**AN ANALYSIS OF THREATS TO NIGERIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY (2013-2018)**

**BY**

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**BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITETED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE, COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, KWARA STATE UNIVERSITY MALETE, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT AS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF SCIENCE (M.Sc.) DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the work in this dissertation titled "An analysis of threats to Nigeria's internal security (2013-2018)" which was carried out by Babaita Saadudeen Saheed under the supervision of Dr. Ibrahim O. Salawu has not previously been submitted by me or any other person for any course or qualification in this University or any other tertiary institution. All information obtained from the literature has been acknowledged in the text as well as the list of all references.

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# CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this dissertation titled "An Analysis of Threats to Nigeria's Internal Security (2013-2018)**",** is an original work carried out by me for the award of Master of Science (M.Sc.) degree in Political Science Kwara State University, Malete, Kwara State, Nigeria.


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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Almighty God, the source of all true knowledge, the Judge and Jury in all affairs of humans. It is also dedicated to my parents, Alhaji Abdul Ganiyyu and Alhaja Fatimoh Babaita.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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**ABSTRACT**

*Security is the primary functions of every government and central to the survival of democracy. Since the return to democratic rule in May 1999, Nigeria has being battling with series of internal security threat which has been detrimental to the survival of the nation. Among the internal security threats includes, Boko Haram insurgency, herders and farmers clashes, kidnapping among others. This study seeks to examine the effect of the emerged threats to Nigeria's internal security. The major objectives of the study were to identity the factor that promotes threats to internal security of Nigeria. Secondary data was used in the study due to the nature of the research problem. The study adopts relative deprivation and structural functionalism as the theoretical framework. The findings revealed that the security challenges in Nigeria have long historical antecedence and can be attributed to bad governance. The study argues that the abysmal failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges such as poverty, unemployment among others, ultimately resulted to anger, agitation and violent crimes against the Nigerian state by some individuals and groups. In view of this study, it was recommended that, the federal government should formulate and effectively implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of the emerged threats to internal security in Nigeria such as, unemployment, poverty, dearth of infrastructural facilities, environmental degradation, , uneven development, among others.*

# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1    Background to the Study

It is an indisputable fact that, security is the primary functions of the state. This is due to the fact that security is not only crucial but fundamental to the survival of democracy. This belief is shared by Nwagboso (2012), where he opined that security is the act of being safe from harm or danger, the defense, protection and preservation of values, and the absence of threats to acquired values. Security is about survival and the condition of human existence. Security also exists when people live together in a certain environment without disturbance or violence. However, this protective function of the state has been in jeopardy by the emergence of "violent non-state actors" who engage in violence and terrorism-related activities. National Security threat attracted more scholarly attention after the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre in the United States by the Al-Qaeda terrorist network and similar attacks in Spain and Great Britain (Duru & Ogbonnaya, 2010).

Nigeria's transition from military rule to democratic government on 29 May, 1999, witnessed the enthronement of a constitutional government based on democratic ideology such as:  rule of law, fundamental human rights e.t.c. that was not present under military regimes. Expectations of unity, development and social cohesion among the various social groupings in the country were not unfounded. This hope is predicated on the view that in a democratic government individuals and social groups feel more protected than in non-democratic government (Mijah, 2009). The

Nigerian polity has not reflected this vision of democracy. Shortly after the inauguration of the civilian administration, series of emerged threats to Nigeria internal security which has been detrimental to national security became rife.

Basically, it has been observed in Nigeria that democratic rule came with different threats to internal security of Nigeria. These emerged security threats threaten the foundation of human survival, development and unity. Examples of these emerged threats to internal security include; Boko Haram insurgency, herders and farmers clashes, kidnapping, among others. These and many others have resulted in loss of lives and property as well as destabilizing a large number of people who have become refugees in and outside country. It is worthy to note that Nigeria has lost a fortune and enormous human resources as a result of the reoccurring crises.

