

NATIONAL SECURITY AS MAIN ISSUE IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA: AN IMPLICATION FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BY

Mohammed Ghani Dass

School of General Studies,

Abubakar Tatari Ali Polytechnic, Bauchi, Bauchi, Nigeria

08062956174,

E-Mail: ghanidass@gamil.com

Dr. Muktar, Abdullahi

School of General Studies

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, Bauchi, Bauchi Nigeria

Ja' Afar, Ibrahim Dass

Department of Public Administration

Federal Polytechnic, Bauchi, Bauchi Nigeria

ABSTRACT

It is no doubt since independence the contemporary Nigeria state has been marred with different dynamics of insecurity. This activity has also created a serious threat to national development. Security challenges like Boko Haram insurgency later metamorphosed into kidnapping and abduction & armed banditry among other things. The specific objective of the paper hinges on the causes, implication and the role of government in converting, averting or addressing the ongoing security challenges on national development. High level of unemployment, poor security system, partisan politics, religious intolerance and the role of external forces formed the summary of our major findings. The economic, social and political implication of the issues of insecurity on national development is exhaustively discussed. The paper concludes as part of its recommendations to include the substantial allocation of resources for research and development of technologies for crime detection, prevention and control as highly needed.

Keywords: Security Challenges, National Development and Nigerian State.

INTRODUCTION

No doubt, in contemporary Nigeria, insecurity has been a serious threat to the Nigerian government. Since the birth of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999, the country is pregnant with plethora of security challenges such as indigene/settler dichotomy rooted on the basis of a citizenship, religious conflicts, communal riots succession or separation and agitation for resource control. All these problems have various implication on national development. The climax of these security threats is the emergence of faceless group known as Boko Haram which has assumed dangerous dimension since 2009 (Emmanuel, N.I., 2018). Other groups from that metamorphosed into kidnapping and abduction have razed the entire regional belt of Nigeria, to the extent that ample time and socio-economic cum political resources that ought to have been channeled to the development of the entire country is being wasted on various efforts geared

towards check mating and possibly annihilating the insecurity in North-East and Northwest geopolitical zones (Awortu, 2005).

Similarly, Usman Bugaje, (2013) reiterated that "A crisis of security and governance has traversed states across the Sahalian region of West Africa. From the Tuarege insurgency in Mali to Salafist militancy in Northern Nigeria, security issues have also emanated from Algeria, Mauritania, Southern Libya, Niger and Chad. He further stressed that "the spaces of the Sahel are not ungoverned, though states have a great deal of difficulty projecting power throughout vast territories.

This paper also maintained that the lack of accountability and transparency in the conduct of the military in the counter insurgency against Boko haram and armed banditry came under scrutiny and condemnation. In fact, any use of force by the state that cannot be held to account by civilian authority cannot be justified in a democracy. But its impact has affected the whole country which poses a serious challenge to national development.

Therefore, the basic thrust of this paper is to examine the national security as an issue in contemporary Nigeria, and its implication for national development. The paper also suggests appropriate strategies to curtail the activities of the insecurity in contemporary Nigeria. The study is based on qualitative analysis which relies on secondary data as its source of information. These include; books, newspaper periodicals, journal among others. The paper is compartmentalized into eight sections. Section A being the introduction. Section B focuses on conceptual clarification. Section C is concerned with objective. Section D dwelt on the theoretical framework. Section E hinges on the causes of insecurity. Section F discussed the role of government in combating the menace. Section G addresses the future of Nigeria. Section H deals with implication of insecurity for national development. Finally, section I focuses on conclusion and recommendations.

Conceptual and theoretical framework

National security: National security has been a subject of debate among the security experts, the academia, governments and non-governmental organizations for quite a long time now. This led to the emergence of the traditional school of thought and the non- military perspective. Traditionally, the concept is relevant only when there is military capability to deal with military threats that are dominantly external. While the non-military school, viewed the concept for more than military capabilities and threats there by incorporating non-military elements into the connotation or definition. To this end, Nwolise (1985), wrote;

"a country may have the best armed forces in terms of training, and equipment... ...but yet the most insecure nation in the world as a result of defense security problems with bad government, alienated suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment or even activities of foreign residents"

Relatedly, Namara (1986) noted that;

"any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the bankrupt of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level productivity and per capital income, low technological development, inadequate and insufficient public utilities and chronic problems of unemployment has a false sense of security (cited in Gonap, 2013)".

