

HAS THE GIANT GONE TO SLEEP? INSECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH EAST, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria has been experiencing various forms of insecurity caused by ethno-communal conflicts, Delta militancy, religious clashes, ritual killings, Boko haram insurgency, farmer-herder conflicts, banditry and kidnapping. It is worrisome that the situation has deteriorated and worsened over the years. The article argues that though the primary responsibility of the state is the provision of security, unfortunately, the country has failed on this constitutional responsibility of providing a secured and safe environment for the people. It argues that the failure of the government to address the security challenges facing the sovereignty of Nigeria shows essential features of failed states. It posits that despite its military strength, Nigeria has been unable to defeat Boko Haram insurgents. The article concludes that Nigeria will indeed attain and maintain her position as the giant of Africa if she becomes gallantry in addressing security problem, provision of necessary infrastructures, and sustaining democratic values than other countries in Africa. It recommends among others that building legitimate and strong institutions that provide adequate security to the citizen are all crucial to break the cycles of insecurity and ensure the attainment of sustainable development.

Keywords: Insecurity, Sustainable Development, Conflict, State Failure, Boko-haram, Insurgency

Introduction

In the last decade, the greatest challenge facing the survival and sovereignty of Nigerian state is severe insecurity caused by numerous violent conflicts, ethno-communal conflicts, Delta militancy, kidnapping, religious clashes, ritual killings, political assassinations, terrorist activities and farmer-herder conflicts (Eke, 2013). In recent times, Nigeria has been experiencing various forms of insecurity. As a result, national security has become key issue in government agenda and prompted huge budgetary allocation in curbing the menace. There is no doubt that in most countries of the world, insecurity has become a serious issue. The situation in Nigeria has deteriorated and worsened over the years due to poor governance, corruption, political conflicts, government instability and the inability of the ruling elites to deliver the needed dividend of democracy to the people (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013).

It is an undeniable fact that most cities in Nigeria are not secure, especially in the north east. Government as the only institution saddled with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and ensure peaceful co-existence has unable to effectively address the security challenge in the country. Odunuga (2011:3) share this same view that “there are no safe havens anymore”. Similarly, Elaigwu contend that “an atmosphere of insecurity has enveloped the polity” (Elaigwu, 2011:213). This shows that insecurity is one of the major impediments to Nigeria’s development. No wonder, Chinua Achebe noted that Nigeria is “no longer at ease” and things have “fallen apart” (Achebe, 1958, 1960).

The rising concern of insecurity in Nigeria deters economic activities, constitute major challenge to the protection of lives and properties, and discourages investors (both local and foreign), and in turn, impedes the attainment of sustainable development (Ukwayi & Anam, 2017). The crisis in North East, Nigeria remains one of the most serious humanitarian crises in the world. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2018) note that it has resulted in violations of human rights, displacement, deepening humanitarian and developmental crises. Apart from Nigeria’s experience of the civil war between 1969 and 1970, the country had never been threatened and confronted with such great level of insecurity as we are presently experiencing in the activities of ethnic militia, kidnapers, and Boko Haram insurgency (Eke, 2013). Since 2009, above 20,000 people have been killed, children drafted into insurgency as "suicide" bombers, while thousands of girls and women have been abducted. As estimated by OCHA (2018), “about 2.1 million people fled their homes, more than 1.7 million were in internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps, about 200,000 people are still in Chad, Cameroon, and Niger, after having been forced to flee”. There is no doubt that a country experiencing conflicts of different forms will definitely suffer from economic stagnation and a reduced capacity to function effectively as a sovereign state. This is because armed conflicts hinder the development process, and also erodes developmental foundation (Sheriff & Ipinmoye, 2015). This is the exact situation in Nigeria.

To address this challenge, successive governments have adopted different measures. Yet, insecurity has taken a staggering dimension and remains a thorny issue in Nigeria. This shows that different security measures that have been taken to combat the situation have not produced the expected result. With the increased rate of insecurity, Nigeria is confronted and threatened with scary, daunting and frightening developmental challenges which pose a serious threat to the attainment of sustainable development (Ewetan, 2013). Though government and security agents claim to be on top of the matter, insecurity still persists.

From all indications, the government, as well as the security agent, seems to be incapable of effectively securing the lives and properties of the citizenry.

The article, therefore, examines the nature of insecurity in Nigeria and its influence on the attainment of sustainable development with special emphasis on Boko-Haram violence in the North East, Nigeria. The aim of this article, therefore, is to point out that Nigeria is a giant without gallantry in addressing securing challenges because the country is now “sleeping”. This article does not in any way intend to relegate Nigeria to the background but is a critique from an academic perspective. No doubt, the Nigerian state has been depicted as the “giant of Africa” and rightly so. The article is a scholarly contribution and a clarion call to wake up the giant from slumber so as to take its rightful position in the comity of nations in Africa and the attainment of the expected level of development. Aside from the introduction, the article is pigeon-hole into seven compartments. The first section examines the rationale of the state. The second aspect deals with state failure in insecurity in Nigeria. Sections three and four take a critical look at how Nigeria is managing insecurity and its influence on the political economy of the north east. The fifth part of the article analyses the implication of security on sustainable development in Nigeria, while section six proffer remedial action for awakening Africa’s sleeping giant for the attainment of sustainable development. The last section concludes the article.

