HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: DIAGNOSING THE ELEPHANTINE PROBLEMS

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ABSTRACT
Insecurity in Nigeria has become endemic and has retarded socio-economic development of Nigeria. The menace of insecurity started as minor terrorism in 2013 during Good Luck Jonathan administration. The administration galvanized forces to stamp out the menace but not much was achieved. The present administration led by Muhammadu Buhari also mobilized forces to tackle the hydra headed monster called insecurity and yet the scourge appears to be escalating. The crescendo of insecurity in Nigeria has changed from Boko Haram to banditry, unknown gunmen all joined together. The methodology adopted in this paper was content analysis. The paper examined possible causes of insecurity in Nigeria and proffered implementable solutions to nip the problem in the bud. Critical among the suggestions ranged among others from building the capacity of the idle and unemployed youths because an idle mind is devil’s workshop. The researchers also recommended that effective campaign should be put in place to psychologically re-orientate the citizens of Nigeria and change their mindset from social vices so that they could engage in productive enterprises.

Keywords: Insecurity, psychological re-orientation, youths, underdevelopment

1. INTRODUCTION

National dailies and social media what we read as headlines are always frightening. The story is the same every day - killings here and killings there. We have decided to feature some of the headlines here to justify our assertion:


ten killed as gunmen attack plateau cultural festival. Train attack, twenty-one passengers still missing, seven coaches recovered, Gunmen storm Ogun mosque, abduct policeman, two others, demand N15m. Gunmen attack FRSC base in Anambra, killed two operatives. Pastor’s baby killed as wife; female members fight over alleged affair with cleric. (Punch 4/4/22). Gunmen killed two, kidnapped three in Ayobo area of Lagos State (Vanguard, 4/4/22)

Punch 5/4/22 headlines: – Terrorists kidnapped twenty-two in Kaduna community after IGPs visit. Terrorists attacked Zamfara community killed security commissioner’s son, and others. One killed as okada riders and hoodlums clash in Lagos.

Punch 8/4/22 headlines: – Gunmen attack plateau IDP rebuilding houses killed two. Punch 9/4/22 – Bandits raided Niger community, killed three abducted others. Gunmen invaded Anambra cattle market killed twenty cows, goats (Punch 11/4/22), also the same Punch reported that a community leader, fourteen others killed in fresh Kaduna crisis. The same issue reported that gunmen raised Imo justice commissioner’s home.

Punch 23 April, 2022 report – Suspected herdsmen killed twenty in fresh Benue attack. Vanguard report 23 April 2022 – Suspected herdsmen killed, behead Ondo farmer. Boko haram kills nine in bar, razes technical school in Yobe. How man murdered his fiancée, kept the body for days in his Lagos apartment as directed by juju man. Punch report of 26 April 2022 – Gunmen abduct DELSU final year student, demand N50m ransom.

PDP, others fume over killing of twelve thousand two hundred and twenty-five Nigerians in one year. Three feared killed in Kwara clash. Imo to conduct burial for over one hundred victims of illegal refinery explosion.


Killings: Resign now Northern elders tell Buhari (Vanguard 13/4/22).


Fresh killings throw Plateau villages into panic mode as terrorist kill 169 in three months. Herders invade Enugu community kill three villagers (Vanguard 14/4/22).

How 100 persons were killed over 100 houses burnt in one night (Punch 18/4/22).

Terrorist skill cop, three others, abduct many in Niger Community. Bloody Easter in Niger as bandits kill four, kidnap scores in Gwada Community (Vanguard 18/4/22)

ISWAP kills two soldiers, one policeman in fresh Borno attack. Gunmen abduct five friends returning from wedding in Anambra State. Terrorist kill three kidnapped victims in Kaduna, threaten to kill more unless ransom is paid (Vanguard 20/4/22).


2. PERIDCOPING HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

UNDP (2003) defined capacity building to cover human resources development and the strengthening of managerial systems, institutional development that involves community participation and creation of an enabling environment. Capacity building in the context of development implies a dynamic process which enables individuals and agencies to develop the critical social and technical capacities to identify and analyse problems as well as proffer solutions to them. Azikiwe (2006) defines capacity building as the process by which an individual irrespective of sex, are equipped with skills and knowledge they need to perform effectively and efficiently in their different callings. The author also added that capacity building could also be defined as the ability to enable the people to make use of their creative potentials intellectual capacities and leadership abilities for personal as well as national growth and development.

