Nigeria:
The Imperatives of Internal Security and Development — Problems and Prospects

Dhikru Adewale YAGBOYAJU

Abstract: Among the issues of governance confronting Nigeria, security is generally regarded as crucial. There is no doubt about the strong relationship between security and development. This paper takes an opposing view to the dominant approach of a colonially-foisted statist and *law-and-order* conception of security by successive administrations in Nigeria. The paper emphasizes certain *small things* that matter for securing the lives of Nigerians, and ensuring sustainable development in the country. These include socio-cultural, economic and political factors that should catalyze citizens' participation in the national security architecture and in the country's development aspirations and goals. Data is drawn from secondary sources for the conceptual and theoretical sections of the paper. Primary data is drawn from events analyses, interviews with selected experts in University of Ibadan and from content analyses of selected documents on contemporary politics, economy and society in Nigeria. This is supported by interactions with respondents in selected markets and locations around the country. Political culture, with focus on the prebendalist perspective, is deployed for the paper's analytic frame.

Keywords: Security threats, Endemic corruption, Political culture, Citizens' participation.

Dhikru Adewale YAGBOYAJU

Department of Political Science,
University of Ibadan, Nigeria
E-mail: aswaj2003@yahoo.com

Introduction

In the first two decades of the 21st century, living in Nigeria increasingly became a life of great and constant challenges[1]. As the most

---

1 Part of the author's initial interactions with the Head Department of History, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, on Monday, 28 June 2021. On the same day, the author had telephone conversations with an Emeritus Professor of Civil-

populous country in Africa, the country has found itself in poverty faced with massive unemployment, social inequality, corruption, ignorance, ill-health and insecurity. There is a desire and search for security and development while at the same time the average citizen holds on to a life of lawlessness, chicanery and daily uncertainties that feed a life of hustle[2]. In government circles, the notion about security architecture is mostly about the superstructure. This includes the national security apparatus being in place, having policies and action plans, training of military personnel in security schools and universities around the world, and making budgetary allocations to the security sector.

Virtually all through Nigeria's six decades of post-independence history, there has been an observable unwillingness or even refusal to allow appropriate indigenous knowledge to dictate policy. Yet, among the indices of the wellness of organized human society in which the treasures of the knowledge, skills and values possessed by indigenous people stand out, the issue of security is regarded the most crucial. This importance is captured by Nigeria's 1999 constitution (as amended) where section14 (1) states, "security and welfare of the people shall be primary purpose of government" (Federal Republic of Nigeria — FRN, 1999).

Research Questions

The research sets out to address the following questions:

- How has Nigeria performed in terms of its internal security in the first two decades of the 21st century?
- How well have the citizens prospered and how is this connected to the country's internal security?
- How should the people focus or refocus on the need for a more efficient economy and a law-governed country for attaining higher levels of internal security?

Aim and Objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to analyses the performance in Nigeria's internal security sector 20 years after the commencement of the 21st century. The objectives are joining the collective search for a more efficient, safe, secure and prosperous country and proffering suggestions on the way forward.

Military Relations and a retired Professor of Strategic Studies, both from the Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

2   Six out of ten or 60 percent of respondents in a survey around Agbowo Community, Ibadan, Oyo State, did not agree that illegal dumping of waste, traffic offences and similar "small" offences constitute security threats.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: Conceptualization of internal security and development, and review of literature; analysis of status of internal security in Nigeria; outstanding issues and challenges; policy recommendations/conclusion.

Conceptualization of internal security and development, and review of literature

Internal security is a component of national security, the latter which has been described as the "requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, power, diplomacy, power projection and political power" (Adesina, 2019, p. 4). According to Odekunle (2007), internal security is broadly conceptualized as "protection or defense against *all* kinds of victimization", including "protection/defense against economic want, poverty, illiteracy, disease/ill-health, social exploitation, psychological trauma, oppression and criminal victimization" (p. 2). This is perceived in terms of the economic, political and social security of the average citizen. It implies that the major indices of the level of internal security of Nigeria are for the overwhelming majority of the population to be economically well and for the system to be politically stable, while there is also an appreciable level of peace and harmony.

