National Insecurity and Youth Unemployment in Nigeria: The Case of Niger-Delta Region

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ABSTRACT

This work examines the relationship between insecurity and Youth unemployment in Nigeria with focus on the Niger-Delta. The study employed survey method and relied mostly on secondary data. The study noted that National Insecurity which is one of the challenges facing the corporate existence and continued peace and stability of Nigeria is cause by youth unemployment based on this, the study suggest amongst others creation of employment opportunities and employment based on merit. Second, provision of social security as employment compensation such that the unemployed graduates are paid ₦30,000.00 every month for 1st degree holders, ND and NCE ₦20,000.00 and FSLC and SSCE ₦10,000.00 monthly. Government should as a matter of urgency employ the ALASKA model in compensating the Niger Deltans as well as Human security where the issue of poverty is eradicated in the country.

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

National Insecurity as a concept has suffered prolonged period of neglect by scholars, analysts or even enthusiasts. In as much as the concept of security remains an intellectual paradigm for research and development, the concept of insecurity must equally be accorded the same status. Insecurity just as underdevelopment is the most undesirable side of a coin (which houses both security and insecurity) (Saleh, 2010:3). Insecurity of life and property is considered a major threat to any nation. Nigerians have had to face political brigandage, armed robbery, kidnapping and other forms of violence, which have led to loss of faith in the ability of government to protect the people. The role of security in the maintenance of sovereign nation’s entity is very vital and its attainment makes it to command respect from other countries. Nigeria shortly after independence and brief civil rule experience coup and counter coups which have worsened the security situation of the country and subsequently passed through civil war.

Moreso, between 1985 and 1998, Nigeria witnessed a high level National Insecurity as a result of prolonged period of military rule. Since independence, Nigeria has had it so bad because of military dictatorships that are usually characterized by bad governance, total disregard to rule of law and flagrant violation of human rights. The endless transition programmes embarked upon by the military Junta between 1985 and 1993, which culminated in the cancellation of June 12, 1993 general election were indeed, the genesis of spiral rate of insecurity in the country. The domestic reaction constituted a grave source of insecurity in Nigeria because it took on a thermal dimension where there were spontaneous revolts against the regime mostly by deprived citizens and those parts of the country that felt marginalized. The annulment is acclaimed as the genesis of all mega crimes and widespread conflicts /
crises in Nigeria. The serialization and polarization of the society along ethno-religious lines ensued, resulting into massive movements of people from their towns of domiciliation to their states of origin.

The upsurge in violent crimes and conflicts characterized the Babangida and Abacha regimes. These led to ethno-religious crises in Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi, Lagos and the Niger Delta region which gave birth to the emergence of Movement for the Survival Of Ogoni People (MOSOP). Other militia groups hatched in the country during the period under review include: the O’odua People Congress (OPC) in the South West, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOP) in the South East; Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) in the North. The activities of these militia groups and subsequent crackdown by the government aggravated National Insecurity in Nigeria and one of the riskiest countries in the world. This situation scuttled development, brought about socio-economic and political woes to the citizens. The structural adjustment programme conditionalities from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the austerity measures, brought about high level unemployment, because the policy introduced the downsizing of the labour force; the privatization and commercialization of public enterprises again worsened the situation. All these poor policies introduced unemployment, poverty and high level of criminality into the country. This however made the study of National Insecurity and youth unemployment a very important point of discourse.

On the concept of security, Imobighe (1999) States that, without security, individual within a State will find it difficult to engage in positive productive activities. Similarly, without security, the state is bound to experience great difficulty in harnessing its human and material resources towards meaningful development and the promotion of the general well being of the people. According to Okunade (2011) I will take it that the College’s conception of Security approximates what was espoused by the former commandant at Ibadan when he elected the contemporary definition whereby National Security is human centered, relying on McNamara, he argued that in a modernizing society, Security means development, and without development there can be no security. He rightly submitted that “security must be appreciated from both the military and non-military dimensions, hence it denotes the security of citizens as well the state that provides opportunities for the well being of citizens. Osahor (2004) Sees security:

as the development of confidence among citizens of a nation that their territorial integrity, Sovereignty, national core values and interest would not be attacked by any hostile force, a kind of freedom from fear and belief that ones liberty would not be put in jeopardy by any extraneous force.

Security according to Buzan (1991) Opined that the democratic security model is multifaceted going beyond physical protection to encompass political economic, environmental, cultural and social security. For him, the inclusion of institutional capacity in the democratic security model also broadens the meaning of security to include human, civil and political rights, which are guaranteed by public institutions able to enforce the rule of law, democracy and the monopoly of coercive force by the state. This model thus identifies three categories of security; Public security, Institutional security and social security. Security is a state of being free from danger or threat. The safety of a state or Organization against criminal activities such as terrorism, theft or espionage. According to Wikipedia (2012), Security is the degree of protection to safeguard a nation, union of nations, person or persons against danger or damage. National Security is therefore the requirement to maintain the survival of the State, through the use of economic diplomacy, power projection and political power. National Security can be explained as the public policy of maintaining integrity and survival of the Nation State through the use of economic, Military and Political power or the exercise of diplomacy in times of peace or war (Eselebor 2007). This thinking informed Nwolise (1985) that:

a Country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient Police force, the most efficient Custom
men, the most active secret Service Agents and the best quality Prison, but yet the most insecure nation in the World as a result of defence and security problems within bad government, alienated and suffering masses ignorance, hunger, unemployment or even activities of foreign residents or companies.

He went further to say that National Security should not be seen in terms of armaments and Military personnel, Police, Immigration and State Security Service which are part of Military accounting but in broad perspectives McNamara (1968) in his view stated that:

Any Society that seeks to achieve adequate Military Security against the background of acute food shortages, population explosion, low level of productivity and per capita income, low technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problems of unemployment has a false sense of security.

The implication of this view is that the socio-economic, political and technological aspect of the citizens welfare, determine the security of any nation. The issue of youth in unemployment has become a very serious social problem that has threatened the peace, security, and orderly development of Nigeria. According to Central Bank of Nigeria Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December (2009:142), available estimates showed that national unemployment rate in 2009 was 12.9 percent.

Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010) from the Manpower Board and the National Bureau of statistics showed that Nigeria has a youth population of 80 million, representing 60% of the total population of the country and that 64 million of them are unemployed, while 1.6 million are underemployed.

Furthermore, according to the National Bureau of Statistics (2009:238;2010:1), the national unemployment rates for Nigeria between 2000 and 2009 showed that the number of unemployed persons constituted 31.1% in 2000; 13.6% in 2001; 12.6% in 2002; 14.8% in 2003, 13.4% in 2004; 11.9% in 2005; 13.7% in 2006; 4.6% in 2007; 14.9% in 2008, 19.7% in 2009 and 37.7% of Nigerians aged 15-24 and 22.4% of those between ages 25-44 that are willing to work cannot find work. On the average, youth employment rate in Nigeria was 46.5% in 2011 (BGL Research & intelligence 2011:4). This is pointing to the fact that Nigeria has high unemployment rates and this portends serious social danger for the country.

Nigeria is however, not the only country with high unemployment rates. Western Germany has 6.1 percent, United States 7.7 percent, France 10.7 percent, Britain 3.1 percent, China 4.1 percent (Ukpong 2013; Federal Radio Cooperation of Nigeria (FRCN), Network News Current Affairs). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2006), more than one-third of the youths in the world is either seeking but unable to find work and has given up on the job search entirely, or is working but still living below the $2 per day poverty line. In sub-Saharan Africa, 3 in every 5 of the total unemployed are youths and on the average, 72% of the youth populations live with less than $2 per day. The United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA, 2005) states that in some West African Countries such as Sierra Leone, the number of young people lacking proper work, exceeds 50%.

Yet, it is not only the magnitude and scale of the phenomenon that is a problem, but also the menace and the social danger it portends, that calls attention to the urgent need not only to examine same but also to take concerted action to manage and reduce it (Ahua, 2011:1).

Another disturbing aspect of high rates of youth unemployment in Nigerian state is the correlation between youth unemployment and high levels of youth involvement in crime. Okafor (2011) argues that many anti-social activities such as political thuggery, militancy, restiveness, and other social vices evident among the unemployed and jobless youth are the dangers to the stability of democracy in Nigeria. There
is, therefore, a casual connection between the high rate of youth unemployment in Nigeria and the high rate of crimes such as armed robbery, kidnapping, arson, terrorism, vandalisation of oil pipelines, prostitution and our general state of insecurity.

Another menace of youth unemployment in Nigeria is the colossal waste of manpower. This is because the youths are a major resource of any society. They have talents, intelligence, energy and creative potentials that are wasted if not exploited through gainful employment or underutilized if they are underemployed. A country like Nigeria, with its serious challenge of development, should not waste a major component of its resource (human capital).

Unemployment has been on the rise in Nigeria since early 1980s when negative influences in the nation’s economy combined with an unfavourable operating environment led to the closure of many local industries such as textile industries and the relocation of many manufacturing conglomerates outside the shores of Nigeria. The age segment that has been most affected by unemployment has been the youth. As observed by Daniels (2011) in his article on Lamido Sanusi’s wages of youth unemployment, statistics showed that 49% of Nigerians between the ages of 15 and 24 are unemployed and this is the blueprint for insecurity in the country.

The work focuses on the experience of Akwa Ibom State which was created on September 23, 1987 with the promulgation of Degree 24 by the then military President and Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, as part of the policy to bring about more even and equitable development in the country. The state inherited 10 out of the 17 local government areas which made up the former Cross River State. In June 5; 1989 additional 10 local governments were created and subsequently in Sept; 23, 1991, 4 was created to make a total of 24 Local Government Areas (L.G.As). Now Akwa Ibom State has 31 L.G.As. The state falls within the South – South geo-political zone of Nigeria that is also called the Niger Delta region. It has a land mass of 8, 412 square kilometres and a population of 3, 902, 051 (NPC 2006).

The state shares boundaries with Cross River, to the East, Abia to the West and the Republic of Cameroons to the South. (Ibom Diary, 2012). Akwa Ibom State falls within the tropical zone with a dominant vegetation of green foliage of trees, shrubs and oil palm tree belt which holds the highest density of the cash crop in the world including rubber, cocoa and rice; other crops are coconut, citrus, cassava, yam, maize, cowpeas, plantain, banana, pineapple and kolanut. The state’s agricultural potential, gives it the accolade “the land of promise”.

The state has the longest coastline of 129km rich source of wide variety of fishes, and sea foods. The state is also rich in oil and gas deposit as the number one oil producing state in Nigeria. It has three major intra-ethnic groups: Ibibio, Annang and Oron and other dialectical variations. (Ibom Diary, 2012).

Majority of the rural people engage in subsistent farming and a lean Civil Service which is the mainstay of the state’s economy. In terms of religious belief, Christianity and traditional religious practices predominate. Akwa Ibom like many other states has serious problem of unemployment and this threatens the security which is inimical to National development.

A critical challenge facing the Modern State of Nigeria, is the creation of an environment of peace, stability and security. The problem of National Insecurity is complex and more apparent in a developing nation where the institutions and value goals of nationhood are fragile, unsettled and keenly contested among the competing interests or groups. In such a nation like ours, there are numerous complications arising from the sad state of underdevelopment in the economic, political and social spheres (Dokubo 2011:60).

The problem of unemployment and underemployment has increasingly come to be identified as one of the serious socio-economic problems currently confronting many developing countries especially those of
Africa (Curtain 2000, ILO 1999). Statistics however, revealed that Africa has a more youthful population compared to other regions of the world. In the year 2000, this stood at 36 percent compared to 27.3 percent in 1985. (Curtain 2000) In absolute term, it is presently estimated that there are about 122 million youths on the African Continent.

In Nigeria, the National Planning Commission in its NEEDS 2 (2007) stated that the issue of unemployment and underemployment presents a major Challenge to the Nigerian economy. The document recognizes that Nigeria has realized an impressive economic growth rate but the average annual labour force growth rate of 2 percent exceeds the annual rate of employment. Consequently, only about 5 to 10 percent of the 6 million and entrants into the labour market find jobs. Open unemployment of youth aged between 15 and 29 years is estimated at about 60% (NEED 2, 2007). During the early years of Independence in 1960 and 1970s, young people did not pose a serious social problem. Unemployed youths were therefore not a major target for government and funding agencies. Since then however, there has been great concern over the Socio-economic situation of the youths and the prospect of creating additional livelihood opportunities for them. Gibson (1990), avers that one important dimension of widespread unemployment and underemployment problem facing Nigeria today is Urban Youth unemployment and underemployment. Okojie (2003) maintained that the Nigerian economy has been stagnating and together with low economic growth rates, has led to a fall in the demand for labour resulting in high levels of youth unemployment and underemployment. Since the early eighties, Unemployment in Nigeria has assumed alarming and disturbing dimension with millions of able bodied persons ready to accept jobs at current rates but unable to find placements (Onah, 2001:154-167).

National Insecurity in Nigeria could be said to have occurred before independence in 1960. At present, Nigeria with an estimated population of over 140 million, has gone through decades of turmoil caused by disputes among political groups, socio-economic, environmental as well as ethno-religious affiliations. The Insecurity created tends to challenge the authority and interests of the state. Since she gain her independence in 1960, Nigeria has endured a civil war between 1967 to 1970, six successive military coups. (Otogbagua, 2007: 13, Tanko 2008:1) conflicts and environmental disasters in the Niger Delta Region among others.

In addition to ethnic and religious rifts, the political terrain has not been left out, the political leaders have faced deep regional disputes over the allocation of oil revenues, induced by pressure for autonomy that is (resource control) in the regions and growing suspicion of the military. The electoral process and transitions has been bedeviled with rigging, electoral violence, use of political thugs, napping and killings of the opponents and other such vices as a result of poor functioning of the institutions of the government, greed and in their bid to perpetuate themselves in power.

