

HUMAN SECURITY: THE KEY TO ENDURING NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract: *The promotion of human security has become the central focus of the new development paradigm because building of arms and ammunitions do not bring peace, security and political stability. Eradicating hunger, diseases, poverty and unemployment through sustainable development programmes, hold the key to an enduring national security. Against this backdrop, this paper examines the impact of human security on overall national security in Nigeria. The paper with the use of the Natural State theory, argued that the state emerged in order to provide the needs of individuals, given that human beings cannot satisfactorily provide their basic needs. We employed the documentation method as our method of data collection, which entails the use of materials from secondary sources. The paper also adopted content analysis, applied to establish a link between human security and national security. The paper concludes that fortifying the security walls with latest security equipments/gadgets as well as assigning security professionals to secure the populace will amount to nothing if the threats of hunger, diseases, poverty and unemployment, political and economic exclusion and lack of social amenities are not addressed.*

Keywords: *security, human security, national security, democratic stability*

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the pre-cold war era, the concept of security has been traditionally perceived or associated with the whole gamut of processes defined in terms of the capacity of the coercive apparatus of the state to uphold sovereignty, defend territorial integrity, ensure stability and peace as well as pursue armed conflict. Nevertheless, the end of the Cold War in 1990s marked a paradigm and fundamental departure from the state-centered or national security (military capability of state) approach, ideologically rooted in the theoretical orientations of political realism to human security usually defined as individual or people centered. Thus, human security involves protecting the citizens from poverty, hunger, diseases, unemployment and national disaster. However, all these can only take place where there is peace and stability in the polity. In Nigeria, the faulty development policies pursued since independence in 1960 have left the people pauperized and decimated. These are manifested in increasing poverty, diseases, acute youth unemployment, poor medical care, poor housing facilities, epileptic power supply, lack of access to power and resources by minority groups and their exclusion from policy making (1 – 2). Over the years, African states operated a misguided development paradigm which emphasized esoteric and aesthetic needs. This created stagnation, or stunted growth and brought poverty to many African States. Following the failure of the pursuit of modernization as development, a new paradigm of development that prioritizes the people as its center piece was being propagated, particularly in the global south. This model aims at promoting the welfare and well-being of the citizens. In this perspective to development, public policies are directed at solving challenges of hunger, diseases, education, poverty,

medical care, youth unemployment and under-unemployment and environmental safety, e.t.c. Thus, a country that invests heavily on human security may not have to spend huge capital and efforts in fighting crimes like insurgency, militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery, bombing, political assassination, banditry, students' unrest, human trafficking and other forms of violent crimes, all of which are creating survival, stability and security challenges for the Nigerian States.

In Nigeria today, an individual or a people-centered view of security is necessary for regional and national peace, security and stability. On a critical consideration, hunger, poverty, diseases and environmental contamination represent grave security threats even worse than physical violence (3). Evidently, the need to jettison the traditional conception of security and embrace the people –centered approach owes largely to the admixture and convergence of various factors including the failure of liberal state building through the instruments of the Washington Consensus; increasing number of international violent conflicts in Africa, Asia and East Europe; the increasingly rapid pace of globalization; the exponential rise in the propagation and consolidation of democracy and the incapacity of the neoliberal development models to catalyze economic growth in the developing countries or systematically deal with the effects of complex emerging threats such as HIV, Ebola, Corona Virus, terrorism, and climate change. Experience has shown that it is human security that presents the most effective instrument for national security and not the building of arms and weapons of warfare (2, 4). In the light of the above, the paper analyzed the role of human security in the overall national security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

METHODOLOGY

The paper utilized the methods of qualitative and synthesis of scientific literature as it relied on secondary data collected from documentations through published and unpublished books and journal articles, and were content analyzed in relation to the scope of the paper. That is, a systematic review of literature on the role of human security in the overall national security.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

For easy understanding of the issues raised in the paper, some concepts require closer attention so as to remove ambiguity associated with them. The concepts include:

Security

One's protection from extermination is what we classify as security. In other words, anything that can pose a threat to one's existence or that harms or make life un-pleasurable can be classified as insecurity. According to Igbuzor (5:23), security is "the situation that exists as a result of the establishment of measures for the protection of persons, information and property against hostile persons, influences and actions., it is the existence of conditions within which people in a society can go about their normal daily activities without any threats to their lives or properties. It demands safety from chronic threats and protection from harmful disruption". Security embraces all measures designed to protect and safeguard the citizens and the resources of individuals, groups, businesses and the nation against sabotage or violent occurrence (6). The word security originates from the

Latin word “Se-curus”, “Se” means without and “Curus” means uneasiness. This implies that security originally refers to liberation from uneasiness, or a peaceful situation without any risks or threats. Thus, security has a wider meaning including ‘to feel safe’ and to ‘to be protected’.

In the view of Eme (7), security can be described as stability and continuity of livelihood (stable and steady income), predictability of daily life (knowing what to expect), protection from crime (feeling safe) and freedom from psychological harm (safety or protection from emotional stress which results from the assurance or knowing that one is wanted, accepted, loved and protected in one’s community or neighborhood and by people around. It focuses on emotional and psychological sense of belonging to a social group which can offer one protection). Therefore, security can be describes as the protection against all forms of harm whether physical, economic or psychological. The various definitions of scholars on security show that the concept connotes freedom from fear, danger, turmoil, hostility, war, violence and any other event than can cause uneasiness for humans and nations. Thus, security stands for safety survival without which every other value is meaningless (8). Imobighe (9:39) justified the significance of security to human and nation when he posits that “without security, individuals within a state will find it difficult to engage in productive activities. Similarly, without security, the state is bound to experience great difficulty in harnessing its human and material resources towards meaningful development and the promotion of the general well-being of the people”

However, Ikyase and Namu (3) argued that security is not the absence of threats, but the ability to rise to the challenges posed by these threats with expediency and expertise. In contrast, Nwolise (10:68) affirmed that a country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipments, the most efficient police force, the most efficient customs men, the most active secret service agents and the best quality prisons, and yet be the most insecure nation in the world as a result of defense and security problems from within – bad governance, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment, or even activities of foreign residents or companies”. He further identified ten dimensions of security such as physical security, treasury security, people’s power security, global security psychological security, technological security, image security, territorial security, legal security and spiritual security. In addition, McNamara (121:149) warned that “security is not military hardware, though it may include it, it is not a military force, though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development and without development there can be no security. Any society or nation that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level of productivity and per capital income, low technological development, inadequate and insufficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment has a false sense of security”. Therefore, addressing the material poverty of Nigerians is security and not the building of arms and weapons of warfare.

Human Security

Human security is a new and broadened approach in security studies which seeks to explicate the global vulnerabilities and examine how poverty, environment and social interaction generate conflict and increasingly poses threat to human existentialism. Central to this approach is the understanding that human security deprivations can undermine peace

and stability within and between states, whereas an overemphasis on state security can be detrimental to human welfare. The idea of human security was nurtured, popularized and prioritized as a dynamic and practical policy agenda for addressing widespread and cross-cutting threats facing the people in the 1994 NUDP Human Development Report (12). In that report, the United Nations Development Programme developed a “New Dimensions of Human Security”, characterizing the term as “a child who did not die, disease that does not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced” (12:22). Thus, human security refers to the degree to which the welfare of individuals is protected and advanced. The insecurities that threatened human survival or the safety of daily life, or imperil the natural dignity of men and women or expose human beings to the uncertainty of disease and pestilence, or subject vulnerable people to abrupt penury related to economic downturns demand that special attention be paid to the dangers of sudden deprivation. Human security demands protection from these dangers and the empowerment of people so that they can cope with and when possible overcome these hazards (13).

