

**SECURITY AND WELFARE: THE
HISTORICAL DISCONNECT IN NIGERIA**

BY

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The chairman of today's occasion, members of the high table, the organizers of this lecture Bamidele and Co Law Firm, invited guests, members of the press, the audience in the hall, fellow Nigerians, distinguished ladies and gentlemen. It gives me a great pleasure to be here today to share my thoughts with you on this topical issue: *Security and Welfare in Nigeria: The Historical Disconnect*. Allow me to start from the very beginning by thanking the organizers of this lecture Bamidele Aturu and Co, to deliver this lecture. Even though, the topic of discussion is of interest to the one hundred and fifty million or so Nigerians, quite an insignificant number thinks about the issue and considerably more insignificant number gets the opportunity to express their views on the issue at public fora. I am among the insignificant number that have been afforded the opportunity not only to think about the subject but also to air my thought at public fora; I had the opportunity to be part of a government forum put together to reflect on this subject.

Let me also congratulate Bamidele Aturu and Co for the new initiative of identifying issues of public concern and organizing public debates on it with a view to enlightening the public and also assisting government to have a ready pull of ideas from which to draw for policy formulation and implementation to tackle these issues for the benefit of all. I am sure that though this initiative is private, someday, it will be accorded the recognition due it by those that matter and that the outcome of successive conferences of this nature will affect the society at large for the better.

My invitation by Bamidele Aturu and Co is a reflection of the bonds between us and the world view we share. At a personal level, the principal partner of the forum Bamidele Aturu and myself have been associated for close to four decades right from our formative years. He was my junior in the secondary school (Methodist High School Okitipupa in Ondo State) in the seventies. Later when I started my teaching career in Adeyemi College of Education, he was a student. Ever since he has started fending for himself, we have remained bound together in labour activism and human right crusade. The topic of today's discussion is of cardinal interest to human right crusade and labour activism. It is my hope that I will be able to make your day today with the modest contribution I will

make on the understanding of this very important but daunting subject.

I consider the subject important because security and welfare are so important to both individuals and the state that it is considered the *raison d'être* of states and the justification for membership of the state by individuals or group of individuals. It is daunting because I find it difficult to successfully compartmentalize the two as they appear to me to be one and the same thing. In other words, both security and welfare are as I hope to be able to show shortly, are two sides of the same coin if not same face of a single cheque leaflet. Security is the highest welfare a state can afford its citizens and welfare, the greatest form of security. I will return to this shortly.

The issues of security and welfare have become a major concern for all of us in Nigeria and indeed the whole world. It is a notorious fact that armed robbery, fraud, terrorism, hired killing, insurgency, ethnic conflict with attendant insecurity and displacement of people are parts of everyday life in Nigeria. Also, successive human development reports on Nigeria within the last few decades have been showing that the vast majority of the people live below the poverty line. There is widespread collapse of infrastructure, absence of public services, unemployment, the inability of people to meet the basic necessities of life. How did this state of affairs come into being in Nigeria? What had been the impact of insecurity and absence or inadequacy of welfare for the people? What efforts are and can government make to tackle this problem.

In what remains of this lecture, I propose to conceptualize both security and welfare, demonstrate their relations to one another, their importance to a state, look at how both have declined over the years in Nigeria while explaining their decline and finally proffer some suggestions about how to minimize the problems of insecurity and welfare in the country.

SECURITY AND WELFARE FROM A CONCEPTUAL PERCEPTIVE

In the humanities and social sciences, a common trait among scholars is the high absence of consensus in the definition of concepts and conceptualization of phenomena. Hence it will be difficult to find universally accepted definitions of the concepts of security and welfare. The best we can do therefore is to have

working definitions of these concepts. What then is security and what is welfare? The New English Dictionary and Thesaurus 2000, edition defines security as free from danger, safe, stable, firmly held or fixed, confident, assured and reliable. It expatiates further by saying that security is to make safe, to fasten firmly, to protect, to confine, to satisfy, to guarantee, surety for repayment etc.¹

The same dictionary defines welfare as wellbeing, health, assistance or financial aid granted to the poor and unemployed. It explains a welfare state as one in which the government assures responsibility for the health and social security of its citizens. From the above definitions, it can be seen that welfare and security are almost synonymous. They have to do with the assurance of people against danger. In military terms, when we talk of security we mean freedom of people or state against threat. Threat in turn is taken to mean anything that constitutes a danger to the security of a people or state.

