



National Security Challenges and Sustainable Economic Development: Evidence from Nigeria

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Abstract. Nigeria is one of the relatively secured nations in West African sub-region. In recent times, this endowed nation suddenly metamorphosed into an abode of serial bombing, hostage taking, armed robbery, cold-blooded killings and ethno-religious conflicts traceable to militant groups with conflicting ideological, political and religious agenda. Among these militant groups are Niger-Delta insurgents, Campus cults, Bakassi Boys, Armed robbers, O’dua People’s Congress, Boko Haram et cetera. The resultant loss of lives, rising budgetary spending for security and destruction of valuable government facilities portend devastating consequences for sustainable economic development in the country. This paper examines the link between national security and sustainable economic development in Nigeria. The authors adopt quantitative method, which entails extraction of secondary data from the publications of Central Bank of Nigeria, National Bureau of Statistics and other reliable reports on the subject. The generated data were carefully analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics on the basis of which far-reaching conclusions were drawn. The research findings indicate that Nigeria’s expenditure on national security is rising faster than spending on education, agriculture, health and construction. This unpleasant finding has negative effect on sustainable economic development in Nigeria. The paper proffers tripartite

recommendations for governments, the citizens and policy-makers.

Keywords: National Security, Nigeria and Sustainable Economic Development

Introduction

Nigeria is a populous Black African nation, blessed with an intimidating population of over 150 million people, with wide geographical spread across thirty-six (36) states and a federal capital territory (Akhemonkhan et al., 2012). Nigeria is part of the NEKS countries; an acronym for Nigeria, Egypt, Kenya and South Africa, described by analysts as nations with huge untapped markets for foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa (Alkali, 2008). At independence and several years after, the country was perceived as a relatively secured nation in the West African sub-region because of its steady economic growth and leadership role in the Economic Community of African States (ECOWAS). However, the sudden discovery of crude oil truncated the nation's steady drive towards sustainable economic development (SED), as the focus of Federal government shifted from commercial agriculture to crude oil exploration and exploitation (Dode, 2011).

According to Watts (2009, p.3-4) a total of \$700 billion oil revenues had been accumulated by the Nigerian government since independence. Unfortunately, the massive oil revenues have added little to the living standard of Nigerians. He asserted that 85 per cent of oil revenues earned overtime is shared among the influential political elites, who constitute only one per cent of the population, with the possibility that 40% or more of the national wealth accumulated overtime might have been stolen by the ruling elites, technocrats and policy bureaucrats (Ibid.). The picture of mismanagement of the nation's oil wealth as painted above, justifies the assertion that Nigeria is experiencing economic growth, but no sustainable economic development.

While the ruling elites, technocrats and their cronies were busy stealing,

embezzling and sharing the nation's oil wealth, the agelong peace and security that the nation enjoyed started waning because of threats to national security orchestrated by militant groups with conflicting socio-economic and political agenda. The militant groups whose antics and activities portend serious danger to national security in Nigeria are: Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Bakassi Boys, O'odua People's Congress (OPC), Student Cults and Boko Haram sect (Rotimi, 2005; The Economist, 2008; Akhemonkhan et. al, 2012). The emergence of militancy in Nigeria fueled ethno-religious crises in Jos, vandalism of oil installations in the South-South, massive robbery in South-West, kidnapping in the South-East and heinous killing/bombing of innocent Nigerians in Northern Nigeria (Daily IndependentOnline, 2010). Other manifestations of threat to national security include drug trafficking, human trafficking, human sacrifice, ritual killing, sectarian violence, political violence, communal strife, natural disasters and pervasive acts of normlessness (Darmer, 2004).

Evidence that lends credence to the fact that security situation is nose-diving in Nigeria can be found in the 2010 survey report published by the Business Environment in Nigerian States, which highlights the deplorable security situation in Nigeria along with other environment components. For 2007, the survey rated national security in Nigeria 62.69 per cent, as against 49.49 per cent in 2010 report. This represents a significant fall in national security rating by 13.2 per cent (BECANS-II, 2010).

From the foregoing, threat to Nigeria's internal security is real, as the international community has declared Nigeria a failing state in several circles as well as in policy papers. For instance, the Fund for Peace (FFP) in its 2012 report, ranked Nigeria as one of the top 10 failed states in Africa and 14th in the world because of growing wave of insecurity and endemic violence (Tella, 2012).

