NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA: BEING A PAPER DELIVERED BY YUSUF ALI SANAT THE IST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AL-HIKMAH UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES ON 13TH MAY, 2013

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.01 The issue of national security is one that has been on the top list of the Nigerian government in recent years. It has become a matter of concern, not only domestically, but also on the international plane. It is therefore commendable that this conference is being put together at such a time to discuss the issue of our national security and how it affects the development of the nation and also to chart a way forward.

1.02 The current spate of violence being experienced in many parts of the country has no doubt led to loss of lives and property, costing the nation both human and natural resources. It is therefore worth the effort to look into how the issue of security or insecurity can affect the economic, political, and social development of Nigeria.

1.03 This paper seeks to examine the issue of development and security, beginning with a general definition of the key concepts. A brief expose will be made on the indices of development and the types of security and most importantly the nexus between national security and development.

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2.00 **DEFINITIONAL PERSPECTIVES**

2.01 **DEVELOPMENT:** The Collins English Dictionary has defined development as the act or process of growing, progressing, or developing. It can also be defined as an improvement in human welfare, quality of life and social wellbeing and satisfying the population's needs and wants.

Development is a complex issue, with many different and sometimes contentious definitions. A basic perspective equates development with economic growth. The United Nations Development Programme uses a more detailed definition-according to them, development is 'to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community.'

Achieving human development is linked to a third perspective of development, which views it as freeing people from obstacles that affect their ability to develop their own lives and communities. Development, therefore, is empowerment: it is about local people taking control of their own lives, expressing their own demands and finding their own solutions to their problems.[2]

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http://www.volunteeringoptions.org/Volunteering Development/What is Development.

2.02 **NATIONAL SECURITY**: There is no single universally accepted definition of "National Security". The variety of definitions provides an overview of the many usages of this concept. The concept still remains ambiguous, having originated from simpler definitions, which initially emphasised the freedom from military threat and political coercion to later increase in sophistication and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstances of the time.

It has been defined by the National defence College of India as

> **"an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might."**

Charles Maier also defined national security as follows:

> **"National security... is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing." Or**

"Proceedings of Seminar on "A Maritime Strategy for India" (1996). National Defence College, Tees January Marg, New Delhi, India.

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National security has been defined as freedom from hunger, or from threat to a nation's ability to protect and defend itself, promote its cherished values and interests, and enhance the well-being of its people.[4]

National security is a state or condition where our most cherished values and beliefs, our democratic way of life, our institutions of governance and our unity, welfare and well-being as a nation and people are permanently protected and continuously enhanced.[5]

In the main, National security refers to a state where the unity, well-being, values, and beliefs, democratic process, mechanism of governance and welfare of the nation and her people are perpetually improved and secured through military, political and economic resources. In other words, the absence of continuous improvement in the socio-political and economic well-being of the people and states are tagged insecurity. Insecurity is not only limited to communal crisis, ethnic and religious violence, and political conflict but also include the presence of natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes etc.[6]

From the above definitions, it can be observed that national security is not restricted only to weapons and military preparedness but encompasses political, social and economic well-being of the people. As such, any threats to any of these constitute a threat to national security.

[4]Gwarzo I (1998) "Meeting the Current Challenges of National Security". [5]http://www.dlsu.edu.ph/offices/osa/rotc/pdf/ms1/threat-Nat Security The Impact of National [6]Security on Foreign Direct Investment in Nigeria: An Empirical Analysis Dickson Oriakhi; Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development ISSN 22 22-2855 (Online)
Vol.3, No.13, 2012

3.00 INDICES OF DEVELOPMENT

3.01 There are a whole range of indicators that give us an idea of the quality of living in a nation. They can be broadly described as social indices and can be linked to the economy, environment and politics. They include things as simple as

- ➤ Access to safe water
- ➤ Access to internet broad band connection
- ➤ Male and female literacy rates
- ➤ Number of people per car
- ➤ Number of people per doctor
- ➤ Food consumption
- ➤ Mortality rates for diseases
- ➤ Crime levels
- ➤ Subjective life satisfaction
- ➤ Obesity
- ➤ Corruption perception index
- ➤ Number in higher education

➤ Energy consumption

➤ Air/water pollution levels.[7]

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http://www.slideshare.net/ecumene/14-development-definitions-and-measuring-development

3.02 The Human Development Index[8] measures the average achievements in a country (region) in three basic dimensions of human development:

- A long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth.
- Knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two thirds weight) and the combined gross enrolment ratio (with one third weight).
- A decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per Capita

