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SECURITY CHALLENGES: A THREAT TO NIGERIA'S NASCENT DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

A number of security challenges is threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria as a nation since the beginning of the Fourth Republic. These security challenges have affected virtually all aspects of the nation's development. This paper seeks to examine the extent to which the internal security problems have negatively impacted on the nation's fledgling democracy. The paper adopted the relative deprivation – frustration – aggression theory as framework of analysis. It also adopted secondary sources of data collection. Result of the findings shows that security problems in Nigeria are traceable to bad governance and inept leadership. Therefore, the paper recommended that government should formulate and implement policies and programmes capable of stemming the tide of insecurity in Nigeria, such as effective poverty reduction, injustice, unemployment, among others.

Keywords: Insecurity, Democracy, Threats, Challenges, Nigeria, Unemployment, Poverty.

Introduction

Since returning to democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has been battling with series of violent agitations from various geographical zones in the country. Peace, safety and security are necessary and indispensable requirements for development and the attainment of good quality of life for any human society. Indeed, they provide the requisite enabling environment for citizens to live and work towards social, economic and political development of the society (Groenewald & Peake, 2004). By the same token, their absence stifles the human capacity to develop and heavily compromises the dignity and quality of life of both individuals and society (Enechojo, 2013). Moreover, insecurity impacts negatively on all citizens via losses of property, life and limb or through loss of confidence from fear of violence. It is therefore, in the light of this that the delivery of safety and security is considered a justifiable public good and the very essence of the state Lubuva in (Enechojo, 2013).

However, it is a common knowledge that Nigeria since her return to civil rule on May, 29 1999 faces some national security challenges across the six geo-political zones in the country. The

greatest threat facing the survival of Nigeria's nascent democracy and her unity is the general insecurity occasioned by various ethno-religious conflicts, communal clashes, violence crimes, kidnapping and terrorist activities across the country since the beginning of this century. Aside from the Nigerian civil war of 1967 – 1970, Nigeria as a nation had never been confronted with such great security challenges as we presently experience in the activities of ethnic militant and Islamic fundamentalist group in Nigeria (Chinwokwu, 2013). This persistent insecurity resulting from violent attacks, suicide bombing, kidnapping, terrorism and threat of violence has, indeed, polarized opinions as to the unity or distegration of the country (Chinwokwu, 2013).

Indeed, fingers are swift in pointing accusingly to the colonial experience and the continual interplay of external and internal imperialist forces that fan the embers of violence for their selfish aggrandisement. Consequent upon this, the incidences of insecurity and conflicts are actual fact, a reflection of the series of antithesis that characterized country from her colonial past (Chinwokwu, 2013). Religious and ethnic differences, differential legal systems, socio-economic and political settings coupled with ethnicity which are embedded in the struggle for political and economic control which are exhibited by the intellectual and political elites. This was further exacerbated by elements of globalization, climate change, natural disasters, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and small arms, corruption, bad governance, executive lawlessness and inept leadership. These have given impetus to the security challenges that the country is facing currently. In a similar vein, Hazen and Horner (2012), cited in Chinwokwu (2013) argue that some of these challenges are self imposed and reinforced through greed-based behavior; others are the result of poor institutional capacity and the complexities of addressing widespread organized crime and the general insecurity situation in the country.

It is against this background that this paper seeks to investigate the security challenges facing Nigerian state since 1999, when the country returned to democracy. Thus, the paper is, therefore, divided into seven parts:

First is the introductory section, second is the conceptual explanations, followed by theoretical framework, the forth seeks to identify cases of security challenges, the fifth deals with the implication of security challenges on Nigeria's nascent democracy, the sixth is conclusion and seventh, the recommendations.

Research Methodology

The research paper is based basically on secondary data collection includes comprehensive review of literature from textbooks, journals, internet, newspaper, and legislature and government gazette.

