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Insecurity and the escalation of brain drain in the Nigerian universities, 1999-2021

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Abstract:

Nigeria faces a plethora of security challenges since her political independence. The era of the military administrations was characterised by gross violations of fundamental human rights, and economic hardship. Therefore, it was hoped that the democratic resurgence in 1999 would put the 'sleeping giant' on the right path for development. Sadly, the nation faces tense security challenges including Boko-Haram terrorism, Banditry, Kidnapping, farmer-herders conflict, militancy, and secessionist movements among numerous others, and this has stimulated a brain drain in the Nigerian Universities. The study adopted a desk review approach of both primary and secondary sources. The study is pillared on Dependency, Nationalist, and Globalisation models to drive home the underpinning arguments. While the concept of Brain Drain and Insecurity were clarified in the context of this study. The study unveiled that insecurity has escalated the brain drain in the Nigerian Universities with serious implications for quality and knowledge-driven economy. The study, therefore, suggests the strengthening of the Nigerian national security apparatuses, civil-military relations, the adoption of modern security strategies in the Nigerian Universities, and the engagement of the Nigerian government in unresolved issues including unemployment, hunger, and a fight against corruption among others.

Keywords: *Insecurity, Brain Drain, Globalization, Nigerian Universities*

Introduction

The search for better places of work and living by both skilled professionals and individuals who have received advanced training in Nigeria has never been as frightening as we now have. Nigeria, just like other African countries have over the years been robbed of her best brains. This set of people move to developed countries and use the basic and advanced knowledge they have acquired from Nigeria to build and develop their host country. This current trend has been attributed to so many causes including; unsolved security issues like killings, kidnapping, destruction of properties, low wages, unfavourable working

conditions, unemployment, and underemployment among numerous other reasons. The reasons for brain drain in Nigeria are not unconnected with the search for better and more secure places to live. Besides, man as a social being from time immemorial craves to live in a safer and more profitable environment or society. As a wanderer, the man was conscious of the favourable environment to make a living. The period of the Neolithic Revolution led to a sedentary lifestyle and the best places for habitation were put into consideration. For example, places that had abundant water, security zones, and fertile land were chosen as areas for habitation. The ancient Egyptians lived on the bank of the River Nile for agricultural purposes, communication, and trade route across a vast and harsh land.[1] In Nigeria, the towns of Bonny, Opobo Town, Okrika, Buguma, Brass, Forcados, Creek Town, and Calabar grew from coastal fishing and salt-trading villages. Hitherto, human beings have continued to search for profitable places to live and this is the logic behind rural-urban migration, urban-rural migration, rural-rural migration, and urban-urban migration in modern times.

Brain drain which simply stands for an intellectual and skilled migration is anchored on this phenomenon of searching for better conditions of habitation and gains. Arising from this logic, brain drain becomes a philosophy of moving from developing countries to the industrialised nations in the contemporary world order. The flight of human and natural resources hitherto underscores the underdevelopment of the global south. Reinforcing this debate Robyn, Guo, and Rozario noted that; 'Human capital is the most important form of wealth for a modern nation. Countries with the most intellectual resources achieve the highest rates of economic growth and the fastest development in science and technology'.[2] America is the world power today while the Asian Tigers are on the rise because of their human resources buried in technological and scientific know-how.

This study, therefore, interrogates the worsening security challenges and their implications for brain drain in Nigerian universities since the resurgence of the Fourth Republic. The choice of this academic investigation is pillared on the premise that scholars in various academic disciplines have tried to examine these underpinning issues from different perspectives rather than the one under study. For instance, Emeka and Iheonu; Osigbesan; Imafidon, among many others have discussed the grave consequences of brain drain in the health sector and their implications for the survival of the Nigerian state.[3] In a similar vein, Maja; Hallack and Poisson; Ekereke; Kpolovie and Obilor; Saint, Harrnet,

[1] sahistory.org.za accessed, 22-02-2022.
[2] Robyn, I. Guo, F. and Rozario, S. (eds.) (2003). Return Migration in the Asia Pacific, United Kingdom Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
[3] Emeka, N., and Iheonu (2012). Medical Brain Drain in Nigeria and its Impact on Sustainable Development Goal 3. Osigbesan, O. (2021). 'Medical Brain Drain and its Effect on the Nigerian Health Care Sector', Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection. Imafidon, J. (2018). 'One Way Traffic: Nigeria's Medical Brain Drain, A Challenge for Maternal Health and Public Health System in Nigeria?'. M.A. Dissertation, Los Angels: University of California.

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and Strassner, have looked at critical reasons that stimulated intellectual brain drain in Nigeria's Higher Institutions of learning including inadequate funding for education, low wages, the poor state of infrastructural facilities, victimisation of academic staff, interference of government in institution's internal affairs, introduction and implementation of obnoxious policies by the government, incessant strikes, students unrest, cultism *et cetera*.[4] While on their part, Bakoji; Mac-Gregor; John; Warren, and Burnt; all corroborated that leadership deficit or dearth in Nigeria is a strategic issue for brain drain.[5] From this avalanche of literature, it is obvious that the attention of scholars has not been adequately given to emerging forms of insecurity in Nigeria (terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, *et cetera*) as a potent factor for the escalation of brain drain in the Nigerian Universities in the Fourth Republic. Therefore, this study is a bridge to this existing vacuum in academic discourse. This is because the deteriorating nature of security in contemporary Nigeria has made the nation a source of worry, fear, and confusion to live and contribute intellectually to the development of the nation hence brain flight.

