

**National Security Strategies: A Panacea To National
Economic Development in Nigeria**

Edita Muhammad Nma

Email: editanma1007@gmail.com

&

Shuaibu Shittu Isyaku

Email: sslapai@gmail.com

Department of Political Science,

Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai

Abstract

Though managing security in multi-ethnic state like Nigeria is often an herculean task, the need for security become imperatives as the securitization is a strong panacea to the national economic development. This work posits that survival of a state to provide economic good to the citizenry largely depend on the secure environment conducive for investment. The work uses secondary sources of data as its methodology. It is found out that Nigeria insecure environment was grossly linked to poor leadership and corruption with impunity on the part of security stallholders. Huge amount of money that could have been channeled to national economic development has been allocated to security without positive result. This paper thus recommends that for Nigeria to have secure economic environment necessary for national economic development, corruption must squarely be fought in addition to ethic security agents among others.

Introduction:

The fact that economic survival of a state largely depend on the secure environment is incontrovertible. This vividly indicates that security is indispensable assets to national economic development. Most states with economic fortunes today are not only the result of their institutional capacity to build a nation but as a result of the secure environment suitable for investment. In Nigeria, it is clear that security of life and property is a fundamental human right guaranteed under the country's constitution. This prompted Victor to say that Ideally, it behooves on the state as the highest institution of the society to guarantee food and job security of her citizenry through a well articulated social policies and by extension, preserves and secure some national values. It is seemingly unfortunate that since the transition to democracy in May 1999, government at all level in the country has failed dismally to ensure broader security. Buttressing on this failure is the incessant record of ceaseless electoral crisis, wanton ethnic and inter-communal clashes, post-election killings, human trafficking and of course most recent is Fulani herdsmen/famers maiming, Boko Haram insurgents and the resurgence of Niger-Delta war against national asset and the Nigerian state in particular. By inference, the resultant effect of the above inter-playing negative forces or security traitors' is the continual weakening of national security capacity and by extension worsens the fragility of the Nigerian state. (Victor, 2017)

The Nigerian government has allocated huge amount of national budget to security recent years without any positive result. Despite these efforts, the level of insecurity in the country is still high. In addition, Nigeria has consistently ranked low in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country. Hence, Adagba, et al (2012), Uhunmwangho and Aluforo (2011) are of the view that the efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result. It is instructive to note

that these two conditions or measures, “democratic governance and economic development, link the remote and the immediate sources of insecurity in Nigeria. However, these two conditions can get on the right track only under the condition that the institutional capacity are made very strong, that is, “they must be accompanied with the rich soil of institutional apparatuses” (Taekyoon, 2009). The poverty of transparent and sound institutions to deal with security threats is directly related to institutional failures in enhancing the effectiveness of security solution measures by either democratic reforms or development projects. (Achumba, etal 2013).

The Nigerian democratic environment couple with insensitive leaders who have been displaying political inadequacy in guaranteeing security has been the bane of national economic development in the country in recent times. As envisage by Tsuwa (2014:15) that fabric of Nigerian democracy has been destroyed by leaders who wish to retain themselves in power, though have remained ineffective, unproductive and irresponsible. The inability of Nigerian democrats to transform Nigeria state with democratic credentials such as rules of law, openness in government business, transparency, accountability, equity, free and fair election has been put in comatose thereby leading to conflict and crises that remained and impediment to the national economic development. (Edita, 2014). The viable security measures as adopted in many societies therefore is social security where every living being in a country is satisfied with the distribution of wealth capable of eliminating abject poverty.

Conceptual Framework:

National Security:

Security is the most significant asset any society can strive for. Where people are insecure, the economy would also be insecure and the state would be characterized by social vices capable of truncating the national interest. Security thus, can be described as stability and continuity of livelihood (stable and steady income), predictability of daily life (knowing what to expect), protection from crime (feeling safe), and freedom from psychological harm (safety or protection from emotional stress which results from the assurance or knowing that one is wanted, accepted, loved and protected in one's community or neighbourhood and by people around. It focuses on emotional and psychological sense of belonging to a social group which can offer one protection). This description structured the concept of security into four dimensions. However, these dimension can be weaved together to give a composite definition of security as the protection against all forms of harm whether physical, economic or psychological. It is generally argued however that security is not the absence of threats or security issues, but the ability to rise to the challenges posed by these threats with expediency and expertise. (Achumba, etal 2013).

