



INSECURITY IN THE LAKE CHAD REGION AND NIGERIA'S RISING DEFENCE BUDGETS

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Abstract

With the advancement in technology, globalization, ideological explosions and the widespread of light weapons across the globe, the world is fast becoming insecure. In the contemporary world, insecurity knows no bound. Today, terrorism, mass – shooting, kidnapping and banditry have become threats to peace and security and are the highest contributors to humanitarian crises globally as well as the Lake Chad Region. This paper provides analytical and graphic scenarios of increase in defence budget, forgoing critical sectors of human capital development and infrastructure to finance wars and instabilities which only succeeds in making a cyclical adventure of insecurities. The study makes comparative analysis of the phenomenon from 2011 to 2020 when the budget was N121 billion; but with heightened insecurity, the budget was raised to N899 billion. The analyses showed that increase in the defence budget is at the expense of other critical sectors of development including education, agriculture, health and infrastructural development. Equally, the huge budgetary provisions for defence are evidently mismanaged and easily fall into the mighty loop of corruption. Corruption helps elongate the period of war; thereby putting the lives of the citizenry in danger. These lead to less informed society; high unemployment rate; unhealthy citizenry and many other factors that eventually booster insecurity. . The increase in the defence budget meant to ensure the efficacy of all the policies of government in ensuring a stable and peaceful nation does the opposite by opening plethora of security challenges. The study employed a progressive theory of public expenditure and relies on both primary and secondary sources of data. This study can be used as a benchmark by policy makers to formulate a policy that can create a peaceful atmosphere and the development of a comprehensive and workable strategy in defence budgeting and expenditure.

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Introduction

Insecurity has spread its tentacles in most parts of the globe; its effect goes beyond the scene of the actual happening and impacts the world's socioeconomic and political developments. Insurgency and extremist agitations are steadily becoming the order of the day. In contemporary world, insecurity knows no bound. There have been growing incidents of insurgency in the Middle East with spillover effects in sub-Sahara Africa following the assault against global terrorism by the West (Nwaobi, 2013). Globalization has brought about improvement in information and telecommunication technologies, thereby, providing platforms for the development of collaboration among various insurgent groups across regions of the world (Foyou et. al., 2018). Consequently, numerous terror groups follow related patterns of insurgency against government, security forces, the people and institutions. Owing to the lack of the wherewithal to adopt and adapt the required plan of action and the existence of several issues that prompt the occurrence of insecurity, the African continent has been enmeshed in serious security challenges. Even before colonial domination, some African states like Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya had faced different forms of terror intricacies (Zoubir & Dris-Ait-Hamadouche, 2013).

Insurgency around the Lake Chad Region and in the Sahel enabled trans-border insecurity in and around the countries porous borders (Aniche; Moyo & Nshimbi, 2021). Lawlessness in the region came in diverse ways including trans-border armed banditry. Others are existence of many illegal and criminal activities, human and drug trafficking; cross border armed rebellion (Agbiboa, 2017). Nigeria as an entity faces multiple challenges that fuel insecurity, especially of recent. These include religious extremism, ethnic profiling, resource control and separatists' agitations. The major issues that contribute to Nigeria's insecurity include the prominent Boko Haram terrorism which started its violent activities in 2009 in the Northeastern part of the country. The terror gang has killed and maimed hundreds of innocent people, both young and old, and has carried out many

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terror attacks in Nigeria and across neighboring countries on the Lake Chad Region (Muhammad et. al., 2021; Oyewole, 2015). Today, terrorism, mass – shooting, kidnapping and banditry have become threat to peace and security and are the major contributors to humanitarian crises in the Lake Chad Region and the world. Due to the domestic security concerns and the desire to maintain its status of military capabilities in the comity of nations, especially in Africa , Nigeria, the largest economy among countries on the Lake – Chad Basin allocates huge resources on defence. Defence budget is a measure that spells what a country is willing to spend on its security. Though budgeting on defence does not automatically mean strong and efficient security, it gives an idea on how countries measure up against one another, as well as how other sectors of development are forgone for the security of a nation. The world economic crisis has (consistently) threatened government spending with defence spending as a candidate for spending cuts.

As a response to curtail the issues that trigger insecurity in Nigeria, government had employed various strategies including increase in the defence budget. The increase in the defence budget is meant to ensure the efficacy of all the policies of government in ensuring a stable and peaceful nation. In 2008, Nigeria’s defence budget was ₦191.5 billion, but with the full scale engagements on Boko Haram , banditry , kidnapping , interethnic clashes and separatists agitations, the budget was raised to ₦900 billion in 2020 (Budget Office, 2022). The country’s military expenditure in a decade ago increased momentarily which in some cases was unnecessary. In macro-economic studies, military spendings have not usually been related to economic satisfaction. Regardless of the enormous funds allocated into the defence budget in the country, regrettably, the performance of the military remains subpar and poor, and by so doing, fuelling the state of insecurity.