In an expanded definition, the UNDP (122:24-25) sees human security as “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. It further argued that the scope of global security should be broadened to include threats in seven areas: food security, economic security, health security, community security, political security, personal security and environmental security”. In addition, Best (23) posits that a distinctive element of human security is its focus on early prevention to minimize the impacts of the insecurity, to engender long-term solutions and to build human capacities for undertaking prevention. In this regard, human security:

- Address the root causes of human insecurity;
- Emphasizes early prevention rather than late intervention – thereby, more cost – effective;
- Encourages strategies concerned with the development of mechanisms for prevention, the mitigation of harmful effects when downturns occur and ultimately, with helping victims to cope.

Human security is deliberately proactive. It recognizes that people and communities are fatally threatened by events beyond their control such as financial crisis, violent conflicts, diseases, a national policy that undercuts public and private investments in health care. Terrorist attacks, water shortages, chronic condition, pollution in a distant land. Many threats according to Peterside (15), are far more destructive if they come as a surprise. Therefore, the damage and death as a result of an earthquake can be minimized by producing earthquake resistant buildings, the impoverishing effects of a financial crisis can be reduced if counter-measures are put in place in advance, and early warning systems can mitigate the effects of famine. Yet many of these preparations require threats to be acknowledged, before they occur. The human security approach urges institutions to offer protection which is institutionalized, not episodic, not rigid, not reactive, preventative or responsive. In this way citizens will face inevitable downturns with security.

APPROACHES TO HUMAN SECURITY

Food Security

Food security became a global issue in the early 1970s, and since then it has been a topical issue. Since the emergence of the concept, there has not been a single accepted definition. It has enjoyed several rays of definitions. According to Rum-Rukeh (16:4), a consensual definition of food security was reached at the 1996 World Food summit and defined food security as “the adequate supply of food and above food availability”. From the above definition and viewing food security in terms of famine, poverty and hunger, therefore, a global concept of food security can be argued does not guarantee food security at either the national or household levels. In a similar manner, food availability the national level does not provide food entitlement to household and individual. Food insecurity may occur where there is enough food but the household lacks the money or production capacity to get it. Thus, improving production capacity means, expanding economic frontier and making markets work better for the poor, can only be achieved through a paradigm shift of employing rural empowerment strategies such as self-help development strategy, People Participatory Programme (PPP)/Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) initiatives, granting of credits, extension education, ownership of and farmers cooperative societies (17). In this regard, the Word Bank (18) definition becomes apt. it defined food security as the access by all at all times to enough food, for an active and healthy life. This definition captured many issues; it deals with food production in relation to availability, it address temporal and spatial food distribution such that the producers, which are the peasant farmers, that should be accessed by all. This implies that early warning mechanism of food insecurity should monitor indicators related to food production, distribution, consumption and the strategies to check food insecurity problems. Therefore, food security exists when all individuals, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and health life (19).

Economic Security

Economic security deals with insured basic income and employment, and access to such social safety net. Poverty as a form of economic insecurity, is one of the most serious and persistent threats to human security. It affects all aspects of human security understood in terms of freedom from want and freedom from the fear of being unable to meet one’s most basic needs and those of one’s family. Thus, people suffer from economic insecurity when they lack employment, food, access to health, education and social protection. Economic insecurity widens the gap between dominant groups and minorities, between men and women, between cities and rural areas and between income groups. The gap created by economic insecurity often leads to conflict of interest and when government fails to address the gap between the rich and the poor, or the majority and the minority, it will lead to threat to human existentialism