Security: Conceptual Explanations

What constitutes security in contemporary times is a question that has never been answered satisfactorily by scholars. In fact, its perception even within one community varies in time (Ejogba in Katsina, 2012). Until recently, for instance, most of the main stream writings on security studies literally defined security in terms of state's capabilities to defend its territorial integrity from threats, actual and imagined, as well as acts of aggression from other potential enemies (Okwori, 1995:20). Consequently, states build and equip armed forces towards achieving this goal. The main assumption of this conception is that threat of violence, and the actual ability to commit violence by a state against an enemy successfully deters threats and aggression (Alabi, 1997, cited in Katsina, 2012). At the internal level, the belief is that domestic law-enforcement agencies and other instruments of domestic intelligence are all that is required for a state to be secured (Katsina, 2012)

However, there is a shift on what actually constitutes security in the Post-Cold War era. Currently, there is an attempt to broaden it to accommodate other relevant, if not critical, elements within this conception. Indeed, issues like economic development, equality, political accountability and good governance are now regarded as fundamental to any comprehensive understanding and explanation of security. This is because of the fact that, the conventional militaristic conception of security that dominated the cold war discourse proved ineffectual and grossly incapable of meeting security expectations among many countries. In this new conception, human development is key (Booth, 2007). Indeed, we see in this paradigm shift, a new and broader understanding in which security entails the capacity of a state to defend itself from external threats with all the necessary means at its disposal and internal threats through overall socio-economic well-being of its citizenry (Tedheke, 1998, quoted in Katsina, 2012). Here, there is a greater recognition of the relevance of other elements, such as political, environmental, economic and social factors as irreducible components of security of any country (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Katsina (2012) sees security as a state of reduced or contained threats and tension in which the stability of a state is not in an imminent danger of disruption from within and without.

For our purpose, security as an essential concept is commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherished values, especially the survival of individuals, groups or objects in the near future (Nwagboso, 2012). According to Palme (1992), "There is a correlation between security and survival". Whereas survival is an essential condition, security is viewed as safety, confidence, free from danger, fear, among others. According to Booth (207), security is, therefore, "Survival-plus", and the word "plus" could be understood from the stand point of being able to enjoy some freedom from life-determining threats and some life choices. However, the term "security" is meaningless without a critical discourse of something to secure (Nwagboso, 2012).

Nwagboso (2012), opines that security could be best understood when situated within the context of a referent object. Rothschild (1995), argues that, in the long sweep of human history, the central focus of security has been people. Contrarily, some scholars, especially those in international politics have argued that when thinking about security, states should be the most important references. Some analysts, on the other hand have challenged this positive by arguing that any intellectual discourse on security should accord priority to human beings, since without reference to individual humans security is meaningless (Mcsweeney, 1999).

Not minding the controversy, the focus of this investigation is therefore, on micro security. Indeed, micro security deals with the internal security of which Nigeria is currently facing. Therefore, the thrust of this paper is to examine the security challenges in Nigeria and the threat it poses to her nascent democracy.

Democracy is a system of government that has some basic features such as separation of power, practice of rule of law, electoral process, entrenchment of fundamental human rights and elected representatives. According to former U.S president, Abraham Lincoln who sees it as government of the people, by the people for the people and for the people.

For democracy is to be successfully practiced, the process of election must be conducted regularly and results should reflect the wishes of the people. The election must be free, fair and credible.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts frustration aggression theory. This theory was originally propounded by Dollard (1939). This theory was developed as parts of effort to link socio-political and economic inequalities in the society to rebellions and insurrections. The central thrust of the frustration – aggression theory, put simply, is that aggression is always the result of frustration. Given the

requisite conditions an individual, whose basic desires are thwarted and who consequently experiences profound sense of dissatisfaction and anger is likely to react to his condition by directing aggressive behavior at what is perceived as being responsible for thwarting these desires, or at a substitute. This theory was later expanded and modified by other scholars such as Yates (1962) and Berkowitz (1962).