In their studies on military spendings, Narayan and Singh (2007), argued that Keynesian school of thought contends that an increase in the military burden stimulates demand, increases





purchasing power and national output, and creates positive externalities (p. 395). But on the contrary, the traditional philosophy posits that an expansion of military expenditure deters economic growth. As a result of high-interest rate, the military outlay pushes out private investments. Moreover, consumption will decrease prompted by decline in cumulative demand as a result of a increase in military expenditure (Duru et. al., 2021). The action considered by many states in the crisis-infested countries is the usage of the military. Conversely, the political will to tactfully bring to an end insurgency in the Lake Chad Region is not there. The Nigerian Government is not sincere in the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency. According to Duru et. al (2021) and Oyeinbiyeridei & Osaherumwen (2021), military expenditure had increased in the Lake Chad Region countries neighbouring Lake Chad as a result of crisis experienced. This view supports the argument of Eryigit et. al. (2012), that the craving to guarantee economic growth and peace results in increased military spending. Nonetheless, there is no proof to indicate whether the enormous funds set aside for defense in the Lake Chad Region states advance economic development or hinder it. In addition, supporting the view of Duru et. al. (2021), the danger posed by the insurgence had resulted in huge military expenditure with a decrease in development finance that could boost the welfare of the people in concern states (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria). The main shortcoming of the previous studies on insecurity in the Lake Chad Region and the rising defence budget is inadequate statistical analysis. There are no much data explaining defence budget in the last decade. This article provides statistical information discussing the period when Lake Chad Region is challenged heavily by insecurity. This chapter provides analytical and graphic scenario of increases in defence, while forgoing critical sectors of human capital development and infrastructure which only succeeds in making a cyclical adventure of insecurity. The study makes comparative analysis of the phenomenon from 2011 to 2020. The analyses show that increase in the defence budget is at the expense of other critical sectors of development including education, agriculture, health and infrastructural development. Equally, the huge





budgetary provisions for the defence are evidently mismanaged and easily fall into the mighty loop of corruption. Corruption helps elongate the period of war, thereby putting the lives of the citizenry in danger (Oyewole, 2015). These lead to less informed society, high unemployment rate, unhealthy citizenry, and many other factors that eventually boost insecurity. The increase in the defence budget meant to ensure the efficacy of all the policies of government in ensuring a stable and peaceful nation does the opposite by opening a plethora of security challenges. This study can be used as a benchmark by policy makers to formulate a policy that can create peaceful atmosphere and the development of a comprehensive and workable strategy in defence budgeting and expenditure.

In addition to the introduction, the study is assenbled as follows: Section 2 presents the literature review and theoretical framework; Section 3 discusses Lake Chad Region's socio-economic importance and the potentials for insecurity; Section 4 dwells on the causes of insecurity in Lake Chad Region; 5 focuses on the rising defence budget; while Section 6 contains conclusion and recommendations.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Plethoras of literature have probed the relationship between rising insecurity, armed conflict and defence budget using diverse methodologies. The incident of the rising defence budget among countries bounded by Lake Chad, brought about several arguments on the connection between growth and defence spending, thereby making the discussion very appealing. Regardless of the expansion in defence spendings progressively in the states on the Lake Chad Region, there has been negative economic growth. Typically, the drift in the tempo of increase in defence spendings and the growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is unclear (Perlo-Freeman et. al., 2010;





d’Agostino et. a., 2012). This study therefore reviews and investigates the impact of military spendings and increase insecurity in the Lake Chad Region.

According to Ogonnaya (2016) and Clapham (2003), Africa is the most fragile continent in its fight against terrorism mainly as a result of absence of the capacity to come up with the required counterterrorism action plan and the presence of multitudinous challenges that prompted the occurrence of terrorist activities. Lutz et. al. (2013) claim that defence budget cannot be seen as exorbitant. Defence is everyone’s concern, differing from individual demands that are privately produced and consumed privately and individually. Whereas defence expenditures are consumed collectively by all. Hence, defence and security of individual countries across the world influence their overall growth and developments. Moreover, the military is referred to as one of the most critical state institutions that have the mandate to protect the territorial integrity of countries. Fajana & Ige (2009), opined that the Nigerian military has played a significant stabilization role in the world, especially in the West African sub-Region ,thereby remaining relevant and highly strategic.