3.03 Another measure of development which is similar to the Human Development Index is the City Development Index, but with additional dimensions particularly relevant to urban populations. The dimensions used to calculate the City Development Index are given below, resulting in ten indices:

- mean gross household income (as used in HDI)
- proportion of dwellings with piped water on property
- proportion of dwellings with connection to sewerage system
- proportion of dwellings with telephone in dwelling
- proportion of dwellings with electricity supplies
- proportion of dwellings with solid waste removal
- life expectancy at birth
- infant mortality
- gross enrolment ratio

- adult literacy

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a summary measure of human development, as used by the United Nations Development Programme
(UNDP)
http://www.westerncape.gov.za/text/2005/6/hdi.pdf

3.04 Thus the indices for calculating the City Development Index as derived from the data above are:

- Education Index a weighted mean of adult literacy and gross enrolment
- Infrastructure Index the mean of water connection, sewerage, electricity and telephone
- Health Index a weighted mean of life expectancy and infant mortality

4.00 ELEMENTS OF SECURITY

The concept of national security is one that touches directly on the development of a country. A discussion of the elements therefore, will reveal that the absence of any of these elements can lead to insecurity and impact negatively on national development.

1. **POLITICAL SECURITY:** Political security is the defence against any form of political oppression. It is concerned with whether people live in a society that honours their basic human rights. [10]
2. **ECONOMIC SECURITY:** Economic security or financial security is the condition of having stable income or other resources to support a standard of living now and in the foreseeable future. It includes:

- probable continued solvency

- ❖ predictability of the future cash flow of a person or other economic entity, such as a country
- ❖ employment security or job security[11]

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10 http://definitions.uslegal.com/p/political-security

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It has also been defined as a situation of having a stable source of financial income that allows for the on-going maintenance of one's standard of living currently and in the near future, [12]

3. **MILITARY SECURITY:** Military security implies the capability of a nation to defend itself, and/or deter military aggression. Alternatively, military security implies the capability of a nation to enforce its policy choices by use of military force. It has been defined as a condition that results from the establishment and maintenance of protective measures that ensure a state of inviolability from hostile acts or influences. 13 This is traditionally, the earliest recognised form of national security.

4. **SOCIAL SECURITY**: Social security is a concept enshrined in Article 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality. In simple term, this means that the signatories agree that society in which a person lives should help them to develop and to make the most of

all the advantages (culture, work, social welfare) which are offered to them in the country, [14]

It refers to the general concept of being secure in society from want and the systems to ensure this

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_security

Read more: http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/economic-security.html.

"Security." in "Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms", 2001 (As amended through 31 July 2010)

op.cited. Pg 477

5. **ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY:** Environmental security deals with environmental issues which threaten the national security of a nation in any manner. The scope and nature of environmental threats to national security and strategies to engage them is a subject of debate. [15] While all environmental events are not considered significant of being categorised as threats, many transnational issues, both global and regional would affect national security. Environmental problems have been classified as follows: 16

    i. Transnational environmental problems that threaten a nation's security, in its broad defined sense. These include global environmental problems such as climate change due to global warming, deforestation and loss of biodiversity, etc.

    ii. Environmental or resource problems that threaten a nation's security, traditionally defined. These would be problems whose outcomes would result in conventional threats to national security

as first or higher order outcomes. Such disputes could range from heightened tension or outright conflict due to disputes over water scarcity, to illegal immigration into an area caused by the failure of agriculture in other places. The genocide in Rwanda, indirectly or partly caused by rise in population and dwindling availability of farmland, is an example of the extremity of outcome arising from problems of environmental security. [17]

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14 "Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Plain language version. United Nations. Retrieved 20 April 2012

"Art 22. "22

15 Romm, Joseph J. (1993). Defining national security: the nonmilitary aspects. Pew Project on America's Task in a Changed World (Pew Project Series). Council on Foreign Relations. p. 122. ISBN 978-0-87609-135-7.16 Romm (1993)

iii. Environmentally threatening outcomes of warfare, e.g. Romans destroyed the fields of Carthage by pouring salt over them; Saddam Hussein's burning of oil wells in the Gulf War, the use of Agent Orange by the USA in the Vietnam War for defoliating forests for military purposes.