Capacity building therefore means planning for people to acquire knowledge and advanced skills that are critical to a country’s economic growth, its standard of living and individual empowerment. It is the planned programmes that will impact skills which will enable the recipient put the knowledge and skills acquired into productive uses to solve wide range of individual and national problems. Capacity building from the human capital point of view could be explained to mean when people possess the needed knowledge and advanced skills that are critical to individual growth and
development. The capacity needed by any country for sustainable development is primarily dependent on the adequacy and relevance of its entrepreneurship (Nwazor, 2012, Agunyai 2015).

We therefore advocate that capacity building of citizens of this country, the giant of Africa has nexus with the growth of insecurity in Nigeria.

3. INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: A THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

The combination of the elevated level of corruption, leadership deficit and economic mismanagement facilitated through lots of white elephant projects and the end of the oil boom in mid-1981 in the second Republic created fertile grounds for insurrection and civil disobedience. Tensions escalated and gave room for extremists to nurture religious ideologies that became the forerunner of today’s Boko Haram. The Maitatsine took advantage of the distracting socio-economic environment to trigger riots in Kano in 1980 and Kaduna and Maiduguri in 1982. The Kano riot alone resulted in approximately 4,000 deaths. Overall, the consequent decline in economic fortune created opportunities for politicians to use political thugs and mercenaries to maintain a hold on power or capture it afresh.

The second Republic economy also further opened the doorway for smuggling, drug peddling, trafficking in human beings and other kindred border crimes. There was also palpable laxity in managing land, air, and sea borders and ports by state institutions with those responsibilities.

The life of that Republic was consequently abruptly cut short through a military coup in 1984. Three different military rulers held the reins of power through coup d’état until 1998 when General Absallam Abubakar military regime instated an interim government to conduct elections. All three military juntas after the second Republic came from the Muslim North. The ousted civilian president also came from the Muslim North. The power equation visibly tilted in favour of a section of the country and deepened the perceptions of injustice and marginalization by other ethnic groups. Again, the long years of military oligarchy also created an enormous disconnect between the government and the citizens. No law compels military rulers to enforce balanced citizen representation in the government. The citizens also do not have any constitutionally guaranteed voice in the affairs of the country. Thirdly, the military has no extensive training in the appreciation and management of state and allied institutions. Consequently, most government institutions became weak and could not effectively respond to emerging challenges, particularly on the security front.

Such a situation led to the illicit execution of Niger Delta activists comprising Ken Saro-wiwa and his colleagues. The execution programme also targeted several community leaders in the region. The result was the rise of the Niger Delta milita, which immediately secured the buy-in of most Niger Deltans. The Niger Delta peoples, through several of these militias, protested the unjust and uncompensated exploitation of their natural resources now wholly owned by the federal government. Still, the exploitation process grievously damaged their environment, making it difficult for their crop farmers and fishers to pursue their traditional occupations. The militants attacked government security agencies, government infrastructure and installations, oil exploration installations of foreign multinational companies and continuously took several foreign oil workers hostage. The Niger Delta militancy technically brought in and domesticated the kidnapping-for-ransom that is currently widely adopted by hoodlums and bandits in terrorizing the country today.

Then came the 1990s, with significant climate changes such as drought and other economic challenges faced by many countries across the Sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the globe, which triggered series of migrations into Nigeria. Uncontrollable threats from nature and technology rendered many communities vulnerable and dependent on outside assistance for survival. The presence of oil and the famed wealth of Nigeria made it attractive to all versions of visitors. Although these migrations were not initially crime-threatening, many immigrants were also Islamic evangelists who responded to the message of the 1979 Iranian revolution to Islamize Africa. This class of visitors appear to reinvigorate the mood and inspiration of Maitatsine devotees with their messages. Nomadic pastoralists from several African countries also leverage the opportunity to master the forest pathways to the southern parts of Nigeria to search for foliage and pasture for their ruminants.