It is on record that the fourth republic democratic experiment faces a number of security challenges in the country because of the freedom enshrined in democracy. Democracy has broadened the political space by allowing the electorates room to protest and to violently agitate, which create more pressure on the Nigerian army. You found increase in resource control agitations in the South-south geopolitical zone and seperatist movement and sucession threat in the South-east. In the North-east, armed banditry, Boko haram insurgency hold sway;; and banditry and kidnapping have remained a “huge and lucrative business” in most parts of Northwest (Sunday & Emmanuel, 2021; Hussain & Muhammad, 2021). Most disturbing is the terror upheavals in the Northeast and banditry in both the Northwest and Northcentral. The army were invited to intervene when the

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Nigeria Police could not effectively perform their mandate of bringing peace and stability to the polity. The army counter insurgency has not achieved the desired results of bringing normalcy to the affected places where criminal activities are raging. The intervention of the Multi National Joint Tax Force (MJTF) across states is facing a number of challenges with counter attack being experienced. These challenges make government to keep increasing its spending on defence armaments, while neglecting human security of improving the socio-economic needs of the people. Government has seriously neglected the health, education, and employment needs of the people by heavily concentrating on defence (Jockel & Sokolsky, 2001). On his part, Anfofum's (2011) investigation the connection between socio-economic growth and defence spendings in Nigeria and revealed that huge defence expenditure had negative consequences on agricultural and social sectors as this development had a harmful effect on the manufacturing sector. Contrary to the above claim, Abogan et. al. (2014), opine that defence expenditure had a momentous and positive effects on public investment, oil and non-oil export, and economic growth in the country. In a similar development, Tiwari & Shahbaz (2013), examined the result of India's defence expenditure on economic growth. The results showed a negative impact on economic growth in relation to economic defence expenditure. In the same vein, Chairil et. al. (2013), studied the correlation between economic growth and military expenditure in South-east Asia countries (ASEAN), giving more attention on Indonesia, found that military expenditure impact positively on economic growth. Haseeb et. al. (2014) in his study on Pakistan claims that defence spendings could be employed as a tool to stabilise macroeconomics upheavals. The long and short term impact of military expenditure on economic growth in the country was also studied by Apanisile and Okunlola (2014). It went further to confirm whether military spendings are considerably non-contributive venture. The findings indicate that military spendings wielded negative and momentous effect on economic growth in the short run. Nevertheless, its effect on economic growth was useful and significant in the long run. The study posited that military spendings

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actually add value to economic condition of a country. In their work in ten (10) countries in the Mediterranean region, Feeny et. al., (2013), assert that military expenditure actually brought about unwelcomed economic development.

Cetin and Guzel (2019) on the same topic inspected the relationship between military expenditure and economic growth in the Middle East and North African states. The outcome indicates an unhelpful connection between military expenditure and economic growth in the states examined. Proof from previous works on the relationship between military spendings and economic growth in the framework of developing and developed states has revealed conflicting results. Mintz & Stevenson (1995), and Smith (1995) , argued that inadequacies in methodologies and theory are the feasible motives for divergence in the review. This according to Huang & Mintz (1991); Ram (1995) and Alptekin and Levine (2012) , is as a result of the applications of different statistical tools which include empirical models and datasets which are essentially accountable for the divergent outcomes.

In addition, proof from prior studies indicate that the failure to come to terms with different history and idiosyncrisies of leaders on the connection between military spendings and economic transformation for countries made some scholars to make generalisation. Considering the features of these countries, they categorised them as conflict and non-conflict states (Smaldone, 2006), dependent on location. (Gyimah-Brempong & Racine, 2014), gave examples of countries that are economically boyant and those that are well-endowed with natural resources (Looney, 1988). The earlier reviews indicate that there exist four kinds of connecting relationships between military spendings and economic transformation (Ajmair et. al., 2018). These are directional causality , unidirectional causality , bidirectional causality ,and no causality between military spendings and economic growth.

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Most theories on defence and security indicate that there is a connecting tendency between defence and insecurity. Theoretical approach to understanding the roots of insecurity has its advocates among researchers like Midlarsky (2005), Larson (2012), Adeyeye (2013) and Mahmood & Rauf (2018), among others. Most of these researchers are sociologists, development studies specialists, and even political economists. These scholars view increase in insecurity and crises to failure to meet the defence budgetary allocation. Its fundamental hypothesis is that defence budgetary allocation and failure to attain it can result in vicious conflict when perceived as a way to survive (Anyim, 2014). This approach explains that budgetary allocation is the real threat to the security. The way out is to pay more attention to sustainable development as the most functional way to prevent vicious conflict rooted in defence budget