Security as Raison D’ etre of State

The primary responsibility of the state is the provision of security (Hobbes, 1996). Based on this, some scholars have argued that the state is a means to an end. To the likes of Aristotle and Spencer, Adams Smith, and Locke, (cited in Appadorai, 1974), the state exists for the sake of that kind of life which is the end of man. The state, according to the Aristotelian philosophy, “is a ladder jointly built by the people to convey to the desired life which is unattainable through individual efforts” (Malasowe, 2016:34). John Locke (cited in Anifowose, 1999:98) declares that “the great and chief end of men uniting into commonwealth and putting themselves under government is the preservation of their property, that is, lives, liberties and estates”. Similarly, Smith (cited in Omilusi, 2013) in his view identifies one of the purposes of the state as “the responsibility of protecting society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies.”

Security is one of the very important functions of the state. The state provides the framework of the social order and holds the society together (Anifowose, 1999). The state exists to promote good life and to create the political environment that would improve the welfare and the living condition of the people. While the state cannot perform its main responsibilities unless there is peaceful co-existence in an atmosphere of peace, this shows that adequate and sustainable security is quite a central aspect of national security/development. For instance, it was for lack of security that the Hobbesian state of nature rendered life “brutish, nasty and short” (Egbefo & Salihu, 2014). Whereas, the protection of human life, which according to Hobbes (1957) as the foremost reason for the social contract has not been adequately protected, while on the part of the citizen, the political obligation to submit to that authority is binding upon the individuals for the very reason that they voluntarily accepted it. The state is expected to deliver the minimum requirements of a social contract, especially the protection of lives and properties (Omilusi, 2013).

There is no doubt that the state exists to protect lives and properties, and ensure the overall well-being of the people. Therefore, State institutions have responsibility for the provision of adequate security to the citizens (Eme & Anthony, 2011). This means that the state is liable and responsible for providing security for members of the public. If the state failed in this regard, it loses its *raison d'etre* (Omoyibo & Akpomera, 2016). Wherever a state fails in this respect, the state is considered to be a weak state. Most of the weak states in the world are considered weak because they failed in their main function in providing security for their citizens (Awojobi, 2014; Rice, 2007). Unfortunately, most States, as observed by Ewetan & Urhie, (2014) have failed on this constitutional responsibility of providing a secured and safe environment for the people, especially in the conduct of economic activities.

State Failure and Insecurity Vortex in Nigeria

Nigeria is a country of potential abundance in terms of natural, mineral and human resources. These, however, have not satisfactorily metamorphosed into development, and the country is plagued with insecurity, ethnicity, extremism, violence and conflict (Fukuyama, 2004). The position of the authors is in line with the argument of Achebe (2012) that, “the present day Nigerian state is deteriorating by the day because the nation seems not to be moving forward as expected in the sense that the wealth of the nation does not commensurate with what is on ground”.

The high rate of insecurity in Nigeria has triggered the deterioration of democratic accountability and state governance. Igbuzor (2011) corroborate this view when he assert that the current state of insecurity in Nigeria is a function of failure on the part of the government. This is in agreement with the position of Egwu (2011) that “the security of the Nigerian nation-state has been reduced to that of the ruler and his immediate supporters”. Therefore, insecurity has an ever-present characteristic of life in Nigeria for the past couple of years.

A failed state is a fertile ground for breeding terror. It is a hollow institution that is unable or no longer willing to perform the fundamental and ultimate tasks of a nation-state. The institutions of such state is flawed by insecure, characterised by political, social and economic failure (Rotberg, 2003); and unable to protect and defend citizens from violence and conflicts; and perhaps even displacement (Chomsky, 2006), and consistent failure and the inability of the state to honour the social contract made with citizens (Fatile & Adejuwon, 2010). In this regard, Nigeria seems weak in maintaining and preserving law and order; and lacks a viable strategy and approach to contain Boko Haram insurgents from attacking the people. Nigeria as observe by Bamidele (2012) seems to meet the criterion and standard of “failed states” such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Iraq, and Yemen, where terrorist groups operate freely, stockpile sophisticated weapons and plan attacks on the citizen and the armed forces - not because they are sponsored by the State, but simply because the State lacks the political will and ability to bring them to book. Nigeria, as argue by Malasowe (2016), fits into the failed state description. It shows, therefore, that violent conflicts in Nigeria are as a result of the failed nature of the State (Omilusi, 2013). The current state of insecurity in Nigeria can be linked to failure on the part of the state. This is evident in the inability of the state to provide basic needs and deliver public services to the people. In this situation, the security situation deteriorated drastically in the country.