Deducing from the views of the above scholars, one can conclude that the national security does not only rests on the traditional approach in addressing the national security threats. This also rhymes with views of the post-modern theorists. They opined that the issue of national security should be seen in relation with threats that are dominantly internal rather than external, and also incorporate other non-military threats such as global warming, its attending consequences.

Mendel (2011) in his part, observed that;

“a thorny level is what a risk must rise to for it qualify as a national security threat as opposed to more criminal one potential way to address this is to correlate behavior... levels of classification”

This indicates that a risk must reach a certain level for it to qualify as a national security threat. Mendel further stressed that the wider challenge is to determine what conditions, what would otherwise be an ordinary criminal or administration of justice issue into a threat to national security. In a bid to address the above question, he posited that;

“rather than trying to create a list of national security targets, it probably makes more sense to try to identify a number of factors that together qualify an activity as involving national security. A potentially helpful idea comes from a 2004 Canadian government policy paper, securing an open society: Canada 's National security”.

The policy notes that the focus on events and circumstance that generally require a national response" as they are beyond the capacity of individuals, communities, or provinces to address alone. (Emphasis added). Gonap *et al.*, (2013) posits that another factor could be the need to employ the armed forces to address a situation (Albeit linked to other elements of definition, since the armed forces are commonly employed in natural disaster situations). The idea in this sense here is that, some countries may be willing to use the armed forces in significantly lower-level security situations than other countries.

The foregoing gives impetus for the inclusion of non-military elements in defining national security. Similarly, the National Defense College of India (1996) sees national security as an appropriate and aggressive blend of resilience, and maturity human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might.

For Paleri (2008), the concept refers to;

“the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance, that can be indexed by computation, empirically or otherwise, and is extendable to global security by variables external to it”.

Romm, (1993) in his part, defined national security as "the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, power, diplomacy, power projection and political power".

In this sense, we can conclude that national security is therefore a state or condition where our most cherished values and beliefs our democratic life, our institutions of governance and our unity, welfare and well-being as a nation and people are permanently protected and continuously enhanced. The concept developed mostly in the United States of America after the second World War II. Importantly, seven elements lie at the core of, and therefore further amplify our definition

of national security. They also constitute the most crucial challenges that bedeviled our nation-state. These include;

1. Socio-political stability
2. Territorial integrity
3. Economic solidarity and strength
4. Ecological balance
5. Cultural cohesiveness
6. Moral-spiritual consensus
7. External peace and
8. Specifically, Nigeria, inept corruption that has gone beyond any level of traditional toleration. These vice poses a serious threat to the very stability of the nation and which should as result be classified as a national security-type threat just as drug-related violence in Mexico is long been, Philip, G, (2013).

Similarly, in a quest to conceptualize national security, it is equally pertinent to describe the term "Security" Akinyemi and Galtung (2013) in the part, sees security "as the probability that a system can be sustained, a human system, a social system and world system". Similarly, Wolter in Akinyemi (2013) posits that "Security rises and falls with the ability of a nation to deter an attack or defeat". Barkowitz and Bock in Akinyemi (2013) sees the concept as "the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats". For Ayob, (1997), security is that which threats or have the potentials to bring down weaken state structures both territorial and institutional and governing regimes. Distinction is often made of traditional security which is the acquisition, deployment and the use of military force to achieve national goals, Akinyemi (2013). And global security which is the acquisition, deployment and the use of military force, and other capabilities such as eco-balance, developed health sector, food security etc. to achieve national goals by managing dissatisfaction and threats to both nation and individuals.

Finally, on this note, national security does not mean that security lies heavily on the use of military forces, but extends to other variables for stable condition of living which include food security, health among others.

Contemporary: Conceptually, the term contempora1Y can be defined as the most recent or relevant event and issue that dominate the socio-political and economic sphere of the society. Contemporary may also include an issue that is subject of discourse, which may have a multiplier effect on the national development Ghani Dass, (2018). Therefore, contemporary is concerned with the recent development in the state of the nations in the globe. The discipline nature of the past generation and that of the contemporary youths clearly differs in terms of respect for elders and dedication to learning or reading culture. To this end, contemporary is a change in the multi-dimensional facet of life or human endeavor.