Health Security

Health security according to UNDP (12), include issues such as access to safe water, living in a safe environment, access to safe and affordable family planning and basic support during pregnancy and delivery, prevention from HIV/AIDS, Ebola, Corona virus

and other diseases, and to have basic knowledge to live a healthy life. Thus, good health is both essential and instrumental to achieving human security. It is essential because the very heart of security is protecting human lives. Health security is at the vital core of human security, and illness, disability and avoidable death are critical pervasive threats to human security” (20:96). Health according to Commission on Human Security (20:96), is not just “the absence of disease, but as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being. Good health is instrumental to human dignity and human security. It enables people to exercise choice, pursue social opportunity and plan for their future”. Africa and Nigeria in particular have some of the worst standards of health care in the world. The most vulnerable are children, many of whom are undernourished and suffer from infectious diseases, especially measles and other types of illness such as malaria and internal parasites. Also, the status of women health is very poor. Two-third of women of productive age suffer from anemia, which accounts in part for the exceptionally high rate of maternal mortality. Besides, the chance of being treated for a serious illness in Nigeria is very low. Those living the cities have fair access to medical services, but rural communities are poorly served and the nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists are typically in the worst position of all. The health security needs to be guaranteed by Nigeria government in order to control the insecurity threats to human existence.

Community Security

Community security is the conservation of traditional and cultural, languages and commonly held values. It also includes abolishment of ethnic discrimination, prevention of ethnic conflicts and protection of indigenous people. Community security can also be seen as a people – centered approach to tackle interlinked peace, security and development needs. It aims to build positive relationships between communities, authorities and institutions thereby providing opportunities to identify security concerns and plan collective responses. Community inclusivity and participation are a core part of the approach, so that activities can be designed and implemented reflecting people’s actual needs. In Nigeria today, the spate of the marauding herdsmen militancy across the length and breadth of the country is alarming. Though the Fulani herdsmen have been historically embroiled in altercation with farmers, but in recent times, the nature and character of this interaction has metamorphosed and degenerated into full blown militancy with the former acquiring and welding sophisticated weapons to terrorize the sedentary crop farmers starting in the north central zone of the Nigeria and now, transcended to southern parts of Nigeria. A study by Ofuoku and Isife (21) and Okolie and Nnamani (4) revealed that the conflicts between the Fulani herdsmen and crops farmers in Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa, Kogi States and other southern parts of Nigeria were exacerbated by factors such as destruction of crops, contamination of the host’s stream by cattle, sexual harassment, indiscriminate defecation on the roads, cattle rustling, arms running and among many others. Aligning with this, Okoli and Atelhe (22) argues that the historical trajectories of Fulani herdsmen militancy show that the phenomenon has progressively transmitted from a rudimentary communal skirmishes to an organized armed confrontation while its contemporary manifestations has further transformed itself into a genre of guerrilla warfare characterized by immense brutal sophistication and efficiency.

As reported by several media houses across the country, the rising spate of violent confrontation between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the Middle-Belt and Southern Nigeria has resulted to the killing of many crop farmers. For instances, between 2010 and 2013, the Fulani herdsmen successfully coordinated attacks leading to the death of 80 persons, the deadly group was also responsible for the death of 1, 229 in 2014 alone across Nigeria with Benue, Taraba, Nasarawa, Kaduna and Katsina States recording more casualties than others (23). Another investigative report by Mamah and Ndujihe (24) revealed that the Fulani militants murdered more than 758 Nigerians including the infamous horrendous massacre in Agatu, Benue State and Nimbo Ukpabi in Uzo-Uwani in Enugu State. Since 2017 to date, the Fulani herdsmen are responsible for killing of River and fathers in South-East and armed robbery attacks along Benin-Ore road. Indeed, the notoriety the dreaded group has acquired in the recent times as well as the increasing threats they posed to human security, earned it the fourth dualists terrorists group according to the Global Terrorism Index of 2015. Aside the losses of lives, the Fulani herdsmen have serially raped both young and old women in their host communities (25), exposing them to health risk and most times, confining the victims to perpetual regret and trauma. This development perhaps has contributed in deepening gender – based violence in Nigeria. Also, villages have been invaded razed down in a Gestapo manner, farmlands destroyed and invaluable properties carted away while refugee camps have been established in across different zones of Nigeria due to the ceaseless Fulani rampage against their host communities (4). Over the years, the existing security studies have identified the activities for Fulani militants as threatening food security in the country (4, 21, 26 – 28) and personal or individual as reflected in the number of deaths recorded during the herders – crop farmers’ clashes (29).

