



National Insecurity and Economic Growth: The Case of Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the impact of national insecurity on economic growth: The case of Nigeria. It aims at addressing the challenges of kidnapping, robbery, and Herdsmen farmers' conflict, Ethno-Religious crisis and Terrorism, and proffer solutions to the attendant impacts that negatively affect the economy. Descriptive analysis was adopted as a method of the study. It was discovered that national insecurity has not only impeded the attainment of sustainable economic growth but that there has been a drastic decline in economic activities in all geo-political zones in the country. The paper recommends that government should develop strategies to enhance good governance, increase recurrent and especially capital expenditures on internal security, workable anti-terrorism measures, build strong and legitimate institutions that can safely curb the menace of insecurity.

Keywords: National Insecurity, terrorism, kidnapping, Economic growth

INTRODUCTION

The return to civil rule in Nigeria was accompanied with fresh hopes and concealed optimism because it was predicated on the fact that democracy would guarantee freedom, liberty and equity and justice which will enhance security of lives and property, such that Nigeria will be reposition for economic growth. Regrettably, this optimism seems to be a mirage. Nigeria is presently rated as one of the poorest nations in the world dilapidated by unemployment and insecurity. For instance, Aganga (2009) observed that over ten million Nigerians were unemployed by March 2009 and that unemployment is running at about 19.7 percent on the average. These figures geometrically increase yearly with less realistic efforts by the managers of the state to abate the rampaging menace. Nigeria, like many other developing countries, about 70% of the population lives in poverty (Otto and Ukpere (2012) majority of the population seems to lack access to basic amenities such as pipe born water, health care facilities, electricity and affordable quality education.

The poor development status of Nigeria no doubt breeds atmosphere of frustrated expectations and foster widespread indignation on the part of those that are trapped in vortex circle of abject poverty.

The condition of hopelessness is further aggravated by impotent poverty eradication programmes and conspiratorial neglect by the Nigeria state. In the face of this predicament, individuals and groups respond differently depending on situational factors and capacity. These responses are crystalized and find expression in various shades of antisocial behaviours, resulting in security challenges. Amidst these challenges, the security situation in the country has drastically deteriorated, lives and properties has been wasted daily in an alarming rate, series of resources base conflicts (Niger Delta; political crisis; (IPOB); Ethno-religious crisis (Jos), Herdsmen-Farmers conflict (Benue and other parts of the country), the climax of this is the insurgence of Boko-Haram in Northern Nigeria. According to Onime (2018) depleted businesses in comatose, investments are nose-diving, multi-nationals

closing shops and vacating the country, unemployment soaring and the populace in fear. Stewart (2004) has it that the economic cost of insecurity is enormous. People who joined the fighting forces, who are killed or flee, can no longer work productively: schools, power stations and roads that are destroyed reduced the productive capacity of the economy. Further displacement of people reduces the production of exports, thereby reducing foreign exchange earnings, import potentials and consequently further constraining output, leading to a decline in employment and earning. The menace of insecurity remains a threat to governance and economic growth in Nigeria.

Given the inadequate response or inaction on the part of government, it is considered that the Nigerian government is unable to solely secure its citizens. Despite acclaimed huge recurrent expenditure on internal security both at the national and state levels, individuals in their various rights, work place and houses spend heavily to provide security for their personal lives and properties, yet the menace keep increasing uncontrollably. It has therefore been observed that the insecurity prone areas in the country are lacking behind with respect to economic activities and other variables.

The Literature

Concept of Insecurity and Economic Growth

From the available literature, the concept of insecurity and its negative impact on economic growth has not gone without notice. However, to close a gap and for a balance analysis, we will consider a brief review on the existing literature on security before delving into insecurity.

According to Nwolise (2006: 352), security is an all-encompassing holistic concept which implies that the territory must be secured by a network of armed forces: that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves, they must not only be secured by external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals, unemployment, hunger and starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation, pollution and socio-economic injustice.