From the foregoing, it is clear that both welfare and security can be interchangeably used. We will therefore dwell more on security and examine the historical disconnect in Nigeria. Security is widely accepted to be the primary responsibility of any state towards its citizenry. Philosophers and statesmen over the years are agreed that people exist in the state primarily because of their inability to provide their own security. The social contract theories may differ on the extent of the power a state should exercise over its subject, they are agreed that the state functions primarily to provide security for their citizens. Thomas Hobbes in his own social contract argued that because every individuals in the state was insecure as every individual was a sovereign and could enjoy the rights he had only at the limit of his own power. Since he invariably had others more powerful than himself, his rights were short lived. There was war of all against all as man became a wolf to his fellow men. "Homo luppus Homini". To guarantee the enjoyment of his rights man agreed to give up his right to govern himself to the state.²

Hobbes was followed by other social contract theorists such as John Locke and Jean Jacqui Rousseau. Locke in his work contends

¹ *New English Dictionary and Thesaurus*, New Lamarck, Geddes and Grosset, 2000, p. 527.

² John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government*, (1690). Cited in Ebenstein, W. *Great Political Thinkers Plato To The Present*, Santa Barbara, 1969 pp401-417

that the great and chief end putting organizing themselves into a common wealth and putting themselves under governments in the protection of their rights to which in the state of nature, there were many things lacking. Locke further argued that when a state ceases to perform this primary goal of providing security for its people, they are justified in withdrawing their loyalty. Said he

Whensoever therefore, the legislature shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly or corruption endeavour to grasp for themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberty and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people; who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative (such as they shall think fit), provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society.³

The authors of the American constitution were influenced by this notion of security for the people as the article of faith with governments. They contended that men are endowed with the self evident truth that they are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They went further that to protect these rights, governments are established deriving their just consent from the people.⁴

Security therefore is seen as the primary concern of government all over the world. In international relations, states are allowed to interact with other states and the international system on the basis of their national interests. National interests on the other hand, are classified into primary, secondary and tertiary interests. The protection of security of the state's territorial integrity and sovereignty is taken to mean the primary interest of the state. In the protection of this interest, the state is allowed to resort to the ultimate force. The state exists to protect its citizens and guarantee

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

them what the authors of the American constitution have termed self evident truth. These are the protection of the lives, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Any state that fails to do this is regarded as a failed state in contemporary international relations. Africa abounds with many of such states. The leading example often cited is Somalia. This is the one state where the government is at pains to perform the statutory functions of the state in the face of warlords, Islamic fundamentalists and pirates. This has led to a situation where other states in the international community that have anything to do with Somalia have taken it upon themselves to provide security for their interests in Somalia. Nigeria our beloved country is also popularly being included in this league of failed states. Our view on this inclusion belongs elsewhere in this lecture. For now let us see security and welfare in historical perspective in Nigeria.

SECURITY AND WELFARE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It is already known by all that we became politically independent on 1st of October 1960. We will look at the security and welfare situation in Nigeria since when the country became independent. The independence of the country like the birth of a new child with no apparent sign of deformity was greeted with great jubilation and high expectation. At independence, the last population figure for the country which was taken in 1953, was put at 31,200,000. This was the highest in Africa. The country had and still has vast agricultural land mass located in various climatic zones which enables her to produce diverse crops. She inherited a public sector with large employment opportunities occasioned by the departure of expatriates and the desire to Nigerianise the public sector. This meant that unemployment was not heard off. As a matter of fact, the country did not have enough skilled manpower to fill the vacancies vacated by the departing white expatriates to make for this short fall, a commission, the (Ashby Commission) was set up to review the manpower needs of Nigeria and make recommendations about how to meet these needs.² The commission recommended the establishment of more universities to train this manpower. It was the acceptance and implementation of this recommendation that led to the establishment of the universities of Lagos, Ahmadu Bello, Ife (new Obafemi Awolowo) and Nigeria at Nsukka.