Political Security

Political security deals with the protection of human rights and well-being of all people; abolishment of political detention, imprisonment and systematic ill treatment; and protection against people from state repression such as freedom of press, freedom of speech and freedom of voting (4). In a nutshell, political security means living in a society that guarantees basic human rights and freedom of expression.

Personal Security

Personal security deals with the protection of individual from physical violence. Threats can take several forms, for instance, threats from the state; foreign states; other groups of people (ethnic tension), individuals or groups; threats directed against women or children based on their vulnerability and dependence; threats of self (e.g. suicide, drug use, e.t.c (30). Personal security also protects people from sub-state actors, from domestic abuse and from predatory adults.

Environmental Security

Since the paradigmatic shift from the state-centric to human-centric approaches to security, the idea of environmental security has becoming an important focus of international policy. This is unconnected with the fact that the environment is the most transnational of transnational issues while its security is an important dimension of peace, national security and human rights. Environmental security include issues such as

prevention from water pollution, air pollution, deforestation, irrigated land conservation and natural hazards such as flood, droughts, cyclones, earthquakes, e.t.c. (4). Thus, environmental security is seen as vital to national security, consisting of the dynamics and interconnections among the natural resource base, the social fabric of the state and the economic engine for local regional stability. Indeed, environmental security plays a critical role in maintaining global's life-supporting eco-systems which generates food, medicine, clean air and water. In the view of Ogata (3), environmental security is living in a healthy physical environment which is spared from desertification, deforestation and other environmental threats and endangers people's survival. From the foregoing, it is imperative to note that environmental security does not just affect institutions and organizations anywhere and at anytime, it is essentially a basic *quod non* for the sustainability of livelihoods. In view of this, environmental security is fundamentally concerned with the examination and analysis of environmental risks such as degradation, depletion, deprivation and scarcity of resources as well as the preservation of the individual's interest in regard to nature and the avoidance of natural hazards and disasters. Thus, the principles aims of environmental security are to repair damage to the environment for human life support and the prevention of the environment from attacks and other forms of human abuse (4).

National Security

The idea of national security has long been conceptualized from a narrow, militaristic and strategic perspective, especially during the Cold War era. For example, Hartmann (31:13) defined national security as "the sum total of the vital national interest of the state, and because a vital national interest is one of which a nation is willing to resort to force or war either immediately or ultimately, concept of national security will vary from state to state in direct proportion to their individual willingness risk either conflict or war at any given time". From this definition, the accumulating of arms and weapons to increase a state's military capacity is seen as a key strategy for guaranteeing national security. As a result, the protection of the state was the key referent objective that dominated security discourse and policy across the globe. Although the state – centric and militaristic conceptualization of national security dominated the Cold War period, the need for its reformulation to centre on people has long been canvassed by scholars. Thus, traditional state – centric interpretation of national security was criticized (32 – 34) for failure to account for or explain the emerging non-military sources of threat to security at the individual, societal, state, regional and international levels. In the aftermath of the Cold War threats such as poverty, diseases, terrorism and natural disasters among other, gained enormous attention, consequently neutering the way security is defined.

National security according to Omotola (32:3) is "the freedom from danger or absence of threats to the multidimensional elements that may affect the nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and national interests, as much as promote and boost the well-being of its people". Similarly, Onuoha (33:105) posits that national security is "the capacity of a state to promote the pursuit and realization of the fundamental needs and vital interests of man and society, and to protect them from threats which may be economic, social, environmental, political, military or epidemiologic in nature". Also, Peterside (15:854) contends that national security is "the freedom from actual and potential threats to national life that may arise as a result of human action or

inactions, or from disaster such as food, earthquake, famine, drought, disease and other natural calamitous events resulting in deaths, human suffering and material damage”. The emphasis on national security stems from three fundamental convictions. That is, the sanctity and inviolability of human life, the universality and dignity of human life and the existential imperative of the value for individual safety in a world full of multifarious threats. Thus, national security is rooted in three basic instincts of self –preservation, self-extension and self – fulfillment.

DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA

The concept of development means different thing to different people and scholars have defined development in various ways. This may be the reason for Idode (25) to describe development as a problematic concept. According to him, development has been used in many different ways including political, economic and social. In other words, development is a construct of many applications. Hahn-Been (36:8) viewed development as “a process of acquiring a sustained growth of a system’s capability to cope with new, continuous changes towards the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives”. Similarly, Okobiah (37) defined development as a process of economic, political and social change in a direction towards and social change in a direction towards a better social well-being for the members of the society. It is the attainment of self-governance (38). Development according to Iheanacho (39:219) “signifies the provision of essential infrastructure that create a healthy atmosphere, proper provision of education and communication, achievement in technological advancement and ability to evolve an amiable business environment for it citizenry”.

Consequently, Rodney (40:17) sees development in human society as a “many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. At the level of social group, it implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationship”. Seer (41:22) viewed development as “the improvement in the living condition of individual by commenting that, the question to ask about a country’s development is therefore: what has been happening poverty what has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high level, then beyond doubt, this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially of all the three, it would be strange to call the result development even if per capital income doubled. Similarly, Sapru (45:5) concerned development as “a process of improving the well-being of the people. It is about raising the standard of living of the people, improving their education and health and also opening out to them new and equal opportunities for richer and more varied life”. Naomi (43:67) believes that development “involve not only economic growth but also some nation of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential services, all with a view of improving the individual and collective quality of life”. In short, Goulet, 1955 cited in Jacob (44:316) affirmed that “the objectives of development are concerned with life sustenance, self-esteem or respect and freedom. Life sustenance is concerned with access to basic human needs without which life would be impossible. These things include food, shelter, health and protection. The feature of development is self-esteem and self-respect. It is the wish of every society to be

respected. To this end, most society pursues those things that would earn them the necessary respect. These things include wealth and technological development. Lastly, freedom as used in this context means emancipation from alienating material conditions of life and freedom from the servitude of men and nature, ignorance or misery, institutions and dogmatic belief”.

It is instructive to note that for more than three decades of experimenting with liberal democracy in Nigeria, the expected gains of multiparty elections have failed to be registered in the lives of average Nigerians. Instead, crisis of underdevelopment still persists nay in greater dimensions. Multiparty elections which are suppose to be the cure for development and insecurity in the country has actually exacerbated them (2). While ethno-religious conflict is rife in the polity, the economy remain on its knees with abject poverty as a recurring decimal among the people. Over the years statist approach to development has led to the state chewing more than it can swallow. Thus, leading to inefficiency and mal-development, and inefficient state cannot drive economic growth and development. The history of Nigeria is tainted with the absence of good moral and ethical values in the conduct of the post-independence ruling elites. This has adversely affected economic growth and development. Corruption and abuse of power have long been features of Nigeria’s economic and political landscape. In short, the Nigerian government remains distant from serving the interest of its people. Politics at the federal, state and local levels of the Nigerian federation are dominated by the powerful mandarin who built vast patronage networks during the military days and who now use political office to expand these networks and their personal fortunes (45). Given the character of the country’s political leaders, it is not surprising that there are threats to human security. This is not unrelated to the schism in the ranks of the post-independence political elites who lack the hegemony and discipline to engender socio-economic and political development.