In the view of McGrew (1988: 101), the security of nation is predicated on two central pillars. On the one hand, it entails the maintenance and protection of the socio-economic order. In the face of internal and external threat, and on the other hand, it entails the protection of a preferred international order which minimize the threat to core values and interest as well as the domestic order. The UNDP (1994), defined human security with a view to understanding what insecurity entails. According to it, human security means first, safety from such chronic threat as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of daily life whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities. The UNDP report identify seven elements that make up human security.

- i. Economic Security
- ii. Food Security
- iii. Health Security
- iv. Environmental Security
- v. Personal Security
- vi. Community Security and
- vii. Political Security

According to Beland (2005), insecurity entails lack of protection from crime (Being unsafe) and lack of freedom from Psychological harm unprotected from emotional stress resulting from paucity of assurance that an individual is accepted, has opportunity and choices to fulfil his or her own potentials including freedom from fear.

Collier (2006) stressed that those countries which have a substantial share of their income (GDP) coming from the export of primary commodities are radically more at risk of conflict. The most dangerous level of primary commodity dependence is 26% of GDP. According to him, conflicts and insecurity is concentrated in countries with little education, fast population growth and economic decline. This was also the views expressed by Aderoju (2007).

The effect of Insecurity on economic growth has been described to be negative. Stewart (2004) analysed the effect of conflict and insecurity on development for twenty five countries between 1960 – 1995 and found that economic growth was almost always affected, agricultural sector was badly hit, exports were negative, production fell, there was a shift from international to domestic markets, imports went up dominated by military expenditure and essential consumption goods, usually leading to a shortage of foreign exchange for economic inputs., con-

sumption per head fell, government revenue as a share of GDP mostly fell and foreign and private investments including government investment fell. This was further corroborated in SIPRI yearbook 2015, where they observed that threats to security can have socioeconomic roots, including contests over natural resources, spill over effects of environmental degradation, economic and social inequalities, economic and political migration, natural disasters, among others.

On the whole, this study is a departure from most of the existing literature as it examines the effect of insecurity on economic growth from a political or purely socio-economic perspective.

The Concept of Economic Growth

Economic growth in most developing and underdeveloped societies especially in the Latin America and Africa do not provide corresponding social good. Evidently, economic growth could not significantly address the spate of unemployment, poverty, diseases, hunger, illiteracy and ever increasing crimes and insecurity. Economic growth is the process of steady increase in the real gross national product (GNP) per head of population. However, when people talk about "growth" they think chiefly of different it makes to the standard of living rather than general welfare, while growth can start from a position of less than full employment, it usually refers to the rate at which output continues to expand in the long run after employment has been achieved. Growth is essentially a long run phenomenon. To Todaro (1977), economic growth is the steady process by which the productive capacity of the economy is increased over time to bring about rising level of national income. Brooman (2004) economic growth is the process of steady increase in the quantity and quality of goods and services the economy can produce Schumpeter (1996), defined growth as gradual and steady increase in the rate of saving and population growth. Friedman (2006), defined growth as "an expansion of the system in one or more dimensions without a change in its structure, Stanlake (1974) defined economic growth as the increase in national output which is due to greater utilization of existing resources.

From the foregoing, economic growth is viewed, in this study, as the increase in productive capital of goods and services produced by an economy over time which can be conveniently measured as the gross domestic product (GDP) sustainable within a period of time.

Dimensions of Insecurity in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the achievement of desired level of internal security is elusive. Nigeria has witnessed the proliferation of different militia groups that posed serious security threat to the Nigerian government. Thus, such unwholesome behaviours has affected economic growth in Nigeria and resulted in loss of numerous lives and property of the Nigeria citizen. This pathetic situation is critically examined under five dimensions of insecurity in Nigeria.