Lake Chad Region Socio-Economic Importance and the Potentials for Insecurity

The Lake Chad basin is strategically situated and connecting Nigeria, Chad, Cameroun and Niger Republic between longitudes 7o and 24oE and latitudes 6o and 24o N (Coe &Foley, 2001). It is bordering North-eastern Nigeria in the far west of Chad. It is a huge source of fresh water in Africa in the middle of sand dunes threatened by environmental changes. 42% is in Chad, while 28%, 21% and 9% are situated in Niger, Nigeria and Cameroon respectively. Across its shoreline are thirty communities populated by 20 million people. According to Coe &Foley (2001), the Lake is a leftover of a previous inland sea which has developed and drained following over 13,000 years climate change. In the last 40 years, human impacts and increasing climatic variability have acutely affected the extremely shallow lake which is hardly more than 7m deep. In around 4000 BCE, at its prime size, the lake approximately occupied an area of 400,000 km² and by independence in 1960, it shrunk not more than 26,000 km². It further reduced from 25,000 km² to less than 1,500 km² between 1966 and 1997 and shrinking down pitifully to an area occupying some 532

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km² between 1994 and 2004 (Badewa, 2020). Onuoha (2008) concludes that the lake has reduced by about 90% of its 1960 size. The basin is drained by many rivers. These sources of water include Serbewel, Chari-Logone, Botha El Beed, Komadugu-Gan, a or Lesser Yobe Ebeji, the Yedseram, Ebeji Mbuli, Ngadolu, Ngadda, Komadugu-Yobe and Taf-taf according to Gao et. al. (2011). Gao et. al. (2011), submit that 10% of the water is sourced from the Komadugu-Yobe river, while the remaining 90% is sourced from river Chari – along with its tributary, the Logone supplies. Onuoha (2008) posited that the water is a source of life coming from north of N’Djamena, originating from the Central African Republic and Camroun to some extent. It equally nourishes vast expanse of land for herdsmen and pastoral animals grazing (James, 1989). It accomodates pastoralists from near and far, including those from the neighbouring countries, the whole of the Sahel and beyond.

The Lake shrunk further, corresponding with erratic water pouring into it, and increase pressure from both human and natural forces, thereby affecting its sustainance. As a result of increase pressure, the lake became dry up and the vegetation that sustained livestock grazing disappeared. . Another contributing factor is the heavy grazing of animals such as sheep and goats after the droughts of the 1970s, which impacted negatively on the vegetation of the area by overriding the remaining woody plants (Onuoha, 2008). Additionally, the inhabitants became increasingly reliant on the lake as a source of water to substitute the water they had in the past sourced from the monsoons. Consequently, activities carried out by humans in the lake considerably exposed the natural environment to the ruthless effects of climate change (Onuoha 2008). Succinctly, the lake is negatively impacted by human pressure and other natural challenges not mitigated, which is the consequence of climate variation. These have created adverse effects on the environment as well as economic activities and the livelihoods around the basin, thereby, creating circumstances favourable to conflicts.





Nwanegbo et. al. (2017), further assert that the Lake is an essential resource and source of fresh water for human, livestock and wildlife supporting life in the Sahara Desert and the semi-arid region. In economic terms, the lake supports pastoralism, fishing and agriculture. Hassan (2021), claims that close to 200,000 fishermen depend on the shores and islands of the lake for their livelihood. Six decades ago, at the height of its production, the lake accommodated nearly 80 fish species with an approximate 130,000 to 141,000 tons of fish catch annually. A decade ago, 60,000 to 70,000 tones of fishes were estimated to be produced far less than what was obtained at the height of decolonisation. Succintly, since the decade of the 1970s as a result of climate changes which brought about fluctuations in the level of the lake, there have been substantial negative disruptions in the fish fauna. These unwholesome changes force some open-water species to vanish with high mortality as a results of distruption to the lake (Hassan, 2021). Hence, as Onuoha (2008) argued , the lake supports agriculture and serves as the launch pad for the cultivation of onions, cotton, sorghum, cassava, maize, groundnuts, millet and rice.

Fishing in the Lake Chad basin offered employment and served as source of food to more than 10 million persons, with about 70,000 tons harvest in the year 2000-2001 (Hassan, 2021). The Lake and its surrounding some decades ago was one of the safest places to live; lives and property were safe. Full of life, food stuff was low-priced to the point that tomatoes and pepper were free. People slept with their doors unlock. Millions of people have now lost their lives and property to terrorist activities carried out by members of the Boko Haram (Nwanegbo et. al., 2017). Disturbingly, as the lake shrinks, the fresh water dries up and other resources increasingly reduce, with economic livelihoods being considerably dislocated to the extent that the people whose survival relies on the lake have followed its retreating waters. The result has been the prevalence of fight over scarce resource in and around the lake (Okpara et. al., 2015). Sadly, the shrinkage of the water body has continued at frightening speed as a result of demographic pressure and unsustainable exploitation





of the basin resources by neighbouring countries (Onuoha, 2008; Connah & Connah, 1981). Another factor is the unsteady rainfall supplying the lake and its surroundings, just as the feeder rivers were also affected as a result of climate change.