Conceptual Issues

Insecurity

Insecurity is a broad term that has attracted scholarly investigation, especially its centrality to peace, protection, and human development generally. Achumba, Igbomereho, and Akpor-Robaro disclose that:

> Insecurity is a state of being subject to danger, expose to risk or anxiety... lack of institutional capacity resulting in government failure; pervasive material inequalities and unfairness; ethnoreligious conflicts; conflict of perceptions between the public and government; weak security system; loss of socio-cultural and communal value system ... porous borders; rural/urban drift; social irresponsibility of companies; unemployment/poverty; terrorism.[6]

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[4] Maja, T. 'Nigeria Education Sector Analysis: Analytical Synthesis of Performance and Main Issues', *World Bank Paper*. Hallack, J. and Poisson, M. (2007). 'Corruption Schools: Corrupt Universities: What can be Done', Paris International Institute of Educational Planning. Ekereke, A.S. (2013). 'The Effects of Boko-Haram Insurgency and the School System: A Case Study of Selected States in Northern Nigeria', *Science Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, pp. 11-15. Kpolovie, P.J. and Obilor, I.E. (2013). 'Adequacy-Inadequacy: Education Funding in Nigeria', *Universal Journal of Education and General Studies*, Vol.2. No. 8. Pp.239-254. Saint, W., et al, (2003). 'Higher Education in Nigeria: A Status Report', Higher Education Policy, Vol. 16, pp. 250-280.

[5] Baroji, S. (2006). 'All our Leaders are Corrupt-Ribadu', *Independence Daily*, Vol. 3, No. 1012 (July 19th). Mac-Gregor, J.B. (2010). *Leadership*, New York: Harper Touch Books. John, G. (1990). *On Leadership*, New York: The Free Press. Warren, B. and Burnt, N. (1997). *Leaders: Strategies for Taking Charge*, New York: Harper-Collins.

[6] Achumba, I.C. et al, (2013). 'Security Challenges in Nigeria and the Implication for Business Activities and Sustainable Development', Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development', *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2.

This implies that insecurity is all-encompassing; from physical, socio-economic, political, ethno-religious, and so forth. Sharing a similar opinion, Adebanjoko, and Ugwuoke cited in Zubairu avail that; 'insecurity is the State of being subject in every respect to terror, threat, risk, molestation, bullying, and harassment'.[7] Onoja sums up this argument concisely; 'Insecurity is peoples' relative feeling of the presence of economic, political, social, cultural and psychological fear'. He elaborated that:

> Of these forms of insecurity, the one that is most common and triggers consciousness of other forms of insecurity is economic insecurity. Economic insecurity spawned other forms of insecurity into existence. In simple terms, economic insecurity is the absence of jobs, basic health care, accessible drinking water, education, life-enhancing opportunities, and creating policies that cater to the short, medium, and long term needs of the different cadre of the population. It is the absence of basic economic and social infrastructure that would avail citizens the opportunity to cater to their welfare. The non-provision of these has created conditions of political, cultural, and psychological exclusion detrimental to security.[8]

In Nigeria today, the socio-economic aspect of insecurity is the order of the day. The root causes of this form of security problem are corruption which manifests in leadership failure. Apart from economic insecurity, the Nigerian state has been engrossed in other forms of security challenges including militancy in the south-south, the terrorist activities of Boko-Haram insurgency in the north-east, Banditry, and kidnapping in the north-west, farmer-herder conflicts in the north-central Nigeria, separatist insurgency in the south-east, among others. These forms of security challenges according to Audu Bulama Bukarti, a senior analyst on Sahel security at the Tony Blair Institute, 'threatens the very fabric of Nigerian society: With every attack, human lives are lost or permanently damaged and faith in democracy and the country is diminishing'.[9] These aspects of security challenges form the trust and debate for brain drain in this work.

Brain Drain

The concept of brain drain is used both in academic and non-academic sectors. In academia, it is the migration of intellectuals out of the underdeveloped or developing nations to developed or industrialised nations to sell their labour. In the non-academic literature, the term is generally used in a narrower sense and relates more specifically to the migration of engineers, physicians,

[7] Zubairu, N. (2020). 'Rising Insecurity in Nigeria: Causes and Solutions'. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, No.4, p.3.
[8] Onaja, A. F. (2014). 'In the Search of the Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Note on Administrations and their Agendas, Journal of Conflictology, Vol. 5, Issue 1, p.15.
[9] Audu Bulama Bukarti was a senior analyst on Sahel security at the Tony Blair Institute.

scientists, and other very highly skilled professionals with university training.[10] To Hart, brain drain as a concept is ambiguous and should be better considered as High Skill Migration (HSM). HSM as he tagged is the 'migration of persons with increased levels of skill and education who, if they stayed could contribute significantly to the development of the country'.[11] On this note, Dodani and LaPorte provide an illustration of brain drain in the health sector when they declared that; 'It is the migration of health personnel in search of the better standard of living and quality of life, higher salaries, access to advanced technology and more stable political conditions in different places worldwide'.[12] They warned that; 'this migration of health professionals for better opportunities, both within countries and across international borders is of growing concern worldwide because of its impact on health systems in developing countries. In Nigeria for instance, there is a great dearth of health workers. The ratio of doctors to the patient is 1: 2753 which means, there are 36.6 medical doctors for 100, 000 persons.[13] Sadly, 12 doctors a week moved to the United Kingdom (UK) in search of better opportunities.[14] Francis summed up the forgoing discussion that in a situation whereby a country loses its most educated and talented workers to other countries through migration is what brain drain is all about.[15] The loss of brain has a gross effect on all facets of the economy including loss of tax revenue, loss of future entrepreneurs, lack of critical skilled workers, loss of economic confidence, innovative knowledge, and a huge sum of educational investment among other things.