Threat to national security is the singular factor that is responsible for the astronomical increase in the nation's expenditure on internal security. The Federal government has continued to appropriate huge funds for 'defence and internal security' in the national budget; a trend that has denied capital projects in the education, health, agriculture and construction sectors the needed attention. In the 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 fiscal years, the total expenditures earmarked for both internal security defence in the approved budgets were ₦292.7 billion, ₦276.5, ₦422.9 and ₦563.2 billion respectively (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2011).

Apart from the spending on defence and internal security at the Federal level, the 36 states and 774 local government councils in Nigeria enjoy security votes, a fund that has come under serious attacks and criticisms in the recent times. Some public analysts including few serving governors called for the immediate abrogation of security vote on the grounds that it is not economically sustainable considering the diverse challenges facing the nation; and also because security votes open the floodgate to monumental frauds and stealing of state's fund by the political elites in Nigeria (Eboh and Obodoechina; 2012).

Another impetus that threatens national security apart from militancy is economic corruption. Insecurity for lives and properties increased in the country because corruption has entered the management of the nation's security budgets (defence spending, internal security votes et cetera). National security has suddenly become a big-time business, as bureaucrats and military officials diverted security votes and expenditure on defence to personal coffers. They tactically fuel insecurity in different parts of the country to get more funding from all levels of government. Albert (2005, cited by Fagbadebo, 2007, p.34) described the incidences of bombing and attendant threat to national security in Nigeria, as a political intrigue unleashed on the nation by ruling elites to cover up corruption.

He asserts: “The bomb attacks also became a veritable vehicle by which the government diverted the attention of the people from substantive issues in politics. Each blast reported and discussed in the NTA and Radio Nigeria news for several weeks...all these were aimed at attracting sympathy for the government and ...through this kind of diversionary tactics Nigerians were led to forget about the fundamental issues in their nation’s development while ‘sympathizing’ with the Head of state ‘whose genuine efforts towards lasting democracy’ were being thwarted by ‘subversive elements’”.

Speaking recently on the implication of economic corruption at the level of government, Osisioma (2012, p.2) asserts that corruption “...*increases cost of goods and services, promotes unproductive investments, and leads to a decline in quality of public and private service. Indeed, the heaviest cost of corruption is not in the bribes themselves, but rather in the underlying economic distortions they trigger.*”

On the strength of the foregoing scholarly revelations, Boko Haram, Niger-Delta militants, South-East kidnapers and other insurgents are mere monetisation of insecurity and extension of political intrigue in Nigeria. Media reports noted that Boko Haram for instance is secretly being provided financial and logistics assistance by opportunistic politicians, serving and retired security officers and some elements, but these unscrupulous elements pretend to be defending the interests of oppressed people. The real agenda of sponsors of militancy is to subvert the nation’s security and heat up the system (Bello, 2012). Another conspiracy theory indicates that Boko Haram was nurtured in Borno state to provide a buffer against the rival politicians from the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), which ruled at the federal level (Ibid.).

The vandalism that trailed Boko Haram’s bombing and heinous killings of the innocent did not spare public and private institutions such as residential buildings, media houses, churches, mosques, telecommunication masts, markets,

motor parks and vehicles et cetera; the criminal elements equally extended their terror act to the United Nations headquarters as well as the Nigerian Police Headquarters in Abuja (Otto and Ukpere, 2012). Rebuilding of public and private infrastructural facilities destroyed by militants as well as rehabilitating victims of violence are avoidable activities that put further financial strain on meager resources of the Federal, State and Local governments. This unnecessary expenditures therefore justifies the need for preventive policing in Nigeria!

Gregory Starr, the United Nations Under-Secretary for Security remarked that adequate security measures that is commensurate with the environmental climate of Abuja were put in place by the United Nations to safeguard the lives of its workers, but Nigeria failed to provide its own share of security thus making UN headquarters vulnerable to preventable attack unleashed by the Boko Haram extremists (Okeke, 2011).

Also, the authorities of Shell Development Petroleum Corporation (SDPC) describes Niger-Delta as a region that is unfriendly to business operations and dangerous to lives of members of staff, hence the appropriation of massive funding for protection of lives of staff and oil installations in the region. Shell officially states:

“Our spending on security is carefully judged to meet this objective, wherever we operate in the world. We have always acknowledged the difficulties of working in countries like Nigeria. In the period that this report refers to, the armed militancy in the Niger delta was at its height, requiring a relatively high level of security spending there.” (Hirsch and Vidal, 2012: para.10).