There is a consensus that an average citizen in a peaceful country, which is characterized by justice, fairness and equity, regards himself a stakeholder in the sustenance of the society's stability and progress. This disposes citizens toward law-abidingness and against lawlessness or criminal conduct. Nonetheless, there is hardly a crime-free society, making the fact of crime in every society normal. The problematic, according to Odekunle (2010), is 'where and when', in terms of volume, extent, nature, character and pattern, "it constitutes a threat to the security of life and property of the citizens, or even the credibility of the state" (p. 739). The state addresses such problematic and counters its consequent threats by relying on its criminal justice system. This comprises law-making by the legislature supported in many cases by policy think tanks; policing and law-enforcement by the police and related security agencies; criminal justice administration by the courts; and offender sanctioning/correction by the prisons and correctional centers.

In Nigeria, the multi-dimensional sectors of security include the external/territorial dimension, natural and human-made disasters, and internal security dimensions. The Armed Forces (Army, Airforce and Navy) and the external arms of the Intelligence Agencies are assigned the duty of external and territorial security. However, they have been actively involved in restoring peace during emergencies such as political and electoral violence, insurgencies, insurrections and acts of terrorism[3]. Flood, erosion, fire,

---

3   The Armed Forces have been involved in election duties and, in particular, in the efforts to crush the Boko Haram and bandits in parts of Nigeria's northern states.

collapsed structures, road, sea, air and other accidents, and the like of these aspects of security are covered by para-military and specialized agencies established for such. These include Fire Service Departments, National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) and specialized agencies indirectly assigned the purview of security include the National Agency for Food, Drugs Administration and Control (NAFDAC), Standards Organization of Nigeria (SON), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and, Independent Corrupt Practices and related offences Commission (ICPC). The Police is the primary government agency responsible for the internal security dimension, which is all-pervasive in terms of actual and potential effects on the generality of the population.

There is a consensus on the need for these agencies to perform their delineated functions as sub-systems in the larger Nigerian system, which has a goal of a well-secured society of a happy and prosperous people. A dysfunction in any of the sub-systems threatens the functionality of the entire system. This has been captured in several scholarly works on the idea of planning for crime-prevention and crime-control in the context of socio-economic development planning and inter-agency collaborations[4].

Viewed from this point on the interactions between sub-systems for their well-being and the credibility of the whole system, the dilemma of the big things and the small things that matter should become less complex in unraveling. For example, it is clear that a country is as strong as the well-being of the greatest number of its population. This point can be illustrated using the story of China's Great Wall constructed in 221 B.C as part of the country's fortification systems[5]. It implies that security is not guaranteed simply by the availability of military hardware, arms and ammunition or other physical infrastructure.

Understanding oneself, as a country, and the engagement with the rest of the world constitute a critical part of security. Tzu (1910) had warned:

> If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle (p. 6).

---

4 See, David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life,* New York: Wiley, 1965; UNESCO, Social Development: From Research to Policy to Action. *Draft Concept Paper,* Revision 2. United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2007.

5 History has it that in the first 100years of its existence with the Great Wall in place, China was invaded thrice. Each time, the hordes of enemy infantry needed not to penetrate or climb the wall, they bribed the guards and gained access.

In the context of this paper, the enemy or threats to security include poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, ill health, disease, malnourishment, hunger, deprivation, exclusion and frustration among others.

Development, in view of the multifarious contextual usage of the concept, is a term which does not lend itself to a universal or ultimate definition. It simply can be described as an improvement or an advancement. It involves becoming more mature, more complete, more organized or more transformed. Todaro (cited in Usman, 2010, p. 845) sees development as a "multidimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social system". This involves, in addition to improvement in income and output, "radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as popular attitudes, customs and beliefs".

Development, unlike economic growth which emphasizes numerical strength in terms of finances, physical infrastructure and other material resources, is more about the well-being of people. In the light of this, Sen (1999) is apt in his view. For him[6], development should focus all but, in particular, society's poorest. According to Sen (1999), development entails "a set of linked freedoms". This includes political freedoms and transparency in relations between people, freedom of opportunity, including freedom to access credit. For Sen, human development, "is about the expansion of citizens' capabilities" (p. 1). This is negated by poverty in which people "lack the most basic capabilities to lead a reasonable life". Freedom means increasing citizens' access and opportunities to the things that they have reason to value. Chief among these is security because every other thing is worthless without security.