Theoretical Structure for Analysis

The comprehensiveness of this work bows on theoretical examination that can address sensitive questions in the course of analyses. Without theoretical bases, the question of why people in poor nations seek better abode in rich and powerful nations cannot be adequately analysed. Also, why industrialised nations need professionals and intellectuals from less developed countries can never be adequately explained among other numerous questions. Arising from this reason, world-system theory presents itself for critical evaluation of these contending questions. One among the proponent of the world system theory is

[10] Dodami, S. and LaPorte, R. E. (2020). 'Brain Drain from Developing Countries: How can Brain Drain be Converted into Wisdom Again?', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Royal Society of Medicine Press.
[11] Hart, D.M. (2006). 'From Brain Drain to Mutual Gain: Sharing the Benefits of High-Skill Migration'. *Issues in Science and Technology*, Fall. Accessed on http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3622/is_200610/ai_n17193926. 21-02-2022.
[12] Docquiera, F and Rapoport, H. (2006). 'The Brain Drain', *A New Entry for the New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (second edition), p.2.
[13] Ogunode, N.J., Ahmed L, Gregory, D, and Abubakar, L. (2020). 'Administration of Public Educational Institutions in Nigeria: Problem and Suggestion. *European Scholar Journal* (ESJ), Vol. 1 No.3, pp:1-11.
[14] Eromo, E. (2019). 'Nigeria Must Tackle its Doctor Brain Drain', *The African Report*.
[15] Francis, J. (2022). 'What is Brain Drain in Economics? Definition, Causes, Effects, and Examples'. Accessed on https://study.com, 22-02-22.

Immanuel Wallerstein and his work had its root in at least three schools of thought or philosophies. Thus, the Annals school was represented by Fernand Braudel, the Marxist school represented by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, and the dependency theory.[16] Other political and economic thinkers in this group are the neo-Marxists including Karl Polanyi, Nikolai Kondratiev, and Joseph Schumpeter.[17] Their various studies gave impetus for Wallerstein's studies which were presented and published variously; *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, in 1974. Then, his most important work - *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* appeared in three volumes in 1974, 1980, and 1989.

Wallerstein traced the root of European imperialism up to colonialism and its effects on the colonies. To demonstrate his critical arguments, he postulated the core and periphery hypotheses. Although, his arguments did not streamline the fact that the periphery was exploited by the core nations. Rather, he projected the nature of capitalism which centres on the accumulation of surplus value hence his radical departure from the dependency school of thought. The dependency theory saw this relationship as creating underdevelopment in the global south. Wallerstein cited in Sorinel argued that:

> A world system is what Wallerstein terms a "world economy", integrated through the market rather than a political center, in which two or more regions are interdependent concerning necessities like food, fuel, and protection, and two or more polities compete for domination without the emergence of one single center forever.[18]

The core nations have political stability, technological know-how, economic buoyancy, and better socio-economic organisation. While the periphery is unstable politically, economically, and socially among other things and this is where the Wallerstein thesis locates the central logic behind the issue of brain drain in the peripheral countries of the world. Reinforcing these polemics, Kardulias averred that:

> The core state incorporates periphery areas into the capitalist world economy because these marginal regions often contain important natural resources. Through political and economic control of the system, Wallenstein contends, core states exploit the labour and material resources of the

[16] Barfield, T. (ed.) (1998). *The dictionary of anthropology,* Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 498–499.
[17] Dodami, S. and LaPorte, R. E. (2020). 'Brain Drain from Developing Countries: How can Brain Drain be Converted into Wisdom Again?', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Royal Society of Medicine Press.
[18] Sorinel, C. (2022) 'Immanuel Wallerstein's World System Theory', Lecture material, Ovidius Universitaty Constana Facultaty of Economic Sciences, p. 221.

> peripheral areas and receive a disproportionately large share of the surplus or benefit.[19]

The debate by Kardulias presents the potency of the nationalist model in this discourse. Proponents of the nationalist model are Don Patinkin, and K.N. Kabra, among numerous others.[20] These scholars shared the central view that each nation must produce and use its human capital. Their contention stems from the premise that brain drain is dangerous and harmful to the emerging economies of the global South and that it unduly benefits recipient countries. Thus, Kabra succinctly captures this scenario when he said that the global north; 'takes away by another hand (and in larger quantities) what it gives with one hand as donations or aid to the global south."[21] (emphasis is mine). Thus, the developing Third World incurs a loss through wicked world economic relations of the neo-imperialist class. Critiques rightly observed that the nationalist ideology is premised on a lack of critical evaluation of the challenges that stimulate brain drain in less developed countries of the world. There are domestic security challenges that push these people to better places in the world. To curb the issue of brain drain the nationalists suggest restrictive mechanisms as a policy option. Here again, critics and political commentators reminded them that globalisation whose impact has dismantled physical boundaries leads to the inevitability of a brain drain conundrum.

Reasoning from the counter position of the nationalist ideology is the internationalist model. They underscored the fact that brain drain is a mutually beneficial exchange of human and fiscal capital in the world labour market. Ansah captured the internationalist perspective that

> Human beings voluntarily seek the highest reward commensurate with their education and training, and the trend reflects voluntary choices made by migrants... It assumes that, all things being equal, migration will be based on the demand and supply forces in the labor market and how well a worker can take advantage of or use acquired skills.[22]

Harry Johnson saw nothing wrong with this situation and as such tagged brain drain as a 'short term loss if at all any', and can be easily replaced by new skilled

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[19] Kardulias, P.N. (2010). 'World System Applications for Understanding the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean; accessed on https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287637806_World_systems_theory. 22-02-2022.

[20] Kabra, K.N. (1976). *Political Economy of Brain Drain: Reverse Transfer of Technology*, New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann.

[21] Kabra, K.N. (1976). *Political Economy of Brain...p.16.*

[22] Ansah, E.E.(2002). 'Theorizing the Brain Drain'. *African Issues*, Vol. 30, No. 1, p.21.

workers trained in those various fields.[23] One of the few losses that proponents such as Johnson are willing to acknowledge is the loss in tax revenue to the government from these professionals, who would have been earning relatively high salaries. He was blindfolded to appreciate the loss arising from the cost of training such professionals and even the time duration to replace them.

Finally, the globalisation model rationalises that brain drain thesis. The model suggests that brain drain should rather be put in its rightful perspective as 'brain distribution or circulation' given the dynamics of the contemporary global village. One of the characteristics of globalisation is the erosion of the physical barriers concomitant sharing of ideas. Therefore, the globalisation model which nationalists see as an adverse factor becomes a major tool for maintaining a vibrant, virtual international network of professionals. But we should be reminded that globalisation is a fast-moving train that has left most of the countries in the global south their inherent benefits. Unless underdeveloped countries are well-positioned to tap its benefits otherwise the idea of 'brain circulation' would remind a mirage.