Nigeria has been perennially unstable due to insurgency, which has led to the loss of billions of naira worth of properties and thousands of lives. When a state derogates from this constitutional responsibility of protecting lives and properties, it would become obsolescent and irrelevant, as citizens may be forced to resort to self-help for their safety and security (e.g. Civilian Joint Task Force in the North east, Nigeria), while the country descend into Thomas Hobbes' conception of the state of nature where life is "nasty, brutish and short" (Omilusi, 2013). The present trend of insurgency in the north east is showing that the security apparatus of government is unable and incapable of guaranteeing the safety of lives and property of the people (Okolo, 2009). This perception creates fear and limits the capacity and ability of the state to attract investors due to insecurity.

The frightening and disturbing level of insecurity is unprecedented despite the reform undertaken and a substantial share of the national budgets allocated to fidgeting insurgency. There have been serious threat to national security in the form of organised crimes, kidnapping, election related violence, farmer-herders conflict, violent extremism and insurgency (Salawu, 2012). Despite government efforts to stem the tide of insecurity through planned institutional strategies, the problems of insecurity have remained persistent, intense, and impervious (Eke, 2013). The state of insecurity in Nigeria as opine by Adagbabiri and Okolie (2018) is greatly a function of government failure. A failed state is deeply conflicted, tense, and contested bitterly by warring factions. In most failed states, armed forces battle the insurgents. The failed state, therefore, is characterised by destroyed or deteriorating infrastructures.

The Nigerian government and its armed forces have since 2009 tried to put a stop to the operation and sustained attacks of the Boko Haram group, but has not been able to do so despite arrests and killings of many of the Boko Haram fighters in different encounters (Gamawa, 2017). The failure of the government to address the security challenges facing the sovereignty of Nigeria shows an essential features of failed states. Some of the main features of a failing state include widespread corruption, security threats, declining economy, criminality, unreliable electoral process human rights violation, and culture of impunity (Fund for Peace, 2007). Table 1 shows Nigeria's position in the failed state index.

Table 1: Nigeria-Global Peace Index

Year	Global Peace Index	Global Peace ranking	Position
2018	2.873	148	15 th
2017	2.849	149	14 th
2016	2.877	149	16 th
2015	2.910	151	15 th
2014	2.710	151	17 th
2013	2.693	148	16 th
2012	2.707	146	14 th
2011	2.613	137	14 th
2010	2.628	131	15 th
2009	2.599	127	15 th
2008	2.574	125	18 th

Source: Compiled by the Authors

The above table shows that for the past eleven years, Nigeria has not exceeded the 18th position in the global ranking of failed states. This is due to the fact that while the numerous attacks of Boko Haram insurgents continue to threaten the security of the Nigerian state, the herdsmen-farmer clashes and Boko haram insurgency have thrown up security challenge to the armed forces.

The nature of conflicts has made scholars of diverse intellectual persuasions to describe the Nigerian state as a failed state (Itumo, Udeuhele & Aro, 2017). Nigeria is therefore seen as one of the worst countries in the world that is unable to guarantee the safety of lives and property of the citizen.

Insecurity in the North East, Nigeria: A Giant without Gallantry?

Over the years, Nigeria has been referred to as the “giant of Africa”. This is as a result of her intimidating population in Africa and the availability of natural resources in different states of the federation which other countries in the continent do not have. Many of these potentials are yet to be actualized or convert to good use that can propel the country from third world country to a first-world nation. Ottuh (2015) opine that due to five reasons stated below, those qualifying Nigeria as the giant of Africa are very right. These, according to him, include:

- a) Nigeria has the highest deposit of natural resources like crude oil, the sixth exporter of crude oil in the world and the largest and in Africa.
- b) The most popular black nation in the whole world, while the population exceeds that of any other African country.
- c) Nigeria is playing “big brother” role in Africa by sending the highest numbers of troops for peace keeping among African countries
- d) Nigeria was declared as the largest economy in Africa from about USD 270 billion to USD 510 billion for 2013.
- e) Nigeria has the largest expanse of land space with 823,770 km² (about twice the size of California).

Despite the above, the giant is still crippling. Nigeria can be likened to biblical Goliath, a giant with a wonderful profile but could not carry out any of his boast against David. This, according to Ottuh (2015:50), shows that:

“the gallantry of a giant is not just the battle won in the past, but the battle won today for the future. Gallantry is moved from the past to the present and the future in order for it to be relevant for posterity”.

The implication of the above is that Nigeria is a failed state like giant Goliath. Goliath was armed, bigger and surrounded by a legion of soldiers than David. David made more concrete success than Goliath. This is the exact depiction of Nigeria when compared with other smaller African countries like South Africa, Ethiopia, etc. that are more developed and peaceful than Nigeria even though Nigeria is being referred to as “the giant of Africa”. Paradoxically, the “giant of Africa” wallows in socio-political, economic and infrastructural decadence in all her crevices. The inability of Nigeria to harness and address security problem and protect its territorial integrity reserves continuously calls to question the sovereignty and the ability of the nation's leadership to curb insecurity. To this end, it becomes a wonder if Nigeria can curb the excessiveness of Boko Haram insurgents, if the security agencies that are meant to protect the citizens are being attacked by the insurgents how much more the unarmed civilians they are meant to protect. The recent attack of military bases in Maiduguri in November 2018 is still fresh in our memories. This prompted Mazrui (2006:154) to state that, “the giant of Africa is in danger of becoming the midget of the world”. Osaghae (1998:1) gives Nigeria the nickname of a “crippled giant”. Adebajo and Mustapha (2008) pejoratively refer to Nigeria as a giant with “rickety feet”. To Adebajo (2008:2), Nigeria can be described as a “Gulliver and the Lilliputians”

whose rapacity – “like the creatures in Swift’s tale - have debarred a country of immense prospects from realising its development potential”. In view of the present situation of Nigeria, one begins to wonder the kind of “giant” the country is bearing in Africa, after fifty-eight (58) years of nationhood.