The Federal government of Nigeria also provides to the military authorities, on a monthly basis, the sum of 150 million naira (\$1.3 million) as financial resources for securing the lives as well as protecting oil installations in the Niger-Delta (Courson, 2008; Akhemonkhan, 2012). Despite huge spending on national

security in Nigeria, wave of insecurity for lives and properties continues unabated in the Niger-Delta region. Several multinational firms have outrightly relocated their employees to Lagos from the turbulent region. Worse still, the Niger-Delta crisis affected a number of businesses as they lost large number of clients, suppliers, dealers and customers because they have been constrained by environmental exigencies to close their business premises earlier than normal in order to avoid being attacked or hit by bullets of militants (Enterprise Resilience, 2008).

Faced with growing threat to national security and coupled with huge expenditure on security as elucidated above, some proactive stakeholders across West Africa organised an international summit in order to bring the regional security challenges to the front burner. At the West African Security Summit; the Ghanaian Foreign minister noted that security is imperative for survival of African region. He posits that:

“The quest for peace has eluded Africa for too long. Despite the tremendous gains by some African countries in this area, the entire continent is often judged on the basis of the few, but rather brutal conflicts and grave human rights violations that continue to plague it. The African continent is yet to rid itself of conflicts that threaten peace, security and political stability. The seemingly never-ending conflict in the Great Lakes region, the intense fighting in the horn of Africa, the post-electoral violence that broke out in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Cote, d Ivoire and the grave human rights violations arising out of the Arab spring, particularly in Libya and the spillover consequences in tormenting an Islamist rebellion in Mali, are but a few of the security challenges of our continent. These conflicts have resulted in the death of millions of innocent Africans who entrusted their lives, and rightly so, in the hands of their leaders. These conflicts do not only give Africa a bad reputation; they also indict the assertions that Africans are capable of managing their own affairs.”(Agha, 2012: para. 5)

From the facts unveiled above, it is appropriate to investigate the effect of

national security on sustainable economic development. This is justified because the socio-economic development of a nation is evaluated on the basis of the enduring security, peace and stability. Furthermore, the nuance called sustainable economic development is inextricably tied to the level of national security. Babangida (2012) lends credence to the above submission in his policy paper on national security. He identified food sufficiency, water supply, power supply, good roads, good schools, good hospitals, functional infrastructure, decent housing, effective public transportation system et cetera as genuine indicators for National security in Nigeria. With food security and other complementary security elements in place in the six geographical zones in Nigeria, the rising wave of lawlessness of Boko Haram, Niger-Delta militancy and armed robbery would be sustainably redressed.

Thematic Clarification

Meaning and Dimensions of National Security

The word security according to BBC dictionary of English Language refers all the precautions that are taken to protect a given location or place from danger...security is also a legal protection against possible harm or loss (BBC Dictionary, 1992, p.1048).

The United Nations Development Programme (1994) posits that human security (an aspect of national security) refers to “freedom from fear and freedom from want”...“safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.”

Wehmeier and Ashby (2002) however defines security as activities that ensures protection of a country, persons, properties of the community against future threats, danger, mishaps and all other forms of perils. However, Babangida (2011) views national security “as the physical protection and defense of our citizens and

our territorial integrity, of which it is a part, but also the promotion of the economic well being and prosperity of Nigerians in a safe and secure environment that promotes the attainment of our national interests and those of our foreign partners.”

Furthermore, Otto and Ukpere (2012, p.6767) asserts that “security means protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in homes, offices or communities... security must be related to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others.”

What are the dimensions of national security? According to Tadjbakhsh (2008) national security covers critical dimensions, viz: Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Community security, Political security. Further explanations on the seven (7) dimensions of human security are provided hereunder:

- **Economic Security:** This refers to a security that requires an assured basic income for individuals, which manifests as provision of productive employment opportunities and adequate remuneration. Unemployment, economic hopelessness and chronic poverty are threats to economic security.
- **Food Security:** This type of security requires that all members of the community, at all times, have access to basic food and nutrition that ensures stable wellbeing and protection from hunger, starvation and malnutrition. In the development circle, poor yield from farmlands; endemic famine/drought and sudden pest attack on agricultural produce are threats to food security.
- **Health Security:** This security requires an assurance of a minimum protection from all forms of diseases and unhealthy lifestyles that cut short

human lives. Threats to health security are absence of clean water, dirty environment and poor hygiene/health education.

- **Environmental Security:** This requires a planned protection of people from the short and long-term ravages of nature, spill-over negative effect of environmental degradation and abuse of the ecosystem/natural environment in the forms of desertification, gas flaring/emission, pollution of fresh water, careless use of industrial chemicals et cetera.
- **Personal Security:** This type of security concentrates on the protection of people's lives and their properties from physical violence created by the state, external states, violent individuals and sub-state actors.
- **Community Security:** Communal security assures protection of people from their loss of traditional homeland, customs and values from all types of sectarian and ethnic-related conflicts.
- **Political Security:** This type of security is concerned with the protection of fundamental human rights of electorates as well as freedom from systematic torture, ill treatment and coercion (Ibid.)