The heightening clashes between nomadic pastoralists and crop farmers in many southern parts of the country, particularly in the South-East, South West and middle belt geopolitical zones, were interpreted as a subtle invasion of the region by northern elements. That resurrected the agitation for Biafra. The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra [MASSOB], set up in 1999, led the pack. The successful operations of the Niger Delta militants were a strong inspiration and seemed to boost the possibility of successful military engagement. MASSOB quickly became a dreaded militant group. Street cults such as the Aba Boys also grouped to resist the government headed by Northerners believed to be behind the Southward migration. The split of MASSOB eventually resulted in the emergence of the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra [IPOB] in 2012, currently proscribed by the federal government as a terrorist organization.

The evolving jihadist zeal of the Mujahideen in Pakistan and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan has always had its eyes on sub-Saharan Africa. As early as the year 2000, Islamic missionaries with extremist’s orientation as the Al Qaeda and the Islamic State were already present in some parts of northern Nigeria. Again, the inspiration remained high through the
remnants of Muslims upholding Maitatsine ideologies of the early 1980s who always considered a Jihad as necessary. By 2009, Boko Haram was born. A few years after that, and following the fall of the Islamic State, West Africa became a new target. To strengthen its hold on Nigeria, Boko Haram swore allegiance to the Islamic state.

The government’s politicization of the insurgency and terrorism give headroom for their rapid expansion and replication despite the pressure from neighbouring countries to contain them. However, absolute poverty, illiteracy, and neglect of the youth in many of the northern states and the rest of the country, created ready pools of recruits that found solace in the use of ammunitions. Combining our porous borders and our corrupt immigration agencies, trade in small arms and other ammunitions used in the Libyan war blossomed and found their way in droves into the country. The policy of “visa on arrival” of the present administration in 2019 worsened the situation.

Finally, injustice, inequity and ethnic distrust paved the way for the scary cumulus of insecurity seemingly engulfing us currently. Even the external influences that amplified the existing insecurity conditions borrowed their strength from these pre-existing ‘bads’ which we nurtured and used to our peril. These inequities caused the 1966 coup, unleashed a chain of military rulers for more than four decades on us, resulted in the springing up of militias, and the creation of armies of poor, illiterate and unemployed persons that eventually became pawn-employees in the hands of terrorists. But these root causes, namely injustice, inequity, and ethnic distrust, can most effectively be eliminated through a robust citizen created Constitution and an effective justice system.

4. 4.0 PERSPECTIVES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE AND STATE OF THE COUNTRY NIGERIA TODAY

Good governance refers to “a set of qualitative characteristics relating to processes of rulemaking and their institutional foundations. It encapsulates values such as enhanced participation, transparency, accountability, and public access to information. It also helps to combat corruption and secure both basic human rights and the rule of law” (UNU-IAS in Dhaoui, 2019).

The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) agenda clearly has a great commitment to good governance and its vital role. Goal 16 indicates “effective governance, institutions and systems that are responsive to public needs, deliver essential services and promote inclusive growth”. Institutions are the basics for good governance. In addition, good governance includes relations between state and people.

The consequences of international financial crisis, the consequences of climate change, the impacts of state-intra conflict, crime and terrorism have increased the attention to develop the model of governance by taking into account new dimensions since the world is increasingly interconnected. We have myriad of crisis in Nigeria today ranging from Herders-farmers imbroglio, high profile kidnapping, boko haram, cultism, armed robbery high suicide rate, banditry, ritual killing, ethnic militarism, ethnic jingoism etc.

Nowadays, it is widely recognized that a single model of governance cannot and should not be imposed. The main reason is that governance varies across contexts and cultures, and has evolved in response to a number of socio-cultural and economic factors.

Good public governance and a more efficient and effective public administration are key drivers for smart, inclusive and sustainable growth, which are the aims of the 2030 strategy.

The Nigeria economic crisis has negatively affected already strained government resources and posed challenges in the area of democratic governance. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Nigeria has experienced increased income inequality since the onset of the crisis. Unemployment is high, especially among young people. Vulnerable groups of all ages and both sexes are being hit by the crisis. Inter-regional differences in public services and regional disparities combined with significant differences in fiscal capacities have deepened.