Another factor that encourages the crisis in the region is the heavy utilization of water resources of the basin. Countries neighbouring the basin occupy themselves in building huge irrigation projects by damming the waters expected to flow down the lake. This has fast tracked the dry up process of the lake by the activities of the authorities concern. Noteworthy was the building of dams by the Camerounian and Nigerian authorities along the rivers supplying water to the lake. These dams include the Yaguou-Tekele dyke dam , the Magaga dam , the Tiga dam , the Alau dam , the Yedersdam Dam on Chari-Logone, River Yobe, River Ngadda and River Yedersdam. Other ventures with environmental impacts include the Chadian Government MAMDI Polder Project and the South Chad Irrigation Project (SCIP) provided by the Nigerian Government (Coe and Foley, 2001). Coe and Foley (2001) in particular asserted that competition and huge utilisation of water resources from the lake among surrounding states chiefly through enormous irrigation schemes, explain the more than 30% of the decline in basin throughout the post colonial period. Apart from climate factors and increasing exploitation of the fresh water available and its resources, the massive influx of human population decades ago has also enormously contributed to rising insecurity in the basin and its environment. The decade, coupled with its terrorist activities was actually motivated by these factors which manifested in economic upheavals in the northeast Nigeria and other countries bordering the lake. Insurgents hurt the economy by scaring investors away and sinking consumer confidence; many business had to relocate to other places away from the affected areas (Mohammed, 2020). The consequences of terrorist activities have continued to have troubling impact on budgets and spendings made by authorities, forcing them to lean more towards state security at the espense of economic security.





Causes of Insecurity in Lake Chad Region Nigeria

Lake Chad Region insecurity is advanced by the failure of those in power to promote good governance and ensure that basic social and economic needs of the people are put in place. For decades, Nigerians experienced military rule and civilian dictatorship which manifested in the form of injustice, inequality and unfairness, forcing the people to act in an unlawful manner. Another reason for the persistent security challenges is the collapse of moral values. Modernity has not only increased individualism and greater freedoms, it has also brought about the collapse of established communal values. The values that are upheld and promoted are corrupt based, selfish and chauvinistic. Other issues encouraging insecurity in the Lake Chad Region centre on poor governance, giving birth to poverty, unemployment, rural-urban migration and porous borders. The vicious cycle of poverty came along with rising unemployment causing social nuisance, dejection and desperation that pushed the youths to exhibit poor social behaviours. The youth antisocial conduct include but not limited to vicious crimes, burglary, assault, extortion, kidnapping, militancy, terrorism and wanton destructions exhibited by the Boko Haram insurgents. According to Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010), the greatest predicament in the Nigerian communities along Lake Chad basin is unemployment of the teeming youths resulting in terrible risk and fear. The psychological and economical pressure of unemployment among the youth is catastrophic to both individual persons and the public. According to Oshikoya (2008), regardless of Nigerian copious natural and human resources, the country is ranked among the disadvantaged in the world ranking with over 35% of its population in absolute poverty and 70 percent considered poor. Poverty pushed many people living along the basin to engage in social violence. Young men become vulnerable and willing hands recruited by the dreaded Boko Haram who employ them in vicious assault and other social and criminal wrongs, including suicide bombing.





The rampaging poverty experienced is caused by wanton corruption within the system. In 2001, Nigeria was ranked among the most corrupt globally (Ogbeidi, 2012). Less than one percent of the population is affluent and living a healthy life. As a result of the endemic corruption among political office holders and security personnel, Boko Haram continues to spread its tentacles and operates without hindrance in the Lake Chad Region. Corruption is so endemic and could be found in all strata of life including in the fight against insurgents by military and non-military persons. These persons are reported to have looted, misappropriated and diverted funds budgeted to fight the insurgents to personal pockets. Aiyedogbon et. al. (2015), plainly depicted a great deal of leakages that promote terrorist activities which create more harmful effects on the Lake Chad Region economy. The huge amount of money budgeted and allocated for defence both at the centre and constituent units for some obvious reasons are not utilised for curbing these challenges. A case in mind is that of Alex Bade a former Chief of Air Staff accused of embezzling \$20 for counter insurgency (Iwuoha, 2020). Contemporary war is not that of fight in the trenches but asymmetric war. Iwuoha (2020), claims that many politicians, military personnel and other public servants made themselves rich through diversion of resources meant to fight terrorism and insecurity in the country.