Also, a second variant of the frustration aggression theory is the notion of relative deprivation, interpreted to mean a state of mind where there is a discrepancy between what men seek and what seems attainable. The greater this discrepancy, the greater their anger and their propensity toward violence (Anifowoshe, 1982). For Gur (1970), relative deprivation is a perception of thwarting circumstances. Gur (1970), argues further that when we feel thwarted in an attempt to get something we want, we are likely to be – come angry, and when we become angry the most satisfying inherent response is to strike out at the source of frustration. This, in effect, means that frustration is no longer seen as the blockage of present goal-directed activity, but as anticipated frustration, engendered by discrepancies between what is realistically attainable, given the social context, and what is sought (Lupsha, 1969, cited in Anifowoshe, 1982).

The latter perspective is intimately related with another version of the frustration – aggression theory, which is “revolution of rising expectation”. The latter locates the genesis of violence in the feeling of dissatisfaction arising out of the comparison between “what one currently enjoys and what one expects, what one thinks one ought to have or what one regards as ideal (Anifowoshe, 1982). As individual and group – based theory of aggression, the relative deprivation argues that when expectation outstrips achievement regardless of the absolute lands of economic consumption or the provision of political rights, frustration is generated. Thus, the collective frustration turns to anger and violence (Dollard, 1939:52, Davies, 1962: 44, Feierabend and Feierabend, 1966:89).

Applying this theory, it assists us to trace the historical antecedence of conflicts, agitations and frequent rise of individuals and groups against the Nigerian State. From the point of view of the relative –deprivation frustration – aggression theory, it can be argued that the abysmal failure of the Nigerian government to address critical challenges to development in many parts of the country might responsible for the internal insurrections by armed militant groups against the Nigerian State. The paper argues further that security challenges in some parts of Nigeria particularly the Northern Region, are clear indications that government seems to have failed in her constitutional role of protecting lives and property of the Nigerian people. This so because available evidence tends to show that there is increasingly high rate of poverty among Nigerians. Further, unemployment looms large among the youths, per capital income is low and high rate of inflation has not been addressed by successive government. In the same vein, Nigerians are still facing challenges of poor health status, poor stage of infrastructures, high rate of illiteracy, among others (Anosike, 2010).

The implication of this theory Frustration – Aggression on security challenges in Nigeria is that the nation’s nascent democracy is most likely to be threatened, thereby paving way for military incursion in the country. Further, the continuous –internal insurrections by armed youths in all the geopolitical zones of Nigeria could distort any meaningful efforts by the government to achieve a radical economic development in Nigeria. Ebebulam (2007), observes that “democracy only thrives where there is security and stability”. In the light of this, therefore, the improvement of the security architecture of the Nigerian state as well as commitment of the government to address the root causes of insecurity, are likely antidote to the survival of democracy and achievement of desired economic growth and development (Nwagboso, 2012).

Selected Cases of Security Challenges in Nigeria

Since the beginning of this century, peace has become a scarcest commodity in Nigeria. This has come into being simply because of the security challenges facing the country at present. These security challenges have threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria as a nation. Since 1999, the country has witnessed the proliferation of different militia groups that posed serious security threats to the Nigerian government. Indeed, a lot of studies have been carried out by scholars chronicling the cases of insecurity facing Nigerian State. They include: Adesoji, 2010; Nwolize, 2006; Ogundiya, 2009; Omotola, 2010; Okafor, 2011; Omede, 2011). The following are some selected cases of security challenges confronting Nigeria as a nation presently.

The Nigeria Delta Crisis

According to Okeke (2011), the Niger Delta Crisis became more pronounced in the early 1990s. This is because during this period there was a rise of social movements, Militia groups that were emboldened to challenge the Nigerian State, its policies, attitudinal dispositions and the activities of the Transnational Oil Companies (INOCs) in the Niger Delta Region. This struggle was informed by a history of negligence, marginalization and the destruction of the ecology of the area. Indeed, there has been a general irresponsibility on the part of the International Oil Companies (IOCs) operating in the Niger Delta communities, and the Nigerian state which is the direct beneficiary of the proceeds from this region remains complacent to these burning issues (Okeke, 2011). Thus, this crisis continued in the region throughout the 1990s and persisted despite the fact that the country has enthroned democracy in 1999.