1. Militant Dimension of Insecurity Challenge

Conflict in the Niger Delta arose due to tension between foreign oil corporation and some of Niger Delta's minority ethnic group who felt they were being exploited, particularly the Ogoni's and the Ijaw (Osungade, 2008). Thus, ethnic and political unrest continued in the region throughout the 1990's and persisted despite the enthronement of democracy in 1999. However, competition for oil wealth in the region gave rise to agitation, violence and subsequent extra-judicial killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine Ogoni leaders by the Abacha regime (Ogboro, 2010:10). This action by Abacha's administration was condemned not only by many Nigerians, but also the international community. Thus, the inability of the Government to address the root causes of agitation (marginalization, poverty, unemployment, etc.), in the Niger Delta region, resulted in proliferation of ethnic groups causing the militarization of the entire region by ethnic militia groups. The agitation groups includes the Movement for the survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP), founded by Ken Saro-Wiwa. Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Mujahid Dokubo-Asari and Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom (Amaizu, 2001).

2. Terrorism Dimension of Insecurity Challenge

Another major insecurity challenging Nigeria which has adversely affected the Nigerian economy growth is the activities of Boko Haram group (Olugbode, 2010). The Boko Haram is considered the most dangerous Militant Islamic group in the northern part of Nigeria that seeks the imposition of Sharia Law in the Northern States. Ideologically, the group opposes western education, culture and modern science. Historically, the Boko Haram group was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Utaz Mohammed Yusuf. In 2004, it moved to Kanama in Yobe state, where it set up base called 'Afghanistan' used to attack nearby Police stations and killing police officers (Awowole-Browne, 2010). And lots of its members that speak Arabic comes from neighbouring Chad, the group strongly

believe in the Quranic phrase which says “anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors”. The activities of the Boko Haram group constitute serious insecurity challenges in the contemporary Nigeria state. The activities of members of this group which have raised critical questions among investors on the safety of their investment in Nigeria, this ranges from killing of innocent Nigerians, raping of women, to bombing of major cities and police stations in the northern part of Nigeria, particularly, Borno, Kano, Bauchi, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, among others.

3. Kidnapping and Armed-Robbery Dimension of Insecurity Challenge

Kidnapping is the act of illegally taking somebody away and keeping him as a prisoner in order to get money or something in return before releasing him. This situation was pervasive shortly after 2007 general elections in Nigeria. This is partly because the youths that were used as political thugs by politicians during the 2007 general elections subsequently engaged in kidnapping as means of livelihood after the elections. Indeed, confession by those apprehended indicated that some politicians in these states supplied guns to youths for the purpose of rigging the 2007 general election. Unfortunately, these guns were not retrieved at the end of the elections. Subsequently, kidnapping later turned a profitable business mostly among youths in Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, Bayelsa, Rivers and other states (Nwogu, 2008), several prominent men in Aba and its environs were kidnaped for ransom. This adversely affected the economic growth in Nigeria as many business men and manufacturing companies relocated to other countries, this pathetic situation got to a crescendo, when school were closed for fear of kidnappers as several students and pupils were kidnapped in Aba in 2010.

4. Ethno-Religious Dimension of Insecurity

According to Oladoyinbo (2007) the nature of the crises in Jos, Plateau State and North Central part of Nigeria is a very complex one. It is tribal, religious and social. It is discovered that politics is the major cause of some of this crisis that erupted in that part of the country. There is no need for some people to use all means to dominate others or use people to subjugate others. Thus, this ethnic religious crisis has claimed numerous lives of Nigerians and property worth billions of naira. This crisis has resulted to several attacks on Christians by Muslims which over 10,000 Christians were slaughtered during the Jos crisis in 2010 (Oladoyinbo, 2010:15). Precisely, the Jos crisis has resulted in unimaginable confrontation, killing, bombings and other forms of violence. Many observers have argued that the root cause of the crisis was the inordinate desire by Muslims to forcefully convert Christians in the area as Muslims faithful's. Others assert that the root causes of Jos crisis are culture and land disputes. A closely related cause of insecurity facing Nigeria currently is the activities of Fulani Herdsmen. Several attacks have been carried out by these herdsmen in all parts of the country. Killing people and rendering others homeless.

Research Method

The descriptive analysis was used to explain the data gathered for this study. According to Nnamdi (2007), this type of analysis is used to verbally summarize the information generated in a research. It entails in-depth explanation and illustrative description, producing results that are meaningful.