National Development: Issues of development has been a subject of debate among scholars in social sciences as well as the practitioners of development. Simply because there is a variation in terms of development as a policy framework and development and a practical issue geared towards streamlining national objectives and pursuance of how the targets could be transformed

into concrete terms in providing optimum standard of living through conscious mobilization and projection of human and material resources for generating of the citizenry.

According to Yessuf (1988) cited in Umar Tuneso, (2008), national development would only be attainable through all-encompassing national agenda of mobilizing some resources which have alternative uses for the overall optimum benefit followed by a mechanism guiding and accelerating growth for all round benefit for the entire citizenry. Importantly, this stated circumstances could be affirming through the continuous effort on the part of government to influence and direct in some cases even control changes and variables such as consumption, investment, savings, export and import over a period of time in order to achieve a predetermined set of objectives. National development can only be achieved through "national development plan" which refers to the document set aside by the government containing a review of government policy, the current economic conditions, macro-protection of the economy proposed public expenditure, development in private sector on specific set of qualitative economic target to be reached within a stipulated period Umar Tureso, (2008).

By and large, patriotism to national issues is the major thrust or bedrock to national development, considering the developmental process of some advance societies such as the Asian tigers to include Japan, China, Taiwan among others. In their case, the entire citizens devoted their effort to national development unlike most of the African countries including Nigeria where the leaders lack the political will to encourage national development, due to aggrandistic motive.

Objective of the Study

This paper hopes to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To identify the causes of insecurity in national development in contemporary Nigeria.
- ii. Examine the implication of insecurity on national development in Nigeria.
- iii. To discuss the role of government in averting or addressing the ongoing security challenges in Nigeria.

Theoretical framework

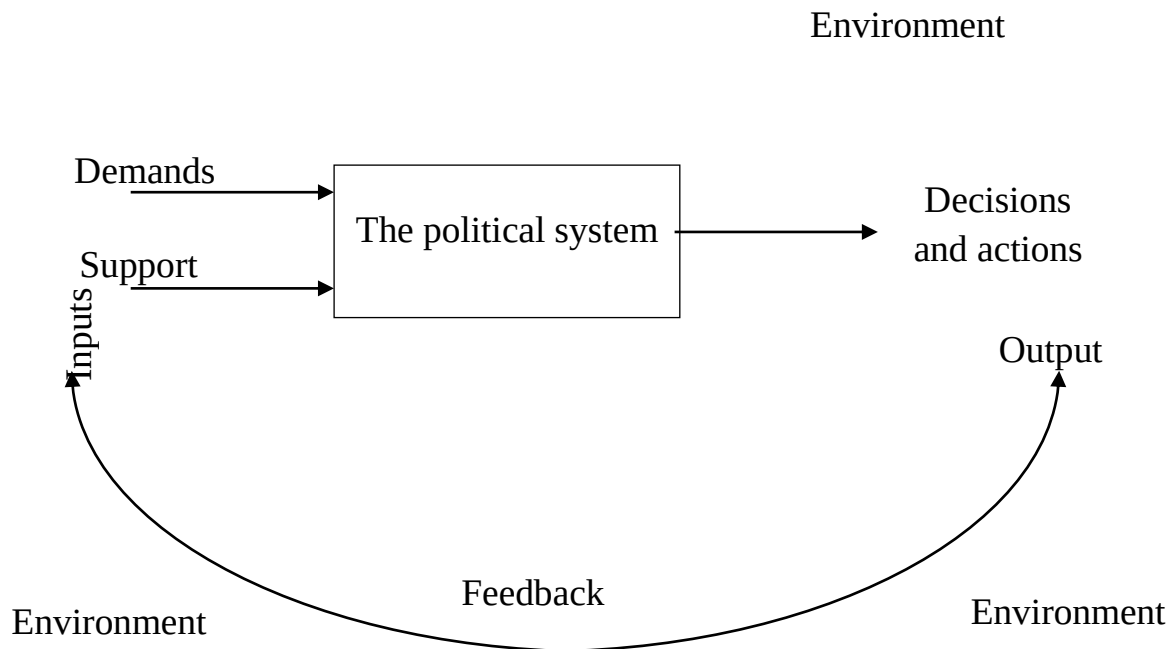
The paper adapts system theory as guiding framework of analysis for the study. The concept of system theory can be traced back to the writings of Ludwing Von Betallafy. He invented this concept for the study of biology. The system theory was further adopted for political analyses by David Easton in his magnum opus, "A framework for political analysis, published in 1953 and later expounded in another work, Aa system analysis of political life" published in 1965.