6. **FOOD SECURITY:** Food security refers to the availability of food and one's access to it. A household is considered food-secure when its occupants do not live in hunger or fear of starvation. The World Health Organization defines three facets of food security: food availability, food access, and food use. Food availability is having available sufficient quantities of food on a consistent

basis. Food access is having sufficient resources, both economic and physical, to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. Food use is the appropriate use based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care, as well as adequate water and sanitation. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations adds a fourth facet: the stability of the first three dimensions of food security over time. [18]

Despite its significant natural resources and continued economic growth, poverty remains widespread in Nigeria and has even increased in some areas since the late 1990s. An estimated 70 percent of Nigerians live on less than US$1.25 per day. Nigeria was ranked 40th out of 79 on the 2012 Global Hunger Index and 156th out of 187 on the 2011 UNDP Human Development Index. Poverty is especially widespread in rural areas, where 80 percent of the population lives below the poverty line.

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[17] Diamond, Jared. "Malthus in Africa: Rwanda's Genocide

[18]FAO Agricultural and Development Economics Division (June 2006).

Agriculture is the mainstay of Nigeria's economy, employing approximately two-thirds of the country's total labour force and contributing 40 percent to Nigeria's GDP. Nigeria is the world's largest producer of cassava, yam, and cowpea; yet it is a food-deficit nation and depends on imports of grains, livestock products, and fish. [19]

7. **ELECTORAL SECURITY:** One of the complex and fundamental chains in the success and credibility of the electoral process is Election Security. It is critical to the success of the electoral process and no electoral management

body can conduct successful elections if the security environment is charged, polluted or violent.

It is on account of the importance of election security and the need for its impartiality and independence on electoral duty that some countries domicile the control and direction of the Police Force in the hands of the Chief Electoral Officer of the country a week or more before the conduct of a major election. In which case, the Electoral Management Body brings into its web, the security apparatus of the country for purposes of direction and instruction pending the conclusion of elections.[20]

A political culture where votes do not count and where national dialogue is abhorred, and the peoples' sovereignty is regularly subverted, is one that cannot build security or set a pattern for development. A society that must grow should see struggle as a necessary nourishment and impetus for transformation. The arena of struggle is not contradictory to security, but fosters it. Thus, we have to keep in mind the true function of social structures in the life of any society.

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19 IFAD and World Bank 2012.

To ensure electoral security, Nigeria must adopt the best practices in the conduct of its elections. Within the context of electoral security, a "best practice" can be defined as a policy, practice, or program intervention that has demonstrated measurable results in achieving electoral conflict prevention, management, or mediation. [21]

8. **HEALTH SECURITY:** Health security is the awareness of being secure that health is good and if not, there are ways to obtain care to return to good health. It aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles.[22]

   Threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas due to malnutrition and insufficient access to health services, clean water and other basic necessities.

   The Nigerian health system, in spite of the huge resources (human and material) that the nation could boast of, is still in a parlous state. Where the security of health of the citizens is not guaranteed, it could pose a threat to national security and development. The breakout of an epidemic, for instance in a particular region, would definitely forestall development of any form in that region, at least for as long as the epidemic subsists.

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20 Festus Okoye- Reflections on election security; http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/01/reflections-on-election-security/

http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/Electoral_Security_Best_Practices_USAID

22 http://definitions.uslegal.com/h/health-security/

5.00 THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVLOPMENT

5.01 There have been several ethno-religious conflicts in the history of Nigeria, but in recent times, these problems appear to be escalating at an intolerable scale. Ethnic and criminal activities individually and collectively create insecurity and breach of the peace that are likely to or indeed affect legitimate social and economic activities in the country. These problems also have the very damaging consequence of giving the signal to the rest of the international community that Nigeria is not a safe and secure place and as such not suitable for economic investment and activities. This is particularly important in view of the efforts being made to create the desired atmosphere to attract foreign investment.

5.02 Insecurity and terrorism has a huge economic, socio and physical cost. It is obvious that the loss of human lives and the suffering of survivors in the aftermath of an attack can be tremendous. Apart from the loss of lives, terrorist attacks are likely to have negative consequences on the investment behaviour23. Withdrawal of Foreign Direct Investment by countries and companies may occur due to the direct destruction of infrastructure, the rise of operating costs as a result of high demand for security24. In the field of stock market, insecurity and terrorism may negatively influence the prices of stock as well as the sales and purchase of stocks. This may increase market volatility due to the perception of investors towards the security of the stock market. 25 Insecurity may also divert economic resources from highly productive sectors to less productive security measures, thereby crowding out investment. No meaningful growth and development can take place in the

continuous face of insecurity. This will not only reduce Gross Domestic Product and fuel inflation but also the flow of Foreign Direct Investment. It has been argued that the increase in government expenditure due to rising insecurity, especially in less developed countries may likely result in the sales of foreign reserves and seigniorage.[26] As a consequence inflation in those countries will rise. [27]

5.03 A practical consideration of this aspect will reveal that the best way to ensure national security is not by strengthening the military alone but by strengthening the general populace. In other words, if steps are taken to ensure development in all facets, there will be less dissatisfaction among the people and thus fewer hands to use in perpetrating violence.

