
Substance Abuse, Conflict and Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

This work centers on substance abuse, conflict and development in Nigeria. How illicit substances exacerbate some of the serious global problems facing the world as well as Nigeria is considered in this study. The financial and employment effects generated by the illicit drug trade mask the negative side effects on the economic, social and environmental fronts. It can be shown that the short-term gains are far outweighed by the social and economic ills ushered in by illicit drugs. Those considered below include lower productivity, the spread of the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), and environmental decay. While substance abuse is generally omnipresent throughout society, social conflict theory argues that minorities, the lower class and other marginalized groups are more likely to disproportionately suffer negative consequences as a result of substance abuse. This paper therefore recommends that for us in Nigeria as in any other countries of the world to avert conflict associated with drug abuse, effort should be geared toward curbing the spread of drugs especially illegal drugs in circulation. In addition to this, joint efforts can contribute to curriculum development in communities where drug abuse is a prevailing threat. In countries like Nigeria which is characterized by a high level of drug activity, macroeconomic and, particularly, microeconomic restructuring programmes must focus attention on the role played by the illicit drug industry.

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Background to the Study

The influence of illicit drugs continues to grow, drawing an ever-larger number of people into a perpetual state of dependence, physiological as well as financial. The drug threat has reached such proportions that traditional ways of viewing it need to be reassessed; new perspectives are necessary to take account of its modern manifestations. The objective of the present paper is to transcend debate about the right solutions and to look more closely at the nature of the problem. Today, the influence of illicit drugs reaches far beyond the heroin addict and the crime syndicate. The drug problem is deeply rooted in broader socio-economic concerns. One conceptual roadblock which has prevented the drug debate from transcending limited circles of interest in the law enforcement and health sectors is the stigma attached to those involved in drug-related activities. All too often the fact that drug abuse is not an activity engaged in solely by criminal or dysfunctional individuals is ignored. Despite its illegality, the drug trade in some cases provides the basic necessities for economic survival. And that is the point at which the interests of people in the fields of drug control and development intersect. Drug abuse is defined herein as illicit production, trafficking and consumption. The concept of development used in the present paper is based on that advanced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): a process of enlarging people's choices by strengthening their capabilities and maximizing their use of those capabilities. While the focus of the paper is on the development related implications of cocaine, heroin and cannabis abuse, it should not be overlooked that millions of people live under the influence of synthetic drugs like amphetamines and other substances ranging from alcohol and tobacco to industrial products such as inhalants and solvents. Psychotropic substances illicit consumed in developing countries often! Indeed usually originate in industrialized countries. This illustrates the need to rethink outdated strategies which have long assumed a one-way passage of drugs from developing to developed countries (UNDP, 1999).

The reach of the illicit drug industry is reflected by the following figures:

- (a) The industry as a whole is estimated to have an annual turnover of about \$500 billion a figure which dwarfs the \$62 billion spent on official development assistance in 1992
- (b) The area devoted to poppy cultivation in 1992 is estimated to have been 260,000 hectares resulting in 3,700 tonnes of opium! Equivalent to 370 tonnes of heroin;³
- (c) The cultivation of coca in 1992 occupied nearly 220,000 hectares with an output of 340,000 tonnes of coca leaf equivalent to 680 tonnes of cocaine; that same year, coca-growing areas expanded by 20 per cent (UNDP, 1992).

Drug Misuse in Nigeria

Cole (2012) opines that drugs abuse may be defined as the taking of drugs that are not prescribed by any competent authority that is vested without medical or professional advice and direction. Most often, the drug is obtained illegally and such is used in the large quantity which poses danger to the abuser. In the view of Anejo (2009), drug abuse is the harmful use of drugs that can damage the body if mixed and taken for very long

periods of time or in large quantity especially for non medical reasons. Davidson and Weale (2008) further lamented that drugs were supplied to soldiers during the World War II to reduce fatigue and in medical field to treats hyper-active children. During this period also drugs like amphetamines were given to pilots to fly for hours without becoming tired and sleepy. This practice has seemed to have popularized the use of these drugs among others with subsequent wide spread misuse among students, soldiers, Air-force, Navy etc without the doctor's prescription. Esidore (1993), stated that the issue of drug misuse in Nigeria started with the arrival of cocaine (a potent stimulant and heroine (a Narcotic drug) on our shores. He mentioned that it all started with the arrest of a cocaine peddler in 1982 at the Murtala Mohammed Airport in Lagos and since then thousands of cocaine and heroine traffickers have been arrested and the country has suddenly woken up from the stage of shock to waging war against drug trafficking.