Since the eighties urban unemployment has been regarded as one of the most challenging socio-economic and political problems facing the Nigerian policy makers. Unemployment crisis has posed a negative significant impact on economic growth and has threatened the National Security of Nigeria polity as well as its corporate existence as a nation state. The unemployment situation in Nigeria has become critical and labour absorption problematic and has increasingly been recognized as one of the core subject seeking for solution. (Stephen 2012:1,57). Unemployment and underemployment have been categorized as a serious Impediments to Social progress. Apart from representing a colossal waste of a country’s manpower resource, they generate welfare lose in terms of lower output thereby leading to lower income and wellbeing (Akinboyo, 1987 and Raheem, 1993). Unemployment is a very serious issue in Africa (Vandemoortele, 1991 and Rama, 1998) and particularly in Nigeria (Oladeji, 1994; Umo 1996; NPC NEEDS 2, 2007). Umo (1996), found that unemployment has a serious negative implications on the economies of Africa and Nigeria in particular. As stated above, the growth rate of output is a function of the growth rate of unemployment.

> The macroeconomic implications of unemployment crisis are mostly negative. The negative consequences include psychological problems of frustration, depression, hostility, prostitution, touting, debt, poverty, income inequality, gradual drift into all manner of criminal behaviors and poor economic growth to mention but a few.

In line with this opinion, Echebiri (2005) avers that Youth Unemployment primarily encourages the development street youths and area boys who were denied of legitimate means of livelihood to grow up in a culture that encourages criminal behaviours. Chigunta (2002:21-33), supporting this argument maintains that:

> Unemployed youths survive by engaging in various activities such as petty trading casual work, borrowing, stealing, pick pocketing, prostitution, touting and other illegal activities. Some have become drunkards and others are on drugs such as cocaine and Indian hemp.

Bennel (2000), supporting this argument was of the view that urban society is becoming increasingly criminalized, especially with the proliferation of youth gangs. For Igbino via (1988), several studies have shown that majority of prison inmates are youths, aged 30 years and below who have no jobs. He further maintained that delinquency, crime and drug abuse are on the increase among youths as a result of the unemployment crisis. With a population of 167 million people according to the National Population Commission (NPC) (2011) and approximate land mass of one million Square Kilometres, suitable for commercial agriculture, (Arinze, 2011), and abundant solid minerals, largely untapped, Nigeria prides herself as the most populous black country in the world and ranked among the top ten Crude Oil and natural gas exporters in the World. According to organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, (OPEC, 2011), Nigeria has a gross domestic product (GDP) of $248 billion dollars, while her GDP per capita income stood at $1600, which when adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP) is about $2,400 per annum. Yet Nigeria with all these potentials and resources endowments, ranks as one of the poorest Countries in the World, with high unemployment rate at all time high as 20.1 percent by the United Nations Human Development Index (UNHDI, 2009). The International Labour Organization ILO (2010) report, warned of a possible lost generation of young people dropping out of the Labour market, having lost all hope of being able and ready to work for a decent living.

The situation of unemployment has a frightening implication for the economy of any nation due to the under-utilization of abundant human and material resources. For the victims of unemployment, the consequences could be deleterious. Studies reveal that the victims of unemployment is prone to a feeling of frustration due to inability to realize innate or acquired potentials. Nwachukwu (1993:120-136) concludes that this feeling ultimately leads to deviant behaviours expressed in crisis and other antisocial behaviours. To him:

> The effects of unemployment on the larger society are equally disastrous. Crimes and riots create an atmosphere of general insecurity since the available armies of unemployed youths which constitute a potent and destructive force are easily susceptible to manipulations by aggrieved influential elements in the society.

For Nwachukwu (1993) any nation where there is a social inequality as a result of unemployment is a ready tinder box for social upheavals. It is obvious that no country can expect to have a good image as
long as a considerable proportion of its labour force lacks the means to earn a decent living, certain degree of dignity or security.

However, statistics indicate that Nigeria, compared to other countries of Africa has the largest segment of unemployment. In absolute term, it is estimated that there are at present over 90 million Nigerians who are unemployed, that is over 74 percent of the population of 140 million (Njoku 2011; Stephen, 2012). According to the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (2011) The Nigeria unemployment rate increased to 23.9 percent compared to 21.1 percent in 2010 and 19.7 percent in 2009. The report shows that the rate is higher in the rural areas with 25.6 percent than in the urban areas with 17.1 percent. This statistics does not augur well for Nigeria if national development is to be achieved. Before the Arab uprising in Egypt, about 3000 retrenched youths had gathered in Tahirir Square for some weeks. This subsequently ignited the revolution that saw President Hosni Mubarak’s removal from office. According to Engel and Gubasch (2012) the authoritarian rule was fueled by “wide spread frustration over Government corruption, rampant poverty and unemployment”. The import of this is that with the Nigeria’s population at 140 million, above 70 percent unemployed, viewing from the perspective of the recent event in the middle east where unemployment, poverty and corruption among others played a key role in the uprising, it is obvious that the Nigeria’s unemployment poses a serious threat to the unity, development, the National Security and peaceful coexistence of this country.

There are recorded cases of high level insecurity, political violence, youths restiveness, armed robbery, kid and men napping, pipeline vandalism, fuel bunkering, huge poverty as well as suicide bombing, where over 2800 lives are lost and property worth millions of Naira destroyed, posing a serious threat to the nation (human right watch 2012 and International world group). The Nigerian government is good at formulating gargantuan and lofty policies, but has always been hampered by lack of policy inconsistency or total neglect in implementation. In Akwa Ibom State, it is noted as the number one oil rich state in Nigeria drawing billions of Naira on monthly basis, yet according to the National Bureau of statistics unemployment rate (2008) is rated third with 34.1 percent behind Bayelsa and Bauchi with 38.4 and 37.2 percent respectively. Irrespective of the huge sum received from the federation account monthly allocation, infrastructural facilities are lacking, no functional state owned industry is working. There are no development in proportion to the allocation collected. There are many cases of armed robbery in broad day light, high level men and kidnapping, restiveness, electoral violence the highest in the country. Agricultural sector has been completely forgotten in the scheme of things. Agriculture is supposed to be the highest employer of labour in Nigeria. Unfortunately, it is either neglected or their managers are not doing enough. In developed economies, agriculture is given a pride of place. Farmers are expected to draw funds (loans) from financial sectors and the government. In Nigeria, very little quota is allocated in the budget for agriculture. Akwa Ibom State in particular, the real farmers could not access the loans from government. The funds that should have been expended to the farmers, end up in the hand of political farmers (politicians) who have access and who also receive the loans instead of the real farmers, some of which buy cars, build houses and even wed at the detriment of creating employment, food security and agricultural expansion. However, various past and present Regimes in the country have brought to bear different pet programmes aimed at eradicating National Insecurity, poverty, huge unemployment and restiveness such as: poverty Alleviation Program (PAP), operation feed the nation (OFN), Directorate for food, Roads and Rural infrastructure (DFRRI), National Directorate of employment (NDE), Better life for Rural Women, Family support, Family life enhancement programmes among others. But it has not been appraised whether this programmes put in place have not been able to address the domestic socio-economic and political maladies endemic in the country. Against this backdrop, the following research questions beg for answers: In what ways do government policies and their implementation gap result in National Insecurity and youth unemployment and its subsequent insecurity in Nigeria? How does bad governance and corrupt leadership bring about National Insecurity and youth unemployment in Nigeria? To what extent does...
agricultural sector development affect National Insecurity and youth unemployment in Nigeria? How does National Insecurity and youth unemployment in Nigeria affect the National development of the Niger Delta? What are the policy options and strategies that would eradicate national insecurity and youth unemployment in Nigeria, Niger Delta in particular?

Analytical Framework

The framework of this study adopts the eclectical theory. The behaviourist, frustration-aggression and human needs theories. as well as Keynesian theory of unemployment. The frustration-aggression theory developed by Neal E. Miller, Robert R. Sears, O. H. Mower, Leonard W. Doob and John Dullard (1939) published a monograph on aggression in which they presented what has come to be known as the Frustration-Aggression (FA). The theory states that:

Frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. The theory suggest that frustrated, and prejudiced individuals should act more aggressively towards the groups they are prejudiced against and can also show more aggression towards everyone.

This assumption proved to have an immense impact appears to have influenced by current western thinking on aggression more profoundly than any other single publication. It is intended to suggest to the student of humanities that whenever aggression is seen, he should turn a suspicious eye on possibilities that the organism or group is confronted with frustration and that when he views interference with individual or group habits, he should be on the look-out for among other things, aggression. Dollard et al (1939) posited that:

The occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. Frustration in this sense was specified as the thwarting of a global response, and a global response in turn, was taken to mean the reinforcing final operation in an ongoing behaviour sequence.

Frustration, according to them is used to refer not only to the process of blocking a person’s attainment of a reinforcer, but also to the reaction to such blocking.

As Selg (1971) observed, the theory tends to provide a justification for behaving aggressively; being frustrated made me do it.

Miller (1941) was quick to retract the latter part of the proposal. For him, quite obviously, frustrations do not cause hostile or aggressive outburst by necessity, potential outburst may be effectively inhibited or may result in alternative actions, such as the pursuit of other, or more readily available reinforcers.

For Miller, frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of responses, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression.

Zillmann (1979) averred that frustration instigates behaviour that may or may not be hostile or aggressive.

Any hostile or aggressive behaviour that occurs is caused by frustration. In other words, frustration is not a sufficient, but a necessary condition for hostility and aggression. It suggests that the failure to obtain a desire or expected goal leads to aggressive behaviour. The basic assumption of the theory is that all aggression, whether interpersonal or international, has its root causes in the frustration of one or more actors’ goal achievement. That is to say that conflict can be traced to the
inability to fulfil personal or group objectives and it invariably breeds frustration. Since the demand for basic human needs has always exceeded the supply, all human conflict can be traced to an actor’s failure to obtain what it needs.

Closely related to the Frustration-Aggression theory is the Human Needs theory. Developed in the 1970s and 1980s as a generic or holistic theory of human behaviour, it is based on the hypothesis that humans have basic needs in order to maintain stable societies. Burton (1991), posits:

We believe that the human participants in conflict situation are compulsively struggling in their perspective institutional environments at all social levels to satisfy primordial and universal needs-needs such as security, identity, recognition and development. They strive increasingly to gain control of their environment that is necessary to ensure that satisfaction of these needs. This struggle cannot be curbed; it is primordial. The frustration of not satisfying these needs leads to aggression and subsequently conflict.

What distinguishes Human Needs theory from the Frustration-Aggression theory is that the former is only concerned with absolute requirements (needs) while the latter is also concerned with want and desires. Burton further states:

Unless identity needs are met in multi-ethnic societies, unless in every social system there is distributive justice, a sense of control, and prospects for the pursuit of all other human societal developmental needs, instability and conflict are inevitable.

The implication of this is that the frustration of the needs and aspirations of individuals or groups by actors through poverty in the midst of plenty, unemployment and lack of attainment of certain goals in life causes insecurity.

This is a clear index that the constitution was made for the purpose of promoting good governance as well as security and welfare of all persons in as a much as you are a citizen of Nigeria. Unfortunately, there is a disconnection between the government and the citizens in the country. Today, there is huge poverty, high rate of unemployment which is the creation of the actors in governance whether past or present that has failed to make and implement, good policies that would create wealth to better the lots of the generality of the citizens. Government of today exists only to launder and amass wealth for themselves at the expense of the people, which is why there is high level of insecurity as a result of frustration of the needs and aspiration of citizen in the country.

The theory of frustration-aggression and human needs is directly reminding the actors in governance that governance is no longer to the reach, benefit and interest of the people, but for the interest of the few opportunists. And being frustrated and aggrieved of not making allowance for the benefit of everyone to share in the proceeds accrue from the resources of the Nation, through the creation of jobs, provision of infrastructures and having been placed outside the system from making contributions into the national accounts, then we are experiencing insecurity in the Nation. And while the actors who inflict the pains and injuries could not be reached, there is displacement of their grievances to those who are nearer and closer, who could easily be reached, that is (the casualty) citizens, who is their nearest target.

In sum, the insecurity experienced in this Nation is that there is a high level frustration of the majority of the citizens. The unemployed has a feeling that he/she has no stake, no security and so has nothing to loose and that is why when they are aggrieved, they can do just anything.
The Application of Assumption of the Theories to the Study

The government anywhere in the world exists to provide security and welfare of the citizens. In Nigeria, more than 80 million of the total populations are idle, living in squalor, unemployed, poor and diseased. There is a disconnect between the government and the citizens because of the later shirking off their responsibilities of providing basic infrastructure and enabling environment for wealth creation. Industries have been privatized and commercialized without adequate fall back mechanism that will absorb the teeming, hopeless and poor masses. Nigeria is one of the largest oil producing countries in the world in terms of oil and gas exploration. And yet, the oil wealth cannot be translated into eradicating poverty and unemployment. There is no social security (compensations) for the unemployed, and the vulnerable in the country as is done elsewhere in the world. There is a high level corruption, the elected are only protecting their interest at the expense of the generality of those that voted them.

The citizens cannot afford basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, housing, accommodation, good healthcare system, education etc. Per capita income is low and the standard of living is low according to statistics, this deprivation and frustration has translated into arm robbery, kid and men napping and abduction, militia fighting for their rights, insurgencies and general insecurity in Nigeria.

The Conceptualization of Terms: National Insecurity, Youth Unemployment and National Development

National Insecurity

National Insecurity has been short-changed in terms of conceptualization by scholars. Rather, most scholars delved extensively on the definition of security and national security; and most of their analyses are geared towards the elimination of the negative effects of insecurity.

National Insecurity can be viewed either as a condition or situation. It is a condition, when it is pervasive and prevails in any society. It is increasingly becoming an area of concern for studies. While, it is a situation, when it is isolated and occurs once in a while. However, Simson and Weiner, (1991), have defined insecurity as:

Free from care. The quality or condition of being insecure; the opposite of security. The condition of not being sure, want of assurance or confidence uncertainty. The state or quality of being unsafe; inability to give way, fail or suffer loss or damage, want of firmness or safety; an insecure state of affairs; a condition of danger.