The seven dimensions of national security as explained above can summarily be describes as "...protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, and environmental hazards." (UNDP, 1994, p.229).

National security from the various definitions provided above is a sacrosanct and non-negotiable phenomenon in human society. This perhaps informed why every President or Governor in Nigeria at the time of assuming position of authority is requested to take an oath to provide security for lives and properties of the citizens (Otto and Ukpere, 2012). Specifically, Section 14(b) of the Constitution (1999) states that: 'It is hereby accordingly declared that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government.' To discharge the function creditably well, the Chief Executive as President, Governor and Local

Government Boss have been allotted security votes and access to security authorities.

Meaning of Sustainable Economic Development

The term sustainable economic development (SED) or sustainable Development (SD) is a novel concept in the development literature. At one extreme, sustainable economic development is defined as an economic development which meets the needs of present generation and which would not endanger nor compromise the needs of future generation (Nagesha and Subrahmanya, 2006). One of the foremost international bodies advocating economic and environmental sustainability across the globe is the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). The body defines sustainable development “as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 2000, p.43).

Besides, Sagay et al. (2011, p.17) remark that “sustainable development is a process in which the natural resource base (of a nation) is not allowed to deteriorate....”, but utilised optimally for the benefits of the current and future citizens. Whereas, Tounés, et al. (2011) view sustainable economic development as a worthy attempt by environmentalists, economists and scientists to come up with new models of exploiting the environment and its resources in a manner that “guarantee long-term economic, social and environmental progress” (Tounés, et al., 2011). It became a front-burner issue because of rising ecological challenges in the forms of impact of residue of agricultural pesticide on lives, effect of growing population demographics, emergence of environmental protection protests across Europe and America and the backlash of the Earth Day summit (Ibid.).

Summing up the various definitions given above, the term sustainable economic development can be operationally defined as a strategic process of ensuring that the utilisation of physical environment and its diverse natural resources by nation

should be done in a manner that the environment and its resources would provide continuous stream of benefits to both current and future generation. The way Nigeria manages its financial resources as well as its economic resources is economically unsustainable.

Theoretical Framework

Several theories provide theoretical groundings for threat to national security and challenges of sustainable economic development. The two relevant theories that fit the present discourse are: social conflict and neomalthusians theories.

Social Conflict Theory (SCT)

According to proponents of this theory, it provides theoretical explanation for competition among social classes, state actors and non-state actors in their attempts to protect their selfish interests. This class struggle leads to acquisition of weapons and ammunitions for self preservation thus leading to social conflicts and threats to national security and sustainable economic development.

Marx and Engel (1848) asserted:

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.”

The continuous struggle over political authority and economic resources between the rich and the poor, police and armed robbers, ruling party and opposition parties, majority ethnic groups and minority groups et cetera justifies the existence of social conflict in human society. According to Chief Wellington

Okrika, the Boloweï of Gbaramatu Kingdom in the Niger-Delta, endemic conflict over resources emerged in the region because *“The poverty level in the Niger Delta in spite of their oil keeps growing. The youths are aggrieved and radicalized by the activities of government and oil firms. No roads, water, light, schools, hospitals. People are tired of talking because nothing is coming out from many years of talking. So, the youths feel the only thing to do now to get the attention of government and oil firms is to become militant... I think the problem was created by government, which, for many years, failed to address the unacceptable poverty and total neglect of the oil-producing communities.”* (Fagbadebo, 2007:33).

Another version of the social conflict theory states that social structures (such as political institution, economic organs, legal institutions and traditional authorities et cetera) are created in every society through conflict between groups with conflicting ideological interests and diverse means of control over state resources. Individuals and resources, in turn, are influenced by these structures and by the 'unequal distribution of power and resources in the society' (Knapp, 1994). Both versions of the social conflict theory perceive threat to security as motivated by struggle among rival social classes or groups in their quest for groups economic interests, relevance and political dominance. In summary, the import of the two strands of social conflict theory is that in a society where exploitation of one class or group by a dominant class or group, if this dysfunctional relations is not redressed, it results in armed struggle and full scale warfare.