Ngesu and Judah (2008), mentioned that drug misuse came to us from the private medicine and can be classified into non-prescription and prescription drugs. The term drug misuse refers to unreasonable or inappropriate use of drug without medical advice or prescription. These drugs can change person's mood, perception and behaviors; including psycho-active drugs. However, there are laws made mostly against the consumption of nicotine and cannabis and neglecting the consumption of alcohol and tobacco. Thus, drug misuse is any substance that is regularly taken to produce unusual mental reactions rather than a specific medical need.

The Impact of Drug Abuse on Development

How illicit drugs exacerbate some of the serious global problems facing the world is considered in this section. The financial and employment effects generated by the illicit drug trade mask the negative side effects on the economic, social and environmental fronts. It can be shown that the short-term gains are far outweighed by the social and economic ills ushered in by illicit drugs. Those considered below include lower productivity, the spread of the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), and environmental decay.

Employment and Productivity

Not even the most ardent supporter of *laissez-faire* economics would argue that the negative impact on health of smoking is somehow outweighed by the employment generated in the tobacco and medical industries. The analogy holds insofar as the illicit drug industry is concerned.

The economic gains from the illicit drug industry should be seen against opportunity costs, i.e. what could have been achieved with the resources used by the illicit drug activity. The opportunity costs of the drug trade include: (a) lost investment in legitimate enterprise as farmers and processors funnel their savings into illicit drug cultivation and production; (b) lost investment in human capital as drug-related employment provides a false sense of security to its "workforce"; and (c) future costs to the quality of the workforce as children get caught up in the drug trade. With regard to the "merits" of the

trade, the employment generated at each stage of the production chain! from harvesting to processing to retail distribution! creates a ripple effect that justifies labeling the illicit drug trade as an industry in and of itself. One study estimates that the informal sector, of which illicit drugs play a prominent part, equals 50-70 per cent of the official domestic product in Bolivia, 30-40 percent in Colombia, 30 per cent in Pakistan and 50 per cent in Peru. In Bolivia, it is estimated that 10 per cent of the working population is involved in the illicit coca trade, which generates between \$650 million and \$700 million annually. Between \$150 million and \$200 million of drug-related revenues stay in the country.⁴ In 1990, coca and cocaine exports from Bolivia amounted to an estimated 25 per cent of the value of legal exports. The illicit drug industry can be likened to a self-generating engine of economic growth. Drug traffickers introduce new products into an untapped market, buyers are found, and once users become addicted, a minimum level of demand is virtually guaranteed. Demand becomes inelastic. Sellers reinvest profits to expand operations, and so on. One key input is surplus labour, no shortage of which is expected in the developing world. Indeed, the annual rate of net urban migration is forecasted at about 4.6 per cent by the year 2000.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that the overall labour force in sub-Saharan Africa will increase in the 1990s by 3.3 per cent a year while employment opportunities there will increase by only 2.4 per cent. At the same time, drug-driven growth requires a shift of limited resources both in financial terms (personal savings) and human terms (work-hours) away from traditional investment options towards necessarily high-risk, short-term ventures. Other productive investments are in effect "crowded out" When authorities eradicate crops in accordance with local legal provisions, the investment made by farmers is nullified. In Bolivia and Peru, the fall in the price of coca leaves since 1992 has confronted many local communities with a related problem: in effect, their invested stocks are rapidly losing value. In response, many have moved from coca to coca-paste production in makeshift processing centres. The negative impact of drug abuse becomes especially clear when the inevitable spillover effect of rising consumption is taken into account. Where trafficking takes root, drug consumption inevitably emerges. This phenomenon has a direct impact on the productivity of an affected country's citizens, including its youth. One ILO study involving Egypt, Mexico, Namibia, Poland and Sri Lanka found that substance abusers have 2-4 times more accidents at work than other employees and are absent 2-3 times more often. The effects of substance abuse on national productivity are significant, as productivity gains are crucial for a country's competitive position in the world marketplace. The dynamics of the problem come even more sharply into focus when it is recognized that some developing countries are outpacing developed countries in rates of drug addiction. Thirty years ago in Pakistan, for example, the number of drug addicts was negligible. Substance abuse was limited mainly to traditional opium-smoking. Ten years ago there were approximately 30,000 heroin addicts. Today there are approximately 1.5 million. Since 1988, the number of heroin abusers in the country has grown by over 8 per cent annually. By the year 2000, the number of heroin abusers is expected to top 2.5 million. In Colombia, a study by the School of Medicine in Bogotá,