To Easton, a political system is said to be in a steady state when there is a proper balance between inputs and outputs. He argued that a political system is simply an input-output mechanism dealing with political activities and decision (Unanka, 2004) as cited in Emmanuel, N.I., (2008).

Easton's concept of political life is that of a system of behavior embedded in an environment to the influence of which the political system itself is exposed. Therefore, political system exists in an environment (Mbah, 2014). The system theory of Easton holds that for the political system to survive or persist, it must be able to transform inputs into outputs while adjusting mechanism, allowing for a feedback from the outputs on the inputs mechanism (Das and Chouldbury, 1997 as cited in Mbah, 2014). And the failure of the system to transform input into output will lead to a dysfunctional system. Therefore, a system (political system) operates through input-conversion-output interrelation. The basic thrusts of the Easton system theory are:

- i. Inputs: This means the pressure that are exercise on the system. This input involves demand and support. Demand means "expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so". (Easton 1969 as cited in Mbah, 2014 and Emmanuel, 2018).
- ii. Output: This means the system response to the demands made up on it by the environment (Ekwonna, 2014).
- iii. Conversion: This means the capability of the system to convert input into output.
- iv. Feedback: The feedback is the gap input and output and the accompanying information through which the system assesses its response to an earlier output (Ekwonna, 2014). The feedback on the Easton's analysis is what gets back to the political system through the same gatekeeper (Mbah, 2014).
- v. Environment: This means the milieu in which the political system operates.

SYSTEM THEORY



Source: Easton, (1965).

Proper understanding of system theory as developed by David Easton may demand the following steps:

1. Changes in the social or physical environment surrounding a political system produce "demands" and supports for action or status and directed as "inputs" towards the political system through political behavior or political will.
2. These demands and supporting groups stimulate competition in the political system, leading to decisions or "output" directed at some aspect of the surrounding social or physical environment.
3. After a decision or output is made (e.g. specific policy), it interacts with its environment and if it produces change in the environment, there is outcome.
4. When a new policy interacts with its environment, "outcomes" may generate new demands or supports and groups in support or against the policy (feedback) or a new policy in some related matter.
5. Feedback lead back to step 1, forming a never-ending cycle.

Similarly, if the system functions as described, then we have a "stable political system". If the system breaks down, then we have a "dysfunctional political system" (System theory in political science, 2016).

This theory is very relevant to this study because it will enable us to explain if the persistent activities of insecurity rooted through Boko Haram/armed banditry is associated with the inability of the political system to function and address the demands (on how to tackle insurgence activities) in the environment. The insecurity in Nigeria political environments have contributed to loss of lives and properties, destruction of infrastructure, rendering people homeless into IDPs, loss of revenue etc. these problems in the environment (caused by the insurgent) have led to several demands or inputs made in the political system or how to tackle the insurgency. The major outcry was to change the "service chiefs", as they are performing below expectation. But there was no political will in the part of the system for functional feedback. Even though, the demands from different quarters have led to several policies or response by the government on how to combat the national insecurity. But inability of the Nigerian government to address national insecurity has enhanced the activities of the insurgents which poses a threat to national security and national development at large. Therefore, the increased and continued successful attacks by Boko Haram and kidnappers can be associated with inability of the political system to convert input into output. That is government ineffectiveness towards addressing the issues of national security in the political system with attendant consequences on National development.

Causes of Insecurity

Research have revealed that poor security system, poverty, bad governance as well as the international conspiracy are central indices behind the insurgency in contemporary Nigeria such as armed banditry, kidnapping and cybercrime (Ngamsan J., *et al.*, 2020).