Neo-Malthusianism Theory

The Malthusian theory was postulated by Thomas Malthus with a focus on the relationship between population growth and food required for basic subsistence. He reasoned that the amount of food produced per capita in Europe was declining in relations to the population, a trend he predicted portends devastating consequences for human beings; he warned against pestilence, famine, contagious

disease, congestion, infanticide, war et cetera. In the modern times, the theory was reconstructed as Neomalthusian theory to fit into model of threat to national security often caused by conflict among state actors and non-state actors over ownership and control of natural resources. The general argument of the neomalthusians theory is that the available natural resources relative to human beings are limited on 'spaceship Earth' (Gleditsch and Theisen, 2006) and that expanding population growth, increasing consumption of scarce resources and the harmful extraction of available scarce resources combine to deplete these resources quantitatively and qualitatively. The resulting scarcity of resources historically often trigger cut-throat competition among diverse actors, which eventually leads to social conflict that threatens national security because of escalation of grievances among interest groups, parties, actors and nations (Homer-Dixon, 1999).

The import of the theory is that rising population combined with scarce natural resources threatens national security as a result of cut-throat competition and survival of the fittest race among interest groups in society. These diverse social groups employed available legal and illegal means to gain control over scarce natural resources. This theory succinctly explains the reason for agitation for control of resources in the Niger-Delta as well as violent agitation by Boko Haram for the establishment of shari'ah states in the Northern Nigeria.

Challenges of National Security in Nigeria

Maintaining national security in Nigeria has been hampered by a number of challenges.

The first challenge facing national security is paucity of well trained security operatives (police, army, navy and air force) that can physically and intellectually meet up with the contemporary security dynamics. Nigeria unlike other developed nation is grossly under policed, considering the ratio of security personnel and citizen. Babangida (2012) noted recently that there is a clear

mismatch between Nigeria's population of 160 million and security workforce, as the nation could only boast of 371,000 policemen, 130,000 army officers, 15,000 Airforce officers and 18,000 naval officers. For a nation like Nigeria, a total security workforce of 534,000 is grossly inadequate to manage the growing crimes and different insurgency in different parts of the country.

The second challenge facing national security according to Langumba (2010) is free movement deadly weapons and ease of acquisition of these weapons by unscrupulous individuals and militant groups in the country as well as neighboring nations. This development portends grave security consequences to Nigeria and West African nations, far greater than threat from the HIV/AIDS scourge. On account high demand for deadly weapons, Nigeria became a dumping ground for surplus weapons from developed nations cutting down their stock of arms and ammunitions (Edeko, 2011).

Reliable report indicates that United States of America, Russia, Germany, France, United Kingdom and China are the world's largest exporters of arms to developing nations (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2012). There is endemic violence in Nigeria because of availability of, and access to weapons of various like semi-automatic rifles, shotguns, machine-guns, and shoulder-fired rockets (known as 'bazookas') are readily available for purchase in Warri at prices that range from US\$570 for a shotgun, US\$850 for a Kalashnikov rifle, US\$2150 for a 'bazooka' (Onuoha, 2006).

The third challenge facing national security is the sophistication and firepower of militant groups, armed robbers and Boko Haram in Nigeria. The better trained criminals and militants often overpower Nigerian security operatives. The bombed Police headquarters, military cantonments and high profile security posts. There are instances where weapons in the control of the police and military officers are stolen by armed groups during attacks on their military/police

outposts. There are also cases where armed groups conduct well-coordinated attacks and kill Nigerian security officials in the Niger-Delta region and other locations (Naagbanton, 2005). The funds earmarked for training and procurement of weapons are often embezzled by higher authorities.

The fourth challenge facing national security is porous border posts; a development that made it easy for terrorists, human traffickers and drug barons to infiltrate the country and perpetrate heinous crimes and acts of terrorism. The above point answer the burning question 'Where does Boko Haram, MEND, Armed robbers get their stock of arms and ammunitions?' Onuoha (2006) corroborated the point above that the Nigerian Customs Service during routine surveillance intercepted large consignment of arms and ammunition worth over N4.3 billion (US\$30 million) at border posts. This seizure confirms that potency of the illegal or illicit trafficking of arms by bad boys for perpetrating violence and heating up the security situation in Nigeria.

National Security and Sustainable Economic Development

Security for lives and properties are statutory function of the state, which the constitution guarantees. In order to ensure enduring national security for lives and properties, the National Security Agency (NSA) was constituted and recognised by enabling laws. The NSA as the apex security apparatus in Nigeria comprises of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Service (SSS), Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) is mandated to keep the country safe (Gbanite, 2002).

Moreover, for effective and efficient enforcement of the laws in civil communities, the Nigeria Police Force maintains security for lives and property; the Nigeria Customs Service safeguards the border posts; the Nigeria Immigration Service

Nigeria coordinates entry and exit of nationals and foreigners into the country; National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) ensures the nation is rid of narcotics and hard drugs; while the National Intelligence Agency/State Security Service carry out undercover security surveillance.