found that every 24 hours, another 130 people in that country start using drugs. Of the 130, 70 per cent are between the ages of 12 and 17.9 this latter statistic indicates, while drug addiction cuts across a large variety of socio-economic backgrounds, its relationship to age can be gauged more precisely. The World Bank states that on average users typically fall within the age group of 15-44, although most are in their mid-twenties. In Latin America, the age group is younger, 12-22 years. As with AIDS, drug abuse often attacks people during their most productive years, thereby converting a vibrant source of productivity into a burden on society. Particularly prevalent among younger individuals is the deliberate inhalation of solvents and various commercial aerosols, a highly dangerous activity that has increased rapidly over the past decade. Inhalant abuse, or "glue sniffing", is attractive to children and adolescents for a simple reason: the easy access, low cost and powerful effect of many household products, like aerosols, glues, thinners and even gasoline, endow them with a dual purpose. The abuse of such solvents by street children has become widespread in Latin America, Africa, central and eastern Europe, as well as in industrialized countries like Australia, Canada and the United States of America. In Brazil and Mexico, solvents rank second after cannabis as the preferred substance of abuse among children: 5-10 per cent of children in those countries abuse solvents. It is in this context that the growing phenomenon of street children enters the picture.

Owing to demographic pressures, cities of the developing world are fast becoming warrens of destitute children trapped in a circle of poverty and drug addiction. Thirty years ago, 55 per cent of Brazil's population was rural. Today, 75 per cent of its people live in cities. Three quarters of Brazilian street children are believed to be migrants.¹¹ India is thought to have the largest number of street children in the world: Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi each have an estimated 100,000 street children. A growing number are involved in crime, with the juvenile delinquency rate at 3.1 per 1,000.¹² When poverty and adolescent lack of regard for legal norms are combined, the illicit drug industry can be seen to offer a means of economic survival, a source of peer respectability, as well as a convenient, albeit temporary, escape from reality (United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report* 1999).

Substance Abuse and the Conflict Theory

From the perspective of social conflict theory, substance abuse is primarily a problem of structural inequality and class conflict. While substance abuse is generally omnipresent throughout society, social conflict theory argues that minorities, the lower class and other marginalized groups are more likely to disproportionately suffer negative consequences as a result of substance abuse.

While the use of mind-altering substances has been a persistent activity throughout human history, the term substance abuse is generally used to signify an unhealthy, debilitating and antisocial dependence on any chemical substance. Generally, this is most often used to refer to illicit or illegal drugs as well as some legal but regulated substances such as alcohol or prescription medications. Substance abuse is generally regarded as personally and socially detrimental, and is usually considered a punishable offense by many state authorities.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory refers to a group of social theories, most of which have roots in the works of Karl Marx. Conflict theory posits a model of society whereby different groups pursue their interests independently or against the interests of other groups. These groups compete for resources and power, and over time, some groups come to dominate others. The social order established by these dominant groups then comes to repress minority groups. One way dominant groups do this is through manipulation of the law and the legal process to reinforce the status quo.

Drugs Abuse and Socioeconomic Plight

Even though drug use is common throughout all levels of society, conflict theory points out that marginalized groups in society are more likely to be targeted for substance abuse violations than the dominant class or groups. For instance, it is commonly believed that poor communities and racial minorities suffer from higher numbers of drug use, although some studies have shown that substance abuse is just as prolific in rich, predominantly white communities. Additionally, it is commonly thought that poor and minority youths are more likely to engage in drug dealing as a means of overcoming their economic problems and sense of alienation, thus perpetuating destructive cycles of drug abuse and violence.