Nigeria's Fourth Republic has been characterized by security threats which have threatened the corporate existence of the country. The Boko Haram insurgency which is among the emerged threats has continued to pose a serious challenge to the sovereignty of the country. Since the eruption of Boko Haram violence in 2010, series of attacks and suicide bombing carried out by the group have extended even beyond national boundaries. According to the report of United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2018) the conflict in Nigeria's North-East has resulted in widespread displacement, violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, protection risks and a deepening humanitarian crisis. Now in its ninth year, the crisis continues to consume the lives of thousands of people and is adding to the long history of marginalization and chronic under-development. Since

the start of the conflict in 2009, more than 20,000 people have been killed, thousands of women and girls abducted and children drafted as "suicide" bombers into the insurgency. Up to 2.1 million people fled their homes at the height of the conflict, 1.7 million of who were currently internally displaced and close to 200, 000 people are scattered around Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

Also the conflict between nomadic herders and active farmers is a leading resource-use induced conflict. This is primarily caused by competition to have access to land and freshwater for grazing and farming, resources which have become acutely scarce (Audu, 2013). Massive desertification of vegetative lands and drought in Northern Nigeria compels herders to migrate towards the South in order to provide green pasture and water for their livestock. In the course of their movement down South, herders momentarily settle in farming communities where green vegetation and water are available. Disputes arise between herders and farmers over allegations from both parties. On the one hand, farmers accuse herders of destroying their crops by the encroachment of herded livestock on their farmlands and contaminating community water sources. On the other hand, herders accuse farmers of poisoning, killing or stealing their cattle and denying them access to grazing routes. These scenarios make conflict inevitable, and the crises create so many problems related to the nation's insecurity because not only crops and livestock but many lives and properties have been lost on daily basis. According to the Human Rights Watch (2013), the conflict between herders and farmers significantly contributed to inter-communal violence and death of about 3,000 people in North-Central region of

Nigeria between 2010 and 2013. In February, 2016 alone, the Fulani herders were reported to have raided and killed over 300 people in Agatu communities in Benue State, an epitome of the level of brutality that has become synonymous with the conflict in recent times.

In the same vein, kidnapping has also become endemic in the Nigerian society. It is fast becoming a lucrative alternative to the well known crime of armed robbery. The gravity of kidnapping is so intense that it has virtually affected most of the elites in Nigeria. The current dimension of kidnapping was triggered in the Niger Delta region when militants in February 2006 abducted some oil workers, ostensibly to draw global attention to the dire situation in the oil rich Niger Delta region of the country. The victims they were mostly foreigners. Since then the social problem of kidnapping has spread like wild-fire in most parts of the country, especially in the south-eastern region. Today, the targets are no longer foreigners alone; practically every Nigerian elite can be a target. Statistically, Nigeria records more than 1,000 kidnapping incidents a year, and there are undoubtedly many that are not reported (Catling Group, 2012).

Nigeria's security has witnessed an unprecedented level of internal security threats. This has made national security threat to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security. In order to ameliorate the incidence of crime, the federal government has embarked on criminalization of terrorism by passing the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011, installation of Computer-based Closed Circuit Television cameras (CCTV) in some parts of the

country, enhancement of surveillance as well as investigation of criminal related offences, heightening of physical security measures around the country aimed at deterring or disrupting potential attacks, strengthening of security agencies through the provision of security facilities and the development and broadcast of security tips in mass media (Azazi, 2011).

Despite these efforts, the level of insecurity in the country is still high. In addition, Nigeria has consistently ranked low in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2016), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country. Hence, Adagba, et al (2012), are of the view that the efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result.

With the lingering security challenges and the inability of the security apparatus of the government to guarantee safety and security in the country, the question that borders observers remains the extent to which Nigeria's democratic framework can engender national security and at the same time frontally tackle emerging security threats. This is more pertinent when one considers the intractable nature of these threats despite several electoral promises. For instance the Action Progressive Congress and its presidential candidate President Muhammadu Buhari anchored its campaigns on the tripod of economy, security and anti corruption. So far, security remains a huge challenge.