At the primary and secondary levels, education was also modest. At independence, there were about 3,000,000 pupils in all the primary schools in Nigeria with the South that had slightly less than half the total national population of the country accounting for 2.5million, while the north with slightly more than half the population of the country had about half a million pupils. Also while there were 119,000 students in the secondary schools in the south, the north had just 14,000.⁵

A striking feature of education at the lower levels was the remarkable planning for the products of the schools. There was the plan for the well talented from the primary school to progress to the secondary school. Provision was also made for those not well talented to have some form of vocational studies that would equip them with skills which would make them useful citizens to the society. This was done through the introduction of the secondary modern school system. This was introduced by the Western Regional Government in 1955 along with its free primary education scheme. The system provided general and practical courses over a period of three years for pupils who were unable to pursue normal grammar school education or wanted to go to the labour market. Products of this system were expected to go into the junior clerical cadre of the civil service, commercial houses, teacher training colleges and nursery schools.⁶ In the north, there were crafts schools that served as the counter parts of the modern schools of Western Nigeria.⁷

A similar arrangement was made for students of the secondary schools in their transition to the university or otherwise. Those that were gifted were expected to proceed to the university while the less talented had provisions made for them in the technical schools and trade centers where they could study for the city guild certificate.⁸ enterprising products of modern schools, trade centers and technical schools could still progress higher in their educational careers to the teacher training colleges and poly techniques.

⁵ Akinyeye, Yomi "Nigeria Since Independence" in Akinjide Osuntokun and Ayodeji Olukoju (eds.) *Nigerian Peoples and Culture*, Ibadan Davidson Press 1997, p. 327.

⁶ Rev Niven, *The War of Nigerian Unity, 1967-1970*, Ibadan, Evans Brothers, 1970, p. 23.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Fafunwa, A. B. *History of Education in Nigeria*, Ibadan, NPS Educational Publishers Ltd. 2002, pp. 206-207.

The educational system was planned in such a way to guard against the drop out syndrome and idleness that could create an army of frustrated and disgruntled elements who could wreak havoc on the society. The expansion of the educational system was orderly and there was hardly any disequilibrium between the ability of the society and economy to absorb the products of the educational system.

A survey of the historical progression of Nigeria will be incomplete without a look at the security outfit in the country at independence. The police force started developing in the 1860s largely as a response to British colonial needs. However, in addition to colonial needs, the British administration still found it expedient to use pre-colonial policing institutions especially in the Northern and Western parts of the country. Colonial policing required the use of non-indigenes to police different parts of Nigeria. The peculiarity of localities however, made it expedient to rely on local “polices” in the North and the West. These local “polices” had demonstrable weaknesses and were subject to various reforms until 1965 when the entire police force was centralized.⁹ There was also an army of about ten thousand officers and men.

At independence therefore, there were relatively few causes of insecurity. The inherited polity was relatively well structured. Even though the colonial government essentially exploited the people and had very little or no welfare programme, the immediate post colonial governments at both the federal and regional levels were eager to justify their existence. They had fought the independence war on the need to improve the lots of the people. Frantic efforts were made by the politicians to introduce developmental projects that could benefit the people. The Western Region started this with its free education programme. The other regions were struggling not to be left behind and also initiated similar projects. As a result of the plans earlier discussed, products of schools and those that were not schooling were easily absorbed to the expanding society and economy. As late as 1971, the total enrolment of the six universities in the country was 16,000.¹⁰ Before the students finished their education, they already had employments waiting for them. Officers from the human resources and personnel departments in the public and private sectors came to these

⁹ op. cit. p. 207.

¹⁰ Ibid.

universities to interview the students for placement while still in the university. On graduation, they were simply placed into the appropriate levels of employment. On assumption of duties, they had well furnished accommodations and were given car loans almost without interest, which they repaid instalmentally. This situation of affairs still persisted until around 1980 from the testimony of Alhaji Yayale Ahmed (a former head of the federal civil service and minister) recently published in one of the dailies.

The political front underwent serious turbulence leading to a thirty month civil war which led to the expansion of the army from a modest strength of about 10,000 officers and men to war 250,000.¹¹ At the end of the war, there was the challenge of demobilising and integrating these former combatants who were skillful in weapon handling. The government rose to this occasion but the rate of integration was behind the numerical strength. The country was hence thrown into its first major security challenge. Though before the civil war armed robbery was not unknown, it was a rarity. After the civil war, there was a demonstrable rise in the level of armed robbery and the attendant challenge of insecurity. Although studies about the relationship between the war and social maladjustment with insecurity are not conclusive, it is doubtless that there was a rise in crime in general and armed robbery in particular.