Drug Laws and Enforcement

Conflict theory argues that the law and the coercive power of the state (which is generally believed to function in the service of the higher class) is commonly targeted and deployed against marginalized groups as a means of reinforcing the social structure. This is not always intentional, but is oftentimes a consequence of preconceived or received attitudes and bias against marginalized groups. As a result, marginalized groups are more often assumed to suffer from drug abuse and to be more likely to commit illegal acts. Additionally, they are more likely to be seen as undesirables and thus given harsher punishments than their counterparts from the dominant class. This can, in turn, further perpetuate the cycle of substance abuse.

Power and Representation

Conflict theory illustrates how marginalized groups lack the power and representation necessary to better their place in the world, and how the status quo works to preserve and reproduce itself rather than change to accommodate equality. Thus, substance abuse is largely a social-structural problem, exacerbated by pre-existing social circumstances. Critics of conflict theory argue that structural inequality is not an excuse for making bad personal decisions, but they fail to realize that what they consider intolerable behavior in members of marginalized groups they often excuse in members of their own group. Since marginalized groups lack power in society, they also lack the representation and authority necessary to better their situation. Realizing this, they often sink further into the plights associated with substance abuse. However, through fighting for more representation and recognition in society, some communities manage to overcome their struggle with substance abuse

Conflict Situations

This section contains an examination of three examples of how armed conflict influences drug control. Under certain circumstances, ethnic conflict in particular can take on distinctly drug-related dimensions, as minority groups turn to illicit drug production and trafficking to finance their activities. However, it should also be mentioned that in the past, authoritarian Governments have tried to justify counter-insurgent campaigns with unconvincing often vacuous! claims that they were acting in the name of drug control. With regard to the ethnic dimensions of the illicit drug phenomenon, in some parts of south-east Asia, as elsewhere, autonomy movements against authoritarian Governments have often been propagated by narco-strategic factors; it has been alleged that competition among ethnic groups has in some cases allowed Governments to play one group off against the other, with access to the opium trade serving as the lure for support. Implications for reconstruction and peace-building efforts are clear. In situations of armed conflict, the illicit drug industry can develop into an integral part of the local economy. When countries are attempting to rebuild, they are at their highest level of vulnerability. This section looks briefly at the experience of three countries torn by armed conflict, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Peru each of which testifies to the fact that conflict is a perfect breeding ground for illicit drug activity.

The conflict in Lebanon is widely blamed for the transformation of the Beqa'a valley, an area 75 miles long and 20 miles wide, into a centre of opium poppy and cannabis cultivation. While there has recently been some success in weaning the country's farmers onto alternative crops, the process has been difficult and has suffered setbacks. Between 1975 and 1991, some 500 tonnes of hashish and 3 tonnes of heroin (worth approximately \$1 billion on the world market in 1991 prices) were smuggled from Lebanon into Europe. In Peru, where protracted civil strife has claimed the lives of 25,000 people and caused an estimated \$23 billion in losses, the reconstruction process hinges on the country's ability to overcome drug-related Problems. Recently, a relative degree of calm has returned to the country; as a result, despite continued risks, foreign investors have channelled or announced plans to invest more than \$2 billion in the Peruvian economy.³⁶ The Lima stock exchange is flourishing: between 1989 and 1993 trade volume is estimated to have expanded by over 200 per cent to more than \$1 billion.³⁷ While it may appear as though Peru is on the road to reconstruction, illicit drugs continue to represent an integral part of its economy. The country has witnessed an increase of 40 per cent in the area under illicit coca cultivation since 1990. ³⁸ of a total labour force of 7 million, 500,000 are estimated to be involved in drug-related employment, including 200,000 peasants in coca cultivation. Between 1988 and 1990, coca leaf accounted for 5 per cent of Peruvian agricultural production. The value of cocaine trafficking was the equivalent of 10 per cent of the country's legal exports.