Development is security and vice versa. Both are mutually-reinforcing. There are supporting evidences from around the world[7]. According to the Annual Prosperity Index (API) that the London (UK) — based Legatum Institute introduced in 2007, countries are ranked (from low to high prosperity) on the basis of their performance across eight equally weighted sub-indexes: economy, entrepreneurship and opportunity, governance, education, health, safety and security, personal freedom, and social capital. Seven out of these eight sub-indexes are more or less identical with the four criteria of the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG): sustainable economic opportunity, safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, and human development (education, health and welfare). The Human Development Index (HDI) introduced by the United

---

6   Amartya Sen, the Indian economist, philosopher and human development expert, was a Nobel Prize winner in Economics, in 1988, and has been widely cited for his views on development.

7   This study has selected the Annual Prosperity Index of Legatum Institute, the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance and the annual UN HDI's for their relative visibility. Six out of ten or 60 per cent respondents in a random survey among professors and students of Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, have deployed these documents for the purposes of research.

Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1990 to measure standard of living (a crucial aspect of prosperity) uses three criteria, which overlap with four of the API sub-indexes: income per capita, health (longevity and life expectancy at birth), and education (literacy rate and combined gross enrolment ratio).

There is much resemblance in the above and the three pillars of prosperity identified by Adam Smith (1723–1790)[8]. According to Smith (cited in Adamolekun, 2016, p. 10), little else is required to carry a state to the highest level of opulence, "from the lowest barbarism", but "peace, easy (to collect) taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice..." Viewed from this prism, it implies that the absence of peace tends to undermine the unity of a country as well as its development aspirations. Therefore, assuring peace and security within the territorial area of a state is an incontrovertible precondition for socio-economic development.

Corruption, especially the variant that involves elected and appointed public officials in Nigeria, is an issue which constantly forms part of any important discussion about the country. By various accounts such as those from Transparency International (TI), the Berlin, Germany-based global watchdog on anti-corruption, Nigeria is one of the most corrupt countries in the world. The purpose of political participation for majority of its leaders or joining government services is not public service but access to state money and deployment of privileges for private ends[9]. In the light of this, it is hardly practicable to analyze any aspect of socio-economic life and public policy processes in contemporary Nigeria without referring to corruption, corruptive tendencies and the consequences.

The evidence summarized in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 shows that achieving prosperity, both in terms of human development and ensuring security, is an enormous challenge for Nigeria. The country has remained a low human development country from the 1990s to the first two decades of the twenty-first century, with no indication of a significant improvement soon. For Toyin Falola[10], except some radical changes are made, Nigeria may be moving rapidly towards the brink.

---

8 Adam Smith, the eighteenth century economist, philosopher and author is widely cited for his *classic, The Wealth of Nations.*

9 Peter Ekeh, Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement, *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol 17, no. 1 (1975) and Richard Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria:* The *Rise and Fall of the Second Republic,* Cambridge University Press, 1987 have elaborated Weberian (Max Weber, 1854–1920) themes on the abuse of government positions and resources for personal ends.

10 The author monitored a chat with Toyin Falola, the Jacob and Frances Sanger Mossiker Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin, on November 16, 2021, at a public lecture delivered by the latter in Ibadan, Nigeria.

In its selection of political culture, in which the prebendalist perspective is emphasized, for its analytic frame, the study notes that politics or the policy process is grounded in the nature of the society in which it takes place. The nature of politics or public policy in Nigeria is largely determined by the nature of the society, especially the values which govern behavior in public realm. This includes the implication of the premium placed on wealth, material possession and status in politics as well as the consequences of the highly plural and divided nature of the Nigerian society. Ekeh (1975) and Joseph (1987), both cited above, as well as Dudley (1982) have been widely cited for their works on the consequences of the nature of the Nigerian society in moulding the character of the state and the performance of its laws, regulations and policies[11].

Drawing from this is a Nigerian saying, "government's business is no man's business", implying that the government is alien. Thus, there was nothing seriously wrong with stealing state funds, especially if they were used to benefit not only the individual but also members of his community. Those who had the opportunity to be in government were expected to use the power and resources of their disposal to advance these sectional interests. While they may have served the needs of the anti-colonial situation, since they originated from colonial rule, negative attitudes toward the state and government have, according to Osaghae (2002), become "the Achilles heel of the post-colonial state" (p. 21), and have caused many of the problems making Nigeria an example of a *soft state*[12]*,* including corruption, scant regard for constitutional rule, the absence of a national society governed by common moral, cultural and behavioral norms.