Within the framework of the 2030 strategy, national public administration reform programmes are seen as instruments to improve democratic and economic governance and foster fiscal consolidation. They are essential for structural reforms required, for investment in growth and employment and for improved service delivery. They also help to achieve a better balance between economic interests, environmental concerns and social inclusion.

Governments in Nigeria are faced with a loss of trust in their ability to deal with the crisis and met citizens’ needs and expectations. This loss of trust can reduce the effectiveness of policies and ultimately undermine the capacity of government to uphold fundamental rights. Good public governance, including the rule of law, contributes to building trust and confidence in national institutions as stewards of national well-being, quality of life and economic prosperity for citizens.

4.1 Stress areas in good governance include:
(a) Institutional capacity-building
(b) Public administration reform
(c) Delivery, accessibility and quality of public services
4.2 The Effect of Good Governance on Development

Regarding the effect of good governance on economic growth and development, there have been many studies that talked about this nexus. Results differ according to the regions and according to the used econometric tools. Some studies found a non-conclusive link. Others found a negative relationship. However, the majority of studies have shown a positive and a direct effect to achieve development targets such as reducing poverty, increasing employment, more equitable redistribution of income, etc (Chukwuemeka, 2020). Actually, there are widely accepted arguments that governance should play a stronger role in the post-2015 development agenda starting from the premises that good governance enables the achievement of a range of important development objectives. Nowadays, the ongoing discussion recognizes that current development challenges are more complex. Indeed, and according to the SDGs agenda, sustainable development should concern economic, social and environmental dimensions. Also, this development should be equitable. Good governance is widely acknowledged as a foundation for sustainable development, including sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development, environmental protection and the eradication of poverty and hunger (Chukwuemeka, 2022). To ascertain whether governance is good, their dimensions have to be assessed: Mechanisms that promote it, the process used, and the outcomes achieved. It is worth noticing that accountability through those dimensions is crucial. Accountability can run vertically from government to people, or horizontally between parts of the state (such as executive and judiciary). Therefore, a sustainable development framework will require that public officials account for actions taken in the public’s name and with public resources. Some concrete action may support the mechanisms and processes of governance such as gender responsive planning, budgeting processes, and transparency in the election, campaigns etc.

4.3 Indicators and Requirements for Good Governance

Enhancing governance requires some actions in different areas, not all of which can address at once, and all can be the subject of a global consensus:

(a) Effective, responsive and accountable state initiations
(b) Openness and transparency – public access to information
(c) Addressing corruption and curbing illicit financial flows
(d) Participation in decision making
(e) Curbing violence and combating transnational and national organised crime

For the implementation of good governance principles, a special attention is towards institutions. In this regard, institutions must help citizens achieve sustainability by, especially, providing equal opportunities and ensuring social, economic and political access to resources. Institutions, especially public ones, could contribute heavily to the maintenance of human rights, environmental protection, stable macroeconomic conditions, enhance health conditions, manage and mobilise resource for essential public services, etc (Jukneviciene and Krateivaitė, 2012). Further, it is crucial to identify problems, develop frameworks and create opportunities, and create the open-government ideas and formatting an appropriate public policy (West, 2009). Therefore, formal institutions are emphasized in the implementation process of sustainable development concept. The term governance is often characterized by seven major characteristics which assure that corruption is minimized, the view of communities is taken into account, and the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard. As for the indicators of good governance, graph below stated clearly the most important indicators:

5. PERILS OF LEADERSHIP DEFICIT IN NIGERIA

(a) Changing mix of the workforce – Virtually everybody has a university degrees or diplomas. The increase in educational attainment may be seen in two fronts. Some have certificates but cannot defend them. Also the increased number of women in the work force is challenging. It leads to requests for sick leave, maternity leave and school run. The Nigerian distressed organisations must bend backward to accommodate all these.

(b) Changing demand of government – Superior orders (executive fiat) have replaced rules and procedures. ‘Federal character’, ‘triangular equilibrium’, ‘quota system’, prebendal politics, clientele politics etc are the common jargons used today. The parlance now is “OGIP” that is ‘obey government in power’. This manifests in recruitment, posting, deployment. It has undoubtedly bred mediocrity in both public and private administrations.