No country demonstrates the dangerous link between armed conflict and illicit drugs better than Afghanistan. The military conflict there has evolved from a guerrilla uprising against external forces into one of internal chaos, resulting in extreme suffering among civilians, displaced populations, one of the eight highest infant mortality rates in the

world and, unsurprisingly, a low position in many of the world's development indices. Afghanistan provides more than an example of the havoc wrought by armed conflict. It also demonstrates the extent to which the illicit drug industry can evolve into an economic lifeline for a population. Today, the country is by far the leading producer of opium in south-west Asia. Though statistics vary, annual opium cultivation is estimated to yield up to 2,000 metric tonnes or more. The symbiosis between military conflict, arms trade, drug production, trafficking and addiction has resulted in almost total dependence on drug-related revenues to maintain armed forces. Warring groups continue to struggle for control over areas suitable for poppy cultivation and opium and heroin production, a fact that is fraught with implications for the country's long-term reconstruction. The political and economic development of the country inevitably risks being stifled as long as drugs are seen and utilized as a source of power.

Corruption

Apart from the violence created by cult members, drug abuse in Nigeria also exacerbated already troublesome corruption. This was because drug gangs could only bring their product into the country with the cooperation of law enforcement. To do this, police officers, customs officials and other authorities were heavily bribed. In fact, it is alleged that senior members of the Nigerian police force, military and customs authority were not just accessories to the entry of drugs into Nigeria, but were some of the main traffickers of illegal drugs in the country. Such corruption, which was well known to even the youthful observer, served to further erode the moral fiber of society and impede development.

Additional Societal Problems

Drug abuse in Nigeria has also contributed to problems with respect to societal problems. Nigeria is a traditional society where the young are expected to respect their elders. However, drug peddlers, with their power and wealth, have little problem ignoring cultural expectations. Additionally, drug addicts have become beggars in some parts of the country and even steal to support their addiction. There is also the fact that drug abuse inhibits self control, thus resulting in risky sexual behavior for users. Other societal problem associated with drugs includes:

Cultism

As illegal drugs became easier to find in the 1980s, so also was there a rise in a phenomenon known as cultism. This refers to fraternities on local university campuses that devolved into gangs and began to participate in illegal activities. These groups, commonly called cults, would fight each other to control drug trafficking within certain parts of the country. This would cause university campuses and even cities to shut down, delaying studies for students. Additionally, these powerful cults would commit gruesome crimes that went unsolved, threaten professors and other authorities, sowing fear and disorder in the communities where they existed.

Implications of economic reform in the developing world

Whereas the previous chapter focused on several clearly established effects of drug abuse on development, this chapter presents a discussion of potential and future areas of risk. Specifically, the welcome process of economic reform in the developing world will leave many economies vulnerable to an increase in drug-related activity. This vulnerability is fed by profound financial and economic needs and can be explained by a simple premise: drugs can bring in money, and a lot of it. In April 1993, the directors of the International Monetary Fund observed that the strong performance of many developing countries! reflected in markedly higher savings rates, greater investment in physical as well as human capital, higher efficiency of investment and stronger overall growth in productivity was due to "fundamental economic reforms that had led to more stable and sustainable economic conditions" In a substantial turnaround from the inward-looking policies of earlier decades, many Governments in the developing world are now liberalizing financial markets, dismantling trade barriers, privatizing State owned industries, lifting restrictions on foreign investment, rectifying budget imbalances and shifting to full currency convertibility. Yesterday's government intervention is being replaced by reliance on market forces. What is taking place in many economies of the developing world is a distancing of official oversight from capital transactions and private sector operations. Yet the well-founded sense of optimism in this unprecedented economic process must be tempered by a note of caution and concern. The control of drug abuse like the control of contagious disease and the promotion of clean air can be defined as a public good, i.e. one person's "consumption" of the good does not diminish its availability to others. In each case, private markets alone will provide too little of the public good; government involvement is needed to increase its supply. Furthermore, drug abuse has large negative externalities consumption by one individual has negative effects on others. Drunk driving, heroin addiction and illegal economic activity, for example, mean that leaving too much regulatory responsibility to private markets will lead to unwanted consequences detrimental to public welfare. This is another reason for a major government role in the field of drug control.