However, the competition for oil wealth in the region brought about agitations, violence and subsequent extrajudicial killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine Ogoni leaders in 1995 by the Abacha regime (Okeke, 2011). This action by the Abacha government was condemned within the country. This action of Nigerian government was to be followed by sanctions placed on Nigeria during the period. Nwagboso (2012), argues that the inability of Nigerian state, particularly during the military era to address the root causes of the agitation, such as environmental problems, poverty, unemployment, lack of basic amenities, etc in the Niger Delta communities, resulted in proliferation of ethnic groups causing the militarization of nearly the entire region by ethnic militia groups. These agitating groups include the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), founded by Ken Saro-wiwa. Other groups include the following: The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Vigilante Group (NDVG), Niger Delta Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), and a host of others.

These groups believed to have joined the struggle to address the injustice by the Federal Government against the region, and this has aggravated the security problems not only in the region, but also in the entire country (Nwagboso, 2012). The resultant effect of this crisis is the rampant kidnapping of innocent citizens, who do not in any way have connection to the Niger Delta crisis. The kidnappers do this and ask for ransom. What is pathetic about this crisis is that, this act of kidnapping by the Niger Delta militants has spread like bush fire to other neighbouring states of the Niger Delta, and more recently, some states in the South-East, South-West, North West, North –Central and even Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

The consequences of all these are obvious, this crisis, according to Okeke (2011), have persisted mainly because of government neglect of the area, rampant corruption, and insensitivity on the part of Nigerian leaders. Okeke, (2011), argues further that, which is why the issues of Niger Delta Region have taken on new dimension, as criminal gangs now know that oil business is one of the

easiest ways of getting rich quick. Indeed, the strategic importance of oil, both in our national revenue and its continuous demand by the international community makes it irresistible (Okeke, 2012). Thus, the federal government used a mixture of carrot-and-stick method to cow the militant into accepting its proposal for amnesty. This took place under the leadership of the Late President Umaru Yar'Adua, who announced the granting of Amnesty and unconditional pardon to the militants in the region (Rotimi, 2009). Even, despite the peace brokered by the Federal government with the restive groups in the Niger Delta, thus has a relapsed into violence and some incidents have been recorded, which the restive groups claimed responsibility. These include:

- The independence day twin bombings in Abuja, in 2010, which claimed 14 lives;
- Attacks on the country's oil installations, kidnapping of foreign and Nigerian oil workers, illegal bunkering and localized vandalism.
- The bombing of two oil pipelines off the coast of Bayelsa state on October 29, 2010 which forced the Nigerian Agip Oil Company, owner of the pipelines, to shut in 60,000 barrels per day of crude oil production, etc (Okeke, 2011).

Although, the Amnesty Programme of the federal government reduced the rate of militancy in the region, the incessant kidnapping activities in the Niger Delta region eventually spread to some regions in Nigeria, especially South-East, North-Central, North-West and recently the South – West geo-political zones. In other words, the kidnapping saga as being witnessed in all parts of the country now has its root from the Niger Delta region (Onifade et al, 2013)

Boko Haram Insurgency

Another security challenge facing Nigerian state is the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency. Boko Haram is a Jihadist Militant Organization based in Northern Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad (Okoli & Iortyer, 2014). The sect was founded by a radical Islamic cleric, Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, who established a religious complex with a mosque and Islamic boarding school in Maiduguri, Borno State with a prayer group which he called "Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wasi wal Jihad" literally translated from Arabic as "people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teaching and Jihad" (Chothia, 2011). Boko Haram means "Western education is a sin". The ideological mission of Boko Haram is not in doubt. Majorly, it clearly declared that it wanted to overthrow the Nigerian state and impose strict Islamic Sharia Law in the country.