Historical Narratives on Brain Drain in Nigeria: the Insecurity Perspective

Beginning from the birth of Nigeria as a political entity in 1960, several security problems confronted the nation that drove numerous professionals and academia out of the country. Among these numerous factors were coups and counter-coups. The first coup which stimulated ceaseless coups and counter-coups in Nigeria was master-minded by Major Kaduna Nzeogwu in 1966.[24] The coup ushered in the rule of Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi, the then commander-in-chief of the army, replacing Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa the Head of State. The coup particularly generated suspicion and exacerbated ethnic politics in the Nigerian military whose end-product was a series of ethnic and tribal counter-coups.[25] For example, from 1966 to 1993, a good number of coups were recorded including the July 1966 coup led by Lt. Colonel Murtala Muhammad, the July 1975 coup coordinated by a faction of Junior Army Officers, the 1976 coup led by Dimka, the December 1983 coup lead by Senior Army Officers, the August 1985 coup lead by Major General Ibrahim Babangida, the alleged Vatsa coup of December 1985, the Major Gideon Orkar coup of 1990, the Sani Abacha coup of August 1993.[26] Generally, the military often justifies their coups on bad governance whereas their various administrations were characterised by bad governance and a high level of human rights violations leading to a brain drain in all sectors of the Nigerian economy, including the university system.

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[23] Harry J. (1968). 'The Internationalist Perspective,' in Walter, A. (ed). *The Brain Drain*, New York: Macmillan, pp. 92-108.
[24] First, R. (1970). *Power in Africa*. New York: Pantheon Books.
[25] First, R. (1970). *Power in Africa*, p. 210.
[26] Omoigui, N. Nowamagbe. 'Special Branch Report: 'Military Rebellion of 15th January 1966". Gamji.com. accessed on 15-03-2022.

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Those various military administrations committed a lot of atrocities that pushed a good number of intellectuals and professionals out of Nigerian soil. Specifically, General Babangida and General Sani Abacha's regimes were accused of mostly violating the fundamental human rights of the citizens. Nwachukwu, Aghamelo, and Nwaneri were more forthcoming when they observed that:

> Human rights records in Nigeria particularly under the military era from 1985 to 1998, which covered the Generals Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida and Sani Abacha regimes, witnessed high levels of human rights abuses and violations in the country. Instructively, there was perhaps no basic right that was abridged in the period under review. There was military brutality against the civil populace, cases of extra-judicial killings soared, access to justice by ordinary Nigerians was severely restricted, and international passports and other travelling documents of individuals and officials were seized with impunity to prevent opposition and cow articulate critics of the juntas into submission... To worsen matters, the unconstitutional practice of arresting relations in place of accused persons-whether factual or fabricated-among other vices intensified the level of insecurity in the country.[27]

Some dangerous human rights violations and atrocities committed by General Babangida and General Sani Abacha's regimes were the detention of some Nigeria Labour Congress in 1988, the enactment of the Teaching Decree in 1993 which compelled striking workers to resume within one week or lose their jobs, the jailing of Chief M.K.O. Abiola, General Olusegun Obasanjo, Chief Frank Kokori and countless others followed.[28] Press or media houses were shut down, and fire-bombed by unknown persons who always were never apprehended by the police authority. Also on the 10th of November, 1995 Kenule Beeson Saro Wiwa, the Ogoni liberation fighter was murdered by hanging together with eight other members of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) activists.[29] The assassination of Kudirat Abiola in June 1996 was another grave violation of the fundamental human right to live. Kudirat was the wife of Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the acclaimed winner of the annulled 1993 presidential election. The 79-year-old Chief Alfred Rewane was murdered in October 1995 in his house in Lagos. While the leader of Afenifere Chief Abraham Adasanya and Alex Ibru the publisher of the Guardian Newspaper

[27] Nwachukwu, S.N., Aghamelo, A., and Nwaneri, S. (2014). 'An Account of Human Right Violations in Nigeria (Pre-British, British and Post Independence)'. *European Scientific Journal (*special edition). Vol.2. p.234.
[28] Nwachukwu, S.N., Aghamelo, A., and Nwaneri, S. (2014). 'An Account of Human...'p.235.
[29] Aron, R. (1996), Peace and War. New York: Doubleday, p.32.

narrowly escaped assassination attempts.[30] Other assassinated victims of this period were the late Comrade Ola Oni, a retired university teacher; Alhaji Lam Adesina, the incumbent civilian governor of Oando, and numerous others not mentioned here.[31]

The high level of insecurity at this point pushed pro-democracy activists such as Professor Wole Soyinka, the first African Nobel Laureate for Literature, Chief Anthony Enahoro, the man who moved the motion for internal self-government in 1953, General Alani Akinrinade, former army chief; and Chief Cornelius Adebayo, the former executive governor of Kwara State, into self-exile.[32] Instances of bombs explosion were common, especially in Lagos, the commercial hub of Nigeria, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Ilorin, Zaria, Kano, and Kaduna. General Sani Abacha also threw a good number of journalists into prison for several years without trial including George Mbah of the *Tell weekly magazine*, Kunle Ajibade of *The News*, Ben Charles-Obi, editor of the now-defunct *Classique magazine*, and the erudite female journalist, Chris Anyanwu. These journalists were tortured in detention.[33] All these developments raised tensions and made Nigeria very unsafe for businesses, teaching, and research by the university dons *et cetera*. They also account for why Nigeria ranked very high among countries that were accused of violating human rights and the list is endless. Insecurity as a result of human rights violations by the military dictators stimulated brain drain by 1988 a presidential committee for Brain-Drain headed by Prof. Oye Ibidapo-Obe revealed that Nigeria lost about 10, 694 professionals in the tertiary sector alone.[34] Also, during the Abacha's autocratic rule, the Nigerian Health Minister, Dr. Ikechukwu Madubuike lamented that a staggering 21,000 Nigerian doctors were practicing in the US, while several health institutions in the country lack adequate manpower.[35] It was the general yearnings of the entire Nigerian citizens that the resurgence of the democratic governance in 1999 would stem the tide of the general decades of insecurity accompanied by the military administrations. Therefore, the remaining segments of this chapter examine the fourth republic and its inherent security contradictions leading to brain drain in Nigeria's University sector.