It is becoming clear that, without private sector regulatory controls to replace those of government, developing countries as well as economies in transition are becoming an ever more prolific source of the precursors and essential chemicals necessary for illicit drug production. Firms attracted by the prospect of easy profits have invested heavily in developing countries to market products which are regulated and restricted in their home countries. In its 1992 report, the International Narcotics Control Board points to the practice of pharmaceutical companies in Bulgaria manufacturing uncontrolled "look-alike" stimulants destined for illicit markets in Africa. No one would dispute that the economic liberalization in the developing world is a positive trend. But the dismantling of economic controls inadvertently weakens the safeguards however ineffective which have served to stem the expansion of drug trafficking activities in the past. Similar cases can be found in the need for official involvement to control toxic waste dumping and arms proliferation. In the case of drug abuse, what is needed to offset the diluting regulatory effect of economic reform is more attention to specific and appropriately conceived drug control measures.

Finance

One significant result of economic reforms in the developing world is an unprecedented pattern of external finance. The new pattern of lending has two features that distinguish it from that which characterized the 1970s and early 1980s. First, a far smaller proportion is represented by commercial bank lending; more now comes from companies and private investors. Secondly, private firms are enjoying a larger share of incoming flows relative to the past. The purchase of State-run enterprises, the acquisition of businesses by private investors, and the shift to full currency convertibility all provide ample scope for financial manipulation by criminal organizations associated with the illicit drug industry. This threat is often generalized under the umbrella term of money laundering.

The Financial Action Task Force, established in 1989 by the heads of State or Government of the Group of Seven major industrialized countries, estimates that approximately \$85 billion is laundered each year in Europe and the United States. The new shift in focus towards emerging markets in Asia and Latin America with the latter already witnessing substantial increases in repatriated flight capital raises concern about the risks facing emerging financial systems. Such risks go well beyond the mere recycling of illicit revenues into legitimate enterprise, an act which amounts to little relative to the total value of private-sector capital flowing into developing countries. With the trend towards privatization, the real danger comes from the ability of drug traffickers not only to launder funds, but also to acquire portions of what constitutes a second-hand sale of global proportions. With significant volumes of liquidity at their disposal, criminal entrepreneurs have everything to gain by establishing a foothold in emerging economies and financial systems. Methods used include both the direct acquisition of firms and property, as well as portfolio investments in emerging stock markets.

Colombia provides a telling example. Conservative estimates put the annual income of Colombian drug cartels at around \$4 billion. Of that total, it is believed that up to \$1 billion is fed back into the domestic economy each year. Much of it goes towards land purchases! about 30 per cent of all productive land in Colombia is presumed to belong to drug traffickers.⁴¹ In Cali, the construction industry is booming as a result of a proliferation of luxury condominiums, hotels and office buildings. The construction industry there grew by 37 per cent in 1992-1993.

In the Russian Federation, crime syndicates have already infiltrated the country's financial system. It has been reported that with the collapse of the centralized financial system, the banks in the Russian Federation are more than ever before both targets and vehicles for fraud, money-laundering and extortion. Many have been set up by mafia-style organizations to launder ill-gotten gains.⁴³ In 1993, the Russian central bank established a minimum capital requirement to operate a bank, equivalent to only \$80,000 at the time. The central bank has not yet established legal guidelines on preventing money-laundering. One other reason for the vulnerability of liberalizing economies is the antiquated methods of interbank transfers that organized crime syndicates can exploit. According to the director of the Centre for Strategic and Global Studies of the Russian Federation, more than \$12 billion disappeared from the Russian banking system in 1993 into the pockets of criminal organizations.⁴⁴ In one case alone, local mafia channeled \$40

million by manipulating the outdated technology used by banks.⁴⁵ It is alleged that organized criminal groups in Moscow have bribed and extorted their way into most major banking and lending institutions to gain access to individual and corporate accounts.

Once established in the legitimate domestic economy, drug traffickers generally have considerable freedom:

- (a) To transport illicit goods under the guise of legal merchandise;
- (b) To create new markets for wholesale or retail distribution;
- (c) To establish or arrange for new sources of precursor chemicals; and
- (d) To launder even more illicit revenues.

Trade

Over the past five years, developing countries have led the world in reducing barriers to trade. And yet, despite significant benefits to the global economy, there are potentially negative side-effects insofar as higher trading volumes and fewer official constraints can facilitate the cross-border transactions of drug traffickers.