This is unlike in the pre-colonial societies where, despite the importance of money, emphasis was more on moral values of integrity, honesty, selflessness and communal feelings. For example, among the Yoruba of South Western Nigeria, all of these were encapsulated in the *omoluabi* ethos, which personify an individual in whose conduct the society is satisfied not because of his/her material possession but because of being trustworthy, kind and endowed with personal discipline.

Attempts to address the debilitating perception and attitudes have achieved insignificant success. These have been largely admonitory and mobilisatory, and they include the Jaji Declaration of 1977 by General Olusegun Obasanjo, the ethical revolution program launched in 1982 by President Shehu Shagari, the anti-corruption and patriotism,

---

11 The views have helped in explaining the abuse of government positions and resources for personal ends in terms of patron-client relations. These disjunctures between state and society underline the legitimacy crisis which debilitates the state in Nigeria.

12 *Soft State* is concept deployed for describing countries and political systems afflicted by serious problems of capacity, including lack of capacity to guarantee security of life and property of its citizen, lack of ability to formulate and implement effective laws, lack of capacity to punish offenders appropriately and, by implication, lack of capacity to attain development aspirations.

discipline, self-reliance and mobilizing programs by the Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha military regimes of 1983–85, 1985–93 and 1993–98 respectively. There have been programs designed to address the causes and effects of the various challenges associated with internal security threats in Nigeria, especially since the reintroduction of civil rule in 1999. However, none has hardly actualized set goals because offenders appear to have a general feeling that they can hardly be caught, and if caught they can hardly be prosecuted and if prosecuted, they can hardly be punished appropriately.

Analysis of Status of Internal Security in Nigeria

Since about the mid-1970s, after the civil war, the greatest indication of the dire situation of Nigeria's internal security is the existence of what Odekunle (2010) described as a "crime problem". This implies crime passing from the normal or tolerable level to the pathological in which it becomes a *social problem*[13](p. 740). With implications for the wellbeing and prosperity of the people, the criminality-scene in Nigeria is littered with assorted kinds of common theft, burglary, cheating, petty fraud in the markets, petrol/gas dispensing stations and other workplaces. There have been crimes of violence such as aggravated assault, armed robbery terrorism, insurgency, cattle rustling, banditry, abduction, kidnapping, human trafficking, trading in human parts and ritual killing. Others include economy-and-polity damaging elite and leadership offences such as corruption, embezzlement, large scale fraud, and money-laundering as well as organized crime such as smuggling, oil-bunkering, arms smuggling and oil pipeline destruction. There have been the usually unattended crimes of indiscipline and lack of law-abidingness epitomized by the conduct of vehicular and commercial motorbike road-users and even pedestrians[14].

Apart from the debilitating impact of corruption, a phenomenon which, as stated above, underpins almost every serious social issue in Nigeria, the direct cost and consequences of the problem have been manifold for the population: material loss and/or personal distress caused by actual criminal victimization and unquantifiable but costly expenditure of scarce resources on anxious fear of, and precautionary care against, potential criminal victimization, among others. The credibility of the state in Nigeria has been questioned on occasions as to whether it can provide for the security of life and property

---

13 Professors Femi Odekunle and Rashidi Okuola, both criminologists, at different fora during the 50th independence celebrations of Nigeria, analysed the elements of a *socialproblem* in terms of incidence/prevalence, seriousness/quality, and recalcitrance to prevention and control.

14 Vehicular road-users often drive facing motorists from opposite directions on the Lagos-Ibadan Highway in traffic logjam, while in commercial cities, in particular, commercial tricyclists, and motorbike rides beat traffic light as pedestrians run across highways instead of using foot bridges.

of the citizen[15]. Yet, law-enforcement, justice-administration and correctional agencies have been unable to reduce the problem of crime to tolerable level. The response of successive governmental administrations has mostly been within the *law-and-order* conception of crime prevention, control and security strategy. Declaration of war against criminals, especially considered *draconian* and violative of human rights has been largely state-centric and in favor of the elites, the political class and political leadership[16].