Ayittey, 2006 cited in Fagbadebo (45:29) described Nigeria as “a truculent African tragedy in the midst of abundant human and material resources, which are propelled in the vicious cycle of poverty and autocracy. Effects at building a democratic polity further entrapped it at the political cross-roads”. With enormous wealth from oil resources, and economic, social and political strength, Nigeria is qualified to be called the giant of Africa. However, despite all social and economic policies that have been implemented by successive administrations since 1960, Nigeria has remained a laggard in social, economic and political developments. Subsequently, political instability, abject poverty, acute youth unemployment, heightened crime rate, poor health prospects, widespread malnourishments, e.t.c. have been the main features of Nigeria’s political economy (46). One of the major explanations for the failure of all development programmes in Nigeria’s fourth republic has been the absence of good moral and ethical values. In Nigeria today, security tends to assume the militarists approach either because the political system is inherently unstable or those in control of state powers want to be there ‘ad infinitum’. In either case, emphasis is on the building of arms and ammunitions to the detriment of the basic necessities of life for the citizens. In countries where appropriate development paradigm is in place and practiced, the citizens enjoys high standard of living demonstrated by the willingness of government to provide the basic necessities of life in terms of jobs, portable water, electricity, affordable housing, foods, good roads, access to modern health care facilities among others. Under these conditions, there could be national human security (47). Thus, where there is human security, there is likely to be absence of fear,

anxiety, threat, tension and apprehension over lost of life, liberty, property, goals, values among others?

Ian and Howe (48:78) affirm that in “both theory and practice, a close relationship exists between human security as the protection of persons and human development as the meeting of basic human needs. Human security and human development are both people – centred. Both stress that people are to be seen as ultimate ends but never as means, and both treat humans as agents who should be empowered to participate in the process of their own need-satisfaction. Both perspectives are multidimensional, and address people’s dignity as well as their material and physical concerns. Both impose duties on the wider global community”. They further noted that human security and development can be seen as mutually reinforcing. Hence, in his January 2009 speech to the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), World Bank President, Robert Zoellick pointed out the need for a stronger link between security and development, and that sequencing of policies to address these needs should be simultaneous. Thus, a peaceful environment frees individuals and governments to move from a focus on mere survival to a position where they can consider improvement of their situation. Likewise, as a society develops it is able to afford more doctors, hospitals, welfare networks, internal security operations, good schools and demining operations, all of which have the potential to contribute to the human security of the general populace. From the foregoing, it is clear human security is vital for development in any human collectivity. It brings about peaceful co-existence and development at large. To this end, it is obvious to states that Nigerians will not enjoy human security without development, development without human security, and neither without respect for human rights.

HUMAN SECURITY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The failure of successive democratic administrations to address development and human security challenges in has hindered the rate of progress. The return to democracy was characterized by the upsurge in violent conflicts and criminality. Conflicts that have afflicted Nigeria recent times are diverse in terms of actors, intensity, spread and nature. Some of these conflicts are in the form of electoral violence, insurgency, terrorism and communal crises. Other violent crimes such as armed robbery, kidnapping, piracy, human trafficking, cattle rusting and banditry have further completed the security situation. In Nigeria, much of public annual budgets still go to the purchase of state arms and ammunitions while education is poorly funded. The fragility of the Nigerian state is partly due to the deficit in human security. It is instructive to note that security is human first and foremost and not the state because human beings make up the state and not the reverse. Emancipation is the heart of a critical theory of world security. Seer (41) simplified emancipation to suit all places and times as ‘the pursuit of bread or material well-being, or freedom from nature and security; the pursuit of knowledge of truth, or freedom from ignorance, superstition and lies; and the pursuit of justice, or freedom from political tyranny and economic exploitation’. In essence, human security holds that individual security guarantees national and regional security. Thus, human security is not an attack on national security, but a complimentary view to national security. Human security holds that a people-centred view of security is necessary for regional, national and global stability. Therefore, the concept of security has shifted from the military angle to prioritize the

provision of goods and services which make life more meaningful to the people and empower them to participate in the developmental processes. This is a more enduring aspect of national security where people go about their daily activities unhindered (49). Therefore, it can be argued that approaching the question of security from a state or militaristic angle is defective. The more fundamental basis for security lies in freedom from poverty, poor housing facilities, disease, unemployment, arbitrary power, ignorance, domestic abuse, e.t.c.