The end of the war also coincided with the establishment of crude oil as the mainstay of the economy. Although discovered as far back as 1956, the black gold did not become the major foreign exchange earner of Nigeria until after the 1973 Arab oil revolt. Thereafter, revenue from oil aided the government of Nigeria to embark on post war reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation. This led to the neglect of agriculture which had been the mainstay of the economy and the migration of rural farmhands to the cities in search of employment. Although the oil economy led to job opportunities, the migration of job seekers to the urban centres outstripped the jobs available. The unavailability of jobs was compounded by stress and stretch on the social infrastructure in the cities. The jobless migrants had to feed, clothe and house themselves. In the absence of meaningful options, crimes became irresistible. This further compounded insecurity.

¹¹ op. cit. Pp. 330-331.

The availability of oil money led to uncoordinated expansion by the government. The federal government took over for example, education which had been largely provided by individuals and voluntary agencies. The government of Gowon declared a universal free primary education without first of all providing for the teachers that would cater for the phenomenal growth in pupils and students population, the classrooms that would accommodate them, the books they would read and off course the work places that would absorb the products of this expanded education system. Hurried plans had to be made to ensure the take off of the U.P.E scheme shortly after Gowon was toppled. The universities were equally phenomenally increased. This led to the large turnout of school leavers at primary and secondary school levels and graduates in tertiary institutions without a commensurate increase in employment opportunities.

The result is widespread unemployment. Exactly when this trend started cannot be clearly identified. However, the opening years of the 80s are remarkable. It was from then that university graduates who had earlier secured employment effortlessly found it difficult to be employed after the completion of their national youth service.

Meanwhile, the basis of sharing federally derived revenue was gradually revised to the extent that concessions that were made to regions where revenue came from were removed. At the same time, the price of oil started to fall at the international market while Nigeria was becoming unable to meet its oil production quota. The result was dwindling revenue and the adoption of austerity measures. This led to social and economic hardship for the people. The height of the economic hardship was the adoption of the IMF and World Bank prescribed conditions for the revamping of the economy. The most notable of these conditions was the Structural Adjustment Programme.

The Structural Adjustment Programme emphasized government's withdrawal of subsidy from public infrastructure, reduction of the workforce of the public sector called downsizing and rightsizing. The implementation of these conditions led to mass sack of workers thus further compounding the unemployment problem. The continued drop in oil revenue meant that foreign exchange could not be obtained to finance import of required raw materials to keep the few industries in operation. The worst hit in this regard was the textile industry which used to be the largest employer of labour.

These industries gradually folded up and thereby threw their workers into the labour market. The few industries that managed to remain in operation found it difficult to survive because of the IMF and World Bank prescribed conditions earlier referred to. One of these conditions was the liberalization of the economy so as to remove trade barriers and allow unfettered access of foreign goods into the Nigerian market. The result of this was that fledgling industries in the country were out-competed by products from the advanced economies leading to the liquidation of such industries.

The workers of these liquidated industries also had to join their counterparts in the labour market. In all of this, no government had ever thought it wise to give some relief to the army of employed who even if they have to forego the luxury of educating their children and meet other obligations at least have to be fed and clothed. This means that inevitably the hard pressed citizens have to make provisions to meet these needs.

The result to borrowing to meet import demands resulted into external debt requiring repayment and debt servicing. At the height of its debt problem, Nigeria spent close to 40% of its foreign earnings on debt servicing (i.e. paying interest on its foreign loans). This was apart from the need to pay the principal of the loans themselves. It is estimated that before the debt buy back arrangement made by Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Nigeria had spent up to \$16billion serving the debt and she still had about \$32billion debt outstanding. This drained the country of its ability to even meet its statutory obligations let alone providing social relief packages for the unemployed and dependent segments of her population.

The neglect of agriculture earlier mentioned meant that the country could not produce for both export and even to feed her population. Before the black gold became the major foreign exchange earner for the country from the 70s, foreign exchange was obtained mainly from agricultural export. The migration of able hands from the rural areas deprived agriculture of manpower and the nation of both revenue and foodstuff. Hence, foreign exchange was mainly spent on debt servicing and food importation.