The Dynamics of Insecurity in Nigeria since 1999 and their Implications on the University System

Most Nigerians and the international community expected that the democratic resurgence of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria would ensure the security of lives

[30] Egwaikhide, F.O. and Isumonah, F.A. (2001). 'Nigeria Paralysed: Socio-political Life under General Sani Abacha'. *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement*, Vol. 26, No. 3-4. P.230.
[31] Egwaikhide, F.O. and Isumonah, F.A. (2001). 'Nigeria Paralysed...', p.230.
[32] Egwaikhide, F.O. and Isumonah, F.A. (2001). 'Nigeria Paralysed...', p.230.
[33] Tell Magazine, 10th August 1998.
[34] Adegoke, B. Y. (2019, April 25). Does Nigeria have too many Doctors to Worry About a "Brain Drain"? *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45473036. Accessed 13-03-2022.
[35] Adegoke, B. Y. (2019, April 25). Does Nigeria have too ... p.16.

and property, respect for human liberty, and rule of law, among other democratic ethos. Democracy, in theory, is the best system of government hence it is a people-oriented government. It is far better than monarchy, aristocracy, dictatorship *et cetera*. It is in this wise that Abraham Lincoln cited in Becker and Raveloson looked at democracy as 'government of the people, by the people and for the people'.[36] However, Nigerian democracy between 1999 and 2021 has posed daunting security challenges that are instrumental to brain drain. First is the phenomenon of 'Do or Die Affairs politics', 'god-son and god-father politics', 'prebendal politics' *et cetera* which created a lot of political and electoral violence in the Nigerian state. The 2002 electoral violence in *wannune*, the 2003/2004 electoral violence in *kwande*, the 2006 electoral violence in *Gwer*, and the 2007 electoral violence in *Buruku*, all in Benue State are clear indications of the democratic failures.[37]

In other parts of Nigeria, the electoral violence emerged with the assassination of prominent Nigerians in the likes of Dr. Marshall Harry, regional campaign coordinator of All Nigeria's People Party (ANPP), Chief Bola Ige, a strong leader of Alliance for Democracy (AD) and Anthony General and Minister of Justice.[38] Specifically, in Rivers state over 280 pre-election deaths were recorded in 2007.[39] Bakare reported how the 2011 election claimed over 800 lives over three days in Northern Nigeria and displaced 65,000 people.[40] Alao corroborated this argument which summarises the incidences and fatalities of the 2019 general election in Nigeria in the following way:

> North Central: 23 incidents, 111 people killed, North East: 16 incidents, 146 people killed, North West: 20 incidents, 172 people killed, South East: 7 incidents, 14 people killed, South-South: 59 incidents, 120 killed; and South West: 36 incidents, 63 killed when the incident and fatality numbers are parsed on a state-by-state basis, Benue, Borno, Kaduna, Rivers and Zamfara, lead the casualty figures. From an analysis of the period of study which covers a period of 127

[36] Becker, P. and Raveloson, J. A. (2008). *What is Democracy*? Realized by KMF-Cnoe and Nova Stella with the assistance of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and with the collaboration of Friedel Daiber (University of Trier), p.4.
[37] Gbamwuan, A., et al, (2020). 'Wannune Electoral Violence of 2002: Implications for Development in the 21st Century Tivland'. *African Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3.p. 169.
[38] IRI/NDI (2019). Nigerian International Election Observation Mission Report 2019. Retrieved from https://www.iri-fndi-nigerian-international-election-observationmission-report.
[39] The International Crisis Group and Human Right Watch, 2007.
[40] Bakare, T. (2018). 'Boko Haram Releases Kidnapped UNIMAID Lecturers', in the *Guardian Newspaper*, accessed on; https://guardian.ng/news/boko-haram-releases-kidnapped-unimaid-lecturers/. 09-03-2022.

> days, about 15% of all incidents, and 20% of all fatalities occurred on election day.[41]

Therefore, the electoral process and elections in specific poses daunting challenges for democratic governance in Nigeria hence the migration of professionals and intellectuals in the Fourth Republic.

Militancy has been on the rise, especially before the creation of the Ministry of Niger Delta by President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua in September 2008. Although, the struggle began with the likes of Isaac Adaka Baro in 1966, leader of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), Ledum Mitee, the leader of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), as a result of neglect of the Ogoni land by the Transnational Companies (TNCs).[42] At the initial stage of these movements, the fundamental challenge was coordination but this had its watershed when Ken Saro-Wiwa began to influence the young Ijo leaders who were critical of their present and future fate and were resolved to take their destinies into their own hands.[43] Therefore, numerous other emancipation groups that became violent and labelled as militancy with terrorising activities emerged. Examples, the Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Uhrobo's Niger Delta Green Justice Mandate in Delta state, the Bakassi Strike Force in Cross River, and the Oyobio-Oyobio in Akwa Ibom, to name a few. While Individuals such as Ateke Tom, Asari Dokubo, Sobomabo Jackrich (Egberi-Papa), Farah Dagogo, and the late Soboma George are well-known for their militancy activities.[44] The activities of the militancy pushed a good number of TNCs and intellectuals out of the shores of Nigeria hence they needed to strive for a safer and more profitable environment.

In the North, Boko-Haram terrorist group has devastated the security of lives and property. The activities of this group targeted government institutions, churches, mosques, and market centres, among others. This created an unsafe environment for University intellectuals hence university institutions were not left out of the target especially in the North-East, the epicentre of the Boko-Haram terrorist group. Corroborating this position, Okocha averred that:

> There was also a direct attack on the school in late 2014 when the group entered offices and workshops, destroying files and stealing equipment such as drilling and welding machines, making off with them in university buses...The closure forced many students and staff to leave the region (North-East). We lost the lives of some of our students due

[41] Alao, A. (2021). 'Electoral Violence in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Implication for Democratic Development'. *Journal of Administrative Science*, Vol.18, Issue 2. pp. 335-336.
[42] Banigo, Y. (2008). 'The War is Not Over: The Ijo Struggle in the Post-Civil War Era'. Adejo, A. M. (ed.) *The Nigerian Civil War Forty Years After What Lessons*, Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, pp. 360-372.
[43] Banigo, Y. (2008). 'The War is Not Over...' p. 372.
[44] The Fund for Peace, 2017.