Hard earned funds disappeared through corruption gimmicks including disbursement to “ghost soldiers” who are not recruited and through kickbacks. Contract sum is inflated to benefit cronies and politically aligned contractors (Iwuoha, 2019). At the end of the day, the frontline troops suffer the most from this kind of corruption. Soldiers in the battle field are poorly equipped and have been murdered in surprise attacks. Others basically fled the battleground when challenged with superior weapons and armaments by the Boko Haram terror group. Personnel in charge of disbursement of funds in the Ministry of Defence and other agencies duplicate expenditures, using different headings cutting across most of the institutions under the ministry. Huge amounts would

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be used up on office maintenance, though, this exercise was duplicated into four sub-categories, thus using the opening to drain off or steal the resources. In the same manner, the budgetary allocations to the military agencies including Nigerian Army, Navy and Air Force were all exaggerated by means of altered expenditure headings in 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018 , accordingly (Iwuoha, 2019).

The procurement of defence weapons in the country is typically shrouded in secrecy. In this case, outdated armaments are pencilled down and acquired by the authorities and the military instead of paying for state-of-the-art armaments that are supposed to be used to defeat the terror group. Lack of accountability particularly leads to high exposure to corruption, most particularly in the purchase of arms. The lack of integrity in the process has to do with absence of accountability and probity in the military institution and in general in the operation of the government in serving the people (Tahir & Umar, 2022). In the same vein, unhealthy competition among the military and other security outfits resulted in failure to win the war against insurgents and insecurity in Nigeria, most especially in the Lake Chad Region. Rivalry among military components often results in sabotage in strategic areas required to win the war against terrorism in security intelligence sharing, mapping out strategies, and diffusion of landmines. All of these point to inert security organisation that is really not faithful to fighting or stopping terror in the state. The security condition in the country is unduly over politicized by the military forces and the political elite . The primary mandate of the defence sector which includes protection and defence of the state from external aggression and all manner of internal unrest is not handled appropriately. The security and defence structure of the state is now made a profit-making venture in all ramifications. The war against Boko Haram terrorists which started close to a decade and half ago ,could have come to an end if the fight by the Nigerian military had been handled appropriately (Iwuoha, 2020).





There is a huge deficit between budgetary estimates, allocation and implementation which is a contributory factor for rising insecurity in the Lake Chad region. More often than not defence budget is frequently said to be experiencing low implementation, leaving one to question if the organization's budgets are typically intended to be partially implemented. The huge amount of military weapons and ammunitions that are believed to be acquired are not purchased (Tahir & Umar, 2022). Most importantly, proper monitoring and audits and controls by defence institution are not handled as appropriate, and by so doing, encouraging corruption and waste. In Africa generally and Nigeria specifically, budgeting mechanism for the military institution is discovered to be particularly weak for controlling expenditure in many cases. In most instances many public scrutiny agencies, on the whole, audit departments, anti-corruption institutions and Public Accounts Committees in the parliament are more often than not unwilling to probe the military or are prevented from doing so (Nyewusira & Nweke, 2017). With technological advancement and globalization, extremist' ideologies are easily spread around the globe. The greatest contributor of insecurity in the Lake – Chad region – Boko Haram, is promotion of an ideology that western education is forbidden. Though the ideologies of Boko Haram has been likened to “Maitatsine” – an extremist sect that led to the killings of many people in Northern Nigeria in the 1980's, but its mode of operations, linkages and affiliations with the extremist groups in the middle east such as Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) is strong (Munir & Shafiq, 2016).

The Rising Defence Budget

The capacity of a state to guarantee national defence and security is germane to her survival. The Nigerian state has been grappling with series of security threats that undermine the sovereignty and coercive prerogative of the state, especially in the Lake Chad Region. Terrorism, banditry, trans-border crimes, headsmen -farmers conflicts, ethno-religious conflicts, militancy, are major manifestations of insecurity threatening the peace and stability of the Region. In its efforts to curb

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the growing insecurity and raise its security position in the comity of nations, Nigeria has been increasing its budget on defence for decades. Since the 2009 commencement of violent terror activities in the lake Chad basin, in order to boost the ability of the military and other paramilitary agencies in the fight against insurgency, the Nigerian government keeps increasing its defence budget (Onuoha, 2008).

As a matter of fact, insecurity and political instability multiply as well as budgetary allocations to defence establishment in the Region in the last one and half decades. Defence in Nigeria especially of recent, involves huge spending. Despite the exponential increase of the defence budget, insecurity continues to rise. In other words, the defence budget is not commensurate with the defence outcome. It is apparent that the year 2011 to 2020 witnessed a rise in defence allocations and expenditure with the intention of restoring the military efforts towards overcoming the Boko Haram terrorist activities in the Lake Chad Region and to obtain some up-to-date state-of-the-art military armaments and ammunitions. The increase budgetary allocation and spendings was permitted so as to gallantly rectify the inadequacies of insufficient resources for military operations and defence in the terrorist occupied region.