There are abundant definitions in the word security in many literatures. Bazza (2014) tends to explain security from the stand point of state primary responsibility within the context of human security. For him, human security includes political, economic, social and environmental threats. Also, Awojobi (2004) made his contribution that security refers to the “condition of feeling happy and safe from danger and harm” (in Yagboyaju cited in Guardian July 2, 2014). Yagboyaju argued that a lot of emphasis is placed on the physical aspect of security. He explains that the totality of the thinking of security or feeling for safety by the citizens of a country will form the basis of the national security in that country.

To this effect, a new school of thought emerged. This new school of thought tends to x-ray national security to include not just military defense of territory but also internal stability, socio-economic development, protection of life, property and economic resources of the nation by constituted authority using instituted security apparatus. In line with the above scholarship leaning, citing McNamara (1968) in Nwachukwu (2011:69):

In a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military force though it may involve it; security is not military hardware, though it may include it. Security is development and without development, there can be no security... the security of any nation lies not solely or even primarily in its military capacity; but equally in developing relatively stable patterns of economic and political growth.

Furthermore, Adamu (1990) maintains that whether national or regional, security goes beyond military strength. It extends to the capacity to promote economic self-reliance, internal cohesion and socio-political stability through a well structured and implemented domestic policy. Suffice it to add that a broader meaning of national security must reflect; how governments govern, how the media institution report issues of public concern, on whether citizens have food to eat or not, on whether the public and civil service community are paid good salaries or not, and how government conducts its relations with other states or countries. The reason is because the above issues have security implications. (Adamu, 1999). National security could in term of protection of life and property would no doubt be frustrated if not accompanied by social security like prevision of basic amenities and all other thing necessary for human existence.

National Development:

Development is a continuous process. It is a multidimensional concept that consists of various parts of a whole. As a concept, development embraces both economic variables and non-economic variables. It entails economic devolvement plus the standard of living of the people. Measuring development is a complex task, yet every society and individual earnestly seeks development.

The concept of development is open to diverse definitions. Onyekpe (2004) sees development as a generic term which encompasses the transformation of the economy, state and society through the achievement of greater capacity to deal with the challenges of production and its expansion, - political administration and governance and organizing civil society as a community of people.

Development is an improvement in quality of life (not just material standard of living), in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Development is seen as culturally and temporally relative, needing to be appropriate to time, space, society and culture. Life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real GDP per capita are indices of the Human Development Index used to measure development. The HDI pioneered by the UNDP in 1990 has become the most useful and widely used variable for measuring development; as against the previously used economic variable of GNP per capita which was not only misleading but bias towards countries with non sophisticated economies. (Simon, 2004).

Interrogating the issue of development, Dudley Seers posited thus: "The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned, if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled". (1969:3). The Seer's definition of development is a shinning bulb of what national development is all about. The development of any nation is not the result of physical infrastructures but to a great extent elimination of poverty, eradication of inequality and provision of social security (employment) to the populace.

Theoretical Framework:

Many theories existed in the anal of social science which are used to analyzed and explain social and political phenomenon. Theory is a set of believed or general principles that is intended or guide to explain a given socio-political phenomenon. Theory thus is a guiding tool of analysis. This work anchor its analysis on human need theory. Central to this theory is that if basic needs of man in society is not met, there will be tendency of conflicts. This conflicts is often cause by government or constituted authorities who fail to meet their economic and socio-political expectation by not providing social and economic needs to the citizens. The major apologists of this theory are; Abraham Maslow, John Burton, Marshall Rosenberg and Manfred Max-Neef. In order to live and attain well-being, humans needs are essentials. These are called human needs or basic human needs. Human needs theorists argue that conflicts and violent conflicts are caused by unmet human needs. Violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not see any other way to meet their need, or when they need understanding, respect and consideration for their needs. Rosenberg in Gert (2005), states that violence is a tragic expression of unmet human needs, implying that all actions undertaken by human beings are attempts

to satisfy their needs. If we are able to connect with our needs and those of others, we will therefore be able to look at other ways of meeting such needs, avoiding violence and destruction. (Gert, 2005).