> to the insurgency... For students who left, their parents were afraid of bringing them back to places like Mubi because Mubi has been the worst hit by Boko Haram in Adamawa [State]. Some of our lecturers, especially from the south, did not come back.[45]

Furthermore, Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack reinforces that:

> Dozens of schools and universities in Nigeria were bombed or set on fire by violent extremists, killing hundreds of students, teachers, and other education personnel. The University of Maiduguri was targeted repeatedly. Schools were used as barracks, weapons caches, and detention and killing centers. Hundreds of students were abducted from classrooms, particularly girls, many of whom were then forced into marriage.[46]

As observed variously, the attacks left some lecturers never to return to the North-Eastern region. The activities of Boko-Haram terrorism sent some unfortunate lecturers and students to their early graves. There are numerous examples to drive home this argument but the sequel to mention is the instance, at the University of Maiduguri (UNIMAID) where two lecturers, two technologists, and a driver were killed in 2016. The onslaught on the five University lecturers of the department of geology together with the staff of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) team on oil exploration lead to their untimely deaths. [47] The kidnapping of the University lecturers by Boko-Haram terrorists was also on the rise. For example, in July 2017 three lecturers of the UNIMAID were kidnapped by the Boko Haram faction headed by Abu Mus'ab Al-Barnawi and were released by negotiation with the Nigerian federal government.[48] These attacks on the Nigerian University lecturers projected the volatile nature of the academia in the Nigerian polity hence the need for overseeing work by this category of professionals.

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[45] Okocha, S. (2020). 'North East universities press on in the shadow of Boko Haram', *University World News*, African Edition. Accessed on; https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20200708133324548. 09-03-2022.

[46] Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (2018). ' *Education Under Attack 2018 – Nigeria*'., available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/5be9430613.html [accessed 9 March 2022]

[47] Haranu, A. (2017). 'Boko Haram NNPC Ambush: UNIMAID ASUU confirms five staff dead, four missing'. *Premium Times*, accessed on; https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/238366-boko-haram-nnpc-ambush-unimaid-asuu-confirms-five-staff-dead-four-missing.html. 09-03-2022.

[48] Bakare, T. (2018). 'Boko Haram Releases Kidnapped UNIMAID Lecturers', in the *Guardian Newspaper*, accessed on; https://guardian.ng/news/boko-haram-releases-kidnapped-unimaid-lecturers/. 09-03-2022.

Added to the above security challenges are the activities of banditry and farmers-herders conflicts. These posed serious daunting challenges for the Nigerian academics to live in staff quarters, travel for conferences, or visit other universities, especially on road hence most of the roads are unsafe. The *Global Upfront Newspaper* reported the issue of how four lecturers of the University of Abuja (Uniabuja), were kidnapped by the bandits in the Giri Staff quarters, along the Abuja-Lokoja Expressway.[49] Among these abducted scholars were Prof. Bassey Ubong (together with his nine-year-old son, and housemaid), the Deputy Registrar, Malam Mohammed Sambo, and Prof. Sumaila Obansa Joseph (with his son), and Dr. Tobins Ferguson Hamilton. Other incidences of kidnapping and abduction of University dons in Nigeria between August 2021 and January 2022 have been reported by *InforDaily Newspaper* in the following way:

> Lecturer at the Department of Linguistics and Communication, University of Port Harcourt, Dr. Jones was kidnapped: A lecturer with Ken Saro Wiwa Polytechnic in Bori LGA of Rivers State, simply identified as Mr. James, abducted by gunmen at his residence in Ugwurutali, Ikwere LGA. Dean, Faculty of Science and Education and Head of Department of Mathematics, Federal University Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State was abducted; Professor Johnson Fatokun, abducted along Akwanga-Keffi highway at Kurmi Shinkafa village. Abductors kidnap Dr. Dan Ella, a lecturer in the Department of Theatre Arts, University of Jos *et cetera*.[50]

Ogunode et al., and Scholars at Risk provide us with the scenario in the University of Science and Technology, Port-Harcourt, and the University of Calabar in Cross River State, thus:

> On January 19, 2016, unidentified perpetrators kidnapped the Director of the Centre for Continuing Education at Rivers State University of Science and Technology in Port Harcourt... On May 3, 2016, seven gunmen reportedly entered the campus of the University of Calabar, Cross River State, at night, firing shots to disperse security guards and passers-by. They kidnapped a lecturer and two students from their residential quarters, according to local news sources.[51]

Nigeria has one of the highest rates of kidnap-for-ransom in the world and in 2018 there were hundreds of incidents throughout the country. *InforDaily Newspaper* establishes that the highest number of kidnap cases in 2021 was 27 in February with 605 victims, followed by July with 23 cases and 327 victims,

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[49] Global Upfront Newspaper (2021). 'Kidnapped University of Abuja lecturers, children rescued at Abaji, along Abuja-Lokoja expressway'. Accessed on; https://globalupfront.com/2021/11/03/kidnapped-university-of-abuja-lecturers-children-rescued-at-abaji-along-abuja-lokoja-expressway/. 09-03-2022.

[50] *InforDaily Newspaper* (2021). 'Abductions, Kidnappings since January in Figures'. Accessed on; https://infodailyng.com/abductions-kidnappings-since-january-in-figures. 09-03-2022.

[51] Ogunode, N.J., Jegede, Abubakar, M, and Martina, U. (2020). 'Challenges Facing Non-Academic Staff of Higher Institutions in Nigeria and the Way Forwards'. *GBS*, Vol,3(5), pp.78 10.