A study of the Nigerian defence budget statement indicates an upward review of the allocation made for defence, 20% of Nigeria's total budgetary allocation to security in 2012 (Copeland 2013). It also gulped close to a trillion naira of the ₦10.59 (\$34.6 billion) trillion budgeted for the year. In 2013, the total allocation to defence was ₦132.28 billion. The trend continued soaring up to ₦1.20 trillion in 2022 (<https://www.budgetoffice.gov.ng/>). The military continuously claims that the massive budgetary allocation for defence is to fight the threat of terrorism and other security crisis. The remarkable rise in the security vote increased the resources made available to state



security handlers. It also forced authorities to invest more on state security, which reroute social sector investment away from health and education to defence.

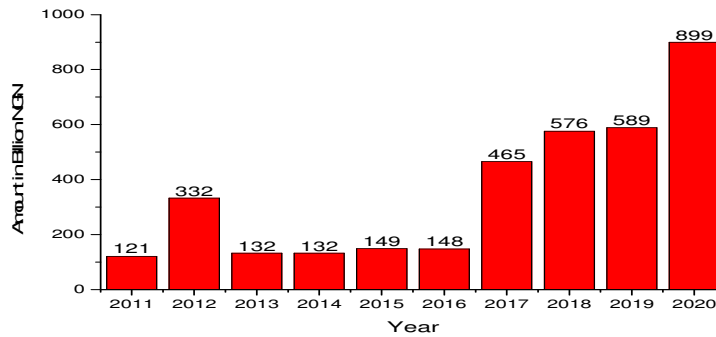


Figure 1: Defence Budget 2011-2020

Source: Budget Office of the Federation (<https://www.budgetoffice.gov.ng/>)

Defence recurrent expenditure also rose from N114.4 million in 2011 to N784 million in 2020.

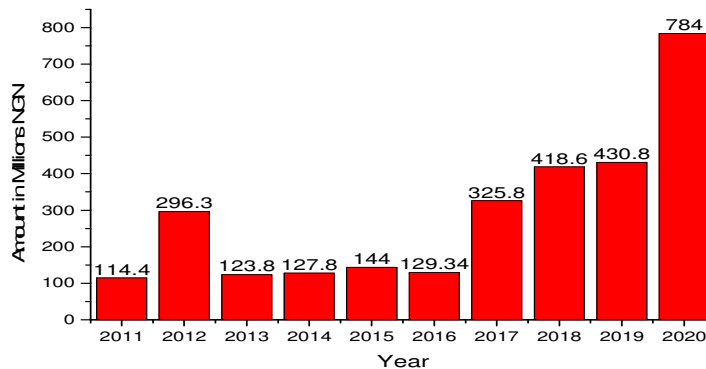


Figure 2: Defence Recurrent Expenditure, 2011-2020 (<https://www.budgetoffice.gov.ng/>)

Source: Budget Office of the Federation

In the 2011 budgetary allocation, Nigerian government allocated Four Billion, One Hundred and Fifteen Million, Nine Hundred and Forty Eight Thousand Four Hundred and Seventy Nine Naira (N4.11 Billion) only to Education from the year's appropriation of the sum of Four Trillion, Nine

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Hundred and Seventy Two Million Naira (N4.97) only. Also, a provision for other critical sectors such as health was pegged at One Hundred and Ninety Billion, Four Hundred and Ninety Four Million, Nine Hundred and Sixteen Thousand, Two Hundred and Nineteen Naira (N190.49) only (<https://www.budgetoffice.gov.ng/>).

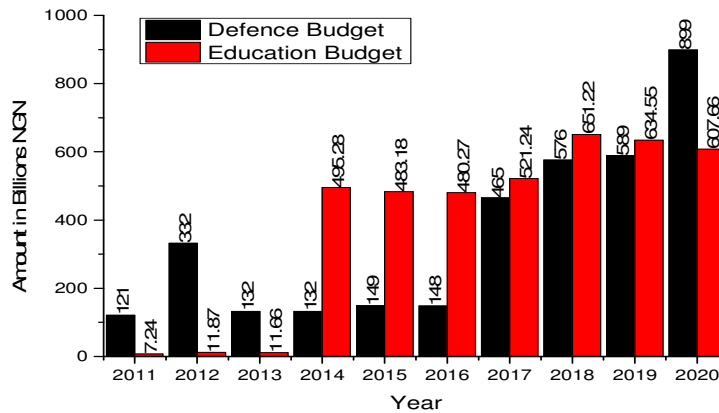


Figure 3: Defence and Education Recurrent Expenditure 2011-2020

Source: Budget Office of the Federation (<https://www.budgetoffice.gov.ng/>)

Therefore, these critical sectors (education and health) suffered wanton neglect in comparison to the defence sectors.