Despite the existence of the police, correctional and other specialized agencies including NEMA, NAFDAC, SON, NSCDC, ICPC and EFCC, the many occasions of acute internal insecurity — social/ethnic/religious and related strife, disorder and riots — have contributed in no small way to people's feeling of insecurity in Nigeria. The associated loss of lives and property as well as social dislocations among the affected population have worsened anxiety and apprehension among citizens and residents in general[17].

Outstanding issues and challenges

While the foundation for achieving effective and efficient crime prevention and control and the enhancement of internal security in Nigeria may have been laid, in the structures of the agencies listed above, the country's internal security and, by implication, human development have deteriorated.

In this light, two main issues: remedial attention (development plans of successive administrations) and the fight against corruption are being examined in this section. Nigeria's policy documents in these specific areas are juxtaposed with the country's performance, in a decade, in the API, IIAG, TI's CPI and UN's HDI. Consequences of the COVID 19 pandemic on security issues and other development aspirations in Nigeria are considered as circumstantial variables in the analyses.

---

15 Examples include the 2020 #ENDSARS protest against the Special Anti-Robbery Squad of the Nigeria Police, and the agitation for the establishment of Regional Police by Separatists including Mr. Sunday Adeyemo Igboho.

16 Information gathered by the author and a doctoral student, during visits to Police cells and prisons (correctional centres), in parts of Ibadan and Lagos (Oyo and Lagos State respectively), February–October, 2020 showed that majority of detainees and those on *remand awaiting trial* were held for petty crimes, while "big time" offenders were hardly detained or remanded. Also visible is lack of rich, informative, valid and reliable data appropriately collected, collated and analysed for requisite knowledge projection and planning against criminality and, by implication, enhancement of security.

17 Seven out of ten or 70 per cent respondents in a survey, in Ibadan and Ede (Oyo and Osun State respectively), said they live in fear of being attacked. Also, there have been travel warnings for foreigners in Nigeria by foreign governments (see Travel. State. Gov. — US Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affairs — October 29, 2021).

There are annual budgetary allocations to the security, health and education sub-sectors of Nigeria's national economy but certain policy documents have been selected for the analyses of remedial attention by successive administrations in the country. These are the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), 1999–2007; the seven-point Agenda and the Transformation Agenda, 2007–2010 and 2010–2015 respectively; and the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP), 2016 — date.

The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy was, according to the National Planning Commission (NPC, 2004), targeted at attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and designed to achieve four main goals: wealth creation; employment generation; poverty reduction; and value reorientation. The strategy to achieve these goals was anchored on certain strategies of empowering the people through health and other services, including safety nets and pensions, as well as changing the approach to government work through public sector reforms. The successors, seven-point agenda and transformation agenda, were not significantly different from NEEDS in that their objectives entail: transparency, accountability, enhanced service delivery and all that the country needs to break the cycle of poverty and underdevelopment (Yagboyaju, 2019, pp. 270–285). As in NEEDS, the latter programs were also aligned to both the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an initiative of the African Union (AU), and the MDGs (UN initiative).

The ERGP has been different, remarkably not in terms of its contents and context, but more in view of the approach to the actualization of the goals. The Social Investment Programme is the component that specifically focuses on poverty and unemployment reduction strategies[18]. These include the N-Power, the Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT), the *TraderMoni*, *FarmerMoni* and the Anchor Borrowers Program, the latter being specifically for farmers. Government alone cannot employ most of the employable youth and, therefore, the programs above are designed to provide enabling environment for micro, small and medium enterprises to grow. Aiyede, Sha, Haruna, Olutayo, Ogunkola and Best (2015) have alluded to this assertion and, indeed, they are of the opinion that the programs should help in diversifying the national economy and lifting tens of millions out of poverty if they are effectively pursued.

Corruption, as noted in section 2.0 above, is a matter for serious concern both within and outside official circles in Nigeria. In 1996, the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) rated Nigeria as the most corrupt out of the 54 countries surveyed[19].

---

18 Part of the telephone conversations with the Emeritus Professor of Civil-Military Relations and retired Professor of Strategic Studies, Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, on June 28, 2021.

19 Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 1996, https://images.transparencycdn.org/images/1996_CPI_EN.pdf. Nigeria has not improved significantly in subsequent surveys.