Foundations for an Integrated Response Shared Interests

Sustainable development, health and education for all, economic growth, environmental protection, population management, respect for human rights, good governance! These are but a few of the goals shared by both drug control and development organizations. The question of how to ensure a higher level of inter-agency cooperation in fulfilling these common objectives is the subject of this section. In recent years there has been growing attention on substance abuse as detriment to development. Noteworthy in this regard is the World Bank's use of the disability-adjusted life year in its 1993 *World Development Report*, which quantifies the burden of disease including tobacco-smoking and Alcoholism On development. This trend has accelerated with the growing perception that drug abuse is not merely a crime but, on the demand side, an illness requiring treatment and, on the supply side, an industry requiring effective safeguards.

It is not only that there are overlapping interests on the problem side. There are also common solutions used in both the fields of development and drug control. For example, education is a basic "tool" in both fields. UNICEF, in its path-breaking 1993 publication *The Progress of Nations*, reports that the proportion of the developing world's children enrolled in primary school has risen by two thirds in 30 years, from 48 per cent in 1960 to 78 per cent in 1990.⁶⁰ Indeed, many of the tools of development and drug control are similar. In addition to the strengthening of educational services, there is income generation, including the provision of rural credits; institutional capacity building; upgrading health care; improving transport infrastructure; enhancing marketing skills; raising awareness on health risks; and mobilizing society for public welfare. The conceptual underpinnings on which these tools must be used are also similar: research and analysis; policy formulation; and institution-building. One factor which has vented a long-overdue rethinking of the relationship between drugs and development is a lingering misperception of the aims of international drug control. There is a sense that achieving

drug control objectives means coming down hard not only on criminals, but also on farmers, their families, and those individuals in futile search of psychological escape.

The image of drug control organizations supporting authoritarian regimes in a manner that overlooks individual rights is as common today as it was 20 years ago. In this light, "law enforcement" still reeks of authoritarianism. This perception, while to a degree accurate in some cases, must nevertheless be refined.

First of all, it should be better understood that law enforcement means different things in different circumstances. Of course, it is often the case that legal institutions, including police, are simply unprepared to address the rapid emergence of drug-related crimes. In such cases, assistance must naturally focus on building and indeed strengthening institutional capabilities. However, where powerful legal authorities ignore human rights in order to satisfy questionable political agendas, assistance should be aimed at better entrenching law enforcement mandates and capabilities in democratic foundations shaped by the collective will of the people. In this light, insofar as drug control has a human rights dimension, international priorities must focus on strengthening the link between democratic legitimacy and the rule of law.

As a better understanding of the linkage between drug abuse and underdevelopment spreads throughout the world, there will inevitably be greater recognition of the fact that drug control's ultimate aim is to help people. Effective drug control means steering children away from a life of crime. It means assisting individuals to reintegrate into civil society. It means making sure that Governments do not benefit from illegal earnings. It means helping peasants to make a better life without having to fear the law. It means assisting countries to recover from the ravages of war. It means preventing people from getting AIDS.

Partnership

The need for a division of labour between development agencies and drug control bodies is evident. International, regional and local drug control organizations often have a limited operational scope and funding base. They have strengths in: (a) analyzing the nature and extent of illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption; (b) raising awareness of the detrimental impact (health, social, economic, political) of drugs and related activities like money-laundering; (c) conceptualizing policy responses in cooperation with Governments; (d) coordinating the drug control investments of Governments and international bodies; and (e) venturing into pilot initiatives of their own. In addition, they can contribute to an array of initiatives in such areas as institution-building, legislative assistance and the strengthening of prevention and rehabilitation capabilities at the country level.

In short, there is untapped potential for a greater operational interplay between Drug control and Development bodies. One promising area is the field of education. For example, joint efforts can contribute to curriculum development in communities where

drug abuse is a prevailing threat. There are many other opportunities to realize a more rational division of labour between drug control and development bodies. In the health sector, for example, health-care centres in drug-producing areas must in many cases be better equipped to take on and pre-empt drug-related disease ! to say nothing of HIV prevention among intravenous drug users. Employment schemes often need to be shaped to better recognize and account for the hidden work alternatives in the illicit drug industry. In countries characterized by a high level of drug activity, macroeconomic and, particularly, microeconomic restructuring programmes must focus attention on the role played by the illicit drug industry. This entails broadening the analytical scope thus far used in the field of economic development. Finally, projects aimed at addressing the needs of street children in many countries urgently require added emphasis on drug rehabilitation and prevention. Many other examples could be cited.