Insecurity therefore, implies the absence of security. It is the direct opposite of security. The effect of insecurity on any given nation state are always disastrous; in that it tends to undermine the political stability of the country. In extreme cases, insecurity often leads to failed states or collapsing state structures with the attendant bad global image for the country. Hasan (2005:6), however, defines it as follows:

Insecurity is a fact of life for the poor urban citizens of many countries. It may arise from the lack of secure housing tenure, which means living with the constant fear of eviction. Or it may reflect high levels of personal insecurity stemming from police harassment abuse in the hands of bureaucracies or the breakdown of public safety in the neighbourhood.

Moser (2005:10), on her part sees insecurity as:

Induced by growing perceptions of violence, fear and insecurity which are reshaping the urban space of many larger cities in the developing
world. As the rich retreat to fortified enclaves, the poor become increasingly isolated in their segregated neighbourhood fearful of random violence, vulnerable to the erosion of key livelihood assets, and often tending for themselves owing to the state’s failure to protect them.

Both the works of Hasan and Moser were elitist, in the sense that they dwell so much on insecurity among the urban poor? And thereby neglecting the rural majority who are the most vulnerable. Therefore, the totality of insecurity at personal, rural, urban or national levels, all impact negatively on the socio-political stability as well as economic conditions of any given country. As such, the deteriorating domestic security situation (insecurity) in any given country will combine to give birth to negative external image for that state in the international scene.

Operationally, National Insecurity is defined here as a state of carnage created by dissatisfaction of an aggrieved individuals or group of persons as a result of political manipulation, social dislocation, deteriorating economic down-turn, environmental degradation and displacement technological as well as ethno-religious or cultural affinity. This is caused by poor policies of failed leadership in an attempt to buttress a point or drive home their demands which may involve persistent loss of lives and wanton destruction of property of individuals and state resources and such other means aimed at destabilizing and crippling development activities of the nation.

Insecurity could be felt in two dimensions: individual level and state or national levels. The individual level of insecurity (human security), is felt when there are essential needs of life of the citizens that could not be met by the government, be it in the urban or the rural area. There are want and fear of the unknown. There are want for food, shelter, good roads, electricity, good education and other such facilities. There are want for employment opportunities, when this are not feasible, there may be fear of how to survive which eventually leads to crime, violence and insurgency. It should be noted here that when the basic necessities of human beings (individuals) are not taken care of, insecurity prevails in such a community.

At the State, National or international level, when that fear persist, crime, violence and insurgency is not settled, it turns out to be an insurrection threatening the peace and stability of the Nation.

An individual is insecure when he/she does not have the capability to purchase his/her needs and realize her aspirations; and the insecurity of the needs and aspirations at individual levels determines the National Insecurity of the country.

**The Concept of Youth Unemployment**

**Unemployment**: unemployment or joblessness as defined by the International Labour Organisation (2011), occurs when people are without jobs and they have actively looked for work within the past four weeks.

Adeola (1999), however, sees unemployment as the condition of being out of work. It includes the state of not being fully or adequately employed. The inclusion of all forms of underutilization of labour in defining unemployment is very important in a developing country like Nigeria where the informal sector is quite large. Some manifestations of unemployment and the underutilization of labour. According to Eminue (2005):

Unemployment refers to the non-utilization, underutilization or misutilization of a vast number of employable people in a nation-

people who are unsuccessful but actively seeking work.

unemployment could be operationally defined here as the inability of active persons between the age brackets of 15 and above who are ready for employment and could not access a job immediately may
be as a result of embargo, absence of industries, man no man syndrome or lack of requisite employable skills.

Youth

An examination of available literature shows the absence of a universally accepted definition of youth. However, the United Nations defines youth as the category of men and women between the ages of 15 and 24 years (Ryan, 2003). The National Youth Policy of Indian classifies them as those falling between the ages of 10 and 34 years. Kenya, Ghana. Tanzania and South Africa however, put the ages of youths as between 15 and 35 years (Ryan, 2008). The Commonwealth puts the youth ages as that between 15 and 29 years, while Nigeria’s National Youth Policy puts the age of her youths at between 15 and 35 years.

Youth can be classified into two stages, the early stage 15-24 years who are still tied to the apron strings of their parents and can therefore not stand on their own and 25-30 who can decide for themselves. At the early stage of youth, a lot of care is needed since it is a “period of storm and stress” and therefore needs direction as to what to do in life, based on the type of schools to attend, course of study and the intention of what to become. At the later state, such a person must have been on his or her own, catteries paribus, given the right environment and resources available.

Youth Unemployment

As regards the concept of unemployment, there seems to be consensus on the definition of unemployment. Simply put, unemployment describes the condition of people who are without jobs. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2007)

Defines the unemployed as numbers of the economically active population who are without work but available for and seeking work, including people who have lost their jobs and those who have voluntarily left work (World Bank, 1998:63). Also, for Adebayo (1999) this exists when members of the labour force wish to work but cannot get jobs.

Youth unemployment, therefore, could be described as the conglomerate of youths with diverse background, willing and able to work, but cannot find any. When the supply of labour outstrips the demand for labour, it causes joblessness and unemployment (Okafor 2011:362). Given the lack of sufficient employment opportunities in the formal sector, young people may be compelled to engage in casual work and other unorthodox livelihood sources, thus leading to underemployment (Echebiri, 2005; Gibb & George, 1990; Onah, 2001).

Various forms of unemployment have been identified and elaborated upon in the literature. These include seasonal, frictional, cyclical, and structural unemployment (Adebayo, 1999; Damachi, 2001; Hollister & Goldstein, 1994; Robert, 1993; Todaro, 1992). Unemployment is measured among people in the labour force (Obadan & Odusola, 2001; National Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The labour force of a country as defined by National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2009) is a set of people or citizens of a country who are willing and are able to make available at any given point in time their efforts for gainful employment. The unemployed are the individuals with no work, but are looking for work at the time of any study.

Youth unemployment could be defined as the inability of active person between the age bracket of 15 and above who are ready for employment and could not access a job immediately. There are different categories of youth unemployment ranging from those who have not acquired any level of education who are looking for jobs such as cleaners, labourers etc. There are those who have acquired primary level of education, secondary as well as tertiary education (graduates), the category of work here differs based on their levels of educational attainment.
The Concept of National Development

Development does not refer to the economic aspect of a nation only, but it means a gain in the quality of life of the industrial in the society, community, state and nation. According to Abasiekong (1982:18), this involves the number of able bodied people to work, the state of their health, the level of birth rate and death rate. He maintains that development is also an ideology in so far as African leaders tend to visualize progress towards a better society in terms of development, see their historical evolution in terms of the possibility of achieving development, and base the possibility of the good life on the primary necessity of overcoming underdevelopments.

National Development, like the related concept of National interest is often difficult to define. Among the social scientist in particular, it is difficult to obtain consensus in terms of meaning and the context in which it can be used. However, National Development must be understood from the point of view the fundamental objectives and Directive principles of state policy (Bankole 2008:8).

According to him, these objectives set goals which every government in Nigeria must strive to achieve at all times. In other words, National Development represents the set of economic, political and social objectives which a country relies upon as a reference point for judging government actions and programmes.

An insight into the meaning of National Development can be obtained from the contents of Nigeria’s Second National Development Plan (1970-1974). In the document, National Development is conceived as the establishments of a strong and buoyant economy, the creation of a just and egalitarian society where no man or woman is oppressed on the basis of ethnicity, sex and religion.

Bankole (2008:8) avers that:

- Development is a sustained pattern of economic growth in which there is commitment to the implementation of programmes that guarantee social justice or addresses the multifarious challenges of development.
- They include among others: poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS, Pandemic, malaria and other disease, gender inequality, security of lives and property, sustainable peace and infrastructural development.

Ake (1981:141) in his work on the desire for development opine that one important impulse for change in African economies is the desire of African leaders, apparently shared by their followers, for development. He describes passion or an ideology. According to him,

- The most fundamental problems which plague African states are poverty, the high incidence of disease, unemployment, military weakness, ignorance, technological backwardness, cultural deprivation, short life-expectancy, social disorganization and the high incidence of political instability.

Development may be defined as the harnessing both human and material forces of production, land, labour, capital efficiently for growth. It should be noted here that whatever kind of development be it at individual, groups, community, state or National level is predicated on the efficient use of these three forces of production. That the cause of most problems of man hinges on the use of land for agriculture, land is not adequately put to use. Investment in agriculture has been neglected by the government, too many idle labour and diversion or capital flight that would have been used for investment have been lost through corruption, money laundering or extravagant use on irrelevances industrialization would have engendered development, but poor policy or the use of foreign policy when the economy is not capable to
effectuate such policies or the necessary base for the policy to thrive is not on ground, this crumbles the economy.

Broadly, National Development is the positive coordination of human and material efforts by specialized institutions aimed at bringing about rise in productivity through the use of improved methods, maximization of Gross National Product, the industrialization which may either be small and medium scale with efforts aimed at absorbing available labour to enhance stability of the system be it local, state or national. For development to thrive, there must be every effort aimed at eradicating idle labour, improving standard of living through adequate provision of infrastructures and facilities in rural areas, since development cannot take place in a violent environment.

The World Bank’s Development Indicators (2008/2009) Report states that the world has an estimated youth population of 1.2 billion and that more than one third of the youth are without jobs: The International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2006) is of the view that in Sub-Saharan Africa, three out of five unemployed people are youth.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

To a large extent, unemployment is a by-product of modernization. In traditional societies where money was not an issue, salaried jobs did not exist. The people in those societies lived off the land directly. Most people were therefore making their own employment in traditional societies. The invention of money and industrialization led to the creation of jobs and a class of employers and employees in a market situation with a demand side for jobs and a supply side of labour. According to Wikipedia (2011) unemployment occurred slowly as economies across the world industrialized and bureaucratized. The rate of unemployment in society began to increase as more people left their traditional pre-occupations to seek for salaried jobs than the rate at which such jobs were created in tune with the demand of the market economy.

The decade of the 1930s saw the Great Depression impact unemployment across the globe. In Germany the unemployment rate reached nearly 25% in 1932. Unemployment in Canada reached 27% in 1933. In 1932, 25% of all American workers and 37% of all non-farm workers were unemployed (Wikipedia 2011). In Africa the demands of the colonial economy led to the creation of structures, urban areas and bureaucracies and other wage earning employments. Soon the supply of labour outstripped available wage earning jobs as more people left the rural areas to the new cities.

The unemployment situation and its consequences at the turn of the 21st century have become alarming. The current world population includes an estimated 1.2 billion young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years which is about 24.7% of the world’s working age population. Worldwide, youth unemployment is high, almost three times the adult unemployment rate. With the economic down turn, the worldwide youth unemployment was expected to reach 15% in 2009 (International Labour Organisation, 2008). According to the World Bank Report for 2008, 200 million people in Africa are between the ages of 15 and 24 years and most of these are unemployed.

The United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA – 2005) reports that current levels of unemployment among young men in West Africa are a ticking time bomb for the region and beyond. In some countries such as Sierra Leone, the number of young people lacking proper work exceeded 50%. Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010) quoted statistics from the Manpower Board and the Federal Bureau of Statistics to show that Nigeria has a youth population of 80million representing 60% of the country’s total population and that 64 million of them were unemployed, while 1.6million were under-employed.
TYPES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Cyclical Unemployment:
Cyclical unemployment goes hand in hand with the business cycle. Higher the GDP, lower will be the cyclical unemployment at the peak of the business cycle and the vice versa is true when the economy is in the trough of the business cycle. If cyclical unemployment rate stretches for an extended period, it may cause irreparable damage to the labour force in the country.

Structural unemployment:
It is well-known fact that everyday new products are being launched in the market. As a result, the demand for certain goods and services also changes. This leads to increase in unemployment rate in certain sectors of the economy and creates jobs in yet others. Under these circumstances, reemployment may be possible if the worker relocates or migrates to other sectors (in demand).

Agricultural Activities:
It has also been observed that if there are undulations in the agricultural sector (due to factors like low production, drought, famine or natural disaster), the effects are felt in agribusiness. This may also be regarded as one of the factors in unemployment.

Hard Core Unemployment
Hard core unemployment usually results when a worker is disabled and is not in a position to work. The worker may also give up his job after a few days due to dissatisfaction with the wage.

Unemployment at any given point of time may be either due to one of the factors mentioned above or a combination of several factors (mentioned above). It has also been observed that if the labour market in the economy does not work in an optimum manner, it leads to unemployment.

STATUS OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN NIGERIA
Nigeria, since the attainment of political independence in 1960 has undergone various fundamental structural changes. These domestic structural shifts have however not resulted in any significant and sustainable economic growth and development. Available data show that the Nigerian economy grew relatively in the greater parts of the 1970s, with respect to the oil boom of the 1970s; the outrageous profits from the oil boom encouraged wasteful expenditures in the public sector dislocation of the employment factor and also distorted the revenue bases for policy planning. (Njoku et al. 2011:3-4).

According to the Central Bank of Nigeria (2003) as reported by Akintoye (2003), the national unemployment rate, rose from 4.3 percent in 1970 to 6.4 percent in 1980. The high rate of unemployment observed in 1980 was attributed largely to depression in the Nigerian economy during the late 1970s. specifically, the economic downturn led to the implementation of stabilization measures which included restriction on exports, which caused import dependency of most Nigerian manufacturing enterprises, which in turn resulted in Operation of many companies below their installed capacity. This development led to the close down of many industries while the survived few were forced to retrenched a large proportion of their workforce, furthermore, the Nigerian Government also placed an embargo on employment. This among many other crises resulted in the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986 and the current economic reforms.

The core objective of the economic structural reform is a total restructuring of the Nigerian economy in the face of a massive population explosion. However, these economic and financial structural reforms put in place did not yield significant results. Specifically total disengagement from the Federal Civil Service rose from 2, 724 in 1980 to 6,294 in 1984 (Odusola, 2001). Owing to this, the national
unemployment rate fluctuated around 6.0% until 1987 when it rose to 7.0 percent. It is important to state here, that SAP adopted in 1986, had serious implications on employment in Nigeria, as unemployment rate declined from 7.0 percent in 1987, to as low as 1.9 percent in 1995, after which it rose to 2.8 percent in 1996, and hovered between 2.8 and 13.1 percent between 1996 and 2000.