This article argues that though Nigeria is very rich in planning and policy formulation and very victorious in speech making but very weak in policy implementations, sending troops on peace missions to other African countries but cannot maintain peace within its territory. This is what according to Ottuh (2015) is meant by “giant without gallantry”. It is a rhetorical description of Nigeria among the comity of nations in Africa. This raised fundamental questions about the position of Nigeria in Africa. How come Nigeria through “big brother” role maintaining peace in other countries but cannot affective addressed insecurity? Is Nigeria truly the giant of Africa when compared to other African nations like Ethiopia, Ghana, South Africa, etc.? These questions have become rhetorical because no one seems to give have given correct answers yet, in the face of persistent kidnapping, suicide bombing etc.

There is no doubt that the manifestation of conflicts is one major problem confronting world peace today in different dimensions. It shows that conflict has ever been a recurring decimal in the history of mankind. Nigeria has been experiencing conflicts of grave proportions among several ethno-communal and religious conflicts across the states (Fajonyomi, Fatile, Bello, Opusunju, & Adejuwon, 2018). Since the independence, the acts of terrorist activities have ranged from the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) group, Movement for Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) group, Oodua People Congress (OPC) group, Maitatsine group amongst others. Today, in different parts of the country, new forms of violent conflicts have been common. These include pipeline vandalisation, kidnapping for ransom, ritual killings, armed robbery and ethnic clashes (Robinson, Obayori & Kingsley, 2014; Ezeah & Osayi, 2014).

Since independence, Nigeria state has remained a hotbed of constant conflicts and perilous social upheavals that threaten the peaceful existence of the State. The struggle for political control, cultural and ethno-religion differences have often degenerated and resulted into violent conflicts. As such, religious bigotry and ethnic chauvinism have, unfortunately, become the pervasive characteristics of the Nigerian state. These pervasive features of Nigeria have precariously disposed it to be frequent politico-economic and social imbroglio and the consequent insecurity (Itumo, Udeuhele & Aro, 2017). The history of Nigeria to many is that of violent conflicts, disorderliness, retrogression and chaos. Many have become inured to the obscene and ugly pictures of the maimed, and the wanton destruction of lives and properties due to conflict reminiscence of the Nigeria civil war. The overall consequence is that these conflicts have affected the collective psyche of the people (Udama, 2013). Ake (1986) identifies four features of Nigeria that have incapacitated it from effective response to the security issues. These, according to him, include:

“First, the coercive nature of the state because it has been an exploitative state. Secondly, the Nigerian state is quite indifferent to social welfare. Thirdly, the state has an image of a hostile coercive force, as a result of its colonial origin as exacerbated by its post-colonial abuses; and fourthly, its lack of autonomy”.

Similarly, Okpata and Nwali (2013:173) states that:

“Political struggles among the political class, politics of rancour and bitterness, ethnic-based politics and intimidation of opposition groups, the use of state apparatus to undermine others are the major source of insecurity in Nigerian state”.

The level of insecurity is affecting the leadership position of Nigeria in Africa. Therefore, more proactive initiatives in addressing the menace of insecurity are needed in Nigeria since security is central to development. No wonder, Nigeria for the fourth consecutive year was ranked third (3rd) among the most terrorised countries in the world since 2015 (Global Terrorism Index, 2018).

As at 2015, globally Nigeria is the 10th contributor to largest United Nations Peacekeeping and 6th in Africa, with about three thousand (3,000) employees in United Nations peacekeeping operations around the world (Adebowale, 2015). Nigeria has played crucial roles in other non-United Nations missions in Africa. In West Africa, Nigeria has been the main provider of military personnel and other resources for ECOWAS peace operations to the tune of US\$8 billion in its various missions in Guinea-Bissau, Cote d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Mali (Adebajo, 2013). In the 1990s at the peak of the Sierra Leonean and Liberian civil wars, Nigeria provided over seventy percent (70%) of ECOMOG’s civilian and military personnel, as well as logistical support. Nigeria deployed 1,500 troops to the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia in 2003. 1,500 Nigerian troops were deployed to Darfur in 2004 as part of the African Union Mission in Sudan. Nigeria also provided 1,200 military personnel to the African-led International Support Mission in Mali, and 200 police officers (Adebowale, 2015). This exercise upheld by Nigeria towards maintaining peace has gulped huge amount of money and at the same time claimed numerous lives of its human resource in the course of restoring peace in Africa (Omaamaka & Groupson-Paul 2015).

