Katsina and Sokoto among others have brought the socio-economic activities of the areas to its knees. The bandits ransack villages, steal cattle and cart away valuables. The activities of the bandits disrupt economy of the villages by stalling farm work and rearing of animals, which invariably is a retrogression of the government policy to boost local food production and curtail import of agricultural produce. Federal and state roads and projects are abandoned in the banditry affected areas due to attacks on construction company staff and vandalism of equipments (Adulralman & Akuva, 2020).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Nigeria's security challenges occasioned by the activities of Boko Haram insurgency, farmer-herder conflict, Niger Delta militancy, kidnappers, banditry among others has over the years constituted threat to lives and properties, hampered the implementation of development programmes and decline in economic activities. National security is essential in providing enabling environment for economic growth and development to flourish.

It is recommended that the federal government should effectively formulate and implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria. A viable and result oriented agency capable of ameliorating the problem of abject poverty and unemployment among large population of Nigerians should be established, as it will help in reducing the level of crime and violence in the country. Government should also be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats through training and deploying advanced technology in managing security challenges in the country. Finally, groups and communities that have justifiable grudges should use diplomacy rather than confrontation in resolving their problems.

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