Apart from legal framework for national security, the various security agencies are massively funded to discharge their statutory mandates effectively and efficiently; the constitution approves the appropriation of budget for “defence and national security”. Interestingly since 1961, the Central Bank of Nigeria reflected “defence and internal security” as two functional classifications of security expenditures in Nigeria (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2011). The contentious security vote, which the political elites have turned it into a goldmine for the sitting President, Governors and Chairmen of local government councils are paid from funding for “defence and internal security” (Eboh and Obodochina, 2012; Best Naira, 2012).

According to Eboh and Obodochina (2012) “security votes are funds provided at the three tiers of government in Nigeria to provide security for the citizens. These funds are collected by the Federal, state and local government chief executives in Nigeria as security votes.” The security vote despite the positive intention behind its creation has not mitigated incidences of insecurity; rather the political officeholders enrich themselves with the funds. The Institute of Directors (IoD) remarked that despite huge sums of money earmarked for security vote, there has been consistent annual increase in the incidences of killings, kidnappings, cultism and other acts of insecurity across the length and breadth of the country (Ibid.).

The view that security vote is unsustainable found support from some Executive Governors in Nigeria. In the first instance, Rabiw Kwankwaso, Governor of Kano State noted that security vote is a smokescreen created by governors to fraudulently divert public funds to their personal coffers. He has consequently

abolished budgetary provision for security vote in Kano state, thus keeping public expenditure on security in the state as lean as possible (Best Naira, 2012).

In the same vein, the Governor of Imo State, Rochas Okorocha announced his patriotic desire to reduce the state's security vote from ₦6.5billion annually to ₦2.5billion, thus setting aside ₦4billion. The variance of ₦4.0billion would be channeled into the state's free education programme (Ibid.).

Kwankwaso was averse to security vote because its retention as lawful budgetary provision leads to neglect of vital developmental projects and programmes that would provide maximum welfare benefits to vast majority of Nigerians. He opined that instead of security votes, the governments at all levels should strengthen the armed forces and the police with logistics and infrastructural support. He remarked that in Kano: "We have bought vehicles for them, over 50 at that. Just recently, we bought over 50 too for the vigilance groups; we bought for the Army; we bought for the Air Force; this is transparency... I can assure you that in our treasury ... is more than ₦20.5 billion saved within eight months with which we are launching an accelerated development of the state." (Best Naira, 2012).

In Edo state, the Executive Governor, Adams Oshiomhole was accused of collecting the sum of ₦911million as security vote within a period of two months (November 12 - December 31, 2008). Despite the huge allocation, incidences of heinous killings, kidnappings and cultism continued unabated. In Ondo state, Governor Olusegun Mimiko collected the sum of ₦4billion as security vote annually despite the fact that the Ondo state is relatively peaceful and faces no security threats (Best Naira, 2012)..

More importantly, official statistics provided by the Central Bank of Nigeria from 2000 to 2011 lend credence to the fact that national spending on security is not economically unsustainable (see Table 1 below). For instance, the defence and

internal security spending for 2000 were approximately ₦43.4 billion and ₦25.2 billion respectively.

Considering the deplorable security situation in the country, the budgetary provision has risen astronomically. From table 1 below, the budgeted amount for security in 2006 was ₦202.2 billion. By 2010, the nation was spending on security the sum of ₦229 billion respectively. Right from 2000 to 2011, the huge budgetary allocation to defence and internal security has diverted attention from education, agriculture, health and construction. In 2006, allocations to education, agriculture, health and construction were ₦87.3 billion, ₦17.2, ₦62 billion and ₦20 billion respectively. The analysis shows clearly the preference for security as opposed to boosting real sectors of the economy that impact directly on the wellbeing of Nigerians.

Methods and Materials

The authors adopt qualitative method, which entails extraction of secondary data on public expenditures on security, agriculture, education, health, constructions and gross domestic product from the reports/publications of Central Bank of Nigeria, National Bureau of Statistics and other scholarly reports on the subject matter. The quantitative secondary data which spanned a period of twenty years (1961, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000 – 2011) were subjected to econometric tests using SPSS on the basis of which informed conclusions were drawn (Gujarati, 2006; Sweeny, 2009; Onoja and Agumagu, 2009; Raimi and Ogunjirin, 2012).