Apparently, the security situation in Nigeria appears or at least has remained insurmountable and many people have argued that governments at all levels have not done enough by not confronting the situation head on. Others have argued that the situation has political undertone or inclination calculated to serve the interest of

certain political ends. Insecurity in any environment constitutes threat to lives and properties, hinders business activities, and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which stifles and retards socio-economic development of a country. Without an enabling environment, production, industrial activities and trade will come to a halt and there will be no investment. As a result of this, development would remain elusive. This is because funds meant for developmental purposes are channeled into tackling of security problems and also individuals from other countries will not like to have a stake in the country. It is against this background that this research focuses on effects of the emerged threats to internal security.

## 1.2     Statement of problem

Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has being battling with series of internal security threats which have threatened the corporate existence of the nation. In spite of the fact that the emerging threats to internal security has assumed an alarming rate in Nigeria,this criminal activity has negative implications on the economy of the affected states and Nigeria in general. Among the emerging threats to the internal security of Nigeria includes, the issue of herders and farmers conflict, Boko Haram insurgency, and kidnapping among others. These threats has prompted a severe lost of lives, properties, humanitarian and forced displacement crisis, with devastating social and economic impacts on the populace, further intensify underdevelopment and regional disparity.

More so, among the factors that promote threats to internal security includes,

ethnic/religious pluralism, unemployment, illiteracy, failure of governance, socio-economic inequalities and demographic factors, small arms and ammunition trafficking, the illegal alien issues, globalization, endemic corruption, inflations, low wages among public and civil servant, proliferations of small arms and poverty. About 70% of the population lives in poverty. This predisposes the poor to violence which is fueled by the ease of access of small arms. The importation of weapons by developing countries has risen dramatically (Otto & Ukpere, 2012:67).

It is observed that these problems are as a result of the government inability to take quick response towards addressing these ugly issues. This has made national security threats to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security. In order to ameliorate the incidence of crime, the federal government has embarked on criminalization of terrorism by passing the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011, installation of Computer-based Closed Circuit Television cameras (CCTV) in some parts of the country, enhancement of surveillance as well as investigation of criminal related offences, heightening of physical security measures around the country aimed at deterring or disrupting potential attacks, strengthening of security agencies through the provision of security facilities and the development and broadcast of security tips in mass media (Azazi, 2011).

All efforts made by the Nigerian government to curb the menace of these emerging threats have proved difficult. Despite these efforts, the level of insecurity in the country is still high. In addition, Nigeria has consistently ranked low in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country.

Hence, Adagba, et al (2012), Uhunmwuangho and Aluforo (2011) are of the view that the efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result. It is against these backdrops that the study seeks to examine the effects of emerged threats to internal security in Nigeria.

## 1.3 Research objectives

The main objective is to examine the effects of emerged threats to the internal security of Nigeria. Specific objectives are to:

1. Identify the factors that promote threats to internal security of Nigeria.

2. Assess the state response to the threats to the internal security in the country.

3. Evaluate the institutional capacity of the main managers of Nigeria's security management?

## 1.4 Research questions

1. What are the factors that promote threats to internal security of Nigeria?

2. How has the Nigeria state responded to the threats to internal security in the country?

3. What is the institutional capacity of the main managers of Nigeria's security management?

## 1.5 Significance of the study

A study of this kind is of great importance in understanding the factors that give rise to emerged threats to internal security of Nigeria. It would also help the government in formulating policies that would curb this menace among the people and also stir religious bodies to their work of moral upbringing.

The research would help politics and governance student to understand the effects of the emerged threats to internal security of Nigeria which would be an addition to other related literatures in the field of political Science.

**Scope of the Study**

The scope of the study is limited to the study on the effects of emerged threats to Nigeria internal security which includes Boko Haram insurgency, Herders and Farmers clashes and kidnapping. The time frame for this study is five (5) years covering the period of 2013 to 2018.

**1.7    Operational Definition of Terms**

**National security**

National security encompasses a wide range of features, all of which encroach on the non-military security of the state and the values espoused by the national society. Therefore, national security is seen as the summary of the security of the sectors in a nation – food security, health security, energy security, arms security, ideation security. Socio-economic issues such as hunger, poverty, diseases, migration, human rights violations and more pose enormous threats to the national security of a state. This concept of national security put in a nutshell both the traditional security and the new security (Pogson, 2013).