The analysis by educational status also suggests that people who have been majority affected by unemployment are those without basic education. For instance, person with and without primary school education accounted for 76.8/80.6 percent of the unemployment in 1974 and 1978 respectively. In recent times however, the situation has been compounded by the increasing unemployment of professionals such as accountants, engineers, among others. According to a 1974 survey, reported by Aigbokhan (2000) as reported by Akintoye (2003) graduate proceedings of the 2011 international conference on Teaching, Learning and Change (c) international Association for Teaching and Learning (IATEL) unemployment accounted for less than 1 percent of the unemployed, in 1974, by 1984, the proportion rose to 4 percent for urban areas and 2.2 percent in the rural areas. It is impressive to note that, in 2005, Nigerian’s unemployment rate declined to 11.9 percent from 14.8 in 2003. this decline was attributed to the various government efforts aimed at addressing the problem through poverty alleviation programmes. This decline also pointed to an increased sharply from 14.9% in March 2008 to 19.7 in March 2009 (figure 1). When disaggregated by sector, gave 19.2% for Urban and 19.8% for the Rural (NBS, 2010). Some states in the country recorded high composite unemployment rates, i.e. above 19.7% which is the overall unemployment rate were Bayelsa (38.4%), Katsina (37.3%), Bauchi (37.2%), Akwa-Ibom (34.1%), Gombe (32.1%), Adamawa (29.4%), Borno (27.7%), Kano (27.6%), Yobe (27.3%), Taraba (26.8%), Jigawa (26.5%), and Imo (20.8%) while Plateau State recorded the lowest figure of 7.1%. In 2005, Niger state recorded the lowest rate of 0.2 while Zamfara recorded the highest rate of 51.1 when the rate of unemployment in the country was 11.9 (see table 2).

Table 2.1: Unemployment Rates by state Nigeria 2002-2009

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<td>11.1</td>
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KANO  12.8  25.9  22.5  19.1  19.4  12.7  27.6  27.6  
KATSINA  10.4  20.3  22.1  23.8  19.3  5.8  37.3  37.3  
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KOGI  19.9  14.9  11.8  8.7  12.5  16.5  19  19  
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PLATEAU  11.8  0.4  1.6  2.8  2.9  8.7  7.1  7.1  
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YOBE  15.0  12.1  10.7  8.0  13.6  19.9  27.3  27.3  
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FCT  14.4  5.3  5.9  6.5  16.4  16.4  21.5  21.5  
NIGERIA  12.6  14.8  13.4  11.9  13.7  14.6  19.7  19.7  


CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mai- Lafia (2007:14-20) has listed ten causes of unemployment namely:

1. **Government Policies and their implementations**
   
   Government policy is responsible for the high rate of unemployment and underemployment in Nigeria. Government implementation of stabilization policy including restriction on importation is one of the causes of unemployment and underemployment in the country. The reason here is that most high import dependent manufacturing industries had to operate below capacity and as such most had to close down or retrench some workers.

   According to a survey carried out by the manufacturers association of Nigeria (MAN), about 61 percent of companies surveyed shut down for different periods of not less than three months while between 62.0 and 63.9 percent of them retrenched more than 100 workers (CBN, 1993). This made things more difficult for fresh school leavers to find jobs. Equally the structural adjustment programme which the government adopted in 1986 that was to lead to job creation, contrary to expectations led to organizational down-sizing of many enterprises causing many people to lose their jobs. This new policy also brought some structural changes within the labour market thereby creating structural and frictional unemployment in the country.

   The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) developed and put in practice between 2003 and 2007, recommends among others, right-sizing of the public sector as an economic measure of saving costs and cutting wastes. The main feature of right-sizing
has been retrenchment of workers which has since begun with the Federal Ministries and parastatals. Bank restructuring under consolidation has witnessed the laying off of so many workers who are now seeking jobs.

2. **Rural-Urban Migration**

According to Fadayomi (1992) one of the causes of unemployment was the inability to develop and utilize the nations manpower resources effectively especially in the rural setting. Many authors have identified rural to urban migration especially of youths as being the main cause of unemployment and underemployment especially in urban centers (Okonjo, 1974; Adepoju 1976, Yo opoulos, 1991, Sarr, 2000; Onah, 2001; Otaki, 2003). This is due to the poor social-economic conditions in the rural areas. Todaro (1992) attributes the high rate of unemployment in urban areas to a shift of economic activities and youths from rural to urban areas.

3. **Increase in Capital Intensive Methods of Production**

The introduction of labour-saving machines in the production process has been partly responsible for unemployment. According to NPCNEEDS-2 (2007), The parts of the economy that are more productive such as the formal manufacturing are not labour intensive. It states that:

“Recent evidence shows that the whole of formal sector manufacturing employed less than 300,000 people. The very large firms that dominate manufacturing employ capital and skill intensive processes that do not create large number of jobs”

4. **Lack of Godfather**

One of the causes of unemployment in Nigeria and many other countries is the idea of lack of a godfather. Lambo (1987) pointed out that influence system was a principal factor restricting access to employment especially in some key sectors. One needs to know somebody of influence before being able to gain employment in some areas even when vacancies exist. Okoli (1989) refers to this as Bureaucratic melodrama, “man know man syndrome”.

5. **Lack of Specialized Skills**

Lack of good educational qualification and possession of specialized skills are also responsible for the high unemployment in Nigeria. Many of the unemployed do not have any particular skills. There is therefore a mismatch between the education and skills possessed by job seekers and what the economy demands (McGrath and King, 1995). In short, there are many art and social science graduates than science and technology-oriented graduates who could employ themselves. Also, NPC NEEDS-2 (2007) in its lists of factors responsible for unemployment is “the educational content that is at variance with the market job demands”.

The wrong impression of student/graduates about the place of technical and vocational education also accounts for the deteriorating state of unemployment in Nigeria. There is an enduring societal biased attitude against technical and vocational education (Damachi, 2001). A large number of job seekers lack practical skills that could enhance self-employment. It is usually a pre-conceived idea that white-collar jobs remains the yardstick for measuring a successful employed graduate in Nigeria. That is why rather than providing jobs for others, such unemployed graduates keep depending on the government and non-vibrant private sectors for job offers.

6. **Job Preferences**

One other factor responsible for unemployment in Nigeria is job preferences especially among youths. It is fashionable for most of them to want to work in banks, oil companies, manufacturing companies etc. This leads to some waiting attitude among them. The unemployed in this case would refuse the first offer of employment but continue to search for better paid
employment. Some may accept the first offer just to keep them busy while searching for what they could term “better job”.

7. **Rapid Growth in Population of the Country and of Graduates**

The rapid growth in the population of Nigeria is also responsible for the high level of unemployment in the country. According to the 1991 census, the annual growth rate was put as 2.8 percent and the projections were that by 2005 the population of Nigeria would have been about 115 million (Adebayo, 1999). However, the 2006 census has put the population of Nigeria at 140 million. This rapid population growth is outpacing the supply of jobs leading to unemployment and underemployment.

Considering the upsurge in the number of colleges and universities in recent years most especially between 1993 to date, graduate unemployment and underemployment become rampant. As at April 2007, the number of universities, both private and public, in Nigeria has risen to 89. These institutions have continued to turn out thousands of young men and women whose only guarantee to becoming useful Nigerians, it would appear, are the certificates and degrees the posses. But the era of more possession of certificates and degrees as a guarantee for a job is gone but the era of “who know who”. Unfortunately, enough it is most of the private universities proprietors turning out graduates that prefer to build industries and invest abroad.

8. **Inadequate Enabling Environment for Business Creation outside the Public Service**

The constant power failure, poor water supply and constant fuel shortages discourage the creation of business that could create jobs for the people. NPC NEEDS -2 (2007) identifies this, when it states that,

> the lack of formal, full time jobs outside the civil service, publicly funded education and health services and the utilities has arisen because of the slow growth in the manufacturing sector coupled with relatively weak capacity utilization; the state of infrastructure that has made conditions a bit difficult for small and medium scale enterprises.

The poor and unfriendly economic, social and political environment that characterize the economy over the years has continued to pose serious challenges to employment generation in Nigeria. This couple with poor security and politically unpredictable environment has continued to hamper investment drives by both domestic and foreign businessmen and women. Moreso, many job seekers who would have embarked on self-employment programes are unable to do so because of the hostile production environment. Others who make attempt are forced to windup due to absence of infrastructure and the overall heat of the investment environment.

9. **The Neglect of the Agricultural Sector**

The vast majority of the workforce is self-employed in agriculture and the informal economy or employed casually. The main features of this type of employment, as noted by NEEDS 2 (2007), are low incomes, lack of job security and poor working conditions.

The agricultural sector has been the leading provider of employment in Nigeria especially in the sixties and in the seventies when the sector provided employment for more than 60 percent of the Nigeria population. However, unfortunately, in the wake of oil discovery, the attention of this anchor of the economy was gradually drawn to the oil sector where employment capacity is very low. The resulting effect is the large number of job seekers who have no place in the oil industry.
10. The attitude of Nigerian Businessmen Towards Investment in the Country.
For either political or security reasons, Nigerian businessmen and politicians prefer to invest outside of the country. Large amount of capital investments of Nigerians is done abroad either in real investment or kept in overseas banks because of insecurity situation in the country.

11. Collapse of Local Industries
Ahua (2011:4) maintains that, other factors include the collapse of Local industries as well as the relocation of multinational manufacturing and trading companies out of Nigeria.

12. Proliferation of Tertiary Institution
Nigeria has over 130 Universities and hundreds of Colleges of Education, Polytechnics, Colleges of Agriculture and other specialized tertiary educational institutions. The country also has hundreds of thousand of secondary educational institutions. All these churn out millions of young men and women every year into the labour market with little absorptive capacity in terms of its ability for gainful employment.

13. Urbanization
In addition, the “push-pull” factor of urbanization and rural –urban migration are rooting out thousands of youth from the rural areas of the country into towns and cities where jobs are scarce, housing inadequate and where available social amenities and infrastructure are not able to cope with the numbers flooding-in-unending torrents.

14. Extravagance / Maladministration of oil Economy
Unemployment is one of the development problems that face every developing economy in the 21st century. The Nigerian economy since the attainment of political independence in 1960 has undergone fundamental structural changes. The domestic structural shifts have however not resulted in any significant and sustainable economic growth and development.
Available data show that the Nigerian economy grew relatively in the greater parts of the 1970s, with respect to the oil boom of the 1970s; the outrageous profits from the oil boom encouraged wasteful expenditures in the public sector dislocation of the employment factor and also distorted the revenue bases for policy planning. This among many other crisis resulted in the interlocution of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986 and the current economic reforms. The core objective of the economic structural reform is a total restructuring of the Nigerian economy in the face of population explosion (Douglasson et al, 2006). Others include:
Rapid changes in technology, recessions, inflation, disability, undulating business cycles, changes in tastes as well as alterations in the climate conditions, this may in turn lead to decline in demand for certain services as well as products, attitude towards employers, willingness to work, perception of employees, employee values, discriminating factors in the place of work (may include discrimination on the basis of age, class, ethnicity, color and race), ability to look for employment and falsification of age records/age declaration to continue their stay in service.

Effects of Graduate Unemployment and Underemployment in Nigeria
The consequences of unemployment and underemployment in Nigeria are very severe and threatening the citizenry and the economy as a whole. The unemployment episode in particular has continued to release so many challenges to the survival of the Nigerian nation. Among these effects are:

1. A Reaction in Nations Production: The unemployment and underemployment graduates of course will not contribute to national productivity. In the case of underemployment, the
individual’s total output is always below his potential output level. That implies that such individual is not optimally utilizing his potential (Ishmael 2004).

2. **Decline in Individual Esteem:** Apart from loss of income, the unemployed or underemployed graduate will offer from low self-esteem that long periods of unemployment cause. In cross sectional regression there is clear evidence that unemployment is associated with lower levels of psychological well-being. Unemployment dehumanizes the unemployed and causes partial or total loss of esteem among peers. The unemployed feels inferior before his peer group and sees life as totally demeaning. This is the situation of many of the Nigerian graduate job seekers.

3. **The Brain Drain Problem:** The issue of unemployment and underemployment of graduate in Nigeria has been one of the reasons why it loses highly intelligent and qualified experts to foreign nations. These qualified graduates go overseas in search of greener and conducive working atmosphere. This affects the economic either directly or indirectly.

4. **Social Crimes:** unemployment and underemployment account for most of the social crimes perpetrated by youths in the Nigerian society today. The accelerating level of prostitution, armed robbery, rape and all facets of violence can be largely attributed to the incidence of unemployment especially. An examination of most of the apprehended criminals shows that a large number of youths that engage in criminal activities are those without gainful employment. Some of these criminals are people who have the potentials for gainful employment but have been denied such opportunities. Unemployment then can be seen as one of the core cause of the rising effect of social disorder and insecurity permeating the entire country.

**MEASURES FOR REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT RATE**

Framing economic policies, improving labour mobility, assisting in developing enhanced work habits are some of the measures which may be taken to deal with unemployment. Extending unemployment insurance benefits is also a means of rendering financial protection to the unemployed. This system was first introduced during the period of Great Depression (1930s).

**Table 2.3:** National Unemployment Rates (1985-2004).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SURVEY</th>
<th>COMPOSITE</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
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<td>5.2</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
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<td>4.6</td>
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<td>December 1987</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 1991</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<td>1992 (annualized)</td>
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<td>4.8</td>
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<td>12.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
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Table 2.4: Unemployment Rates in Nigeria (2005)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>States</th>
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<td>11.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abuja</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akwa Ibom</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra/Enugu</td>
<td>9.8/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo/Delta State</td>
<td>9.9/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno/Yobe</td>
<td>6.3/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamawa/Taraba</td>
<td>21.4/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo/Abia</td>
<td>16.5/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano/Jigawa</td>
<td>19.1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara / Kano</td>
<td>2.9/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oyo/Osun</td>
<td>5.3/</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Plateau</td>
<td>2.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>7.0</td>
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<td>Sokoto/Keffi</td>
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Source: Federal Office of Statistics, 2005

Table 2.5: Registered unemployed and vacancies declared in Lower grade professional and executive levels.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lower Grade Unemployed</th>
<th>Lower Grade Vacancies</th>
<th>Lower Grade Placement</th>
<th>Professional and Executive Unemployed</th>
<th>Professional and Executive Vacancies</th>
<th>Professional and Executive Placement</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total registered unemployment</th>
<th>Total vacancies declared</th>
<th>Vacancy declared (junior cadre)</th>
<th>Placement Junior Cadre</th>
<th>Vacancies declared executive cadre</th>
<th>Placement executive cadre</th>
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<td>83</td>
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Macro Economic Stabilization Policy

In order to cater to the needs of the unemployed, the government has introduced the macro-economic stabilization policy, which aims in the economy.