Data from secondary sources is analysed, the effect of insecurity (the dependent variable) on some economic parameters (Explanatory variables) and show the duration of such effect utilizing tables in the analysis.

Data for the study were obtained from secondary sources such as the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), National Bureau of Statistics and OPEC annual report, given, the strong reliance placed on these institution and high integrity profile associated with their data

Impact of Insecurity Challenges on Economic Growth in Nigeria

The growing rate of insecurity in Nigeria has significantly affected the country's economic growth, oil production and the number of barrels produced per day has drastically declined. This was largely due to kidnapping of oil workers in the region. This singular problem adversely reduced government revenue from oil as well as implementation of government's policies and programme. Thus, most capital projects captured in the annual budgets were not effectively implemented largely due to shortage of financial resources occasioned by insecurity in the Niger Delta. This include the construction and rehabilitation of federal roads in the six geo-political zones; construction of dams in the North-West and North-Central zones; the immediate take-off of dredging of River Niger and construction of additional power plants in the six geo-political zones (Ezeobi, 2009:47).

Similarly, the spate of kidnapping in some parts of Nigeria ultimately resulted in serious economic problems. Thus, the continuous kidnap cases in commercial cities of Port Harcourt, Aba and Onitsha, obviously forced investors, businessmen and manufacturing companies to relocate to other peaceful countries, and the high increase

of kidnapping activities whose target group initially was businessmen who frequently paid millions of naira as ransom to kidnapers. Thus, one of the reasons why government has not addressed critical problems confronting the contemporary Nigerian economy could be traceable to high level of insecurity in the country. Hence, rather than concentrating attention on strategies to put the economy of the state in proper shape for the general well-being of Nigerians, government has dissipated more energy in curbing the proliferation of militias and criminal gangs all over the country.

Leon and Walt (2001) have pervasively argued that insecurity, in a given state, not only affects the economic growth but also leads to high level of poverty, unemployment, high rate of crime, poor standard of living, and high rate of illiteracy, poor infrastructural development and poor state of health facilities amongst others. Violent activities of Boko Haram attacks have brought a serious paralysis to businesses: In the banking sector; transportation systems; hospitality and tourism sectors and foreign investments.

According to Okereke (2012), due to attacks on banks, market, parks and government department in Northern Nigerian, Human capital investment collapsed and became a threat against the economy, causing economic backwardness in Nigeria. This necessitated the increase in poverty, unemployment and failure in sustainable human development that is not only prevalent in the Northern part but the entire country as well as neighbouring countries like Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Benin.

Finally, insecurity impact on the productive aspect of most manufacturing businesses that depend largely on the availability and regular supply of raw materials for production has cut off the supply of such raw material. This has jeopardized production activities. Moreover, insecurity affects marketing of finished products giving the continuous exodus of people from areas of insecurity. There is also an increase in security spending as most business organizations operating in Nigeria spend a lot in maintaining private security outfits. The destruction of properties and equipment is tantamount to loss of capital which has ruined not a few businesses in Nigeria. Thus security is critical for the nation's economic growth and absence of security means that economic growth cannot be achieved (Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Robaro, 2013)

Government Expenditure on Internal Security

Various governments have paid varied attention to this problem of insecurity in their own different ways. This is evident in the galloping nature of expenditure on security as shown in the table below;

Internal Security Expenditure (N billions)

Expenditure item	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Recurrent	280.0	362.5	292.7	273.1	410.2
Capital	65.7	58.10	12.1	48.3	36.0
Total	345.7	420.6	304.8	321.4	446.2

From the above table, the recurrent component of internal security increased from N280billion in 2011 to N362.5 billion in 2012 representing an increase of 29% over the figure in the previous year. This recurrent component moved by 13% to 410.2 in 2015 when compared to the figure in 2012. However, the capital component never enjoyed the kind of increase in the recurrent. From the same table, the capital component was N65.6billion in 2011, declining by 82% to N12.1billion in 2013.