The efforts of Nigeria at entrenching peace in conflict-ridden countries in West Africa have been commended by the international community, the United Nations, African Union and ECOWAS for her roles in peace keeping missions across the globe. It is evident that Nigeria has been playing crucial roles in support of countries facing violent conflicts and political instability. This “big brother” shows that Nigeria remains a significant actor in peacekeeping in Africa (Dauda, Ahmad, & Keling, 2017; Suleiman, Ibrahim & Kayode, 2014). The authors believe that the role of Nigeria in the maintenance and entrenchment of peace in the African continent is due to its Afrocentric policy, but hold reservations regarding the huge resources (financial, human and material) expended on peacekeeping operations and the inability of the country to curb the activities of the insurgents. While Nigeria has been making series of sacrifices towards its peace maintenance in Africa, internally, Nigeria is facing various forms of insecurity. This is what made Nasongo’s (2015) conclude that “Nigeria has been the theatre of some of the deadliest conflicts in the world”. The security challenge in Nigeria is increasingly diverse, fragmented and differentiated (Osimen, Akinwunmi, & Adetula, 2015). Nigeria has taken on responsibilities and risks in ensuring peace and regional security in Africa. Her interventions in Sierra Leone and Liberia give credence to its position in Africa.

It is undeniable that Nigeria’s contribution to peacekeeping operations in Africa in general and West Africa, in particular, is invaluable (Eke, 2015). While this fact can hardly be disputed, it, therefore, raised fundamental questions on how Nigeria is handling insecurity in the North East. Despite its military strength, why has Nigeria been unable to defeat Boko Haram insurgents? Or has Nigeria’s capacity to confront its domestic security threats been supported by its peacekeeping experience?

Has the giant gone to sleep? These are the questions that need to be addressed for Nigeria to balance fighting insecurity and the attainment of sustainable development in the region.

The above posers are based on the fact that many have been displaced while thousands of people have been killed in the North East. The figure of displaced persons continues to increase despite the government’s efforts to resettle the displaced persons back to their communities. The rate of attacks continue. This is evident in the displaced tracking report released in June 2018, covering states in the north east, Nigeria (see table 2).

Table 2: Number of Displaced Persons in the North East, Nigeria

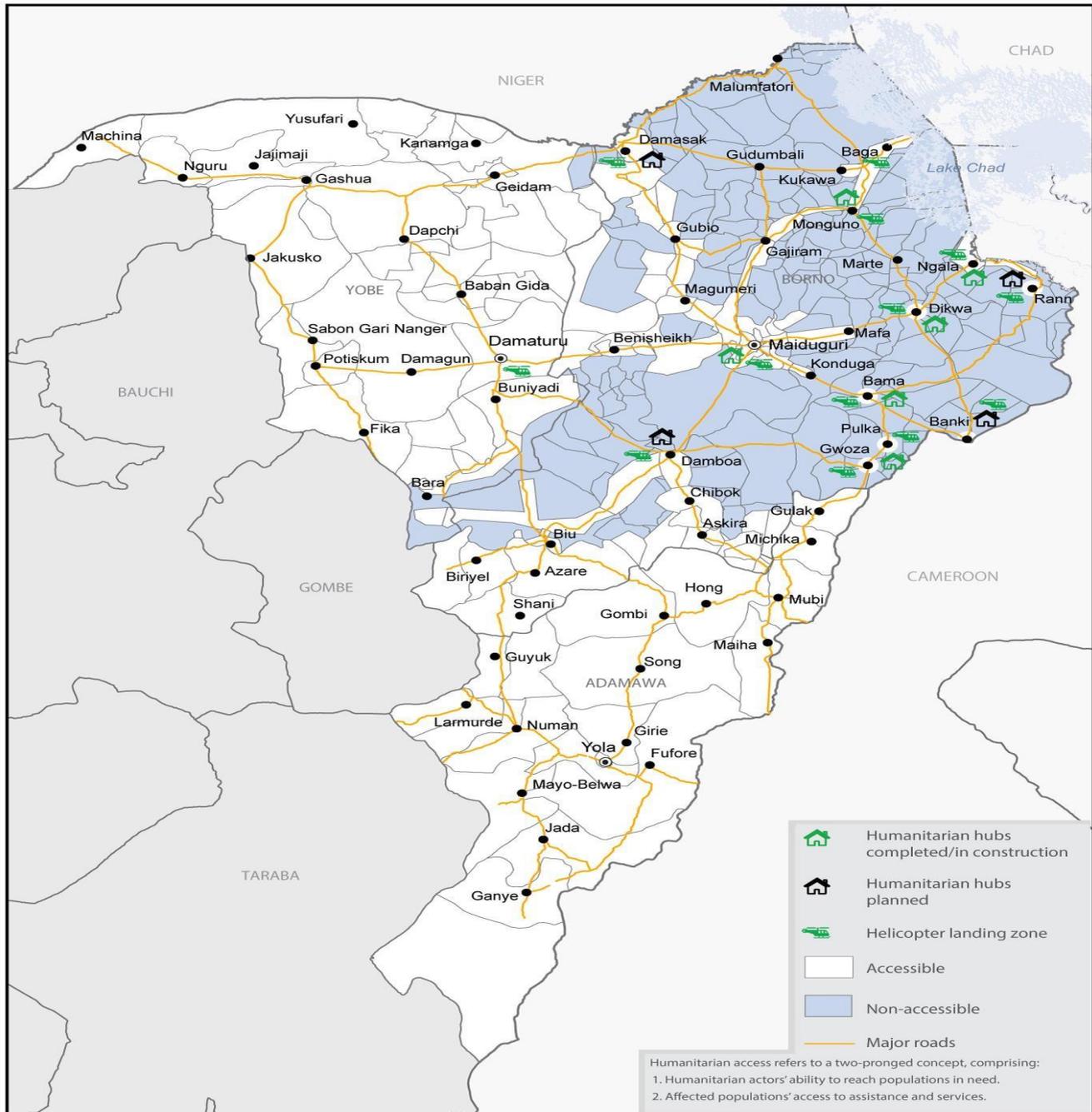
State	No. of IDPs
Adamawa	164,150
Bauchi	53,309
Borno	1,364,539
Gombe	31,909
Taraba	63,272
Yobe	105,311
Total	1,782,490