CAUSES OF NATIONAL INSECURITY

Saleh (2010:161) has identified the causes of insecurity in Nigeria which have impacted negatively on the National development of this country over the years. These causes are not distinct and opposed to each other; rather they overlap and combined to pose serious threats to Nigeria’s National Security.

1. Leadership

Bad governance has been the major and one of the leading causes of insecurity in Nigeria over the years, with resultant negative global image for the country. Bad governance which is an aberration of universal best practices and a violation of John Lock’s law of social contract is mostly unleashed on the society by undemocratic (despotic) military or civilian regimes.

For most part of Nigeria’s lifespan, it was ruled by the military; and all military regimes are aberrations because they come to power through unpopular means. They rule through crass use of “raw power” without regard to rule of law. The main features of the military regimes are; oppression, repression, injustice, inequality, corruption (Abacha loots), unemployment, and massive human rights violations as evidence in the execution of Kenule (Ken) Saro Wiwa and eight others (i.e the “Ogoni Nine”) in 1995.

The operators of this bad governance who are bereft of sense of patriotism and nationalism convert the national wealth into their personal effects; which they distribute to where their economic interest lies. This they do because they are not accountable to anyone. More so, they control the instruments of terror, credible enough to instill fears in prospective agitators. Hence, this lopsided distribution of national resources, has introduced a frightening dimension to the struggle for control of power; which of course equals the control of the nation’s wealth by our politicians (in khaki or Agbada). Thus, the struggle for power over the years has become absolute. It has now become a “do or die” (make or mar) affairs. Even under the so-called civil democratic rule of the immediate post-military era, elections into public offices are mostly not free and fair; but are mostly rigged or out-rightly manipulated in favour of the party with the greatest killings/assassinations and in extreme cases the explosion of sectarian crises all over the country leading to the destruction of lives and property. This ironically has rubbed any security arrangement which this bad leaders claimed to have put in place in the country.

Furthermore, most of those who aspire and finally found themselves in leadership positions lacked ideology. Fundamentally, most of them are surrogates in power, who are there to do their master’s biddings. This agrees with the saying that, “he who pays the piper dictates the tune”. These leaders have no vision or mission for the country because they and their sponsors (godfathers) are mostly ill-equipped and their motive for power acquisition, is for the crude accumulation of wealth at the expense of the good life of the larger society. Hence, the concept of good governance has ever remained illusive. It is quite true that most of these leaders are “fakes’
because they manipulate their ways into leadership positions through certificate forgery, age inflation and election rigging.

Most of these leaders belong to the lumpen proletariat class who never had it so well in life; but manipulated their ways into leadership positions through crooked means to acquire fame and wealth. They indeed are the prey-predators who wouldn’t want to see anything good coming from credible patriots and nationalists. They are not only resentful but rebellious against merit and credibility which had been their waterloo. They are also known to be masterminds of most violent crisis in the country. They fan the embers of ethno-religious crisis as a deliberate divide and rule tactics. That is when the masses are busy fighting and killing themselves based on ethno-religious cleavages, the leaders finds it expedient to loot our public treasury, which they often carted away and stashed in foreign banks abroad. As such, these leaders who lacked credibility, integrity or even code of ethics indeed turn out to be merchants of corruption and general mis-governance.

Another dangerous dimension of insecurity introduced into the country’s body politics from 1999 by these prey-predators, is the deliberate use of street urchins as political thugs. These variants of political thugs adopted more dangerous modes of operation such as the out-right elimination of political opponents of their pay-masters; prevention of eligible voters from voting (terrorist acts); and snatching of ballot boxes. Examples of these nefarious organizations include: “Yan-Kalare” in Gombe State; “Banni-Israila” in Taraba state; “Sara-Suka” in Bauchi state; “ECOMOG” in Borno State; etc. the activities of these thug groups cross the country introducedparanoid of fears and insecurity among the citizens. Worst of all, these drop-outs are usually appointed into the state executive council despite the fact that they lack the pre-requisite qualifications, experience, and expertise required to hold such offices or positions. The corrupt governors are comfortable with this arrangement because it is expedient for them to manipulate, as well as to ensure smooth and easy looting of our public treasuries. Hence, the arrest and prosecution of former Governors between 2007 and 2010 on corruption charges such as James Ibori Edo serving jail term in Briton.

2. **Lack of Merit System**

The strict adherence to merit system in public life during the immediate post-colonial period was one of the very few positive Colonial legacies bequeathed on Nigeria and Nigerians. Its observance between 1960 to 1966 and between 1970 to 1983, made it to almost assume the status of an ideology. Within these periods, appointments, training, promotion on the public services of the federation was based purely on merit. There was respect, decorum, dignity and civility in public life because public servants were proud of their jobs and their country. It enhances the feeling and sense of patriotism and nationalism among public servants as well as the larger Nigerian society. Public servants were upright, transparent and accountable in their dealings because code of ethics were religiously observed and followed. Both the Civil Service Rules (CSR) and the Financial Regulations almost served as mini-holy books, that guided the conduct of public officials. Public servants were contented with their remunerations and live within their means. Unethical behaviours such as fraud, embezzlement and corruption were regarded as taboos in public life. Within these periods, most threat factors that breed insecurity in the country were diminished.

3. **Ethno-Religious Identity**

The socio-cultural diversity of Nigeria which is supposed to be a source of national strength as well as symbol of national unity, has been unfortunately exploited by unpatriotic leaders to polarize and serialize the country along ethnic and religious lines. As such, instead of identifying with the Nigerian nation, the unsuspecting illiterate – majority are increasingly being
brain—washed to identify with either their tribes or religion. This was deliberately started and carried on by despotic leaders between 1984 and 1998 in order to hold permanently to reins of power. Vestiges of this ugly practice are still being manifested, as could be seen from the crisis that engulfed the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) as the result of its zoning policy after the death of late President Umaru Musa Yar’adua.

The consequences of this unnecessary ethno-religious identity started with the Kafanchan religious crises in 1987, which later took on a bush-fire effect where it spread to Kaduna, Zaria, Zangon-Kataf, Kano, Lagos, Bauchi, Ibadan and subsequently Jos. This undoubtedly has been one of the major causes of insecurity in the country. This negative trend portend grave dangers for our country now and in the future if not curtailed. The government of the day should be stern and firm in diminishing this divisive hydra-headed monster.

4. Unscrupulous Politicians

The activities of unscrupulous politicians and disgruntled elements in the society over the years have constituted one of the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria. These groups who either lost-out in political power calculations or failed to gain government patronage often resort to subversive activities to make the country ungovernable. It is their belief that if they are not in power, then nobody rules. That is, “make-or-shake” mentality. They often exploit the unemployed youths to unleash violence and terror on the society or even cause sectarian crisis. They are known to be the brain behind most military coups in this country, where they incite the unsuspecting military boys to over-throw legitimate governments. Here, their selfish interests are highly projected, while the national interest is unfortunately relegated to the background.

5. Ill-Equipped Military/Military Intervention into Politics

Lack of qualitative and quantitative armed forces have been of the causes of insecurity in the country. To compound this problem, the Nigerian Armed Forces (military), who ruled this country for most part of Nigeria life span, have deviated from their professional military duties to that of struggling for power through the barrel of gun (coup d’etats). The military, having tasted the sweetness and savour of political power, never wanted to part with it. Thus, in order to hold to reins of power, they turn the state operatives or instruments of coercion against the masses. And since they usually come to power without people’s consent, they are not accountable to anybody. Hence, they find it expedient to loot our public treasuries.

Therefore, it is noted here without fear of contradiction that military regimes of Babangida and Abacha were the genesis of modern insecurity in Nigeria which almost tore the country apart. Saleh (2009-68 - 69), commenting on the work of Ibeanu, stated that it is on the basis of this military misrule and their intent to hold to reins of power permanently with the attendant serious implication on the security situation in the country, thus Ibeanu (2002:35) lamented as follows:

The environment was a major causality of military regimes intensified exploitation of natural resources especially petroleum to fund repression and corruption. Petro-dollars became a matter of survival for the military. This goal of regime security was perniciously portrayed as national security not withstanding that it contradicted the security of a vast majority of Nigerians by undermining the environment and livelihoods.

He went further to state that:

The positivist/modernist/colonial construction of security focuses on state/ regime (national) security. It is based on a vertical exclusive and comparative view of power and lays emphasis on military power and threats containment. By contrast, traditional/organic construction of security focuses on human security and welfare. State security makes
sense only to the extent that it serves humble development and secures livelihoods (Ibeanu, 2002:42).

Saleh (2009:69), is of the view that the period of the military regimes also witnessed press censorship, which was inimical to the security of the people. And that this corroborated the position of Richard Akinwande in Chimaroke Nnamani (2003:27), when he posited that:

The safety of people in modern society (Nigeria) depends upon the free and untrammeled expression of enlightened public opinion through an objective press.

Therefore, I will like to draw here that the military has failed with regard to the political leadership of the country; since for most part of Nigeria’s life they were ate the helms of affairs.

6. **Poverty**

Poverty is a threat not only to the life expectancy of the citizens of the country, but a very dangerous threat to overall national security of the country. The adage which says that, “a hungry man is an angry man” holds water here. This is so because with the ever-rising rate of inflation in the country, the jobless and those with income below the poverty line (of $ 1 US dollars per day) are left with no option than resort to violent crimes in order to make ends meet. They in most cases are resentful and rebellious against the state, which failed to provide them jobs. These unemployed youths do not only stop at violent armed robbery, but they become highly vulnerable and volatile in times of ethno-religious crises. Life to them has little or no meaning. As such, they either loot and succeed during these crises or they are killed in the process. To them, lawlessness is to ensure their own personal security and that national security is meaningless. Herein lies the contradiction of the concept of national security i.e whose security?

It is on the realization of this dangerous and frightening dimension to national security as the result of object poverty that successive governments in this country came up with one poverty eradication programme or the other to minimize youth restiveness and avert other threat factors that could cause insecurity.

7. **Unemployment**

Unemployment as a challenge to National security between 1960 and 1983 had remained at perceptive level (i.e) potential, latent and credible threats). But from 1984 to 1998, it translated into actual threat to our National security. The retrenchment exercise in both the public and private sectors of the economy by the military regimes as from mid-1980s exacerbated the problem of unemployment in the country. These military regimes in order to satisfy the IMF and SAP conditionalities had, to down-sized both the public and private sector workers. Most of the functional industries such as textiles companies, manufacturing and mining companies were forced to close down. Workers thrown out of jobs as the result of this exercise bloated the population of the unemployed youths who become susceptible and highly vulnerable to crimes and criminality. They often become ready soldiers for militia groups and ready petrol for the conflagration of sectarian or even etho-religious crisis all over the country. The upsurge in crimes and criminality by these unemployed youths indeed constituted one of the causes of insecurity in the country.

8. **Marginalization of Sections of the Society**

The rural majority and the urban periphery are increasingly being marginalized from the scheme of things in this country. Most often, they lack basic necessities of life such as health facilities, portable water, education and accessible roads.
These deprivations often create the condition for agitation or even revolt against constitute authorities. At times this manifest into violent crises; and the combination of these crises, if not well-managed, could pose further serious threat to national security or even causes insecurity in the country. The emergence of MOSOP, NDPVF, MEND etc. in the Niger-Delta region were because of marginalization and deprivations.

9. Resource Control

Following at the heels of marginalization and total neglect of the people of Niger Delta region, is the increasing agitation by people of this area and other oil mineral producing states of this country for a greater or even total control over these resources. In spite of the deprivation formula which now have the OMPAS a higher leverage and percentage of the monthly federal revenue allocation of states, the people of this region are not satisfied. They wanted the Federal Government to revert to the immediate post-colonial arrangement, where such region is allowed to have a total control over its resources. To achieve this aim, politicians of this region have employed and deployed diverse strategies and means towards achieving it. Thus, even the youth restiveness that has plagued the region, was part of these strategies. This has created an atmosphere of uneasiness in the area which combine to constitute a major source of insecurity in the country.

10. Inequality in the Distribution of National Wealth

The unequal way the nation’s resources are distributed among the citizens has been one of the major causes of insecurity in the country. The over concentration of our national wealth in the hands of very few people (i.e the ruling class and their cohorts) over the years has created a lot of socio-economic dislocations as well as a wide class gap in the society. The elites use the enormity of ill-gotten wealth at their disposal to perpetually acquire, control and maintain power, where they load it on the poor majority. This condition gave birth to a situation whereby the affluent are getting more richer, and the poor getting more poorer. This unequal economic relationship, turn the poor into match-boxes as well as kegs of petroleum oil for the explosion of sectarian crisis in the society which combined to constitute a serious threat to national security.

11. Unethical Behaviours

Unethical behaviours such as corruption, fraud and embezzlement which has eaten deep into the fabric of the society poses a major threat to our national security. The unfortunate arrogant display of affluence by corrupt public officials (retired or serving) amidst poverty of the grater rural and urban majority indeed constituted a major source of insecurity in Nigeria over the years.

The unemployed youths in the society regard the enormous wealth of these corrupt public officials as stolen money from government treasuries; hence they are increasingly turning their venoms on the “so called” rich in the society during conflicts and crises. These jobless youths indeed abhor and hate these public thieves with passion. The vengeful acts of these youths and the counter – action of the government operatives often leads to upheavals and social commotion in the society which goes to compound the problem of insecurity in the country.