In his Pyramid of Human Needs, Abraham Maslow puts emphasis on the hierarchy of needs, stating that some are more urgent than others. On the base of the pyramid he places food, water, and shelter. On a second level, he places the need for safety and security, followed by belonging or love. (Maslow, 1943). John Burton has been applying human needs theory more actively to current social and political conflicts. In his work on protracted, social conflicts, he looks at how universal human needs often are neglected, leading groups to use violence to claim their rights and satisfying their needs. In what is really a compatibility of human needs, Burton argues that education and culture make parties manipulate the issues and dehumanizing the other parties. (John, 1993). In Marshall Rosenberg's approach, human needs are universal and meeting them is essential to human survival and well-being. He states that our education and culture often alienate us from connecting with our real needs, and through Nonviolent Communication, he proposes a model for connecting with our own and others' needs, an approach he applies in all levels of society and which he has used in mediation in several countries. (Rosenberg, 2003). In his own contribution to human need theory, The Chilean economist Manfred Max-Neef also proposes nine universal human needs, through which he argues that we can achieve human development and peaceful societies. Max-Neef defines his main proposal, Human Scale Development, as "focused and based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and on the construction of organic articulations of people with nature and technology, of global processes with local activity, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, and of civil society with the state". (Max-Neef, 1999). Like Burton and Rosenberg, Max-Neef agrees that no need is superior to other, and that they are all complementary and essential to human life. Lack of any essential needs therefore can lead to confrontation and could subsequently result into conflicts.

To relate this theory to this study, it is argued that the basic needs of Nigerian populace is essential without which the security of a state in question will be threatened. Since many states are negligence of citizens concerning their welfare, there was need by the government to be rigorous in running the affairs of the state toward addressing the plight of the citizens. It is the constitutional rights of the citizens to enjoy such social values as foods, water, shelter and other social necessities chiefly to give them sense of belonging and love as argued by Maslow's pyramid of needs.

Also relevant to this study is that many citizens especially uneducated ones are vulnerable and can be easily recruited by insurgents if their basic needs are not met. Most of the suicide bombers used by Boko Haram' insurgents in Nigeria are alleged to be children of aggrieved individual's courtesy government inability to meet their demands or basic needs. More fundamentally, if the basic needs of people are not properly address, the result will be more conflict and insecurity because at any moment the people are frustrated they will be aggressive towards meeting their basic needs and the result would be neglect national economic development.

Managing Security in Multi-ethnic State:

Managing security in heterogeneous society like Nigeria is always a herculean task. A major cause of what we now see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has to do with the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry. In every nation (Nigeria inclusive), there is no complete agreement on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among individuals and groups. There is also no agreement on how to effect necessary changes and reforms. This is because, different groups and individuals have diverse interests in which case, some groups will have their aims met, while others will not. What this means is that conflict (ethno religious ones inclusive) usually occur when deprived groups and individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant values, norms, beliefs or ideology. (Salau, 2010). Managing security in conflicts ridden environment like Nigeria require the energetic and robust national interest where people eliminate loyalty to their ethnic groups as the case of Nigeria and institutionalized loyalty to the state.

Thus, in Nigeria and going by the various examples of ethno-religious conflicts, there seems to be a divisive interplay of politics, ethnicism and religions, which has consequently led to the rising

nationalism and militancy of various ethnic and religious movements. It is interesting to note that the overall consequence of this is the escalation of various ethno-religious conflicts that are witnessed all over the country today which are meant to correct any perceived form of marginalization, oppression or domination. (Salau, 2010). Poor management of this ethnic base conflict by appropriate authority which is the source of insecurity in Nigeria has tremendously affected the country's economic development.