Source: Displacement Tracking Matrix Round XXI Report - February 2018

Within the Northeast states which comprises of Adamawa, Borno, Bauchi, Taraba, Gombe, and Yobe, as at the end of 2014, Boko Haram insurgents were said to have influence over 30,000 square kilometres of territory (Abubakar, 2015; International Crisis Group, 2015). This is in agreement with the survey carried out by United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Rights Affairs (OCHA) (2018) shows that most areas are still under the control of the insurgents which are not accessible to humanitarian workers. These areas are shown below:

Figure 1: The accessible and non-accessible areas for humanitarian organisations in the North East, Nigeria

Source: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Rights Affairs (OCHA) Survey (2018)



The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Creation date: 31 May 2018 Sources: Access Working Group, DTM Feedback: ochanigeria@un.org www.unocha.org/nigeria www.reliefweb.int/country/nga

The above attest to the fact that despite claims by the government that the situation is under control and that Boko Haram has been technically defeated. The fact remains that Boko Haram is still in control of some communities, which has made it difficult for humanitarian organisations to access these communities, as shown above. By implication, Boko Haram insurgents have

become a security threat with continuous attacks on civilians, churches, media houses, security forces, as well as international bodies such as the United Nations. With the increased numbers of suicide bombing, sophisticated weaponry, and well-organised guerrilla tactics, there is fear that Boko Haram may stretch across other regions of Nigeria, thus affecting the social and economic of the country.

Political Economy of Insecurity in the North East, Nigeria

In the North East, the state of insecurity caused by the activities of Boko Haram insurgents has assumed an alarming dimension. This social menace reinforces insecurity and impede Nigeria's efforts towards the attainment of sustainable development. The increasing state of insecurity presently in Nigeria, especially by Boko Haram sect has culminated into Nigeria being blacklisted and given bad image as a terrorist nation by the international community. Therefore, Nigeria is still included in the list of terrorist nations like Afghanistan, Tunisia, Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan, Sudan, Iraq, to mention but a few. Consequently, Nigerians travelling abroad are subjected to serious security scrutiny more than others, and those staying or living abroad are also looked at as security risks.

The effect of the insurgency in the northeast has caused immeasurable damages to every facet of life. The malicious and wanton destruction of lives and damage of property in the northeast has a significant influence on the political economy of Nigeria. The Boko haram violent activities portend the viability and sustainability of Nigerian state, bringing about the destruction of properties and economic crises, poses serious threats to Nigeria's development (Oviasogie, 2013; Isyaku, 2013). The cycle of violence has caused panic and fears among the populace that the hostility has gone beyond political or religious colouration. The precarious nature of insecurity has become a great source of worry as it has shifted to the realm of terrorism. However, it is regrettable that the armed forces have failed to tackle the challenges, even as they have become the target of the insurgents who have never concealed their disdain for the intelligence and law enforcement agents (Adagba, Ugwu & Eme, 2012).

Boko Haram insurgency is the most devastating armed conflict that has ever taken place in Nigeria in the north east (Gamawa, 2017). Since 2009, nearly 15 million people have been affected by the violent attack (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2015). Since 2011, in the north east, the Boko Haram insurgency has killed over 15,000 people and driven 2.4 million citizens from their homes Lanzer, Tatay & Dewar, 2016). It is very difficult to quantify the social, psychological and economic effects of the insurgency. Economic activities have been reduced due to unprecedented attacks. This has forced commercial banks to review their operational hours (Mohammed, 2012). Most banks have closed down several branches in the affected areas due to reduction or collapse of economic and business activities. The employees of most commercial banks in the area are continuously demanding redeployment from the zone. The incessant attacks on various communities and individuals by this sect have resulted in death and loss of properties worth millions of naira (Adedayo, 2017). This support the views of Majekodunmi and Adejuwon (2012) that the political economy of Nigeria has become more complicated when one considers the heterogeneous, conflict-ridden and the multi-various nature of Nigerian societies.