In any joint undertaking between drug control and development bodies, it is of course essential that multidisciplinary teamwork and consultation begin at the planning stage of the project cycle. Only in this way can drug control, when deemed appropriate, be included as an integral part of an overall package of development assistance. As one representative example, strengthening the educational system in a drug plagued community should involve a division of labour such as the following: development bodies concentrate on building or improving school facilities, providing books and other necessities for students and ensuring that recurrent costs such as teacher salaries can be covered on a sustainable basis; drug control bodies develop preventive education programmes for young people, fund outreach initiatives to reintegrate drug abusers into the school system and launch awareness-raising campaigns to enlist the support of local communities.

Another useful example of cooperation involves post-war reconstruction. The division of labour, in this case, is one where development bodies focus on issues such as the reactivation of agricultural production, control of disease, reintegration of refugees, rehabilitation of infrastructure and tapping of reliable sources of long-term income. Drug control bodies play their part by assisting the country (a) in providing legal assistance to integrate the country into the international legal framework; (b) in ensuring against the emergence of illicit production; (c) in developing the institutional mechanisms to prevent cross border trafficking; and (d) in preventing a rise in domestic abuse through education and rehabilitation. This latter area is one in which non-governmental organizations are beginning to play an especially integral role.

Conclusion

Not too long ago and in some circles even today the drug debate was characterized by an ill-conceived dichotomy between so-called "producer" and "consumer" countries. For the most part, that dichotomy politically convenient yet practically deficient has been discredited. In retrospect, it can be seen to have hindered progress in the world's fight against illicit drugs.

From that initial stage of the evolution of the drug debate, a sense of collective responsibility has begun to emerge, gradually even painstakingly giving rise to a second stage which continues to this day. The debate has shifted to how to approach the problem: whether it is best to tackle the problem from a legal or a health-related perspective. Even though the debate is no longer dominated by an "us" versus "them" undercurrent, it can be argued that the same adversarial principles are being upheld; the legal advocates see the problem as a criminal issue requiring enhanced law enforcement while the health advocates see it from the consumer's viewpoint as one requiring medical treatment. In effect, the debate has shifted from the inter-country to the intra-country level. Thus, while the conceptual framework for international drug control has changed for the better, it is still far from complete. The aim of this paper is to advance the evolution of the drug debate one step further. Its basic premise is that there must be a shift away from the still-present bipolar spectrum of debate to one of a multidimensional nature. The drug problem cannot be adequately addressed when seen from an exclusively legal or health perspective. The debate must be expanded to include still other areas of social, economic, and political analysis. Whether to get involved with illicit drugs is the central question which many individuals both potential drug users and drug suppliers must answer. An approach that involves helping people to make such decisions after they have accurate information, adequate shelter and other basic necessities must replace an approach that has long relied on Governments to do the deciding for them. The links with human development are self-evident.

Recommendations

As stated in the body of this work drug and development has a great correlation. Therefore, the need for a division of labour between development agencies and drug control bodies is evident. International, regional and local drug control organizations often have a limited operational scope and funding base. They have strengths in: (a) analyzing the nature and extent of illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption; (b) raising awareness of the detrimental impact (health, social, economic, political) of drugs and related activities like money-laundering; (c) conceptualizing policy responses in cooperation with Governments; (d) coordinating the drug control investments of Governments and international bodies; and (e) venturing into pilot initiatives of their own. In addition, they can contribute to an array of initiatives in such areas as institution-building, legislative assistance and the strengthening of prevention and rehabilitation capabilities at the country level.

In any joint undertaking between drug control and development bodies, it is of course essential that multidisciplinary teamwork and consultation begin at the planning stage of the project cycle. Only in this way can drug control, when deemed appropriate, be included as an integral part of an overall package of development assistance. As one representative example, strengthening the educational system in a drug plagued community should involve a division of labour such as the following: development bodies concentrate on building or improving school facilities, providing books and other necessities for students and ensuring that recurrent costs such as teacher salaries can be

covered on a sustainable basis; drug control bodies develop preventive education programmes for young people, fund outreach initiatives to reintegrate drug abusers into the school system and launch awareness-raising campaigns to enlist the support of local communities.

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