Similarly, Achumba, et al (2013) have argued that the judicial method of conflict management in Nigeria has failed to resolve the problem. According to Oromaregbe and Akpator (2005), such method has created more bitterness than bringing relief. Commenting on the reasons for the alter failure of these two methods of resolving or managing ethno-religious conflicts in the Nigerian case, Omorogbe and Omohan (2005) said:

...the main reasons for the poor performance of the often used conflict management mechanisms are poor logistics, delay in deployment of troops to the crises areas, lack of cooperation by parties to the conflicts, non-implementation of whitepaper or recommendations submitted to the government by the panel of inquiry etc (P.577).

Due to all the reasons given above, the two conflict management strategies which have been used constantly at different crisis points in Nigeria have not yielded much positive results in terms of effective resolution of ethno-religious conflicts that have characterized the Nigerian political system.

Security Strategies: Panacea to National Economic Development:

...beyond the nexus between strong democratic leadership and good governance, there is an intricate linkage between and among good governance, national security and economic development. Consequently, economic development derives from the national security which also derives from good governance. Where good governance is in critical short supply, national security is compromised and economic development is eroded and insurgencies thrive. (Herbert and Michael, 2014)

There is no gainsaying the fact that the major threats to national security in Nigeria are essentially internal rather than external. This goes a long way to buttress on the seemingly inability of the democratization process to systematically address some vital domestic issues which have turned out to threaten national stability. Essentially, democratic tenet all over the world connotes leadership accountability, group tolerance, policy objectivity, fairness in resource distribution, right to self-determination and respect for individuals opinion. Meanwhile there is a strong link between adherence to democratic tenets and national security in any country, Nigeria in particular. Having said this, it becomes obvious that the relative absence of the above tenet along with sheer lack of political will in Nigeria's democratic experiment has resulted in making the Nigerian state more fragile and crisis-prone than ever. (Victor, 2017). Thus, poor security strategies which is basically equal distribution of national wealth, elimination of poverty, access to quality education and provision of infrastructure necessary for human life is the only way to reduce and if possible eliminate insecurity in Nigeria without which national economic development would be frustrated. For instance, Yahaya opined that;

...it is estimated that assets worth N59, 672,000 were lost to the Jos crisis in 2001, while government compensation to victims was about N13, 938,000; assets lost to the Kaduna crisis of 2001 amounted to N50,625,000, with government compensation at N32,716,000. The Kano crisis of 2001 resulted in the loss of asset worth N59, 756,000, while compensation totaling about N22,658,000; assets lost to Jos crisis of 2004 was estimated at about N102,932,000 while N85,121,000 was paid as compensation to victims (to mention just a few) (Yahaya, 2005).

This huge amount of money pushed into insecurity ventures could have been invested in major sectors of economy. Nwanegbo (2005), cited in Nwachukwu (2011:74) opines that national insecurity in Nigeria and Africa in general, are mainly caused by contest over the control of scarce resources and it is those deprived or that feel deprived that tries to either protect or defend their interest or vent frustration in what ends up to be inter-ethnic conflicts, inter-communal crisis or civil unrest and revolution. Thus, the resultant implications include economic downturn, social in cohesion, socio-political instability, loss of human resource and general institutional weakness.