**Internal Security Threat**

These are the emerged threats to Nigeria internal security. These security threats have posed greatest fear to the corporate existence of the country. Among the internal threats are, Boko Haram insurgency, herders and farmers conflict, and kidnapping.

**Conflict**

Conflict is an existing state of disagreement or hostility between two or more people. Conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals

**Crime**

A crime is any act or omission that violates a law which results in a punishment. Punishment can range from the payment of fine to incarceration in jail. The level of the offense or crime will usually be set in proportion to the severity of the crime. It can be broadly define as behavior in which individuals obtain resources from others via force, fraud, or stealth.

**Criminality**

This is the state or quality of being criminal. Criminality is a style of strategic behavior characterized by self-centeredness, indifference to the suffering and needs of others, and low self-control.

# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1    The Concept of Security

The term security can be seen as a state of being protected from danger and anxiety. Security to a nation connotes conditions of peace, stability, order and progress. According to Musa and Ajibade (2018), security is a state of being safe and absent from fear, danger, poverty, anxiety and oppression. They also view, Security as preserving the core values and the absence of threats to these core values. . For the purpose of this study, Nweke and Nwachukwu (2014) conceived and present security as a state of reduced or contained threats and tension in which the stability of a state is not in an imminent danger of disruption from within and without. Stability is here viewed as the order, regularity and pattern, which characterized the state's condition over an extended period (Aliyu, 2012). It is in view of this that Fayeye (2007) asserts that security of a nation requires moving away from the traditional militaristic and state-centric definition of security towards human security. To him, security encompasses the personal and communal state of being secured from a wide range of critical and pervasive threats.

Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) argued that the concept of 'security' is a crosscutting, and multi-dimensional concept which has, over the last century, been the subject of great debate. However, long before that, the history of mankind was interspersed by the frenzied search for the best way of ensuring the security of the

people, their properties, territories, states and institutions among others. In all places and countries, security has been considered as a "first order value" worth preserving. The aforementioned notwithstanding, there is no agreement on the definition of security. This is not surprising because as a social phenomenon, it is often approached from different viewpoint. Above all, the concept of security has been seen as a state of affairs where a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration.

In the same vein, the concept of security has always been linked with the safety and survival of the state and its citizens from harm or destruction or from dangerous threats (Mukhtar, 2012). Those conceptions generally hold that the state is the only institution with the primary responsibility and power for the safety of its territory and its people (Zabadi, 2005). Therefore the concept of security in this study is operationalized within the context of a nation.

### 2.1.2   The Concept of National Security

Nations of the world prioritize the safety of its territorial integrity, resources and its entire citizenry. This connotes that national security is the preservation of independence and sovereignty of a nation state. In reality, every country has a large number of national interests to protect. These interest put together constitute the national interest which originates from values, good governance and protection of social and economic well-being of the entire citizenry. Based on this, one may describe national security as the protection and maintenance of national interest of a

state or nation. Corroborating this assertion Afolabi (2015), defines national security as the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institutions and governance from disruption from outside and to control its borders.

Hence, national security has no universally accepted definition but there are two schools of thought to it - the old school (Traditional Security Paradigm) and the new school (Contemporary perspective). The old school which is also referred to as the Realist school views national security from militarist angle with emphasis on military response and management of threat. Obasanjo (1999) conceives national security as the aggregate of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups and the entire political entity.

Nweke and Nwachukwu (2014), concludes that there is no doubt that national security embodies the sovereignty of the state, the inviolability of its territorial boundaries, and the right to individual and collective self-defense against internal and external threats. But the state is secure only when the aggregate of people organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy.