Model Specification

The common multiple regression models often used by researcher are the linear, double log, semilog, polynomial, reciprocal, and curvilinear because of their inherent potentials to predict and explain economic phenomena with several explanatory variables (Onoja and Agumagu, 2009 and Gujarati, 2006). The

preferred model for this research is the linear multiple regression analysis (LMRA). The multiple regression variables used in this research as stated above expenditures on security (ESEC), agriculture (EAGRIC), health (EHELT), education (EEDU), construction (ECON) and gross domestic product (GDP). This aligns with the works of Gujarati (2006); Onoja and Agumagu (2009) and Raimi and Ogunjirin (2012).

The explicit forms of the linear multiple regression models are:

$$Y_t = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{t1} + \beta_2 X_{t2} + \beta_3 X_{t3} + \beta_4 X_{t4} + \beta_5 X_{t5} + \varepsilon \quad \dots \quad (\text{Linear Form})$$

Where,

- Y_t = Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
- X_{t1} = Expenditure on Security (ESEC),
- X_{t2} = Expenditure on agriculture (EAGRIC),
- X_{t3} = Expenditure on Health (EHELT),
- X_{t4} = Expenditure on Education (EEDU),
- X_{t5} = Expenditure on Construction (ECON),
- α = Intercept
- β = Beta coefficient of the independent variable.
- ε = Standard Error of the Estimate

Apriori Expectation

The apriori expectation talks about the expected sign and magnitude of the coefficients of the independent variables. To this end, the apriori expectation is: $\beta_1 > 0$ (coefficient of Expenditure on Security), $\beta_2 > 0$ (coefficient of Expenditure on agriculture), $\beta_3 > 0$ (coefficient of Expenditure on Health) and $\beta_4 > 0$ (coefficient of Expenditure on Education) and $\beta_5 > 0$ (coefficient of Expenditure on Construction).

Data for the Study

The tabulated macro-economic data in Table 4 that appeared below were used for econometric tests and analysis.

Table 1: Federal Government Recurrent Expenditure (N' Million)

Year	Security ¹	Education	Agric	Health	Construction	GDP
1961	9.47	4.52	0.42	1.81	0.59	2361.2
1965	27.73	10.61	6.08	1.88	25.29	3110.0
1970	135.18	24.44	1.92	12.48	14.28	5205.1
1975	610.11	126.5	22.48	52.85	31.97	20957
1980	595.13	155.81	17.14	52.79	46.03	49632.3
1985	1430.2	258.60	20.36	132.02	151.11	70633.2
1990	6540.2	2,402.80	258.00	500.70	643.40	271908
1995	11855.2	9,746.40	1,510.40	3,320.70	1,699.10	1934831
2000	68556.99	57,956.64	6,335.80	15,218.08	4,991.09	4727523
2001	85922.29	39,882.60	7,064.55	24,522.27	7,202.04	5374335
2002	132369.9	80,530.88	9,993.55	40,621.42	7,452.14	6232244
2003	119444	64,782.15	7,537.35	33,267.98	16,951.37	6061700
2004	174117.5	76,524.65	11,256.15	34,197.14	14,897.01	11411067
2005	153618.1	82,795.06	16,325.60	55,661.63	17,914.96	15610882
2006	202200	87,294.56	17,212.81	62,300.00	20,100.00	18564595
2007	253400	107,529.39	21,202.73	81,900.00	71,300.00	20,657.317
2008	164500	164,000.0	65,400.0	98,200.00	94,500.00	24,296,329
2009	276490	137,156.6	22,435.2	90,200.00	80,630.00	24,794,238
2010	422900	170,800.00	25,200.00	99,100.00	138,050.00	29,205,782
2011	563200	335,800.00	41,200.00	231,800.00	195,900.00	33,994,612

Sources: Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazettes, Central Bank of Nigeria (1961, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000 -2011)

Table 2: Results of Econometric Tests and Analysis

Coefficients(a)						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-666,435.317	1,788,773.062		-0.373	0.715
	Expenditure on Security	48.054	32.135	0.662	1.495	0.157
	Expenditure on Education	100.164	115.843	0.751	0.865	0.402
	Expenditure on Agric	248.081	151.698	0.369	1.635	0.124
	Expenditure on Health	-142.970	144.986	-0.727	-0.986	0.341
	Expenditure on Construction	-16.388	73.548	-0.080	-0.223	0.827

a. Dependent Variable: Gross Domestic Product

¹ Security column is the summation of expenditures for Defence and Internal Security for 1961-2011

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.921(a)	.847	.793	5109996.8766

Discussion of Findings

The dependent variable in econometric model is gross domestic product (GDP), while the explanatory variables are expenditures on security, agriculture, education, health and constructions. From the econometric results generated, it is appropriate to note that three explanatory variables, viz: security, education, agriculture are positively significant at 5% level of significance. This implies that these three variables have considerable impact on the gross domestic product. The R-Squared and adjusted R-Squared, which measure the goodness-of-fit of the econometric model suggest that almost 84.7% and at least 79.3% variation in GDP is caused by all the explanatory variables.