Human security is a deviation from traditional security which emphasizes the protection of territorial boundaries, which is believed to have a direct effect on individual security. Thus, human security believes that without the security of humans, regional and national security will be difficult to achieve. Securing people also entails empowering people and communities. In many situations, people can contribute directly to identifying and implementing solutions to the quagmire of insecurity. Therefore, if the seven dimensions of human security explained above is carefully applied in Nigeria, the threats of insecurity will no longer have its grip on the national security.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While there are several theories which might prove appropriate for a discourse of this nature, the natural state theory presents us with a heuristic tool for interrogating the central issues of this paper. The theory was propounded by Aristotle and was made popular by Jowett, 1885; Ross, 1937 and Copstone, 1946 as noted by Black (50). The theory holds that the state emerged in order to provide the needs of individuals, given that human beings cannot satisfactorily provide their basic needs. Aristotle argued that 'the state must exist for an end, and the end upon which the state exists is the highest good of man' (41). That is, having a platform that will ensure the satisfaction of the basic needs individual cannot provide for himself or herself. This highest good of man was captured as pursuit of happiness by Aristotle. He described happiness as central to human existence and a necessary goal to be pursued. The highest good of man is also described as 'a life of virtue and contemplation' (51). Aristotle equated the state to community and portends that all communities aim at some good in a greater degree than any other body. Nnoli (52) while trying to define the concept of state noted that Aristotle defined state as a kind of community. Thus, he argued that a community is a union of unlike persons who are able to satisfy their needs by their exchange of goods services. To achieve the basic needs of life, Sabine and Thorson (53) affirmed that man must understand the potentialities of growth that are available and the possible means for actualizing the required basic needs of man.

In the final analysis, the natural state theory is based on its ability to justify how human security holds the key to an enduring nation security rather than building of arms and ammunitions that do not bring peace, security and political stability. Thus, Nigerian government should focus on addressing poverty and diseases rather than building arms and weapons of warfare to fight insurgency and terrorism in the country.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The human security approach aimed at fostering a cooperative, peaceful and stable environment for the promotion of human rights and attainment of overall national security. It focuses on improving existential conditions of citizens of a state by preventing or militating threats to safety, well-being and survival of the citizenry as well as ensuring the corporate existence of the state. In conclusion, fortifying the security walls will latest security equipments/gadgets as well as assigning security professionals to secure the populace will amount to nothing in Nigeria if the threats of hunger, diseases, poverty, acute youth unemployment and underemployment, bad governance, political and economic exclusion and lack of social amenities are not addressed by Buhari's administration. In order to put an end to security challenges plaguing the Nigerian State, this paper recommends as follows:

- In order to promote democratic stability and overall national security, the government at all levels should intensify effort to address the breeding ground of threats to security such as hunger, diseases, poverty, acute youth unemployment, political and economic exclusion and human rights violations.
- There is need for Nigerian government to diversify the sources of her revenue to areas such as agriculture, tourism and space technology. This can be achieved through the transfer of technology, skill acquisition, capacity building, public service reforms and provision of critical infrastructures. Government should also enhance capacity building through extension education.
- To improve agricultural productivity and have a very high sense of food security in the country, government should support agricultural research and training through research institutes, universities of agriculture, federal and state colleges of agriculture and other components of the national agricultural research system and provision of associated amenities for improved livelihood of rural farmers by building and maintaining rural infrastructure, collaborating with private investors and development partners in the establishment and management of rural infrastructure (rural roads, market, power, housing, e.t.c.). Provision of national unity through reinforced positive social norms should be encouraged by government. There should be cultural and value reorientation in the states which would encourage national – co-existence among the different ethnic nationalities in the states.

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