Clearly, while expenditure on the recurrent component remained on the increase, that of the capital component continued to decline over the years. This accounts for the poor state of security equipment including guns and surveillance devices available to our security operatives. Whereas the criminals and militants have very sophisticated weapons at their disposal, the nation's security and intelligence agencies barely have any of such. In some instances, capital budget earmarked for the procurement of security equipment ends up in hands of private individuals. The case in point is the 'Dasukigate' corruption scandal currently been investigated. This is the case of billions of naira approved for the procurement of military equipment that was shared by the then Minister of Defence among prominent politicians in 2015.

Effect on Population

The effect of insecurity on the population is obvious. Insecurity depletes the population as innocent, young and productive member of the population are wasted during periods of uprising. For instance, between 2009 and 2013, a whopping 1, 341 lives have been lost due to the activities of Boko haram in North Eastern part of Nigeria. A breakdown of that figure shows that the highest casualty was recorded in 2011 with 469 deaths as shown below;

Death due to Boko Haram attacks

Year	No killed
2009	4
2010	330
2011	469
2012	369
2013	169
	1,341

SOURCE: Compiled from Achumba and Ighomereho (2013),

According to Onime (2018), in Achumba and Ighomererho, insecurity has resulted to a rise in incidences of kidnapping and assassinations. No wonder the number of assassinations continued to be on the increase. This was put at 1255 persons in year 2000, increasing by 1295 to 2550 in year 2004, until it got to an all-time high of 38,955 persons in year 2009. These assassinations also include very high profile politically motivated killings, investigations for which are still ongoing and never ending. For instance, Alfred Rewane in 1994, Chief Bola Ige in 2001, Sunday Awoniyi in 2002, Marshal Harry in 2003, Ogbonnaya Uche in 2003, Aminosari Dikibo in 2004, Funsho Williams in 2006, Ayo Daramola in 2006, Dipo Dina in 2010, amongst others.

Kidnapping and Assassination Statistics (2000 – 2013)

Year	Kidnapping	Assassination
2000	243	1255
2001	349	2120
2002	337	2117
2003	410	2136
2004	349	2550
2005	798	2074
2006	372	2000
2007	277	1891
2008	309	1956
2009	703	38,955
2010	738	2,114
2011	NA	1655
2012	600	2023
2013	574	3143
TOTAL	6,059	65,989

Source: Achumba and Ighomereho (2013),

As evident from the graph, incidences of assassination continues to be on the rise reaching their peaks in 2009 with a total number of 38, 955 persons murdered. On the other hand, kidnapping continued to rise steadily peaking at 798 in 2005 and 738 in 2010.

Effect on Oil Production, export and Oil revenue

Exports were badly affected negatively. This resulted from the general fall in production, a shift towards domestic markets, and disruptions in international markets. Foreign receipts from oil witnessed a steady drop from a height of \$99,878 in 2011 to an all-time low figure of \$45,365 in 2015, representing a 55% decrease over the figure in 2011. Consequently, oil production also declined steadily from 1974.80 barrel per day in 2011 to 1748.2 in 2015.

Oil Exports & Production data

Year	Oil Exports (Millions \$)	Production (1,000b/d)
2011	99,878	1,974.80
2012	96,905	1,954.10
2013	97,818	1,753.70
2014	82,586	1,807.00
2015	45,365	1,748.20

Source: OPEC Bulletin, 2016

Effect on Unemployment

Insecurity definitely results in the shutdown of businesses and the relocation of companies from unsafe to safe havens. Whereas the labour force continued to increase drastically from 73.0 million in 2014, to 77.0 million in 2015, representing an increase of 5.5 per cent, employment generation has not kept pace with that increase. Hence, the period witnessed continued increase in the number of unemployed. As shown, the number of unemployed in the labour force increased to 10.4 percent, compared to 7.8 per cent in 2014, representing an increase of 2.6 percentages.