Moreover, the drain on investments is affecting economic development in the north east due to the attacks on banks, markets, parks and government departments (Okereocha, 2012). These attacks have led to the migration of people to other parts of the

country. Also, the frequent attacks have led to an increase in the unemployment rate and lead to youth restiveness, thereby making crime an attractive and profitable venture. As observed by Shiklam (2012:23):

“The Maiduguri Monday Market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners, especially Southerners are said to have closed their businesses and left the troubled city. About half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city.”

The numerous attacks by the insurgents have paralysed economic activities in the North East especially in Maiduguri where residents fled their homes for safety while others who could not relocate, hardly move around for business transactions (Olisemeka 2011:26). The crisis has resulted in the collapse of the tourism industry. This has led to the loss of huge foreign currency that could have accrued from this sector, while thousand have migrated from the North East to the Southern part of the country (Dauda, 2014). As observed by Okafor (2011), over 837 factories have either collapsed or closed down between 2009 and 2014, while almost half of the remaining operating organisations in the region have been classified as “ailing”. The attacks have also affected agricultural production in the region, which constitute a significant aspect of the Nigerian economy. The farmers were afraid of been attack by the insurgents. This has led to food insecurity that prompted Nigeria to spent more than ten (10) billion dollars yearly on the importation of food items such as, rice, wheat and sugar (Eme, 2012).

There is no doubt that no meaningful economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity. It, therefore, implies that the activities Boko Haram insurgents are antithetical to economic development. Boko Haram insurgency invariably constitutes a serious threat to the attainment of sustainable development in Nigeria.

Security and Sustainable Development: The Nigerian Paradox

Nigeria represents a paradox, with abundant natural and human resources, Nigeria is the most populous in Africa; while on the other hand, it has a high rate of income inequality. Numerous debates by policy makers and development experts about the dilemma of development in Nigeria have been raised and tried to explore why the abundance of natural and human resources have had very little influence on the lives of the people (UNDP, 2006). Today, it shows that Nigeria is a paradox, a rich nation with the largest percentage of the population living in abject poverty and misery. As opine by Adejuwon (2016) it is an axiom that Nigeria is richly endowed with resources crucial for sustainable development, yet, remained under-developed. Indeed, Bouchat (2013) states that since it is a swirling paradox of riches and poverty, international influence and paralysed domestically, growth and stagnation, cultural diversity, and ethnic and religious clashes, it becomes problematic to understand the present situation of Nigeria. This paradox as opine by Adebajo (2010) of a nation that offers much to the outside world and limited in its responsibility to its citizens, Nigeria has been unable to realize its aspirations and deliver on its potential.

Instead of the State being the highest source of governing authority and the framework of lawful order and, the country now constitutes the greatest threat to herself. In the Nigerian polity, a nature of vulnerability, helplessness and defencelessness has thus been created in Nigeria which poses a constant source of insecurity. This state of insecurity is influenced by economic, social, military, political, and environmental factors. Also the insurgents operate freely in the north east. It is the exercise of

the authority it confers and usurpation of sovereignty by this group without recourse to the people in lieu of an acceptable referendum and constitution that makes an overview of the Nigerian state and its national security apparatus a nightmare (Omoyibo & Akpomera, 2016). Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) share this views when they argue that, “security is the pillar upon which every meaningful development could be achieved and sustained”.

Development is the prognosticator and a predictor and that determines the level of progress a country is experiencing. Despite abundant natural, human and material resources, an evaluation of Nigeria’s development shows that the country is yet to achieve the desired anticipations of her citizens (Adah & Abasilim, 2013). Development as posit by Lawal (2011), is a requirement to the development and sustenance of any vibrant nation. Thus, for development to be achieved at all levels, adequate security of lives and property must be guaranteed. Despite its abundance of human and material resources, attempts to achieve sustainable development through poverty reduction and alleviation have not become a reality in Nigeria. We can locate the genesis for these and other problems in the nature of centripetal and centrifugal forces that bind Nigeria together as a unified state in the balance and the political economy of Nigeria. In this regard, Bouchat (2013) traced the problems of Nigeria to its political economy, which according to him account for the “butter and bread” issues that may sow the seed of internal disharmony.

The effect of violent conflict is transcendental and, by extension, affects developmental efforts negatively (Adedayo, 2017). In this regard, the author submits that the rate of insecurity in Nigeria and the north east, in particular, has retarded development in all ramifications, while investors are scared away. This point to the fact that the main duty of government is to provide security for lives and property, while the welfare of the people are taking seriously. Insecurity, therefore, constitutes a threat to lives and properties, hinders social and economic activities, and discourages investments in key sectors of the economy, and in turn, impedes the economic and human development. With the level of insecurity in Nigeria, it is obvious that Nigeria is in a serious danger, a situation where there is an increasing number of IDP camps in the country, without adequate strategies for rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement (Ukwayi & Anam, 2017).