The Nigerian government, starting from 1999 under President Olusegun Obasanjo, adopted a multi-pronged anticorruption war by creating the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Due Process Office in the Presidency and, the Independent Corrupt Practices and related offences Commission (ICPC). There have been other bodies put in place and equipped at varying degrees for preventing, tracking and prosecuting financial crimes, in particular. Falola (2021) provides a somewhat comprehensive list, including "the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU), Public Complaints Commission (PCC), Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP), Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), and Special Control Unit Against Money Laundering (SCUML), Treasury Single Accounts (TSA), Bank Verification Numbers (BVN), and Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information System (IPPIS)" (p. 270).

Regardless, there is very little to show in terms of prosperity and safety of the greatest number of citizens and residents in Nigeria. The country's score and ranking in issues of sustainable economic opportunity, safety and rule of law, political participation and human rights, human development, social services and social capital, criteria deployed for prosperity and safety assessment by IIAG, Legatum Institute and the UNDP, indicate consistent abysmal performance. It is hardly possible for Nigeria to attain internal security and development goals in the face of the challenges that the tables below imply.

Table 1: Nigeria's Prosperity Assessment, 2010–2019

Year	Legatum Prosperity Index (Ranking of Countries)	Ibrahim Index of African Governance (Ranking)
2010	106th out of 110	40th out of 48; 43.0
2011	104th out of 110	41st out of 53; 43.4
2012	123rd out of 142	43rd out of 52; 44.9
2013	123rd out of 142	41st out of 52; 43.4
2014	125th out of 142	37th out of 52; 45.8
2015	125th out of 142	36th out of 54; 44
2016	136th out of 142	35th out of 54; 48.1
2017	132nd out of 142	Not Available
2018	129th out of 149	33rd out of 54; 47.9
2019	148th out of 167	Not available

Source: Author (based on information available on the websites
of Legatum Institute and Mo Ibrahim Foundation, accessed on 16/02/2022)

Table 2: Nigeria's Score and Ranking in HDI, 2010–2019

Year	Value	Ranking	Year	Value	Ranking
2010	0.493	158/177	2015	0.514	152/188
2011	0.499	156/187	2016	0.532	152/188
2012	0.505	153/186	2017	0.532	157/189
2013	0.511	153/187	2018	0.534	158/189
2014	0.514	145/187	2019	0.539	161/189

Source: Author (based on information available on the websites of UNDP)

* The bounce from GDP rebasing in 2014 accounts for the significant improvement in the scores since 2010 — the impact of GDP rebase was used to re-calculate the HDP up to 2010 on UNDP website, accessed on 16/02/2022. (The scores are out of a total of 1.0).

Table 3: Nigeria's Score and Ranking in IIAG, 2019 & average score, 2008–2018

CRITERIA	2019 (Ranking and Score)	2008–2018 Average Score
1. **Sustainable Economic Opportunity** (Infrastructure, Public Management, Business Environment, Rural Sector	29th (43.5%)	34.1%
2. **Safety and Rule of Law** (Personal Safety, National Security, Accountability, Rule of Law)	38th (46.4%)	48.8%
3. **Participation and Human Rights** (Participation, rights, gender)	24th (53.2%)	47%
4. **Human Development** (Education, Health, Welfare)	34th (48.7%)	45.7%
OVERALL RANKING	36th (47.9%)	43.2%

Source: Author (based on information available on the websites of Mo Ibrahim Foundation, accessed on 16/02/2022)

Table 4: Nigeria's Ranking in Legatum's Prosperity Report, 2018

Sub-Indices	2019 Ranking (Total = 167)
1. **Economy:** Macro-economic policies; economic satisfaction and expectations	157th
2. **Entrepreneurship and Opportunity:** Entrepreneurial environment, promotion of innovative activity, and evenness of opportunity.	131st
3. **Governance:** effective and accountable government, fair elections and political participation, rule of law.	126th
4. **Education:** access to education, quality of education, and human capital	138th
5. **Health:** basic health outcomes, health infrastructure, and preventive care	162nd
6. **Safety and Security:** national security and personal security	157th
7. **Personal Freedom:** individual freedom, and encouraging social tolerance	102nd
8. **Social Capital:** social cohesion and engagement, and community and family networks.	69th
OVERAL RANKING	148th

Source: Author (based on information available on the websites of Legatum Institute, accessed on 16/02/2022).