The overall effects of this were that the economic space became seriously constricted for the teeming population of able bodied citizens without any relief. The responses of successive government

to this problem were at best palliative and at worst grossly inadequate.

The above portrayal of the Nigeria political economy will be incomplete without a mention of the phenomenon of corruption. Corruption like other concepts is variously defined. For our purpose, it will be taken as the abuse of one's position of public trust for personal aggrandizement. This over the years grew to permeate every facet of public life. Corruption further deprived the country of much needed revenue, paralyzed public institutions and has distorted the reward system in both the public and private sectors. Culprits of corruption live above their legitimate means and ostentatiously display ill-gotten wealth in the midst of widespread sufferings by the generality of the people. This further deprives government of legitimate earnings to maintain public infrastructure that benefit the citizens or even contemplate social relief for the large army of the employed.

Also, since oil has become the major foreign exchange earner for the country, the government has done all in its power to ensure the continued production of the black gold at all cost. In the process, the oil companies have not adopted environment friendly technology. This is in defiance of international regulations governing exploration and exploitation of oil. The result of this is that oil exploitation has produced incalculable damage to the environment of the oil producing areas. Some of these damage include oil spillage into the soil and waters of the oil producing areas, gas flaring and toxic waste. This has resulted in the destruction of the means of livelihood of the oil producing areas and consequent agitations by them. This agitation which started as silent murmurs in the early 60s, grew into the deafening roars and finally graduated into arms struggled and kidnapping.

The end result of the above maladjustment in the political economy of the country are the security challenges we are facing. Initially the major security challenge was armed robbery. This became noticeable shortly after the civil war and gradually increased over the years. Government responded to the challenge of armed robbery by making it an offence punishable by death through the firing squad. Several public executions were held from 1970. However, rather than deter armed robbery, robbers became more daring. This is because understandably they knew that death by firing squad hardly inflict any injury that will incapacitate or

otherwise impede them in any way as it simply removes the offender without addressing the cause or causes of the offence. Death by firing squad is analogous to the treatment of the effect of an ailment rather than tackling the ailment itself. Off course armed robbery continued unabated. When the government saw that the death penalty was not achieving the desired result, it changed tactics by drafting the army to assist the police. This change of tactics is reflected in the setting up of various task forces given different operational code names. In Lagos, it is the Rapid Response Squad. In other states operational code names of task forces include operation sweep, operation gbale, operation musa among others. In spite of these code names, armed robbery has refused to die.

While armed robbery is ragging like a wide fire, there is advance free fraud in the banking sector whereby bankers either on their own or in collaboration with some criminal elements manipulate the banking process to deprive depositors of their deposits. In other instances, depositors monies are diverted to personal uses by bankers leading to the collapse of such banks.

The security terrain was further compounded with the return of partisan politics in 1999. Large amount of capital was diverted from the economy to politics. Reward for political office outstripped all other vocations. The result is that politicians do everything to acquire political office. Apart from the manipulation of the political process, violence was included. Large quantities of arms were imported and distributed to political thugs. After elections such arms become readily available for illegal use. It is known that a large quantity of small arms circulate freely in West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. These arms are used for robbery and other criminal activities.

Deprived of their livelihood as a result environmental degradation consequent in oil exploitation, indigenes of the Niger Delta have resorted arm struggle against the state and kidnapping of expatriates for ransom. When this ransom flowed beyond expectation, the Niger Delta agitators introduced another dimension to the insecurity equation in the country. Former robbers now saw that it is was less hazardous and more lucrative to kidnap for ransom. Hence kidnapping has established itself. While robbers expose themselves to reprisals by law enforcement agents and are not sure of a handsome reward for their efforts,

kidnappers dictate their ransom for their victims who are usually unarmed when kidnapped. Also the concern for the safety of victims of kidnapping makes those who pay ransom not to involve law enforcement agents.

The above logic must have convinced robbers in other areas of the country to step up and take to kidnapping. Hence, kidnapping has also spread to many parts of the country. This further compounds the security situation.

Also, because of their restiveness, the government was compelled to negotiate with the Niger Delta activists. The result of this is the amnesty to the activists for their past agitation against the state and rehabilitation to desist from further future agitation. So far the deal appears to be working in spite of occasional threats of a breakdown.