At this junction, it is crucial to state that the challenge of insecurity in Nigeria has assumed a frightening and alarming dimension that requires a multi-stakeholder approach, as it constitutes a threat to Nigeria’s statehood (Adedayo, 2017). There is no doubt that the level of insecurity has become a major threat to sustainable peace and development in Nigeria. For instance, since 1990 when insurgency through the Niger Delta militants started till recent times when Boko Haram insurgents and farmer-herders conflict arose in the Northern part of the country, Nigeria has been experiencing unprecedented security challenge. These challenges range from kidnapping, assassinations, suicide attacks, bombings, ritual killings, and armed robbery have led to the destruction of lives and properties, increases government expenditure on security, hindered business activities and discourage investors. These, according to Ewetan and Urhie (2014), retards and stifles socio-economic development in Nigeria.

Insecurity in different parts of the country has fuelled increased crime rate and terrorist attacks, leaving unpalatable and unpleasant consequences for the sustenance and development of Nigeria’s economy. However, sustainable development in recent years has brought in additional challenge that must be taken into consideration in the pursuit of sustainable peace in Nigeria.

Awakening the Sleeping Giant for the attainment of Sustainable Development

Our discussions in this article have shown the depiction of Nigeria as the giant without gallantry. Though the country is a giant in terms of rhetorical economic growth, population, landmass and mineral resources deposit, but not in terms of maintenance of internal security which is essential for the attainment of sustainable development. The article supports the views of scholars like Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka that, “Nigeria is very rich in policy formulation and very victorious in speech-making but very weak in policy implementations” (Ottu, 2015:41).

It is evident from the above discussion that Nigeria is yet to fully leverage on its massive human and material resources to deepen its hegemonic position in Africa, and has not been able to address insecurity confronting the country, especially in the north east. Nevertheless, the following remedial actions are necessary for awakening the sleeping giant. Naturally, sleeping is a periodic state of rest when the eyes usually close and consciousness is partially or completely lost, while there is a reduction in bodily responsiveness to external stimuli. During sleep, the brain undergoes a characteristic cycle of brain-wave activity that includes intervals of dreaming (Fajonyomi, 2012). The concept of the sleeping state is used in this article to reflect periods of inaction by the State even when faced by daunting challenges like insecurity. Since there is hope for a man after waking, it behoves of the sleeping giant to wake from slumber or stupor to address the security challenges facing its corporate existence.

The insecurity which has built up over the years in the north east will take some time to correct. But a decisive step of ridding the region off insurgents must be taken to protect lives and property and the territorial integrity. Truly, insecurity has been a major challenge to the Nigerian government. Thus, building legitimate and strong institutions that provide adequate security to the citizen are all crucial to break the cycles of insecurity and ensure the attainment of sustainable development. Security agencies including the Army, Police, SSS, Navy and Air force should be trained and retrained in a modern way of combating terrorism, counter-terrorism and deradicalisation exercise for the repentant insurgents.

In addition, there is a need for improvement in government allocation to these agencies in order to boost their morale in securing property and lives of both Nigerian citizens and foreigners living in the country. This shows that ensuring the attainment of sustainable development agenda in Nigeria requires the strengthening of law enforcement agencies to effectively combat insecurity. It will depend on the state’s balanced understanding of the complex and heterogeneous nature of Nigerian societies and their implications to national security. The search of sustainable peace is a panacea to the emergence of sustainable development.

Moreso, there is need to strengthened democratic institutions. This is in line with the submission of Fatile and Adejuwon (2012) that democracy is a precondition for development. Similarly, Zack-Williams (2001), submit that “no democracy, no development”. To him, an indispensable weapon of democracy that makes it a requisite for development is that democracy empowers the general population to control decision making. As such, lack of these virtues is considered as very inimical to the pursuit of sustainable development

Conclusion

In this article, we have assessed the state of insecurity in North East Nigeria and its implication on sustainable development in the region, as well as the dampening consequence of insecurity on the position of Nigeria in the comity of nations as the giant of Africa. There is no doubt that Nigeria needs to improve on its level development, which in the context of this article will translate to sustainable development, which is person-centred. Indeed, in the absence of adequate security, sustainable development becomes a mirage and an abstraction. The prevalence of violent conflicts in any state constitutes a threat to lives and properties, hinders developmental efforts. It is clear that the problem of insecurity in the north east has become serious challenge for the Nigerian government, most especially in the quest for sustainable development (Adedayo, 2017).

No country can achieve sustainable development except it seeks to achieve human security. This is because human resources are critical to the attainment of sustainable development. However, the main duty of any nation is to preserve and protect the lives and property of the people occupying its territory (Omoyibo & Akpomera, 2016).

In conclusion, the article restates that development is at the crossroads in Nigeria and that development also has only materialised in the unbecoming imaginable of Nigeria's ostensibly eminent security planners. The findings of this article highly support the thesis that there are development plans without attaining the expected level of development. Furthermore, the article justifies the viewpoint that there cannot be development without adequate security and an atmosphere of peace in Nigeria. The article concludes that Nigeria will indeed attain and maintain her position as the giant of Africa if she becomes gallantry in addressing security problem, provision of necessary infrastructures, and sustaining democratic values than other countries in Africa.

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