Table 5: Nigeria's score and ranking in TI's CPI, 2010–2019

Year	CPI Score	Nigeria's CPI Ranking	Remarks
2010	2.4	134/178	44th most corrupt
2011	24%	143/182	39th most corrupt
2012	27%	139/174	35th most corrupt
2013	25%	144/175	31st most corrupt
2014	27%	136/174	38th most corrupt
2015	26%	136/167	31st most corrupt
2016	28%	136/176	35th most corrupt
2017	27%	148/180	35th most corrupt
2018	27%	144/180	34th most corrupt
2019	26%	146/180	34th most corrupt

Source: Author (based on data from the website
of Transparency International, accessed on 16/02/2022).

The COVID-19 pandemic accounted for several measures, including movement restrictions and in certain instances, total lockdown around the country. These have had devastating consequences on living and livelihoods of the generality of Nigerians, especially the ordinary citizens who rely mostly on daily earnings. Government offices were shut[20],leaving certain cadres of officials physically in the office. Salaries were paid while the offices were shut, but this was not applicable to employees in the private sector, including banks, manufacturing industries and other businesses that were shut on government orders. Government provided palliatives and relief materials while support also came from donor agencies but this was insufficient and not sustainable.

A survey by the author among residents of urban and semi-urban settings in Ibadan, Oyo State, as well as group discussions with businesspeople in selected major food markets, including Moniya, Sasa, Bodija, Oje, Agbeni and Orita-Merin, in the capital city of Oyo State, and in Wuse and Gwarinpa markets, in Abuja, Nigeria's capital city, immediately after relative normalcy returned in economic activities, indicated some serious issues. First, one out of ten respondents or 10 per cent among the employed is in the formal sector of the economy. It implies that nine or 90 per cent among the employed earn their living from the informal, out of which many live on daily wages. Secondly, four out of ten respondents or 40 per cent named people who were yet to return for business activities owing to reduction in capacities. For an economy that draws strength from the informal sector, it is not difficult to explain why poverty has become profound in Nigeria[21],

---

20 Nigerian government response to COVID-19 Pandemic (https://covid19.ncdc.gov.ng/advisory/).
21 Nigeria still capital of the World Poverty – This Day Live (https://www.thisdaylive.com, 09/06/2021). The country was, for the first time, in 2018 ranked by the Brookings Institution as the Poverty Capital of the World.

and how this threatens internal security and the actualization of development goals in the country.

COVID-19 cases and deaths caused by the pandemic in Nigeria[22] were among the lowest in Africa and, by far, lower than in the USA, Europe and Asia. Studies[23] have linked Nigeria's huge population of below age 40 both to the number of probable asymptomatic carriers and recovery rate. However, the country's ill-preparedness for the national health crisis which, for instance, was apparent by way of the "non-availability of 500 ventilators in a country of about 200 million" has implications for national security. For example, the interruptions in employment and subsequent layoffs, in particular for the youth, imply unpredictable chaos for society (Falola, 2021, p. 591).

Policy Recommendations/Conclusion

The following recommendations are structured in two parts: broad views involving civil society; and specific issues concerning individuals and government agencies.

- The treasures of the knowledge, skills and values possessed by indigenous people: as part of the introductory remarks of this paper, certain "small things that matter" were emphasized. One critical component of this is *understanding oneself* which, in the traditional Nigerian culture, largely include knowing and caring for one's neighbor. This has security implications in many dimensions. The civil society has a critical role in aggregating and articulating individual views of indigenes/citizens for policy formulation, implantation and implementation.
- Need for directional and transformational leaders: the need for directional leadership in actualizing development goals, key among which is internal security of the society, cannot be overemphasized. In a bottom-up approach, civil society can identify indigenes/ citizens with leadership qualities, nurtured from community to national levels.

In specific terms, immediate and long-term policy recommendations include:

- Restoration of the autonomy and functionality of public institutions. In this, directional leaders identified by the civil society should initially be the pivot around which strong and functional institutions would revolve. History across ancient, medieval

---

22 By February 17, 2022, this stood at 254, 137 and 3, 141 respectively (https://www.worldometers. info/coronavirus/). This was lower than figures in many countries around Africa and much lower compared to the USA and countries around Europe and Asia

23 See, Ahmad Ibrahim Al-Mustapha *et al.*, Socio-Demographic Characteristics of COVID-19 Vaccine Receipts in Kwara State, North Central Nigeria (https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2021.773998, 05/01/22). Also, Sola Ogundipe, Young people most affected as COVID-10 impacts worsens unemployment in Nigeria (21/02/2022).

and contemporary societies is replete with examples of "strong men", building strong institutions.