- i. High level of Unemployment: The national bureau of statistics (NBS) in 2019 revealed that Nigeria's unemployment rate at 23.1% of which youth unemployment is 55.4%. This figure has continued to increase yearly as Nigeria institutions keep graduating batches of youths with prior impression of getting a better job and opportunity after graduating. It is in view of this development that Suleiman (2018) as cited in

Ngamsan, (2020) opined that anxiety from Nigerian graduates that later turn to frustration, and to aggression on the government is what has fueled the emergence of most of these security threats in the country. Some scholars believed that the rising wave of crime in Nigeria has been on the increasing level of unemployment. Ngasan (2020) posits that idle youths tend to engage in illegal activities in order to meet up with contemporary trends. He further maintained that youth easily get with the riches, and as a result they need to do whatever it takes. He adds that Nigeria's high rate of unemployment, especially the increasing rate of youth's unemployment is what majority prompts the jobless youths in the country to resort to violent crime (Adegba, Ugwu, and Eme, 2012:77-79).

- ii. Poor security system: Nigeria's poor security system according to Ngasam (2020) has been a major concern over the past decades. The security system faces the problem of two sides of the same coin. The first one is its inadequate supply of weaponry and equipment which has been a challenge in the fight against insurgency in the country. In 2014 and 2019, Daily Trust reported that Nigerian security personnel had to run because of inadequate modern fighting equipment to face the fully equipped Boko Haram fighters. The irony is that it has remained a major challenge despite a humongous amount of money budgeted for the procurement of modern equipment annually. So many security threats have taken advantage of the security challenge to carry out their illegal activities in the country. The second face of the coin portrays the negligence of some security personnel at the point of discharging their duties. Instead of maintaining peace and security, they become threats to peace and security. For instance, in April, 2019 "The nation magazine" reported that about ten (10) boys brigades were killed by security personnel who ran into the Easter procession. That scenario would have caused a religious crisis if not for the immediate intervention of religions and traditional leaders in the state.
- iii. Poverty/Bad Governance: Failure of successive governments in Nigeria to address the challenges of poverty bedeviling the Nigerian state has made life worrisome and only the fittest survive. Adebayo (2018) as cited in Ngamson, (2020) posits that "Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with largest number of people living with extreme poverty, with an estimated 87 million Nigerians or around half of the country's population, thought to be living on less than \$1.90 a day". However, in agreement with Cantin (2018:87) where the issue of insecurity is linked to poverty. Although, not all forms of insecurity such as terrorism could be linked to poverty, it has also been noted that economic deprivation influences people resorted to illegal means of meeting their daily needs. Epron (2014:52) observed that due to material gain for carrying out any insurgent's activity most people especially the youths tend to join insurgence in the North-East of Nigeria.
- iv. Religious Intolerance: Inability to tolerate one another religion is another cause of insecurity and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria. Religion in the country has become a matter of competition where adherents engage in "holier than thou" attitude, building higher place of worship strategically on the roads and high ways, yet many innocent Nigerians continue to be slaughtered for the simple fact that their religious affiliations is different from those of their murderer.

- v. **The Role of Partisan Politics:** Partisan politics and political patronage play a major role in the occurrence of security challenges in contemporary Nigeria. The sustenance of Boko Haram and herders/farmers conflict in the Northern part of the country is a clear case of partisan politics. In similar vein, the Nigeria former national security adviser (NSA) in person of Col. Sambo Dasuki in a paper delivered at the South-South economic summit held in Asaba, Delta state on 27th April, 2012, observed that Boko Haram members getting better trained, well equipped and funded, while the Nigeria security agencies have no answer to the question posed by them. He traced the incessant bombing and suicide attacks ravaging in the Northern part of Nigeria to political undertone and politics of exclusion of the then ruling party (PDP) in the country, *The Nation*, May 3, 2020: 19 as cited in Ngamsan (2020). The unfortunate scenario this paper deduced is that the same security adviser (Sambo Dasuki) played a vital role in aggrandizing the humongous billions meant to curtail the insecurity (Boko Haram), but siphoned it for the 2015 presidential elections. Not even that, the newly trained soldiers and officers in 2014 were divided into two. Some with Boko Haram, while the other contingents were part of the Nigerian army. This is a palpable politicization of the Nigerian army (Ngamson, 2020).
- vi. **The role of external forces:** This factor is often referred to as the foreign connection or international conspiracy. The insurgency in Nigeria, more especially, the Boko Haram, kidnapping, abduction among others. The Boko Haram movement being questioned that there is a signal of foreign intervention, influence or conspiracy from other foreign countries or organization that finance it with money and weapons to discharge its insurgency accordingly and continue with its daily violent activities of attacks, kidnapping, raping, assault, banditry, extortion, terrorism, militancy and other social violence. According to United Nations reported that, Boko Haram has a connection with Al-Qaeda Islamic Movement (AQIM) in the Maghreb region in order to expand its mission (Nossir, 2012:45) and Somalia's Al-Shabab as he considered the similarities of their violent activities of suicide bomb attacks and contacting its allies due to the suicide bombing of UN house in Nigeria in August, 2011 by Boko Haram.