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while January 2022 had 21 cases numbering 284 victims.[52] Those kidnapped include; all categories of people, women, and children. The government on the other hand seems to be unable to tide this menace; perpetrators are known and often go scot-free. This in the final analysis pushed some academia out of the country while others are looking for such opportunities to follow.

Insecurity and Brain Drain in the Nigerian Universities: An Analysis since 1999

Professionals have been moving out of Nigeria daily since 1999. Among this group are those in the health sector, businessmen, and the academia *et cetera*, as a result of insecurity and other socio-economic and political factors they have faced.[53] In line with this fact Falola and Heaton avail that:

> the Nigerian population in the United States of America (USA) as of 2000 was over 164, 000 of whom 104, 000 were Nigerian born... as of 2001, over 86,000 Nigerian-born persons resided in the United Kingdom (UK) and should have doubled that population by now. Equally important is the influx of Nigerians into neibouring African countries such as the Benin Republic, Ghana, Central Africa, and even South Africa.[54]

Falola and Heaton underscored the rate of brain drain since the resurgence of democratic governance in 1999 in the Nigerian state. There is gross migration of brains at the expense of socio-economic development. For instance, while there are clear indications that Nigeria has inadequate University lecturers to man over 200 established universities (both private and public) in the country as NEEDs Assessment Report of 2012 projects:

> 37,504 academic staff in 74 public universities in Nigeria. Considering the number of staff vis-à-vis the student population, the report revealed an unmanageable lecturer-to-student ratio. For example, at the National Open University, the academic staff-to-student ratio was 1:363, at Lagos State University the ratio was 1:144, and at the University of Abuja, the ratio was 1:122. Kano State University, which was 11 years old at the time of the needs assessment period, had one professor and 25 lecturers with Ph.D. degrees, while Kebbi State University had two professors and five lecturers with doctorate degrees. These statistics revealed wide disparities between Nigerian universities and their counterparts in other parts of the world.[55]

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[52] *InforDaily Newspaper* (2021). 'Abductions, Kidnappings..' p.1.

[53] Abang, M. (2019, April 8). Nigeria's Medical Brain Drain: Healthcare woes as Doctors Flee. Health | Al Jazeera. Accessed on; https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/4/8/nigeriasmedical-brain-drain-healthcare-woes-as, 15-03-2022. Adegoke, B. Y. (2019, April 25). Does Nigeria have too many Doctors to Worry About a "Brain Drain"? *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45473036. Accessed 13-03-2022.

[54] Falola, T. and Heaton, M. (2008). *A History of Nigeria*, Cambridge University Press.

[55] NEEDS. (2014). Needs Assessment in the Nigerian Education Sector International Organization for Migration. Abuja, Nigeria.

Sadly, with this situation, Nigerian academic dooms continue to migrate out of the country for various reasons while insecurity seems to be the most serious concern at present. The great death of lecturers in the Nigerian Universities according to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) is a result of African nations losing 20,000 professionals on annual basis since 1990.[56] As noted somewhere else in this work, as a result of insecurity the UNIMAID alone lose over 70 professors during the heat of Boko-Haram terrorism in Northern Nigeria. This fact has been justified by the Vice-Chancellor of the University Prof. Aliyu Shugaba an interview with *Punch Newspaper*, that:

> Going by the American style, a senior lecturer is an assistant professor, a reader is an associate professor and a full professor is a professor. In some universities, they are all referred to as professors, following the American style. In our case, if you factor in the senior lecturers, there are more than 70 (lecturers) who have left. If you include the younger academics, who could not stand the heat of that moment and left for other places, we will be talking about more than 100. Many people (lecturers) have left and many others have died. One of our lecturers was bombed here, around 202 Housing Estate. Another, a doctor with the Faculty of Education, was killed at Gwange. Others were killed either on the campus or outside.[57]

The attacks on Bayero University Kano (BUK) in 2012, the bombings and killings perpetrated by the Boko Haram: from the deadly attack on a Sunday morning when worshippers were attending service within the university's campus, according to S. Luga drove some Yoruba lecturers out of the institution.[58] Although, the southern axis of Nigerian Universities was not spared from attacks and anxiety of the impending attacks hence 15 universities in this area were notified of an invasion. The public relations officer at the University of Benin, Harrison Osarenren, confirmed this notification sent through an email address, bokoharamewe@yahoo.com, to the registrar. The message convened that 'they aimed to eradicate western education in Nigeria. This university has been shortlisted among 19 other universities. They warned that these universities will soon experience a series of bomb blasts,'.[59] Ogunode and Ishaya also reported that on January 19, 2016, unidentified perpetrators kidnapped the Director of the Centre for Continuing Education at Rivers State University of Science and Technology in Port Harcourt. On May 3, 2016, seven gunmen kidnapped a lecturer and two students in the residential quarters of the University of Calabar, Cross River State.[60]

The high level of insecurity in Nigerian Universities has pushed a lot of professors out of Nigerian soil. As noted by Prof. Biodun Ogunyemi (ASUU

[56] International Organisation for Migratory, 2014.
[57] Aliyu Shugaba in an interview with *Punch Newspaper*, 13th June 2021.
[58] Oral interview with Solomon Luga, 13-03-2022.
[59] Okafor, C. U. and Okafor, J. A. (2011). Secret Cults in Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria, Nature, and Dangers and the Way Forward. *Journal of Research and Development*, Vol. 2, No.1. pp. 22-26.
[60] Ogunode, N.J. and Ishaya, S.A. (2016). 'Effects of Brain-Drain on Higher Institutions' Administration in Nigeria'. *Pindus Journal Of Culture, Literature, and ELT*, Vol. 8.