The Boko Haram violence has been in the main motivated by the group's dichotomization between secularism and Islamic teachings. For instance, the followers of the sect believe that the elements of modern western education system are in conflict with the preaching of Islam. Okoli and Iortyer (2014) aver that in line with strict Islamic practices, Boko Haram opts for policy and curriculum reforms on the present education system. The groups position is represented in the following citation: It did not want mixed schools, or the teaching of evolution in schools. It wanted children to have more time to study their religion. Democracy was also alien to it because the sect was strictly opposing to a government whose constitution was not based on Quran (Yan, 2012). Forest (2012) argues that Boko Haram is largely a product of wide spread socio-economic and religious insecurity whose repercussions resonate among certain communities in the North. Added to these are the factors, such as poverty, youth unemployment, social inequality, illitenacy, etc. All these aforementioned factors combined to create fertile ground for the rise and prevalence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Indeed, the activities of this sect constitute a serious security challenge in the contemporary Nigerian state. In fact, the activities of members of this group have raised critical questions among

the investors as regards the safety of their investments in Nigeria. There was no doubt that the Nigeria state has witnessed a series of threatening security challenges, the one caused by the activities of the Islamist sect – Boko Haram remains quite unique in all ramifications. The sect has demonstrated a unique impunity of the highest order by openly claiming responsibility for several bombings and snip activities in the Northern and Central Nigeria; thereby placing the nation at the threshold of disunity and disintegration.

Kidnapping

kidnapping has indeed, become another social problem facing Nigerian state in recent times. Kidnapping as a social problem is the act of illegally taking somebody away and keeping him or her as a prisoner in order to get ransom before setting him or her free (Nwagbaso, 2012). Adegoke (2013), sees kidnapping as the ‘crime of seizing and taking away a person by force, often with a demand for a ransom.’ The crime involves unlawfully seizing and carrying away a person by force or fraud or seizing and detaining a person against his or her will with intent of carrying that person away at a later time (Garner in Adegoke 2013).

It is indeed, sad that Nigerians have watched helplessly as kidnapping, a form of criminality rampant among drug cartels and street gangs in countries, such as Mexico and Colombia, gradually blossomed into a serious security threat in the country (The Punch October, 2015:22). A recent newspaper report has it that about 110 kidnap cases were recorded in the country in the past seven months with demand for ransom hitting the N1 billion mark (The Punch October 2015:22). Indeed, the most bizarre case of kidnapping was that of the close to 300 Chibok school girls who were kidnapped from their school premises by Boko Haram insurgents on April, 14, 2014, and are yet to regain their freedom. Kidnapping, in fact, has become a very serious crime in contemporary Nigeria, comparing favourably, of recent, to armed robbery, burglary and other forms of social crimes (Adegoke, 2013).

This history of kidnapping in Nigeria today could be traced to hostilities, conflict and violence in the Niger Delta region (Adegoke, 2013). According to Aworawo, (2012), since early 1970s, the oil producing enclave of the Niger Delta has been one of the most intensively polluted areas of the world. The pollution, along with severe environmental degradation, has largely been a consequence of the region’s oil production and has made it difficult for the inhabitants of the Niger Delta unable to carry out their traditional economic activities of farming and fishing, as local and river systems have been too polluted to sustain such activities. This has caused extreme poverty and has also spawned violence (Aworawo, 2012:53). In a swift reaction to contain the forces perceived to have under-developed the Niger Delta over time, the Niger Delta Youths quickly assembled and armed themselves to protect their land (Okeke, 2011). This brought about the formation of different militia groups, such as Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDVG), Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), among others. The activities of these groups led to the attacks of oil pipelines and other facilities of Transnational Oil Companies as well as government facilities in the region (Okeke, 2011). Indeed, the problem at this point has transcended the activities of criminal gangs that sometimes masquerade as Liberation Movements to engage in oil bunkering and kidnapping activities. This kidnapping saga spread later to the Southern Eastern states of Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, Enugu, etc. The problem later also spread to the states in the North and more recently to the South-West geopolitical zone.

Among prominent victims are Professor Mrs. Kamene Okonjo, the mother of former Minister of Finance and coordinator Minister for the Economy, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala; Elechi Amadi, a

renowned author; Peter Edoche, a prominent Nollywood Actor; Peter Adamakhai, a retired General in the Nigerian Army; Chief Olu Falae, former Minister of Finance and Secretary to the Government of the Federation, among other (The punch October, 2015). This problem of kidnapping has become a social menace in Nigeria which must be nipped in the bud for the triumph of the country's nascent democracy.