12. Election Rigging

Isolated cases of election rigging have been recorded in the first Republic, more especially in the 1964 general elections. In the 1979 general elections that ushered-in the second Republic, election rigging was minimal and does not pose a threat to our national security. While, the 1983 general elections was characterized by organized rigging which caused over-heating of the country’s body politik.
However, since the return of this country to civil democratic rule on May 29, 1999; election – rigging has remained one of the major security challenges in Nigeria. The unfortunate situation whereby eligible voters are debarred from voting by gun-wielding thugs or outright snatching of ballot boxes after voting by terror agents is indeed not healthy for our political development. This coupled with eventual twisting of election results (rigging) has been known to explode into full-blown crises in this country. Apart from these crises, those ultimately sworn in are nothing but impositions, because they were not popularly and duly elected by the people. Hence, the people do not see and regard them as their leaders. The consequences of this also can be disastrous, which will further constitute a building block for insecurity in the country.

13. **Tenure Elongation**

Attempts by our leaders to manipulate the constitution in order to extend or elongate their tenures in violation of the constitutional provision has been one of the major causes of in-security in this country. This act could justly be described as an equivalent of a military coup-d’état because it is an aberration. The unfortunate situation between 2006 and 2007, where president Obasanjo attempted that tenure elongation, created an uneasy calm and over-heating of the country’s body polity. Infact, the security situation in the country was substantially threatened.

14. **God Fatherism**

The post-June 12, 1993 events which made it very uncomfortable for the military rulers to continue in power, actually culminated into a hurried/hasty hand-over of political power to civil politicians in 1999. This situation did not allow offices. Rather, it saw to the emergence of political merchants (money-bags), who are bereft of sense of patriotism, nationalism or code of ethics. These bad eggs constituted themselves into a circle of “king-makers” (God fathers); who hand-picked and sponsored mostly fakes, crooks or even criminals that were subsequently elected into public offices. The god-fathers are comfortable with this arrangement because they will fine it easy to manipulate them. The beneficiaries had to divert public funds to compensate for the investments made by these political merchants in their being elected or appointed into public offices.

The overbearing attitudes of these god-fathers actually created ripple effects, where some of these stooges began to revolt. This led to the impeachment of some state Governors between 2003 and 2007. the willing – governor did not fare better either, because they were haunted and hunted by both the EFCC and ICPC. This game of check –mating between the godfathers and their “sons” led to the overheating of the body polity; which poses serious threats to national security.

15. **Currency Devaluation**

Currency devaluation in Nigeria over the years constituted one of the sources of threats to our national security. This followed the irrational way our leaders devalue our national currency. Rationally speaking, a country can only devalue its currency when it is a major exporter of manufactured goods. The export of these manufactured goods go to boosts her external earnings and making her a favourable destination for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). A country with a strong manufacturing base is most likely to reduce the rate of unemployment substantially because her youths will be gainfully employed and engaged in these industries (factories). But the most unfortunate situation in Nigeria is that, it is a mono-cultural economy, where oil revenue is the major source of its national income.

To compound the above problem, the few existing industries were forced to close down between (1985 and 1998. This rendered the majority of our youths jobless (unemployed); many of whom started to migrate to foreign countries in search currencies are stronger than the Nigerian Naira. Most of these migrants who are unskilled, finds it difficult to fit-in while in Europe. Thus,
they often engage in degrading and menial jobs or even prostitutions/criminality in order to send hard currencies back home; which when converted will yield huge fortunes for their families.

16. **Lack of Infrastructure to Border Settlement**
   
   The neglect of our border settlements by the Nigerian government over the years, has been a source of security challenges to our country. Most of these border settlements are devoid of infrastructures and basic necessities of life such as portable water, electricity, schools, health facilities, commercial centres and accessible roads. This lead to divided loyalty on the part of these border settlers. Hence, their commitment and loyalty towards enforcing border security will not be total. At times they aid and abet foreign bandits for financial rewards at the expense of our national security.

17. **Patronage of Political Farmers and Neglect of the Agricultural Sector (Food Insecurity)**
   
   Neglect of the Agricultural sector and lack of food security is in fact an important cause of insecurity in the country. Concentration on the oil sector over the years, has automatically resulted in the outright erosion of the once positive psyche of the people towards hardwork in the Agricultural and other productive sectors of the economy. This led to the exodus of energetic youths from the potentially fertile rural lands to points and centres of commerce in towns and cities. The upsurge of these sparsely educated youths in the urban centres exerts tremendous pressure on the few poorly maintained infrastructural facilities. The youths once in the cities, discover to their dismay that they are not properly fitted, in the sense that they are mostly unemployed. And the consequences of this desperation is that they in most cases end up in crime and criminality which of course constitute serious security threats or problems for government and the larger society.

   Another threatening dimension of over-concentration of the economy on the “liquid gold” as petroleum oil is called, is that of vandalism of oil pipelines. Hundreds of people have lost their lives in the process as the result of fire disasters associated with such vandalization in recent times. Examples of these disasters include: Jesse -2000; Amayi-Ikwu in Isukwato LGA of Abia State – 2003; Lagos – 2006 etc.

   In addition to the above, the over concentration of social infrastructural facilities in the urban centers has exacerbated the problem of rural-urban drift. This leaves only the aged and the weak in the villages to till the land for only subsistence needs. In view of this, it will be a near-impossibility for us to attain the status of self-reliance and self-sufficiency in food production.

   However, Nigeria is still far from attaining the above status of food security. It is in the realization of this dearth of food (lack of food security) in Nigeria that Uka (2004:10) commented that:

   The understandable fact that most Nigerians are still hungry and undernourished indicates that the swing of food security pendulum is undulating very slowly though to the positive but from the negative angle of inclination. This is due to the long time multiplier effects of past bad regimes that refused to plan towards this end. As such, it is not yet hurray for food security in Nigeria.

   Over-dependence on the importation of food or donations from developed countries on the other hand, will not only reduce the country to a subservient status, but it will serve as a drain on our national income with serious security implications.
18. Ill-Equipped Police

The Nigeria Police apart from being ill equipped, are poorly motivated, such that their total remunerations are not adequate for the maintenance of their families. In addition, the police still use outdated equipments e.g Mac-4 and AK-47 rifles which have out lived their usefulness.

The Nigeria Police Force whose statutory role or function is to maintain law and order and to ensure the security of lives and property; have over the years become the chief breakers of law and order, as well as major gladiators in the destruction of lives and property. Evidences abound all over the country where activities of the Nigeria Police over the years have become so inimical thereby posing a serious security threat to the people and the nation.

Activities of armed bandits on our roads and highways have been known to be aided by some bad eggs in the police. There are some celebrated cases where the police hire-out guns to robbers or they took part in the robbery itself. Example of this is the arrest nine police officers including an Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) under the Kaduna Police command, for supplying arms/ammunitions to armed robbers from their armoury. This startling revelation was beamed to Nigerians by the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) 9.00pm, National Network News of August 24, 2005. This arrest was part of the then Inspector General of Police – Mr. Sunday Ehindero’s efforts to cleanse-up bad eggs out of the Nigeria Police. He attained this by setting up a committee who visited each state command and took inventory/stock of their armouries, as well as interrogate arrested armed robbers of their sources of arms/ammunitions recovered from robbers were indeed supplied by the police whose primary duty is to arrest these robbers. This indeed is counter-productive and portrayed the Nigeria Police as having failed in their constitutional responsibilities of providing security to the citizens of this country.

It is also ironical that most robbery cases on our roads/highways usually took place in-between police security checkpoints. While, in the cases of ethno-religious crises, members of the police force drafted to e nsure and maintain peace, usually exacerbate such crises by practically taking sides with the combatants in line with their ethno-religious leanings.

The presence of the police at security checkpoints on our roads does not help matters either. They are known to have been collecting money from criminals carrying catchments of arms/ammunitions and allowing them to with their deadly weapons, most of which are major fuel for sectarian crises. This “money motive” have beclouded the sense of duty of some members of the police force, which has serious security implications on Nigerians and Nigeria.

19. Lack of Security Awareness Among Citizens

Majority of Nigerians (literate & illiterate) are not security conscious. They are not aware of their civic responsibilities of contributing towards collective national security which of course starts from the individual or family level. This makes the burden of national security so heavy for our security agencies.

To compound the above problem, our elites have failed in their duties of enlightening the masses on security matters right from the ward, village, local government, state and the national levels. Rather, the elites who are supposed to be vanguards for sensitizing the masses and conscientizing the leadership, have for most part of Nigeria’s lifespan, turn out to be mere tools in the hands of these bad leaders. The elites’ suppose roles of being watch-dogs, have been eroded or compromised, because they were often enticed with “oily” political appointments by these bad leaders. This has destroyed their psyche and made them easy prey to these corrupt leaders.

These elites from our “Ivory Towers”, once given these political appointments are usually induced with exotic cars and other paraphernalia of office. Hence, instead of guiding the leadership towards good governance, they turn out to be sycophants and major collaborators in
perpetrating crimes/criminality against the citizens and the state. This wise, the elites have constituted one of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria.

20. Poor Relations with Neighbouring Countries

Over the years, there has been no serious security collaboration between Nigeria and its neighbours, which are Franco-phone countries. Though France has served as a very big stumbling block towards the attainment of such security relations, Nigeria ought to have employed and used her economic might and political influence in the African Union (AU) and ECOWAS to woo/influence out neighbours Cameroon, Benin, Niger and T’Chad to support us towards attaining border security.

This poor relations coupled with the porous nature of our borders led go the influx of illegal aliens mostly rebels from neighbouring countries, more particularly T’Chad and Niger Republics, which has seen to the proliferation of arms/ammunition are fuels for the explosion of sectarian crises, violence, criminality or even terrorist acts across the length and breadth of this country.

Most of the armed-banditry unleashed on the people of the North-East region through the “kwanta –kwanta” are mostly perpetrated by foreigners (ex-rebels) from the neighbouring countries. These rebels who have mastered the art of arms/ammunition usually wield sophisticated weapons which have superior and higher fire power than the ordinary Mac-4 and Ak-47 rifles carried by our policemen and other security agents.

The activities of these foreign armed bandits who recruit and train some Nigerian misfits to unleash terror on citizens of border settlements have made these regions highly insecure. This in turn tend to rubbish all genuine national security arrangements put in place by governments. It is also on record that the security situation in Cross River State over the Bakassi Peninsula, also posed a great threat to our national security before and even after it was ceded to Cameroon in 2002 by the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

21. Understaffed and Ill-Equipped Internal Security (Customs, Immigration & NSCDC)

Internal security outfits such as the Nigerian Customs & Excise, Nigerian immigration service, and the Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps are known to have been performing below expectations over the years. This is due to understaffing, lack of up-to-date equipments and other logistics to man our entry points and patrol our vast borders. The porous nature of our borders create room for infiltration by illegal aliens; most of whom are criminally minded.

The period between 1985 and 1998 indeed witnessed the supremacy of armed bandits on most Nigerian roads or even homes, more especially in the North East region. These armed bandits popularly called “kwanta-kwanta” (because of their inability to speak the Hausa language), terrorize the roads and villages at will. As stated earlier under poor relations with our neighbours (in 20 above), since most of these rebels are ex-Chadian military men, they wield superior weapons than those of the Nigerian security operatives. The bandits are equally professionals in weapon handling. Their activities therefore constituted one of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria.

22. Unjust and Unfair Justice System

A justice system that is not truly independent will find it difficult to maintain it’s code of ethics and tenets of being fair and just in discharging it’s statutory responsibilities to the populace. Under this condition, it will be susceptible or even opened to manipulation by the executive branch of government. Most Nigerians fall victims of either this systemic problem or institutional problems (which include the attitude of the judicial staff). Most suspects are either wrongly convicted or are made to languish in prisons for so many years on awaiting trials; which tend to turn even the innocent ones among them into hardened criminals. Thus, instead of reforming those
that were rightly convicted, our justice system has been producing new variant of criminals that are vengeful against the Nigerian state. And with this attitude, these artificial criminals”, when out of prison, are more destructive in their operations because they are on revenge-mission. Hence, the justice system (unjust and unfair), have constituted one of the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria. When the justice system is not fair and just, it correspondingly results into the violation of human rights in the society.

23. Biased Press
Lack of free and objective press has been one of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. These bias could stem from personal attitudes of journalists (corrupt ones) or sectional interest. This make these unpatriotic journalists to be biased in their reportage that tend to inflame the issue (s) at stake in favour of their pay-masters; regardless of its dire consequences on the nation’s security.

Apart from this domestic challenges, activities of foreign press more especially the language sections of BBC, VOA etc. have been very inimical to the security situation in the country. Most of these journalists usually operate out of the context of their professional ethics to serve personal or sectional interests. Thus, instead of playing down on issues that tend to divide our country, they are “pen –happy” at highlighting and inflaming such issues. This attitude is highly injurious to our national security.

24. Lack of Pro-active Intelligence Gathering system
The Nigerian intelligence organs are supposed to be the first line departments in our national security arrangements. Whereas, men of the Nigerian intelligence services (which include: SSS, CID, NIA, etc), have been in a state of slumber. These vital security outfits which ought to offer protection to the public, have been performing below expectations. Rather, they, over the years have been converted into personal / private aides of Nigeria’s bad leaders. They have been used effectively by these bad leaders towards the perpetration of corruptions, crimes and criminality against the state and its citizens. The Gwarzo / Abacha loots and misgovernance is one of the celebrated case in point.

In addition, bulk of the personnel of these agencies which are at the lower rung (cadre), are mostly sparsely educated. Hence, they see their appointments into the corridors of power as a rare privilege that must be guarded at all costs. As such, they end up doing their masters’ biddings at the expense of the national services which they swore under oath to protect.

These intelligence services which are supposed to be the first to know about intent to commit crime have always been the last to know. They in most cases are not always readily available at crime points or trouble spots. They only surface when the crime or violence had began or taken place. This could best be described as; “medicine after death”. They also lack prompt information (intelligence report) gathering and relay system. That is, advance information gathered by some few serious-minded staff only get to the headquarters long after crimes (s) have been perpetrated and violence unleashed on innocent citizens. As such, instead of the advance information serving as intelligence report, it becomes a situational report or even a post-mortem report. The October 1, 2010 bomb-blast near the Eagle square in Abuja, where many lives were lost and property destroyed, indicate serious lapses on the part of the intelligence agencies. This did take place inspite of a five day-warning by the perpetrators.