Implication of National Security on National Development

1. **Economic Implication:** The spread of insecurity in the whole belt of the Nigerian state, starting from the North-East (Boko Haram) North-West kidnapping and abduction through the North-Central and the South West, South-South as well as South-East are cyclic with the similar phenomenon, in fact, the out six (6) geo-political zones have series of economic ravage. These phenomena have brought a serious paralysis to business, banking sector, markets tourism, transport system, hospitality, internal and external investment, companies and other economic activities. According to Okereocha, (2012:8a) due to attacks on banks and markets, parks and government departments in Northern Nigeria, human capital and investors collapsed and became threats against economic development because of attacks on commercial areas which has rendered many people into refugees in (IDPs) camp.
2. **Political Implication:** it is evident that the scourges of insecurity has created a serious disharmony in Nigeria and reduced its performance in the affected areas where vision and

missions reduced and become unrealistic due to the terrible insurgent activities which jeopardized the whole society and put the nation into trauma as well as the political performance of politicians and other activists. The activities of Boko Haram and kidnappers has spoiled the image of Muslims especially from non-Muslims who considered that Muslims are extremists and fundamentalists, particularly the Christians who do not mingle with Muslims (Ngamsan, 2020). The insurgence activities of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, kidnapping juxtaposed a terrible relationship between Nigeria and other nations of the world due to foreign nationals kidnapping and hostages without demand for ransom which caused the United States of America warned its citizens not to visit Northern states affected by Boko Haram attacks. These activities forced politicians to migrate from the affected areas for their safety. This invariably crippled political stability of the entire country.

3. Social Implication: The activities of insecurity make the entire Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria lagging behind in terms of infrastructure, education, security and other development indices. The youths became the terrible militant that engaged in sporadic bombings of the major northern cities such as Kano, Kaduna, Maiduguri, Jos, Zaria, Damaturu, Adamawa, Bauchi and others. This caused the killings of both Muslims and Christians in Mosques and Churches. The available statistics has indicated as Human Right Watch (2012) reported a total death of 935 persons in 164 attacks, 550 people were killed through suicide bombing, another 550 were killed in 135 attacks in 2011 alone (Amnesty International, 2011).

According to Deemua (2013: 293-296) as cited in Ngamsan, (2020) that the insecurity through the activities of Boko Haram and Kidnapping has led to the cancellation of International football games between Nigeria Super Eagles and Samba Boys of Brazil in 2012, Arsenal 2012 tour proposal to Nigeria, the Nigerian Premier League between Jigawa Golden Star and Ocean Boys, English Top Flight Club in EPL, 2012 and other national and international events were cancelled due to fear of attacks. These events cancellation negatively affected tourism which contributes to the Nigerian National Economic and Social development.

Conclusion

The paper established the fact that in contemporary Nigeria, insecurity has been a serious threat to national development such as the indigene/settler dichotomy Boko Haram and kidnapping activities. These have various implication on the quest for development. The paper also noticed that the crisis of security and governance has traversed states across the Sahelian region of West Africa.

The issue was connected with lack of accountability and transparency in the conduct of the military in the counter insurgency came under scrutiny and condemnation. We equally pointed out that there is no justification in any use of force by the state to

out curtail the insecurity. But its impact has affected the whole country which poses serious challenges to national development. The paper concludes that constant updating the knowledge and technology of our security personnel to outsmart the criminals to ensuring a crime-managed

society that is a pre-requisite and a precondition for sustained national development. In addition to the fact that a number of measures need to be taken accordingly.