Jos Crisis and Cult Related Activities

Since 1999 when Nigeria returned to democracy, Jos has become a theatre of ethnic-religious war. According to Oladoyinbo (2007), the crisis in Jos, Plateau State was a very complex one as it had ethnic, religious, socio-political and economic undertones. This crisis has resulted in unimaginable confrontations, killing, bombings and other forms of violence (Onifade, Imhonopi & Urim, 2013). There are several arguments as regards the root causes of the crisis. Some people believe that it was the inordinate ambition by Muslims to forcefully convert Christians in the area to Muslims (Nwagbaso 2010, cited in Onifade, Imhonopi & Urim, 2013). Others argue that the root causes of the Jos crisis could be located in culture, land disputes, indigenes/settlers question, etc. However, whatever might be the root cause or causes of the crisis, the fact still remains that it has emerged as one of the greatest security challenges threatening the corporate existence of Nigeria as it had claimed the mindless and want killings of a large number of Nigerians.

Furthermore, the rising wave of cult related activities have been another source of worry, which is equally threatening the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria. Activities of these groups in the country have assumed a frightening dimension as there is hardly any day that passes by without reported cases of clashes being recorded (Kupoluyi, 2015). Indeed, in the last few months, Nigerians have been through a harrowing experience as hoodlums, social miscreants and cultists have engaged themselves in bloody battles for supremacy in many states while the law enforcement personnel appear helpless, even as an increasing number of people are being injured, maimed, killed and property destroyed. Cult activities are often associated with rituals that are characterized by set of practices, belief system or thinking usually disclosed only to their inner members (Kupoluyi, 2015).

Also, ritual killing, which is associated with cultism, has become the lot of many in Nigerian society in recent times. Bodies of unlucky victims are usually dumped on roadsides, bush paths and inside gutters with their vital organs removed. These have become pronounced as a result of the perceived inordinate ambition for power and show off affluence, get-rich-quick syndrome, a means of conflict resolution and for religious practices (Kupoluyi, 2015). This and some other security challenges mentioned above are threats to the corporate existence of Nigeria and her nascent democracy. They are, therefore, crying for solutions for the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria as well as the sustainability of her democracy. To achieve this feat, all hands must be on deck.

The Implication of Security Challenges on Nigeria's Nascent Democracy

Nigeria returned to democracy on May 29, 1999. Since then, insecurity has been the bane of the country. Security, as they say is evidently the pillar upon which every meaningful development could be achieved and sustained. Ebegbulam (2007:8) avers that "democracy only thrives where there is security and stability". Indeed, the growing rate of insecurity in Nigeria since returning to democracy in 1999 after some decades of military rule has significantly affected the country's economy and by extension her nascent democracy. Nwagbos (2011) argues that before the Federal Government's Amnesty Programme of late President Umar Yar'Adua in 2010, designed for militants in the Niger Delta region, the oil production and the number of barrels produced per day drastically reduced. This was hung in the necks of the militants due to hostage taking and

kidnapping of oil workers in the region. This however, reduced government's revenue from oil as well as implementation of government's policies and programmes during this period. Thus, most capital projects captured in 2007 and 2008 annual budgets were unable to see the light of the day simply because of shortage of financial resources occasioned by the activities of the militants in the Niger Delta. This include the construction and rehabilitation of Federal roads in all the geo-political zones of the country, construction of dams in the North-West and North-Central Zones, the immediate take-off of dredging of River Niger, and construction of additional power plants in all parts of the federation Ezeobi in (Nwagboso, 2012). Thus, denied Nigerians the dividend of democracy as government was unable to provide social service to the people as promised during the electioneering campaigns.

In the same vein, the rate of kidnapping in some parts of Nigeria has resulted in serious socio-economic problems. Kidnapping has serious psychological trauma on the family of the victim and, even on the victim (Adegoke, 2013). It plays a very negative role on the economic activities of a country. For example, it scares away foreign investors. Kidnapping creates fear and insecurity. This has been the case of the inhabitants of Niger Delta, the South East, the whole of the North and, recently, South-West region. Under this condition, it would be extremely difficult for government to deliver to the people what is called public goods in a democracy like Nigeria.