(c) Changing morals of politicians – the cherished tradition of elected representative dying for the people is no longer tenable. The people are dying for their ‘honourables’. Our politicians prefer setting the whole house on fire provided the rat is caught. The reminiscences of Zik, Awo, Okpara, Balewea are now fairy tales. Today the Executives of Nigerian
organisations/Institutions have four masters – the government, the political office holders, the relatives to political office holders and the overall political boss.

(d) **Changing values of the work force** - There is increased individual need for ego, assertion of right and need for privacy. Individuals prefer little supervision and laissez fair handling.

(e) **Changing demands of employers** - most often organizational programmes are tailored to national and international standards as a result of technological changes, automation of processes or operations which often times are at the detriment of cherished traditions. Lately privatization and commercialization policies have resulted in loss of jobs by many Nigerians.

(f) **Changing faces of insecurity, ethnic militia and terrorism** – The ‘Egbesu’, ‘OPC’, ‘MASSOB’, heightened ethnic agitations/self-determination, banditry, ISWAP, Boko haram, Niger Delta Avenger, ethnic militarism, armed robbery and other ethnic cleavages abound. The frequent bombing (suicide and ordinary) by dreaded ‘Boko haram’ and ISWAP, is also turning the Nation upside down. Their evil activities are getting out of proportion. The invasion of oil companies by restive youths in the Niger Delta region, the incessant clashes between herders and farmers, ritual killings, Cyber-crimes/yahoo boys and the – everyday clash in Plateau State, Benue State, Southern Kaduna, kidnapping, ritual killings, current frequent gruesome murder and beheading of the victims in the South East, everyday bombing and loss of thousands of lives across Nigeria pose a lot of questions to the very ideal of development in Nigeria. The unemployment rate in Nigeria is frightening. See the table below for detailed statistics, there is also high rate of structural unemployment which is as a result of talents not used where they are available (Njoku 2002). People now dread to work in the northern and many other parts of Nigeria for fear of kidnapping, banditry etc. Idle mind definitely is the devil’s workshop.

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(g) **Changing crescendo of the ecclesiastical realm** – Too many churches in Nigeria today and too many crimes at the same time. We do not know whom to trust again. The belief is that government has failed but that religion has not been tried. The entire Nigerian system is quagmired. Church activities go hand in hand with official work. Often work kicks off at 8.00am with a long prayer session. Some go for as long as one hour. The pain is not in the long hours lost but in the hypocrisy the whole activity is dotted with. The organizational executive does not stop the prayer session otherwise curses will follow him. The leadership realizing that to work is to pray, has a duty to enforce work ethics and work rules as prayer without works is dead. Sectionalism or sectarianism is the order of the day. Only ‘BROTHER OR SISTER’ has the best of intentions and should be obeyed. Only ‘BROTHER OR SISTER’ should be employed or should work in specified work locations. Only ‘BROTHER OR SISTER’ should be trusted.

(h) **Brain drain** - Brain drain is the emigration of highly trained or qualified people from a particular country. Nigerian underdevelopment has accelerated brain drain in recent years. The situation has been worsened by acute unemployment, structural unemployment and leadership deficit. The exodus of middle-class and highly skilled Nigerians which has been occurring in waves since the late 1980s and more pronounced in the beginning of the millennium till date is devastating the Country. This was sparked by an economic downturn following a period of economic boom in the 1970s and 1980s; propelled by the discovery of oil wells in Nigeria. The mass exodus of our skilled health workers has led to collapse of our health system and other critical sectors of the economy. Today in Nigeria there is unprecedented high level of medical tourism by the governing elites and other high profile and middle level citizens who can afford the cost.