Recommendations

In view of the above issues raised, it is evident and noted that if national security is to be guaranteed, it is recommended that:

1. Substantial allocation of resources should be channeled for research and development of technologies for crime detection, prevention and control.
2. Security personnel should be constantly trained and retrained on the latest technologies for crime detection, control and management.
3. Government should adopt a unified definition of national security that cuts across interest groups, which no neglect non-military aspects of the national security component.
4. The criminal justice system and the judiciary should be restructured to allow for a fast trial and dispensation of cases. The long delay and litigation of Boko Haram suspects, military and other high-level security type criminals is not healthy for the country.
5. Government at all levels should ensure that rising poverty indices are reversed and a realistic social security programme is pursued and systematically implemented to ensure that the populace meets their basic needs.
6. Convicted perpetrator and sources of funding of insurgents should not be allowed to hold any public office in Nigeria.
7. It has been our call that the service chiefs should be replaced with immediate alacrity. It is now good that the call has been answered, after the damages has been made. We also emphasize that least of these recommendations, Nigeria can never make any forward match as far as national security is concern.

REFERENCES

- Akinyemi, O., (2013). Globalization and Nigeria Border Security: Issue and challenges, IIS T E, Vol. 11. <http://www.iiste.org>.
- Bugaje, U. (2013). Arewa research and development. Quarterly publication of Arewa Researchers & Development Project, Vol. I No.2.
- Deemuna, G.A., (2013). Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: Efforts on sports development. Academic research International, Vol. 4. In *ADSU Journal of Political Science and Administration* Vol. 1, No, 1, (2020).
- Easton, D., (1965). *A system analysis of political Life*. New York: Wiley.
- Ekwonna, S.L.I., (2014). *Contemporary political analysis: The science in the study of politics phenomenon in the post scientific times*. Owerri: Great stars publishers.
- Emmanuel, N.I., (2018), *Boko Haram insurgency and economic development in Nigeria*: In Shuaibu Ibrahim et al., (eds): Elections, security challenges and African Development, NPSA Publishers.
- Emmanuel, N.I., (2018). *Boko Haram Insurgency and economic development in Nigeria* (eds) by Shuaibu Ibrahim H.S. and Aloysins M. Okoli (2018): Elections, Security Challenges and African Development, NPSA, Publications.
- Ghani Dass, (2010). Federalism, restructuring and national question in contemporary Nigeria: The way forward. *International Journal of Research Publications*, vol. 5.

- Gonap, A.Y.P., (2005). *Globalization and the Nigerian Economy*. Voice from the rocks: The first issue, pp. 3-5.
- Longben, P., (2013). Globalization and Nigerian National security. A paper presented at the 2nd national conference, ASUP, AT AP, Bauchi state-Nigeria. Held on 8th November, 2013.
- Mbah, P., (2014). *Political science theories and their application in political science research*. In O.M., Okeanyibe and P.O., Mbah, (eds), *An anthology of theories for social research*, Nsukka: University of Nigeria Press.
- Mendel, T., (2011). Defining the concept of national security: Issues paper for the open society justice initiative. National security principles project. Center for law and democracy, available at <http://www.xight2info.org>.
- Ngamsan, J.S., (2020). Boko Haram Insurgency and its impact on national development: A study of Nigeria and Cameroon. *ADSU Journal of Political Science and Administration*. Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Nwolise, O., (1985). *Nigeria's Defence and Security System Today*: In Uma Eleazu (ed) *Nigeria the 25 yrs*. Ibadan: Heinemann.
- Okereocha, (2012). Headache for the Economy Tell, pp. 46-47. *The Nation*, (2012). Editorial May, 3, p. 19. In Ngamsan (2020). *Boko Haram Insurgency and its impact on national development: A study of Nigeria and Cameroon*.
- Paleri, (2008). *National Security: Implications and Challenges*, New Delhi: TAT A, McGraw Hill.
- Roman, J.J., (1993). *Defining National Security: The Non-Military Aspects*.
- Umar Tuneso, S., (2008). *The implication of corruption on national development*. A doctoral seminar papers. A presented at the department of sociology, Benue state University, Makurdi.