The specific explanation on each of the five explanatory variables is as provided hereunder:

- a) **GDP-Security Link:** The first result indicates that there is a positive relationship between gross domestic product (GDP) and expenditure on security (ESEC) at 5% level of significance. The estimated β_1 coefficient is 0.662. This indicates expenditures on security rose with GDP for a period of twenty years.
- b) **GDP-Education Link:** The first result indicates that there is a positive relationship between gross domestic product (GDP) and expenditure on education (EEDU) at 5% level of significance. The estimated β_2 coefficient is 0.751. This indicates expenditures on education rose with increase in GDP for a period of twenty years.
- c) **GDP-Agriculture Link:** The first result indicates that there is a positive relationship between gross domestic product (GDP) and expenditure on

education (EAGRIC) at 5% level of significance. The estimated β_3 coefficient is 0.369. This indicates expenditures on education rose with increase in GDP for a period of twenty years.

- d) **GDP-Health Link:** The first result indicates that there is a negative relationship between gross domestic product (GDP) and expenditure on health (EHELT) at 5% level of significance. The estimated β_4 coefficient is -0.727. This indicates expenditures on agriculture falls with increase in GDP within a period of twenty years.
- e) **GDP-Construction Link:** The first result indicates that there is a negative relationship between gross domestic product (GDP) and expenditure on construction (ECON) at 5% level of significance. The estimated β_5 coefficient is -0.080. This indicates expenditures on construction falls with increase in GDP within a period of twenty years.

Conclusion

From the results of econometric analysis, it has become evidently clear that bogus budgetary provision for national security in Nigeria is economically unsustainable. There is the urgent need to streamline government spending for the benefits of the present as well as those of future generations. This present arrangement where security gulp larger proportion of the nation's budget is unhealthy, because it continues to deny critical sectors like health, education, agriculture, construction as well as welfare projects the needed attention and funding.

Policy Recommendations

In order for sustainable economic development to be achieved in Nigeria, the following policy recommendations are proffered:

- (a) There is the dire need for the creation of a community preventive policing rather than curative policing in order to ensure an enduring national security. This requires constant interaction by the security agencies (police, army, customs officers, and immigration officers) and members of the communities.
- (b) The three levels of government should ensure that the cost of administration is drastically reduced including the funding for defence and internal security. This suggestion becomes imperative so that real sectors of the economy would be strengthened.
- (c) Federal Government of Nigeria should work assiduously at providing direct and indirect employment opportunities for unemployed, restive and hopeless youth in the six geo-political zones in Nigeria in order to dissuade them from being recruited as militants, armed robbers and terrorists.
- (d) The use of military action to confront militants appears to be very expensive and most often military confrontational approach escalates violence rather than douse tension. Principles of mediation, negotiation, arbitration, reconciliation and general amnesty are contemporary strategies for contemporary conflict resolution. All militants who accept reconciliation should be rehabilitated and rehabilitated.
- (e) The principle of true Federalism being advocated by the Niger-Delta militants and other groups should be imbibed, as this principle to guarantees genuine political autonomy and the rights to control resources.
- (f) Nigerian Government and other interest groups should develop sincere political will to implement the recommendations of several panels and committees set-up to investigate immediate and remote causes of violent sociopolitical and ethnic-oriented crisis in Nigeria.
- (g) The undercover state secret service (SSS) should be strengthened with modern gadget and training in order to enhance their capacity to nip crimes and threats to national security in the bud.

- (h) The widespread environmental degradation and abuse of the ecosystem in the Niger-Delta should be redressed through adequate compensation to host communities in order to empower many frustrated and unemployed able-bodied men who took up arms against the state and multinational oil companies.

If all the recommendations given above are patriotically implemented, Nigeria would once again become an abode of peace, security and stability. President Jose Mujica of Uruguay understood the reality of sustainable economic development (SED) in a poverty ridden economy similar to Nigeria; hence he shunned the luxury associated with political office. He remarked that: *"I am called the poorest president, but I don't feel poor. Poor people are those who only work to try to keep an expensive lifestyle, and always want more and more...This is a matter of freedom. If you don't have many possessions then you don't need to work all your life like a slave to sustain them, and therefore you have more time for yourself."* (Vladimir, 2012, para. 15-16).

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