- Evidences from Australia and Germany among other countries that exited the lock-down effects of COVID-19 pandemic early are indicative of what strong institutions did. Also, the consistency in the high ranking of Finland, Sweden and Switzerland among others in the HDI, IIAG, CPI and Legatum Prosperity Index did not come as an accident. It is a result of discipline, commitment and purposiveness, being best practices for realising effective governance, which internal security partly stands for.

- The Social Investment Programme, a component of the ERGP which has been com-mended, must be sustained and strengthened in view of its relative success. For example, the *Farmermoni* and the Anchor Borrowers Programmes have been linked to recent bumper harvests in grains in Nigeria. The government bought off excess from the farmers, for the National Strategic Grain Reserve, and this enabled the release of 70,000 metric tonnes of grains to the poor and vulnerable, ordered by President Buhari in April 2020. This practicalises the usefulness of food storage and its connectivity to national security.

- The CCT and the Federal Government aided public schools feeding programme among others have been impactful but can be improved. These should be sustained.

Conclusion

Internal security has not significantly improved in Nigeria despite the 22 years of de-mocratization, after the return to civil rule in 1999. Security and welfare of the people is declared in the constitution as the primary purpose of the government in Nigeria. However, successive administrations in the country have performed abysmally in such key areas as sustainable economic opportunities, rule of law, human rights and personal freedom, human and social capital development, which determine the wellbeing of the citizens and residents as well as the internal security of the country. Public institutions saddled with the responsibility of implementing policies for the realization of these goals are largely personalized and captured for the vested interests of the officials in charge and their acolytes. Problems of underdevelopment have been traced to the colonial beginnings of the state in Nigeria. However, the civil society, civil society orga-nizations (CSOs), community-based organizations (CBOs) and other NGOs have roles to play, by helping first in identifying directional and transformational leaders who are urgently needed in formulating and implementing policies for the actualization of development goals.

References

1. Adamolekun, L. (2016, November 9). The idea of Nigeria: Two challenges – Unity in diversity and prosperity. Convocation Lecture, Lead City University, Nigeria.
2. Adesina, O.C. (2019, December 13). Small things that matter: The imperatives of national security and development in Nigeria. Keynote Address at the 36th Anniversary Celebrations of Ede Unique Club, Nigeria.
3. Aiyede, E. R., Sha, P. D., Haruna, B., Olutayo, A. O., Ogunkola, E. O., & Best, E. (2015). The political economy of social protection policy uptake in Nigeria., *Working Paper* 002. Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR).
4. Falola, T. (2021). *Understanding modern Nigeria:* Ethnicity, democracy and develop-ment*,* Cambridge University Press.
5. FRN (1999). *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.* Federal Government Press.
6. National Planning Commission (NPC). (2004). *National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy* (NEEDS), Policy Document. NPC.
7. Odekunle, F. (2007, May 23). Internal security: A priority for the nation. Inaugural Lecture, *National Think Tank,* Shehu Musa Yar'Adua Centre, Abuja.
8. Odekunle, F. (2010). Security in Nigeria: Status, challenges and recommendations. In S.O. Akande and A.T. Kumuyi (Eds.), *Nigeria at 50*: *Accomplishments, Challenges and Prospects* (pp. 737–752)*.* NISER.
9. Osaghae, E.E. (2002). *Nigeria since independence: Crippled giant,* John Archers Publishers.
10. Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom.* Alfred Knopf.
11. Tzu, S. (1910). *On the Art of War* (Translated by Lionel Giles). Available at www.artofwarsuntzu.com.
12. Usman, S. (2010). Planning and national development. In S.O. Akande and A.J. Kumuyi (Eds.), *Nigeria at 50; Accomplishments, challenges and prospects* (pp. 843–870)*.* NISER.
13. Yagboyaju, D.A. (2019). Aspects of human security, social justice and sustainable development in Africa: Nigeria as a case study. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance, 9*(3), 270–285.