(i) **Farmers-headers conflict**: Crop farmers today cry and argue that the fear of arm- wielding cattle herders not only prevent them from going to the farm but that cultivated farm lands and crop yields are destroyed by cattle resulting in food supply insecurity, poverty and unemployment in Nigeria.
6. UNDERSTANDING THE PARADOX OF LEADERSHIP DEFICITS IN NIGERIA

Failure in governance has heightened conflict and dissatisfaction among the federating units in Nigeria. This has undoubtedly retarded development in Nigeria. The issues as enumerated below are also responsible for disunity in Nigeria which has raised the question whether we are still one Nigeria or not. This has also resulted to the fervent call for restructuring of the federation and agitations from different ethnic cleavages. Critical among them are:

(a) The politics of revenue allocation and resource control

Revenue allocation has been a problematic issue right from the colonial period (Chukwuemeka, 2016). This is predicated on the various committees or commissions that have worked on this subject. Revenue allocation, resource control, and the politics of true federalism have caused a lot of problems in Nigeria. The revenue allocation more often than not is suspected to favour some parts of the Country at the expense of the others. This has impaired even development and have created tension and instability in the system.

(b) Bribery and Corruption

Corruption has been defined by Nye (1958) as behavior, which deviates from formal duties of a public role because of (private clique) regarding pecuniary. This includes such behavior as bribery (use of reward) to pervade the judgment of a person in position of trust, nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of affranching relationship rather than merit), extortion and misappropriation of public resources for private regarding uses. Today in Nigeria corruption has employers and employees. The big boss in the office who has detailed his subordinate to collect illegal fees for him is the employer while the subordinate is the employee (Okoye, 2019). Other vices resulting from governance deficit are:

(c) Unemployment
(d) Inability to diversify the economy
(e) Freedom of speech
(f) Marginalization of the peasantry by the governing elites

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the discourse, it is discernible that the high rate of insecurity in Nigeria today is a function of weak institutional framework, which includes: leadership failure, absence of effective capacity building, ethnic jingoism, inability of the civil society organisations to live up to the calling of their duties, unemployment, politicization of insecurity, lopsidedness in the sharing of the resources of the country, lopsidedness in the distribution of political power. The list is inexhaustible.

8. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS CURBING INSECURITY IN NIGERIA

(a) There should be fundamental structural transformation of the Nigerian State. It should mean the transformation of production that will be devoid of oppression of the peasantry.
(b) The Government should henceforth build the capacity of the citizens to reduce idle minds, because idle mind is devil’s workshop.
(c) The Government should create enabling environment for private businesses to thrive in Nigeria. This will include granting incentives to the private sector and private business owners.
(d) Legislative incentives should be used to direct local investment to manufacturing sub-sector of the economy such industries should be capable of using local inputs for its operations.
(e) Nigeria should be restructured – We need a mutually agreed arrangement that allows every component to take charge of the security of lives and properties of citizens through decentralized policing, while the Federal Government takes care of defending our territorial integrity. We need a federal arrangement where the best excel and does not have to be sacrificed in the name of federal character. We need a structured federation where every Nigerian can live and ply his or her business without any form of discrimination, molestation and destruction of his or her life and property on the flimsiest excuses.
(f) Reduction of scarcity and inequality through revolutionary development programme which should be predicated on equity, justice, fair play, rule of law and upholding human rights principles.
(g) Emphasis should be shifted from the sharing of national cake to creative production of the cake
(h) Wealth should be de-emphasized as basis for social status and be replaced by the level of creative production of goods, services and ideas.
(i) It is also recommended that the funds meant for the creation and consideration of states and local governments should be diverted to create employment for teaming youths and also the formation of viable associations for poor peasants, workers, petty traders, artisans and the underemployed and unemployed.
(j) Consultation, dialogue, friendly and informative public relations will go a long way in reducing high tide of hostility, mistrust and suspicion among the major stakeholders in Nigerian wealth sources.
(k) Accountability, transparency and achievement should be the watch word of the governing elites.
(1) The anti-graft agencies like EFCC, ICPC should be independent and not controlled and manipulated by the ruling party.

(m) The Civil Society Organisations should be given stronger teeth to influence governance in Nigeria.

(n) Effective campaign should be put in place to psychologically re-orientate the citizens of Nigeria and change their mindset from social vices so that they could engage in productive enterprises.

(o) Creation of grazing reserves and dedicated grazing routes in order to solve the issue of encroachment on farmlands by herders and the frequent killing and maiming of crop farmers by arm wielding herders.

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