Furthermore, as has been noted earlier on, democracy only survives where there is security and stability. The reasons why successive governments in Nigeria have not been able to critically address the problem facing the country in modern times could be traceable to the security challenges in the country. In other words, security challenges have been distracting the attention of Nigerian governments from providing the citizenry the dividend of democracy like, good road, employment, health facilities, good and quality education, etc. For instance, only God knows the billions of name the Nigerian state has expended on the war of Boko Haram insurgency – in the North East region. This money could have been diverted to provide basic amenities like, electricity, jobs, health facilities, etc. Hence, rather than concentrating attention on strategies to put the economy of the state in proper shape for the general well-being of Nigerians, government has wasted more energy taking to nipping in the bid the proliferation of militias and criminal gangs all over the country (Nwagboso, 2012).

Indeed, it has been argued by some erudite scholars like (Williams, 2008, Bello, 2004, Lake, 2001, Leon and Walt 2001 cited in Nwagboso, 2012) that insecurity in a given state not only affects the growth and survival of democracy, but also leads to high level of poverty, unemployment, high rate of crime, among others. In order to make insecurity a thing of the past in Nigeria, good and effective public policy implementation remains the only antidote to tackling the security challenges facing the contemporary Nigerian state.

Conclusion

From all indications, security challenges have been threats to Nigeria's nascent democracy. Although, it could be argued that insecurity is a major issue globally, Nigeria's security situation has over the years deteriorated owing to poor governance, inept leadership, poverty, among others. The consolation of our nascent democracy and even, the sustenance of the Nigerian state have come to depend on the ability of the federal government to manage these contending issues which, to some extent, pose great challenge and threat to good governance, unity and corporate existence of the country.

In order to preserve our democracy and our entity as a country from the brink of total collapse, the need for good governance, justice, equity and tolerance among ethnic nationalities as well as religious groups in Nigeria, is advocated and should be genuinely pursued by both the government and the Nigeria people. In other words, the remote and immediate or root causes of these security challenges facing Nigeria should be addressed by the government with a wide range of policy recommendations in order to move the nation forward.

Policy Recommendations

Nigerian government should formulate policies that are capable of addressing root causes of security problems in Nigeria, such as unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, decrepit infrastructure, uneven development, among others. The present Amnesty Programme in the Niger Delta must be sustained. This will keep away the ex-militants from going back to the creeks and carrying arms against the state and its interests.

Government should address the security lapses in Nigeria by equipping the security agencies with necessary facilities and conducive working environment to squarely face the challenges. Government should work with Northern political, traditional and religious elites in the North to disarm deradicalise and re-integrate Islamist militants. The federal government should recognize that unless issues of bad governance and systemic corruption are addressed vigorously and transparently, all other measures will be nothing but stop-gaps.

The federal government should begin to tackle the root causes of growing radical Islamic and ethnic militancy by fully developing and implementing a Far North Development Commission, similar to the Niger Delta Development Commission, with a mandate that includes co-ordinating anti-desertification campaigns, developing large- scale irrigation agriculture, power and road projects and promoting small business that could create jobs for youths.

Government should reform Quranic educational system by introducing a dual curriculum and paying teachers' salaries so as to prevent pupils from begging for alms. There is the need for collective security arrangement by the three tiers of government, i.e. federal, states and local government. The arrangement should produce a committee at community, local, state and federal levels with the responsibility of providing sensitive security information for security agencies at their areas of operation.

The Federal, state and local governments in Nigeria should collaborate and ensure free education at all levels. This will go a long way in reducing the spate of ignorance among the youths who engage in numerous violent crimes against the citizens and the Nigerian state.

The issue of citizenship or who is qualified to be an indigene of a particular community or state should be reviewed urgently by the federal government. In other words, we need to re-work our constitution to determine this. This is because a Nigerian who has lived up to 30 or 40 years in a particular community should not be regarded and treated as a non-indigene in such an area or community. This will ultimately reduce discrimination, friction and crisis in many parts of the country, such as Jos in Plateau state and many others.

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