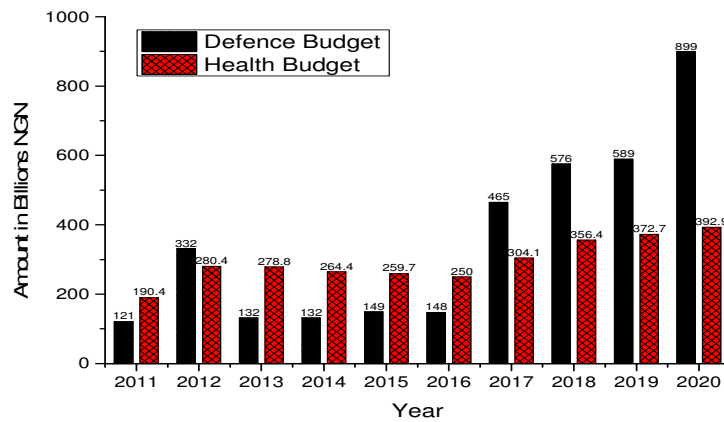


Figure 3: Defence and Health Recurrent Expenditure 2011-2020
(<https://www.budgetoffice.gov.ng/>)
Source: Budget Office of the Federation

Furthermore, insecurity continues to increase given rise to more expenditure which opened more rooms for the political elite and military captains to advance crony capitalism and corruption at the disadvantage of the state. Most certainly, probing is still going on some political allies of President Jonathan – this remains manifestation of high level corruption in the state.

More disturbing, as a result of the increasing state of insecurity, more allocations and expenditures would be carried out for military operations and defence to the disadvantage of other social and economic sectors that are supposed to promote the lives of the citizenry. Financial mismanagement in defence spending poses perilous threats to national security in all ramifications. Majorly, that is why Boko Haram terrorist group survives military onslaught in the Lake Chad Region for more than a decade. Sadly, the trade-off between rising defence budget and the provision of social amenities for the benefit of the people – such as the provision of good healthcare, qualitative education, and stable electricity among others is creating more social and economic upheavals.

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Conclusion and Recommendations

The study has empirically analyzed the rising defence budgets and insecurity in the Lake Chad Region. The result of the study indicates that there is inadequate budgetary performance. The causes as shown reveal that budget fraud, indiscipline, lack of budget monitoring, wasteful spending contribute to rising defence budget. This has undeniably impacted on the performance of security agencies in combating security challenges in the Lake Chad Region. Certainly, the Lake Chad Basin in the Northeast part of the country has witnessed the most disturbing security menace in the history of the area after the Nigerian civil war as a result of the Boko Haram terrorist activities. Unaccountable lives and property have been lost due to this repulsive situation. It is evident that extravagant and corrupt defence budgets and expenditure in the country have not helped matters in bringing to an end the insurgency in the Lake Chad region.

Consequently, annually the Nigerian defence budgets are being padded. Various additional items are inserted into the budget before presentation at the National Assembly. In most cases, the Nigerian authorities reroute part of the funds budgeted for defence into campaigns for political offices and other activities for their personal vested interest and as well as to realise their political ambition as was the case of Colonel Sambo Dasuki, the then National Security Adviser under President Goodluck Jonathan. The resources budgeted for procurement of ammunitions for the military were pocketed (Iwuoha, 2020). This is apparent in the manner the defence mandate of protecting the state against foreign aggression and internal revolt has become a profit-making venture.

The counter terrorism offensive against Boko Haram insurgents seems to be unending. It has gulped huge defence budget with large sum allocated since 2009 in the Northeast part of the country. For this reason, this study adds to the existing literature in a new way on the defence

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budget and the condition in the social sector including education and health by investigating the relationship between defence budget and social conditions in the Lake Chad Region with emphasis on Nigeria. More so, it also gave emphasis to the fact that there is a negative link between defence budgetary allocation and corruption in Nigeria which encourages increase in security in the Lake Chad region.

To defeat the insurgents in the Lake Chad Region, Nigeria should as a matter of necessity keep away from unnecessary, careless and corrupt defence spendings and procurement to give room to high levels of accountability and transparency in military funding and procurement procedures. The military needs to sanitise its stable to ensure the efficient deployment of its funds for stable and lasting peace. Defence budget and spendings processes should adhere strictly to conventional financial management and oversight practices, with thoroughly observed defence policy and planning structure. Some of these traditional procedures include strict observance to public expenditure management (PEM), contestability, legitimacy, principles of comprehensiveness, flexibility, honesty, discipline, predictability, information, accountability and transparency. Transparency on defence budget spendings information should be encouraged, and made available on various public domains to members of the public, and the level of its consistency. In addition, the transparency of the procedure should be enacted and to ensure that open and visible budgetary decision-making is actually respected, as lawfully provided and agreed upon with the grounds for such defence expenditure. There has to be a proper monitoring, control and auditing of defence budgets and spendings to ensure that the nation's security remains of supreme importance.





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