Therefore the activities of these intelligence agencies over the years have become counter-productive and indeed constituted not only building blocks, but cornerstones of insecurity in Nigeria.

25. External Factors
Activities of foreign countries that have strategic interests in Nigeria, also constitute one of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. Apart from the American interest in the oil sector of the West African sub-region, the French influence in its former colonies which surrounded Nigeria, has been posing serious security challenges for the country. The Bakassi issue between Nigeria and Cameroon which resulted into skirmishes between the two countries is known to be instigated by France because of petroleum oil deposit in the peninsula. External debts and the implementation of the New Global Agenda by all countries of the world; could pose security threats if not handled with caution and care.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND RISING CRIME WAVE

Nigeria is one country in the world where the correlation between high youth unemployment and the rise in crime is perhaps most manifest. Okafor (2011) argues that many anti-social activities such as political thuggery, militancy, restiveness and other social vices are evident among the unemployed and jobless youth of Nigeria. Arguing in the same vein, Kayode (2011) is of the opinion that Nigerian youth most of whom are confused about their future are yearly thrown into hopelessness and uncertainties through large scale unemployment. He adds that the aftermath of this socio-economic dislocation among the youth is evident in the high rate of their involvement in militancy, crime, political thuggery, prostitution, cybercrime, and other debilitating social vices predominantly out of frustration. Other serious crimes perpetrated by the unemployed youth include armed robbery, kidnapping, terrorism, arson, vandalisation and attacks on strategic national facilities and structures.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE WASTAGE OF HUMAN CAPITAL

Another facet of the menace of youth unemployment is that of wastage of human capital. Statistics earlier sourced from the Federal Bureau of Statistics showed that Nigeria as a Country in 2010 had a youth population of 80 million and that of this figure 64 million were unemployed/ under employed. This represents a colossal waste of human capital. The common element in this waste is the failure, not just of the young people to find a place and meaning in the society, but also of the society itself to harness the energy, intelligence, talents, and the socio-economic and political worth of the youth. A nation that is struggling to develop should not underutilize a significant proportion of its most important resource-its human capital.

Studies have shown that Africa, compared to other regions of the world, has the largest concentration of young people in its population. As at 2000, it had 36.7 percent youth population compared to 27.3 percent for the world (Curtain, 2000). The size of the youth population and the rate of its increase in many countries have serious implications and pose grave challenges to policy makers and planners in the quest to articulate, develop and implement policies and programmes for the development of the youths’ population constitutes a strong, virile and powerful block and a strategic resource for the development and transformation of any action. It is generally agreed that they posses great potentials, ideas, talents and energy to propel any society to greatness (Adesina, 2009).

Therefore, youths are high significance to the national unity. Stability and development of any society or nation. However, it is generally believed that they could also pose potential threats to the survival of the nation, if not properly groomed, empowered and directed.

OVERVIEW OF SOUTH-SOUTH GEO-POLITICAL ZONE (NIGER DELTA)

The Niger Delta is located in the southern part of Nigeria, a geo-political framework mainly populated by the Ijaw ethnic nationality. Spreading over a total landmass of about 70,000 square kilometers, the region is inhabited by an estimated population of 20 million Nigerians in 2,000 communities.
The area is also home to the Ogonis, the Ikwerres, Ekpeyes, Ogbas Egbemas, Engennes and the Abua of Ahoada Division as well as the Obolos and the Opobians of Opobo Division. In addition to the Ijaws of western Delta are the Urhobos, Isokos and the Itsekiris and part of Kwale. In its preset form, the Niger Delta covers the south-south geo-political zone of Nigeria, which comprises six of the nine states of the region, namely: Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Rivers, Abia, Imo and Ondo.

Nigeria is populated by about 250 ethnic groups. Alagoa (survival, 1990) submits that the Niger Delta communities have settled in the area for several millennia, the oldest group having been in the region for some 7,000 to 10,000 years.

Fishing, farming, trading and forest product gathering remain the primary occupations and means of sustenance of the people and, despite the emergence and subsequent dominance of the hydrocarbon industry, over 80 percent of the people are still dependent on the traditional agrarian trade.

The immediate source of livelihood for the people of the region was supplied by the rich flora and fauna of the area for many generations. For so long, the people there lived in harmony, and there was evident balance in the ecosystem.

The Niger Delta region is characterized by wetlands and water bodies with creeks and rivers crises-crossing the entire southern parts. The higher-lying plains are naturally subject to five to seven months of flooding in the year, resulting from the overflowing waters of the lower Niger River in which whole communities and farmlands are totally submerged. Flooding and riverbank or coastal erosions are the bane of the people. The Niger Delta is, no doubt, a difficult if not an outrightly inclement terrain.

However, the region is endowed with enormous natural resources. It has the world’s third largest mangrove forest with the most extensive freshwater swamp forest and tropical rainforest characterized by great biological diversity. Alongside the immense potential for agriculture revolution, the Niger Delta region also has vast reserves of non-renewable natural resources, particularly hydrocarbon deposits in oil and gas. Other non-renewable natural resources include clay pits for burnt bricks making in the construction industry, and silica sand for the glass manufacturing industry, which have, however, remain largely untapped, part of a world Bank report, following a visit to the Niger Delta in 1952 and 1953, declared that the region has great prospects to feed the entire population of the west African sub-region and has sufficient commodities for export.

Yet, the Niger Delta remains pervasively poor and underdeveloped, lacking virtually all forms of social amenities and infrastructure, including electricity, medical facilities, roads, shelter and so on.

The area now has regrettable legacy of hunger, high and rising rates of unemployment, communal conflict, youth restiveness and all forms of social insecurity. Some of the produce highlighted by the report includes rice, palm oil and cassava which are in abundance throughout the Niger Delta, especially Bayelsa State, the epicenter of the region.

It is evident that nature has done its part by freely depositing valuable treasures as life support systems in the Niger Delta. What remains missing is that the Nigerian nation-state is yet to play her role to overcome, tame and nurture the harsh environment to ensure the overall well-being of the people of the Niger Delta region in particular, and the nation at large.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

It is tragic that the Niger Delta area has come to be recognized in recent times as an enclave of social conflict. The political, economic and social dynamics of the region can only be understood in the context of the ongoing underdevelopment, which has oil exploitation and exploration as its principal signpost. The relentless exploitation of the natural resources of the area., without due compensation for the environmental hazards it has occasioned, has given rise to youth restiveness which is primarily aimed at seeking redress for over 45 years of neglect and deprivation.

This was the opening glee to the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB) in 1961 “to consider the problems of the area of the Niger Delta.” It has remained the prologue to similar
renamed agencies since then, form the Niger Delta River Basin Development Authority (NDBDA) in 1976; the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992; and the present Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000.

The people of the delta have been fishing and farming within that difficult environment long before European intervention and even longer before the discovery of oil.

The oil industry provided no jobs for the people of the region. Rather, people from other parts of the country were brought in to take most of the jobs with the regular excuse that qualified people in the area were in short supply. After more than 45 years, the same discredited excuse is still in use.

A major cause of the instability in the delta is, therefore, the inability of the oil industry to sincerely engage Niger Delta communities in constructive and balanced dialogue. Even more fundamental is the long-standing injustice imposed on the people of the Niger Delta through undemocratic and unjust resource ownership laws and statutes.

Feyide (1986:4-5) Nigeria’s former secretary of OPEC, succinctly put it this way: All over the world, the lives of people are affected, and the destiny of nations are determined by the result of oil industry operations. Oil keeps the factors of the industrialized countries working and provides the revenues which enable oil exporters to execute ambitious national and economic development plans.

Every known law on environmental safety has been violated in Nigeria. A good example of this is the volume of natural gas flared in the country. The average rate of gas flaring in the world is about 4%. In Nigeria, over 70% of associated gas flared in the world.

One of the most disturbing ironies in the Niger Delta today is that crude oil for export, is transported to Bonny and Forcados through a network of pipelines covering 6,000 kilometres. The pipelines are laid across farms, waterways and fishing grounds. Some pipes cross communities and living quarters. Not enough care is given to the technical integrity of the pipes, and so they corrode, burst and cause a deluge of oil spills and fires that consume plant and human life.

Given the region’s sensitive and fragile ecosystem and, in spite of the vast resource endowment, its immense potential for social-economic growth and its contribution to the overall development of Nigeria, the Niger Delta remains increasingly under threat from rapidly deteriorating economic and environmental conditions as well as social tension.

**Environmental degradation and internal population displacement: Reflections on the Niger Delta Experience**

Development literature clearly shows that the environment is the basis for the sustenance and survival of man (Emeribe, 2000:209, Olagbaiye, 1990:1). Environmental resources give meaning to man’s productive activities. Thus, development cannot subsist upon a deteriorating environmental resource base. (National Report for the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development).

In the Niger Delta, the environment is confronted with environmental problems that are categorized into oil and non-oil sectors. The non-oil related environmental problems include; coastal/river bank erosion, flooding, spread of exotic species, agricultural land degradation, fisheries depletion, and inadequate sanitary and waste management.

The oil related environmental problems are oil spills, gas flaring, dredging of canals and land take for the construction of facilities. The oil related environmental problems are recognized man made and given prominence by the Niger Delta people, who experience a direct relationship between oil production and productivity losses. The multinational oil companies on the other hand dispute this and blame other...
factors, poverty and population growth for instance, as the major causes of environmental degradation in the region. The World Bank (1995) supports this by noting that:

Oil pollution, contrary to common perception, is only of moderate priority when compared with the full spectrum of environmental problems in the Niger Delta… many residents assign a direct cause and effect relationship between oil development and declines in fisheries and agricultural productivity… however… other factors such as population increases and migration, as well as the construction of upstream dams, are more significant causes of the productivity declines.

It is however undisputable that ever since the discovery of oil in Oloibiri in 1956, the Niger Delta environment has known no respite (Aaron, 2006:197). The major culprits are oil spills and gas flaring. As a result of equipment failure and sabotage, oil spills have become endemic and devastating in the Niger Delta.

In 2000, the Western Operations of the Shell Petroleum Company (SPDC) recorded a total of 115 incidents of oil spills in which 5,187.14 barrels of oil were spilled. On significance is the fact that only 734,53 barrels of the spilt oil, representing 14.2 percent were recovered (SPDC Western Operations, Environmental Departmental, August 2002).

Since 1989, the SPDC has recorded an average of 221 spills per year in its operations area, involving a total of 7,350 barrels annually (SPDC Nigeria Briefs, May 1995:3). Other oil multinationals also spill oil into the Niger Delta Environment. For example, in January 1998, 40,000 barrels of light crude oil were spilled by Mobil in Eket (Da Costa, 1999).

Furthermore, oil spill statistics show that a total of 2,796 oil spill incidences were recorded between 1976 and 1990, leading to the spilling of 2,105,393 barrels of oil (Punch, February 20, 1991:2). Three million barrels of oil were lost to 6,817 oil spill incidences between 1976 and 2001; over 70 percent of the spilled oil was not recovered (UNDP, 2006:181). The World Bank (195:49) has also noted that about 2.300m of oil was spilt in 300 separate incidences in old Rivers (which include Bayelsa State) and Delta States. The table below captures a disturbing scenario of environmental devastation in the Niger Delta.

Table 2
Summary of some oil spills in the Niger: 1979-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Episode</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Quantity spilt in barrels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forcados terminal oil spills</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>570,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funiwa No. 5 well blow out</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyakama oil spillage</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System 2c Warri, Kaduna Pipeline rupture at Abudu</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Edo</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohika oil spills</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idoho oil spill</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Akwa Ibom</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dones creek oil spill</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse oil spill</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etiama oil spill</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Bayelsa</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ughelli oil spill</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The oil companies have continuously blamed many of the oil spills on sabotage. Example, although the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) reported 1,137 cases of sabotage, involving 17,644
In 2000, the Department of Petroleum Resources (PPR) in Nigeria reported that about 88 percent of oil spill incidence is traceable to equipment failure. The Department of Petroleum Development (SPDC, Annual Report, 2000:17) supports this finding.

### Drilling Effect on Niger Delta

#### Table 3: Summary of Adverse Impacts of Petroleum Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase (Process)</th>
<th>Adverse Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Pre-drilling activity (Aerial and seismic survey)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Noise</td>
<td>Noise from aircraft or helicopter access and plant delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vibration</td>
<td>Vibration from trucks, vehicles and aircraft or helicopters; from vibroseis or shot hole method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Damage</td>
<td>Cracks may develop on walls of nearby buildings or dwelling houses from crack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wild life</td>
<td>Increase purchase access; Disturbance of wild life pollution of water sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Communities</td>
<td>Disturbance of previously remote communities; pollution or loss of vital natural resources for medicinal and other purposes; introduction of hitherto unknown diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Culture</td>
<td>Damage to site of archeological, historical or cultural importance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Infrastructure</td>
<td>Truck damage to dirt road and water course crossing points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Secondary impacts</td>
<td>Settlement logging or mining induced by new access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Exploratory and production drilling</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Soil</td>
<td>Erosion due to construction activities; contamination with oil, drilling mud and effluent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vegetation</td>
<td>Loss of vegetation due to construction of access tracks and drill sites; Extensive vegetation loss due to fire; facilitation of encroachment in forests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Water</td>
<td>Contamination of surface and ground water with oil, drilling mud and effluents; disruption of water courses of drainage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Landscape</td>
<td>Visual intrusion of drilling rigs; Night lighting; Flaring of gas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Air</td>
<td>Smoke from gas flare; offensive odour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Wildlife</td>
<td>Increased poacher access; Disturbance of wildlife; pollution of water sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Communities</td>
<td>Disturbance of previously remote communities; pollution of loss of vital natural resources for medicinal and other purposes; introduction of hitherto unknown diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Culture</td>
<td>Damage to site of archeological, historical or cultural importance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Infrastructure</td>
<td>Settlement logging or mining induced by new access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Decommissioning</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Noise</td>
<td>Noise from closure of roads and course ways constructed to facilitate drilling operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Water</td>
<td>Contamination of surface and ground water from the filing of mud incineration and waste pits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Navigation</td>
<td>Offshore abandonment may obstruct navigation and pose a danger to fishing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the table that the oil industry impacts negatively on the economics of the Oil Producing Communities. Farming and fishing, the mainstay of the local economies are castrated. For example, total recovery for an oil spill impacted land takes as long as 10 to 15 years (Ekekwe, cited by World Bank, 1995:51, Akpofure, et al, 2000:49). This is made worse by delay in cleanup, due to insensitivity on the part of the operating company, bureaucratic bottlenecks or disagreement between
communities and oil companies. These disagreements favour the multinational oil companies which losses nothing while the stand off lasts.