Adesoji, (2010) is of the opinion that public sector corruption leading to misuse of resources, unemployment and mass poverty; ignorance due to limited educational opportunities swelled the army of vulnerable people whose disillusionment and impoverishment made them easy prey in the hands of demagogues like the late Yusuf the first leader of Boko Haram that has been a security threat to Nigeria. It is important to state that the fourth republic is very pivotal in analyzing the relationship between poverty and violent conflicts in Nigeria. Studies have shown that there is an increase in the rate of poverty in the fourth republic. The poverty level in 1999 was put at 45% but increased to 76% in 2012 due to mismanagement of the country's resources by corrupt leaders (Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012). It was also observed that the money that was made from oil between 1999 and 2011 was more than all that was made from 1960-1999 (Save Nigeria Group, 2012), but squandered by Nigerian leaders through corruption, leaving the masses in poverty-stricken conditions (Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012). According to National Bureau of Statistics (2012), the Nigerians that live on less than \$ 1 per day are not less than two-thirds of the total Population. This implies that 112.5 million Nigerians out of the estimated 163 million are living in poverty. Marke, (2007) cited in Ikiejiaku, (2012) postulated that the account of political corruption perpetrated by African leaders are catholic and these has taken toll on the provision of human needs, with implications on conflict. He said youths that are not engaged in meaningful work, and can no longer cope with the burden of poverty caused by leadership corruption bring attention to their plight by engaging in destructive behaviour. Ikiejiaku (2012) also noted that violence in the Niger Delta has been spearheaded mainly by restive and often unemployed youths. In fact, violence seems to be more in areas that experience more poverty. The positions by (Ikiejiaku, 2012, Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012, Egharevba and Chiazor, 2012 and Adesoji, 2010) are all reflective of the fact that poverty is largely linked to insecurity in Nigeria and can only be eradicated if there is political will on the part of political and non-political office holders to shun corruption and approach governance with open minded couple with openness and transparency in all government transactions.

In their own contribution to national security strategies which is panacea to national economic development, Achumba, etal (2013), comes up with two models approach to strategic national economic development. The first model is "the two-way approach model". According to them, this model is two part model. One part is to remove the factors which cause people to engage in acts of insecurity, and the other part is to combat the perpetrators of insecurity situation. The first part considers and entrenches all of the solution methods from the various views presented above, under solution to insecurity in The second part is to combat the criminals both with the long arm of the law and the force of arms. This is meant to stop or prevent criminals from creating and perpetuating insecurity. It involves being prepared at all times and being proactive, and pursuing them wherever they are. The objective is to protect innocent citizens from harm. A major strategy in this regard is to identify and map out black spots on physical insecurity. This requires vigilance on our environment on the part of security agencies, particularly with terrorist attacks of the Boko Haram. (Achumba, etal 2013).

The second one is "the Composite approach model". This model contrast with the traditional assumption that national security is solely the responsibility of government. They agreed with the view that security of lives and property is a primary responsibility of government and supported view that the insecurity challenge in Nigeria is too enormous to be left for government alone. There is need for other stakeholders to be actively involved in ameliorating insecurity in the country. (Achumba, etal 2013).

The view or approach on securitization of the state by Achumba etal above is central and can meaningfully contribute to the national economic development. If the root of insecurity is not uprooted, the resultant effect in spite of the resources spent would be effort in futility.

Conclusion:

This work argued vividly that insecurity in Nigeria and resultant economic underdevelopment is the result of lackadaisical attitudes by public stalk holder. Since it is clear that security is panacea to economic development, the resource rich Nigeria must embark on social security in order to ameliorate physical security for economic development to strive. I strongly believed that if only 10 percent of Nigerian populations are security agents and the remaining larger populations are socially secure, there would not be insecurity in the country. However, if 80 percent of the populations are security agents and

the remaining smaller populations are socially insecure, the result would be insecurity and consequent economic underdevelopment.

Recommendations:

It is often said that before fostering democracy, you must first foster democrats. For Nigeria democratic institutions to perform to their expectations such as ending insecurity and promotes economic development, democrats must be willing to serves the people with the interest to transform the nation for better as oppose to their personal interest. This paper thus recommends that;

Corruption which is the evil of all ills of development must be shunned by government officials. Nigerians are aggressed as result of frustration which is the result of government negligence in providing the basic needs of the people. Security agents assigned to arrest ethnic militancy and insurgency in particular areas should relate with community leaders of such community. This strategy which is identification based would largely assist the security in identifying aliens who might be living within the community for interior motives. Boarder policing is strongly recommended as most of the weapons and detonated bombs used by insurgents and ethnic militias are imported into the country. Porosity of Nigerian boarders have enormously exposed the country to series of threat from both within and outside the country hence the need for strong government policy to guard and protect our borders.

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