President), Ethiopia 2006 has engaged the services of 200 professors in Nigeria. While according to Olusegun Akinsanya, a former Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia asserted that the figure was rather 600 professors. Apart from Ethiopia, South Africa, Ghana, Egypt, *et cetera* have also engaged a sizeable number of Nigerian professors.[61] It is against this backdrop of understanding that Ogunode, *et al*, says that today the USA, Germany, and the UK among other advanced countries have engaged the best brains in their universities and this is affecting the quality of teaching in the higher institutions in the country.[62] Professor Joseph Stiglitz, 2001 Nobel Prize winner in Economics, who, while at 50 delivering a lecture at the first Dr. Pius Okadigbo's memorial lecture series in Enugu, Nigeria, said that there is a particular university in the U.S. that has over 25 Nigerian professors.[63] He submitted that the above pointer is instructive for any serious-minded government that wants to address the issue of brain drain.

Majors to Cheek Security Challenges in Nigeria

The issue of security is the primary responsibility of the government and as such cannot be compromised in any nation. This is because for socio-economic development, unity, peace, and tranquillity to prevail in any nation there must be a comprehensive security roadmap. This is why advanced countries have taken security measures of paramount importance. For example, the US government invested more than 1triillion US$ in homeland security in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in 2001. The 9/11 incident led to the reorganisation of homeland security with a new mission to prevent, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks, and this is the largest reorganization in the United States government since World War II.[64] In 2020 alone the USA spend a whooping of 750 billion $, China 237 billion $, Saudi Arabia 67.6 billion $, India 61 billion $, United Kingdom 55.1 billion $, Germany 50 billion $, Japan 49 billion $, Russia 48 billion $, South Korea 44 billion $ and France 41.5 billion $ on national defense. This budget in the USA is meant for the Department of Defense, war spending, nuclear weapons spending, international military assistance, and other Pentagon-related spending. The essence is to protect the lives and property of the USA citizens. As a result of this defence budget is properly managed to actualise the targets.

Coming back to Nigeria, the defence apparatuses are ill-equipped to handle security challenges arising from poor budgeting, misappropriation, and corruption. Other challenges with the defence apparatuses in Nigeria are primordial politics, religious divide, ethnic *chauvinism et cetera*, all these demonstrate leadership failure and this projects Nigeria as a failed state in the comity of nations. The war against Boko-haram insurgence in the North-East, banditry in the North-West, farmer-herders in the North-Central, militancy in the South-South, and secessionists movement in the South-East all pointed to

[61] See Tribune online, 2020.
[62] Ogunode, N.J., Ahmed L, Gregory, D, and Abubakar, L. (2020). 'Administration of Public Educational Institutions in Nigeria: Problem and Suggestion'. *European Scholar Journal* (ESJ), Vol. 1 No.3, pp:1-11
[63] Ogunode, N.J. and Ishaya, S.A. (2016). 'Effects of Brain-Drain ...' p.66.
[64] Check, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/costs/economic/budget/dhs. 14-03-2022.

the colossal failure of the Nigerian state to live up to her expectations. Against this backdrop, the study suggests the re-organisation of the Nigerian defence mechanism that has been deeply characterised by leadership failures, ineptitude, corruption, and lack of accountability. For instance, 1999-2019 an estimated total of 29.88 billion US$ has been spent on the Nigerian military.[65] However, this huge amount of money has not been justified against the backdrop of security maintenance in the Nigerian state. There are numerous instances whereby Boko-haram and bandits attacked and killed scores of military officers in their barracks. The incidences of the Giwa Barracks attack in Maiduguri, Nigerian Army Base in Borno, and Mainok Camp in Borno among numerous others cannot be forgotten too soon.[66] This calls to mind some unanswered questions. If the military barracks are not safe in Nigeria, who is therefore safe? Is it the poor farmer on his farm? A petty trader in the market? A poor civil and public servant? Or is it a lecturer with only writing and teaching materials in his hands that is saved?

Secondly, the civil-military relation in Nigeria has to be strengthened to ensure that there is a synergy between the military and the civilian population in the provision of useful security information. The Nigerian security apparatuses can only succeed in addressing the country's security problem if the civilians are willing to corroborate with them. There are over 300 military bases in Nigeria and uncountable cheek points. It has been observed that the conduct of security personnel in and around military bases, and their projected operations, have generated both positive and negative effects on the development and security of host communities, from where they have attracted resistance and support from the populations. Because of this singular reason, some useful security information is often not delivered to Nigerian security for necessary action.

Thirdly, the security of the Nigerian Universities should be taken very seriously by the government and various university administrators. This is because most University campuses are not fenced all around, and there is also a lack of modern security gadgets that could detect suicide bombers and other criminal acts in these institutions. Therefore, lecturers and students are at the mercy of bandits, militants, and cultists on the various university campuses. To crown all, the unresolved issues that stimulated these security threats must be looked into by the Nigerian state. The root causes of these problems lie in unemployment, hunger, poverty, corruption, and prebendal politics. Unless the Nigerian state must proffer proper solutions to these issues otherwise the war against insecurity would continue to be a failure.

Concluding Remarks

Brain drain has disarticulated the organizational structures of some Nigerian universities. The cankerworm has placed some of the Nigerian University's academic departments in a state of chaos leading to decadence in students' performance in the labour market. In some departments, the middle cadre of lecturers migrated out of the country leaving the most senior and junior lecturers behind. The senior lecturers will soon retire and the junior

[65] Check, out https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/NGA/nigeria. 14-03-2022.
[66] Check, https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/NGA/nigeria/military, 14-03-2022.

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lecturers who received little training are saddled with a lot of departmental responsibility including heavy teaching, department administration, and even university administration. In some cases, when the seniors leave, the departments become leaderless. Many departments in the universities exist without a professor. Many Nigerian scholars who travelled for their doctorate abroad were employed by their host universities, and the chances that they will come back to fill the vacuum left in Nigeria are very minimal.[67] The justifiable reasons for this are numerous spanning from poor payment, strikes, lack of research funds *et cetera*. However, insecurity in the Nigerian state has also significantly contributed to the brain drain in the Nigerian Universities in this fourth republic.

[67] Alexander C. Ugwukah, C.A. (2020). 'The Changing Patterns of Migration and Brain-Drain and Its Impact on Nigeria's Development since Independence'**.** Department of History and International Studies, Babcock University, Ilishan Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria. Unpublished paper.