The government's amnesty commendable as it is has also brought a fresh security challenge. This is that it has sent the signal that insurgency has the capability of getting concessions for the aggrieved. This may be a lesson that other insurgent groups have learnt and is encouraging them to adopt similar methods of agitation in anticipation of similar responses from government. Be that as it may, the important lesson of the Niger Delta experience should not be lost on the state. I will return to this shortly. It is now left for us to examine what can be done to get the reconnection between security and welfare of the people in the interest of all.

TOWARDS A RECONNECTION OF SECURITY AND WELFARE IN NIGERIA

I have attempted to argue in the preceding paragraphs that security and welfare have been regarded as the most important obligations of any state to its citizens. Furthermore, the loyalty a state can legitimately expect from its citizens is a function of its ability to provide security and welfare for them.¹² I have also attempted to show that Nigeria at present can be more effective in providing security and welfare for its citizens. I have further identified the causes of Nigeria's inadequacies in the provision of security and welfare for its citizens. Although these causes are varied; they can be summed up as maladjustment of the Nigerian

¹² Ibid.

political economy. It is now left to see what the country can do to tackle the security and welfare challenges.

Since the first major cause of the security and welfare disequilibrium is the disconnect between planning and politics, there should be a return to a reconnection between planning and policies. At the educational level for example, there should be a return to the well structured and orderly progression of citizens at the various levels of education. This is to say that there should be a revival of vocational institutions, craft schools and other intermediary institutions to enable citizens find their levels on the educational ladder so that that the rush for the acquisition of tertiary education by all regardless of aptitude is removed. This is not to say that I am implying that too many people are going to the universities. Far from it, if we look at the population of the country the universities are still not enough. However, enough care should be taken that only those who should be in the universities go there. Others should also have provisions made for them as was the case at independence.

Also, there should be a correlation between manpower production and employment opportunities so that vast number of highly qualified manpower are not left idle and find themselves in a position where they constitute security threats to survive.

There should also be a revival of agriculture so that young people are encouraged to take to the industry as a way of generating employment for themselves, reducing the army of jobless and security threats and also earning foreign exchange for the country. It is in this regard that we commend the cassava production initiative being taken by government and introduction of high yielding export crops varieties. Incentives should be given to young people especially university graduates to explore agriculture as a livelihood opportunity.

The government should also consider the revival of moribund industries that had provided livelihood for thousands of Nigerians. Again, the efforts at revamping the textile industry is hereby commended. This same initiative should be extended to other industries so that employment opportunities will be expanded for Nigerians.

Again, rather than promulgating draconian laws and investing heavily in arms and ammunition to fight crime, the Niger Delta amnesty experience has shown that if you address the cause of insecurity and discontent, insecurity will be reduced if not eliminated. Arms agitation in the Niger Delta so far has subsided because of the amnesty programme which emphasizes rehabilitation of militants.

It is also useful to start adopting internationally promulgated laws which make oil prospecting and exploitation environment friendly. This will once and for all remove the cause of damage to the environment and destruction of the livelihood of the Niger Deltans which had necessitated agitations in the first place. When oil companies violate the environment, the Obama Administration in the U.S. has demonstrated to the world what should be done by using the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico as an example. The Nigerian government should take a cue from this. It is in this regard that the current U.N.O. inspired cleansing of the Niger Delta by shell is highly commended. The governments of Nigeria ought not to have waited this long.

Lastly, the culture of negotiation and honouring of the outcome of agreements from such negotiations should be imbibed. Before taking to arms struggle, the peoples of the Niger Delta had been calling attention to their plights through several fora. All of this were largely ignored. It was only when they resorted to arms struggle that the Nigerian state started taking meaningful steps to tackle their problems. By so doing the government has sent the unfortunate signal that it only concedes to violence. This is a policy that is going to encourage similar arms struggles in different parts of the country for some time to come.

CONCLUSION

Distinguished audience, I hope I have been able to convince you that security and welfare are two sides of the same coin. The presence of one implies the presence of the other and the contrary is also true. When there is no welfare, insecurity reigns. It will therefore be more rewarding for the Nigerian government to know that the best way to tackle the challenge of insecurity is the provision of welfare for its citizens. I thank you for your attention.