Labour force & Unemployment Statistics

Year	Labour force (Millions)	Unemployment (%)
2011	67,256,090	6.0
2012	69,105,775	10.6
2013	71,105,800	10.0
2014	72,931,608	7.8
2015	76,957,923	10.4

Effect on Agriculture

The agricultural sector was never spared during uprising but particularly badly hit, especially as people were forced to move in the course of the conflicts. For instance, due to herdsmen’s clashes in part of Benue, Kogi and Enugu State that resulted in destruction of farmlands, farm produce in those areas were low causing an increase in the prices of food items during the period. Further, agricultural activities has been brought to a complete halt in Borno State since the beginning of Boko Haram disturbances in that area. This is so because the people in some areas of the State have since relocated from their homes and farm land to internally displaced person’s (IDP) camps for safety.

Effect on the Informal Sector

Insecurity causes sectorial shifts with a switch to subsistence and informal activities, including simple manufacturing production especially in North East and Niger Delta of Nigeria. Here, a number of companies operating in the area were forced to either scale down their operations or closed shop altogether due to the activities of Boko Haram and Militants. This resulted in unemployment and those disengaged found solace in the informal sector. Available data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) showed that new jobs created in 2015 stood at 1,039,128, representing a 22.3 per cent increase, compared with 849,567 jobs created in 2014. The increase in job-creation was driven mainly by informal sector jobs, which accounted for 90.2 per cent of total, with the formal and public sectors accounting for only 8.8 and 1.0 per cent, respectively.

Effect on Foreign Investment

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) are investments targeted at building new factories or investing in actual production activities which creates jobs. Achumba and Ighomereho (2013) noted that Insecurity discourages investment as it makes investment unattractive to business people. This is because it increases the cost of doing business either through direct loss of goods and properties or the cost of taking precautions against business risks and uncertainty. These costs could have a negative impact on business development and progress.

Foreign and Portfolio Investment in Nigeria (2011-2015)

Nature (\$B)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
FDI - Other capital	254,439.30	67,858.63	30,065.76	13,028.87	4,210.41
FDI - Equity	1,498,906.99	1,979,333.15	1,646,108.03	2,292,466.24	1,469,093.22
Portfolio Investment - Equity	3,691,505.55	11,655,835.94	16,865,724.28	11,448,160.95	4,691,540.41
	5,444,851.84	13,703,027.72	18,541,898.07	13,753,656.06	6,164,844.04

Source: CBN Annual Report, 2015.

Evidently, there has been a decline in foreign direct investment to Nigeria. FDI (other capital) continued to fall from a high of 254,439.3 billion dollars to 4,210.41 billion dollars representing over 100% fall in FDI other capital during the period. Further, FDI equity fell by 56% in 2015 compared to its position in 2014 in addition to portfolio investments that fell by 144% in 2015. This can be attributed to the state of insecurity in the country (social, economic and political instability) besides the issue of lack of regular electricity supply, which itself is a source of economic insecurity in the

CONCLUSION

The severity of the level of insecurity calls for a concerted and well-articulated security policies to address the hydra-headed and deep-rooted problem. Analyst have suggested the need to understand the causes of insecurity so as to target the right solution to addressing the problem. Such solutions should be long lasting and all-encompassing to avoid the frequent recurrence.

According to Stan Flavius (2004), Contemporary intra-state conflicts cannot be prevented, resolved, or managed exclusively through preventive diplomacy, political negotiations, peace-making, peacekeeping, and the use of force. They have complex causes (social inequality, state failure, human rights violations, resource predation, etc.) which require correlated international assistance in areas including sustainable economic growth, good governance, human rights protection, and environmental preservation.

This has become very important because of the case of the Niger-Delta militants that were granted amnesty but returned to vandalize oil pipelines and distort the Nation’s inability to meet its oil production quota. Clearly, insecurity affects economic growth. Policies to target insecurity must address its root cause. The following are recommended;

- i. Need for government to use revenue from primary commodity exports to fund effective basic delivery
- ii. Need for government to diversify the economy away from dependence upon primary commodities
- iii. Increase in government expenditure on internal security both in the recurrent and especially on the capital component.
- iv. Acceleration of the pace of development and good governance.
- v. A concerted and collaborative efforts by all security agencies of government to combat the menace of insecurity.

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