5.04 Conversely, if all the elements of security set out above are put in place, peace will be prevalent and thus ensure a conducive environment for both domestic and foreign investments. A secure atmosphere is indeed vital for national development. Thus, security is not merely one in which physical violent actions are absent, but also includes one where structural imbalance are eliminated. Poverty, disease, unemployment, homelessness, lack of energy, poor infrastructure and illiteracy are all aspects of violence and insecurity and a nation cannot be said to be on the development path if these abound.28

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[23]"Gassebner, 2005

[24]Enders and Sandler, 2006; Frey et al, 2007 25

[25]Jackson et al, (2007)

6.00 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

6.01 The measures that must be taken to ensure national security and development will include:

1. Making development policies that are not just lifted from developed nations but are actually tailored to meet the real needs of the people.
2. Taking critical steps on economic empowerment, including a special focus on youth employment and education. The current army of unemployed youths and others who cannot find places in our tertiary institutions is a recipe for insecurity.
3. Bringing to book anyone proven to be guilty of sponsoring terrorism, no matter how high.
4. Maintaining effective armed forces and security agencies.
5. Implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures.
6. Ensuring the resilience and rejuvenation of critical infrastructure
7. Using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information.
8. Using counter-intelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats.
9. Strengthening the feedback mechanism between the government and the citizenry and improving on their communicative competence.
10. Maintaining the principles of the rule of law in the process of ensuring security. The ultimate goal and responsibility of any security policy, including counter-terrorism, should be the safety, freedom, and dignity of individuals and their communities.

[26] McKenna (2005)

[27] Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development www.iste org ISSN 2222-2855 (Online) Vol.3, No.13, 2012 [28] Security- an imperative for national development; http://nnimmo.blogspot.com/2012/02/security-imperative-for-national.html

11. Doing an all-out battle against corruption and its multifaceted manifestations.
12. Effective law enforcement and implementation of our laws.
13. Promote an even socio-economic and infrastructural development.
14. Discourage impunity and disdain for rules, regulations and orders.
15. Reward hard work, loyalty, honesty and merit.

7.00 CONCLUSION

7.01 In this paper, we have laboured to show that, in order to tackle the issue of insecurity in the country, the government must adopt a wholesome approach to the issue of development. The concept of national security and development are so intricately interwoven that the neglect of one, will definitely lead to the fall of the other.

7.02 In this paper it was also stated that in a modern society, especially in this 21st century, security is not entirely hardware (military force or even traditional military activity, even though it encompasses them) but development and without development there cannot be security. Security is no longer a matter of preventing or defending against war but about feeling safe from a variety of threats. A feeling of being safe, as discussed in this paper, can be brought

about by ensuring constant electricity supply, economic security, social security, political security, food security, environmental security and so on.

7.03 Policy makers should be realistic, practical and pragmatic in their approach to policy making. Hope only comes to a people when policy directions are driven by the real needs of the people and in their best interests. Polices driven by wholesale surrender to the international financial economic institutions such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, had failed over the years and a surrender to them at this point in our national history portends a loss of sovereignty and a descent into further downward slide.

7.04 In order for Nigeria to hold her head high within the global community of nations, her people must enjoy enduring peace, security and stability within their national borders, and this must in turn bring about developmental dividends, that will improve the lives of generations of Nigerians to come.

7.05 Let me end this discourse by quoting the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, in his autobiography 'Interventions: A Life in War and Peace to underscore the fact that Nigeria must take its destiny in its hands if it wants to enjoy development and security. He stated thus29:

2 At page 212

> **"By 1997, the year I started my first term as secretary-general, I had spent much of my life observing the global development agenda wind its way through a long and grinding journey. It had not come far. Plans for poverty eradication and international development cooperation had spent most of the twentieth century in a stillbirth cycle: laudable imaginings repeatedly crushed by the thrust of power in the international system. For me, it started as a teenage African stepping into adulthood at the advent of decolonization, when all debates were ensconced in the fervent anticipation that Africans would be finally free to develop themselves. I watched this false dawn, believing, like most of my contemporaries, that we could all play dynamic roles in this exciting future even as the first coups rolled in and pitiful leadership and institutional decay began to grip the continent."**

Thank you for your patience.