There are examples of spills that were not cleaned for months or years. In Epubu community, a spill that occurred in December 1998 was not cleaned until about a year (Clarl, et al., 1999:7). Similarly, a spill that occurred at Aleibiri in March 1997 was not attended to for 6 months, until youths of the community staged a protest (Aaron, 2006:200). Also a spill that occurred in October 1995 at Akenfa and Ogboloma communities was not cleaned until December of that same year (Ibaba, 2005:31). The cases are indeed numerous. The effect is the worsening of ecological devastation.

As shown on table 4, oil spills, destroy vegetation, mangrove forest, food/cash crops, fishing ground/marine life, reduces nutrient value of the soil, induces land fragmentation, and in isolated cases, sets communities on fire. A spill at Osima creek in Agbakabiriyai, near Nembe on February 28th 1998, led to eight days of fire, which razed down the entire community. This resulted to the destruction of about 400 houses, and the displacement of about 130,000 inhabitants (National Agenda, August 1995:12).

It is undisputable that oil spill impacted lands and waters do experience declining productivity in farming and fishing. The immediate effect is the destruction of crops and marine life in the long run; it reduces the nutrient value of the soil and makes the waters inhabitable by fishes. It is discernible that farmers and fishermen, whose farmlands and fishing grounds are affected, have no alternative than to move to other areas as displaced person; at least for a period. In the case of land, it encourages its fragmentation, as those affected moves on to the little farmlands that are left. The fragmentation that follows leads to over use of farmlands. For example, the bush fallow period of 3-5 years in such cases has to be reduced to 1 year, or abandoned, as result of oil spillages. This undermines the productivity of farmlands on which the inhabitants thrive.

Related to oil spills is gas flaring, which is as old as the oil industry in Nigeria. Nigeria flares about 75 percent of the gas it produces (UNDP, 2006:185); more than any other country in the world. (see table below).

Table 4: Flaring of National Gas in Major Producing Countries (% of Gross Production in 1991)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage flared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United State of America (USA)</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OPEC Countries</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>76.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OPEC Total</strong></td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>World Total</strong></td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Available information indicates that a total of 5.0 trillion cubic feet of associated gas was flared in Nigeria, between 1958 and 1999. This represents 88 percent of the 5.7 trillion cubic feet that was produced within the period (Environment Watch, 16th – 31st October, 2001:5).

The concept of Internally Displaced Person’s (IDP’s)

The description of Internally Displaced hinges on forced or obliged migration within national boundaries. The United nations Guiding Principles on IDP’s in Zar, (2002) defines IDP’s as:
...person or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internally recognized state border.

It is proper to argue however that voluntary migration in search of means of livelihood or economic survival due to occupation displacement/losses can also qualify as internal displacement.

A crucial factor in such migration is poverty, and as noted by Zard (2002), the exclusion of people who are displaced by extreme poverty in the definition of IDP’s makes it narrow. Toure (2006:11) has also noted in this regard that internally displaced persons may also be victims of structural causes such as poverty.

The population of internally displaced persons in the world is put at 25 million in 2001 (Refugee rights, 8/18/2006) with the top ten countries cited as Sudan 4.5 million; Columbia 2.45 million; Angola 2 to 3 million; Congo – Kinshasha 2 million; Indonesia 1.4 million; Afghanistan 1 million; Burma 60,000 to 1 million, Turkey 400,000 to 1 million, Sri Lanka 800,000; and Iraq 700,000 (Zard, 2002). Although, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) disagrees with the IDP figures, the situation still illuminates a hidden crisis, going by the UNHCR figures.

By 2005, statistics of the Global IDP project showed that the internally displaced persons numbered 23.7 million, and affected 50 countries. 20 of these were in Africa with 121.1 million IDP’s (Sohne, 2006:4). The most affected countries, according to the statistics, are Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and Uganda, together, these countries account for 9 million IDP’s in Africa (Thisday, June 27, 2006). In Nigeria, the number of IDP’s, range between 200,000 and 800,000. Whereas, the 2005 report of the Norwegian Refugee Council put the figure at 200,000, the Nigerian National Studies on IDP’s in Nigeria tend to focus on conflict induced cases. This includes the Niger Delta, our area of interest. The table below shows some of the pattern of violence that erupts in Nigeria and the resultant displacement.

Table 1:
Internally displaced persons in Nigeria: Population figures and profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Causes of displacement</th>
<th>Year of occurrence</th>
<th>Number displaced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plateau State</td>
<td>Ethnic violence</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>298,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamawa and Gombe State</td>
<td>Ethnic violence</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano State</td>
<td>Religious clashes</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebonyi State</td>
<td>Violent clashes</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi state</td>
<td>Ethno-religious violence</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>Religious violence</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>Religious violence</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Norwegian Refugee Council, profile of internal displacement in Nigeria Although the Niger Delta area not accommodate the religions or the ethno-religious variants of violence, the ‘hidden crisis in the area has not escaped the attention of observers. For example, the Nigerian Internal Displacement Project (www.idpproject.org) captures the Niger Delta experience as follows:

Displacement has…been linked to oil production in the …Niger Delta. While environmental degradation and lack of benefits from oil revenues appear to have been a catalyst for many of the conflicts during the 1990’s, more recently the transfer of money back to local communities has become a reason for violent clashes. One reason for this paradox is that community development programmes funded by the Oil Companies have made political positions increasingly attractive. Furthermore, the demarcation of
new administrative boundaries and the creation of new political constituency area have in many cases become the focus of violent dispute between communities… The violence started by this disputes has frequently forced people in the Oil Producing State to return homes. …In September 2004, it was reported that at least 6,000 people had been displaced in several weeks of violence between local militia and security forces, as well as by infighting between militia. Okpukri and Ibaba (2008:178).

INSECURITY IN NIGER DELTA

In his presentation, Biakolo (2012:1) he observe that the underlying factors leading to insurgency in Niger Delta can be traced to two basic questions, one of which is general and the other more specific. According to him; the general question is that justice in socio-economic and political relations among composite parts of an ethnically plural country like Nigeria, the more specific question is two fold on one side, we have the issue of best business practice that is, the ethnical responsibilities to the host communities by the International Oil Companies (IOC) operating in the regions. On the other land, connected with the first part are environmental concerns, that of the activities of the (IOC). Successive governments actions and inactions has been a critical factor in the resentment, disenchantment, eventual revolution, as well as governments sense of responsibility to the host communities of the Niger Delta. Accordingly, the revolutionary action by the deprived Ken Saro Wiwa and the movement for the survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP) to the ordinary people, this involved the displaced farmers; fishermen, the bewildered market women and perhaps the dangerously, the unemployed youth all bought into the agenda of resistance. Ibaba (2006), views that a total of 118 workers across different oil companies in Nigeria were taken hostage in a total of 24 attacks.

INSECURITY AND THE CHALLENGE OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF NIGER DELTA

The first aspect of the security challenge is the reduced oil production due to attacks of Niger Delta militants on oil installations over the years. Reduced production recorded the lowest level in 2009 under Yar’adua’s administration. Also is the continuous vandalism of oil pipelines which reduces oil production for a while. It requires the repair of vandalized pipelines for production to kick off again. Attacks on oil installation does sometimes head to destruction of parts of the oil installations. Again, necessitating capital expenditure before production can commence. Another security challenge is the tendency of state governments and (IOCs) to remit payoffs to militants groups to make them inactive. Perhaps the highest and most pathetic level of security challenge is the common rural and urban communities which fall within the scope of militant activities. There have been reports of children and elderly citizens kidnapped from various locations and demands of ransom set as conditions for their release. This is done by a group simply identified as kidnappers. Also identified is the issue of oil spillage. This has posed a serious challenge as farmlands are no longer good for cultivation, there is degradation and destruction of ecosystem and entirely rendering the rural dwellers handicapped and unemployed. The solution was not to be treated as a military issue or criminal one. Yar’adua administration initiated the Amnesty programme. This must have been founded on the premise that to really provide security means to protect the Niger Delta people from poverty, exploitation, chronic unemployment, disease and the environmental degradation they have had to endure. The militants upon laying down their arms, the federal government promised an aggressive social infrastructural development as well as rehabilitation of the militants who took advantage of the programme. The rehabilitation exercise was to involve massive vocational training to enable the ex-
militants to be reintegrated into the society and secure for themselves legitimate means of livelihood that is, employment opportunities.

Government’s failure in policy implementation has always been the problem of socio-economic and political development.

Although the Federal government made some commendable initial efforts towards the implementation of the Amnesty programme (i.e, rehabilitation efforts) to a large extent, the social infrastructure, restoration of the degrading environment and job creation opportunities have been largely unattended to. This resulted in renewed threats of ex-militant to return to the creeks as well as increase in the spate of kidnapping further points to the failure of the federal government to address the problem holistically.

ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Corruption: Mostly discussed. The covert insurgency through tact and persistent attempts at subverting this state and citizens by massive corruption, which draws life out of the economy and subject citizens to poverty and gradual death through starvation and malnutrition are more threatening to the ordinary citizens, oil theft, looting of treasury when organized in a loose network constitutes a more devastating force against the Nigerian people. Reaction to these attributes of the Nigerian system expressed as opposition to marginalization denial of rights, oppression and economic injustice are often the starting point of crisis, riot and protest which are precursors to insecurity.

Other challenges include the failure of the Nigerian state. The persistence of the capacity gap in Nigeria demonstrates the failure of the state to meet the basic needs of their majority of her population. A weak state unable to govern effectively is an invasion to insecurity. Mo Ibrahim, African government index report for the year 2011 ranked Nigeria at 41st position out of the 53 African countries in its governance index report. This position reflects the state of Nigeria’s socio-economic and political conditions. The report in its assessment of Nigeria on four governance indicators: safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development shows that Nigeria still has a long way to go in meeting global minimum standards in governance. This is corroborated by the 2012 global failed state index survey released by the U.S based fund for peace. The survey showed that Nigeria ranked 14th of 177 countries in the survey. Out of the 120 negative marks evaluated, Nigeria scored 101.6. Areas of poor performance include: mass movement of refugees and internally displace people, vengeance seeking group, grievance, chronic and sustained human flight, uneven economic development, poverty, sharp and severe economic decline, progressive deterioration of public services, violation of human rights and rule of law and rise infrafractionised elite (Arinze, 2011:60).

The Nigerian state has failed to drive society and the economy in a progressive manner towards a just and egalitarian trajectory. Another challenge of National Development is Boko Haram. Boko Haram has bombed and threatening openly to continue in defiance of the Federal Government, MEND has shown that they could also take on the state and is threatening resumption of hostility in the Niger Delta the Ogoni have declared their autonomy. (Kwanashie 2012). The effect of threats is that it scares potential investors, Okoye and Ekpo (2012:24) maintained that:

Investors would not come to a country where there is insecurity in any part of it. He observed that local and foreign investors were running away from the North and Nigeria because of the rising insecurity.
They don’t want to put their money in any economic activity in an area where there is no security, where terrorist acts are perpetrated without restraint, thus jeopardizing the lives of their employees and their investments, explaining further that once that continues there will be no growth in the economy.

**Tackling Insecurity In Nigeria**

Speaking on how to tackle insecurity created in the North by the Islamic fundamentalist group Boko Haram, Soyinka (2011:1) describe the menace as threat to the country, said. “there are two issues to be tackled. The first one is socio-economic and the second is security. Others measures include: entrenchment of good governance, free and fair elections, equitable distribution of common wealth of the nation, export promotion and diversification, revamping of agricultural sector, employment creation, poverty eradication and deemphasizing ethno-religious identity, restructuring security operatives, realistic and practical fiscal responsibility, press objectivity, pro-active intelligence gathering system and social security such as Alaska model where graduate youths are paid stipend every month.

**The Question of Human Security Alternative**

In line with the thinking of critical security studies, a critical human security approach serves as a counter to the selfish pursuit of state or elite security. People become the primary referent of security. The main point is to understand security comprehensively and holistically in terms of the real-life, everyday experiences of human beings and their complex social and economic relations as these are embedded within global structures. It therefore becomes imperative to view security in terms of patterns of systemic inclusion and exclusion of people (Thomas, 2002). The twin goals of protection and empowerment (freedom from fear, and freedom from want; United Nations Commission on Human Security 2003) thus represent the core principles of ensuring survival, meeting basic needs (protecting livelihood) and safeguarding the human dignity of the most vulnerable groups in society. In this way, emphasis shifts from a security dilemma of states to a survival dilemma of people.

Ideally human security should first and foremost be a critical project aimed at interrogating the source of people’s insecurity along with the role of the state and other global governance structures in this regard. Its ethos of progressive values makes it a politically effective tool both to promote collective action and to be used as an analytical research concept.

While those who want to see human security as an alternative to state security and those who view human and state security as complimentary continue to battle it out, it does appear as though pragmatism is beginning to win the day. The contemporary wisdom, represented by the report of the United Nation Commission on Human security (2003), accepts security between states as a necessary condition for the security of people, but is also conscious of the fact that individuals require protection from the arbitrary power of the state. While human security requires strong and stable institutions, a high degree of human security may also shed legitimacy on governments. Human security thus complements state security by providing a more comprehensive emphasis on human development, human rights and the role of non-state actors.

Hudson (2005) in her view is a marriage of convenience- but not necessarily one that needs to be rejected in a self-conscious moralistic way. For the way of meaningful implementation, human security should not be reified. A paradigm shift achieved through incremental consensus - building could in the longrun, mean a reversal of ends and means. The challenge lies in the way in which state security is transformed from an end to a means of promoting human security. Like it or not, the state remains the political actor with the longest capacity to mobilize resources.

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