**2.1.3    The Concept of Internal Security Threats**

The Internal Security Threats categorized as those threats to the Nigerian system such as kidnapping, Boko Haram crises, and farmers and herders conflict. These threat perceptions are further elucidated below:

**i.    Boko Haram Insurgency**

One of the national security threat in Nigeria which has adversely affected the Nigerian economy is the activities of Boko Haram group. Etymologically, the term 'Boko Haram' is derived from Hausa word 'Boko' meaning 'Animist', western, otherwise non-islamic education; and the Arabic word Haram symbolically meaning 'sin' or literally, 'forbidden' (Olugbode, 2010). The Boko Haram is a controversial Nigerian Militant Islamist group that seeks the imposition of Sharia law in the Northern States of Nigeria. Ideologically, the group opposes not only western education, but western culture and modern science (Dunia, 2010).

Historically, the Boko Haran group was established in 2002 in Maiduguri by Utaz Mohammed Yusuf. In 2004, it moved to Kanama in Yobe state, where it set up a base called 'Afghanistan', used to attack nearby police stations and killing police officers (Awowole-Browne, 2010). However, the founder of the group, Mohammed Yusuf was antagonistic to democracy and secular education system. This partly explains why he vowed that the war he began in 2002 would eventually change the political and educational systems in Nigeria, a dream not realized till his death in 2009.

The Boko Haram group does not mix up with local people in the North and lots

of its members that speak only Arabic come from neighboring Chad. This perhaps explains why the group insists that western education is immoral. The group powerfully believes in the Koranic expression which says "anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors. Consequently, the Boko Haram group promotes a version of Islam which makes it 'haram' or forbidden for muslims to take part in any political or social activities in the western society. This includes voting in election, wearing shirts and trousers or receiving a secular education (BBC News Africa, June, 17, 2010).

The activities of the Boko Haram group constitute serious security challenges in the contemporary Nigerian state. The actions of members of this group which have raised critical questions among investors on the safety of their investments in Nigeria. This ranges from killing of innocent Nigerians, raping of women, to bombing of major cities and police stations in the northern part of Nigeria, particularly, Borno, Kano, Bauchi, Niger, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, among others.

**ii.     Kidnapping**

Kidnapping is one of the criminal activities that have posed serious security threats to the Nigerian State. According to Nwagboso (2018), kidnapping is conceived as the act of illegally taking someone away and keeping him as a prisoner for the purpose of receiving ransom (money in return). Historically, kidnapping in the South-East zone and some other parts of Nigeria, could be traced to the hostilities, conflicts, crises and violence in the Niger Delta region (Igbokwe, 2009).

Defining how kidnapping poses a number of definitional problems in relations

to a country's legal and moral viewpoints as well as the availability of other variances such as hostage taking and hijacking. Akpan (2010) broad working definition of kidnapping has been adopted in which kidnapping applies to all situations where persons are forcibly seized and transported to a destination where they are held against their will in unlawful confinement. It also describes incidents when persons are lured away and then held illegally. This may involve force. Kidnapping has grown over the years as an industry involving every level of the society and motivated by many reasons.

Ekeibe and Eze (2012: 28) argue from the criminal law perspective that "kidnapping is the wholesale taking away or transportation of a person against the person's will usually to confine the person in false imprisonment without legal authority. This act may be done principally to extract ransom or in addition of another crime, or in relation with a child custody as a fall out of marital dispute. One country where kidnapping has become every day event of recent is Nigeria and predominantly the Niger Delta. Niger Delta is rich in petroleum oil and has been discovered by multinational corporations and the Federal Government of Nigeria in the midst of high prevalence of poverty, absence of infrastructures and deprivation of the locals and oil communities. Various forms of crime, including kidnapping have appeared as a consequence (Akpan, 2010).

Kidnapping as a social problem is the act of illegally taking somebody away and keeping him as a hostage in order to get money or something in return for discharging him. The history of kidnapping in the South-East zone of Nigeria could

be traced to hostilities, conflicts and violence in the Niger Delta region. In the South-East zone, especially in Abia and Imo States, kidnapping activities were mainly targeted at prominent indigenes and residents of these states. This situation was persistent shortly after the 2007 general elections in Nigeria. This is partly because, the youths that were used as political thugs by politicians during the 2007 general elections in these states then engaged in kidnapping as means of living after the elections. definitely, confession by those apprehended shows that some politicians in these states supplied guns to youths for the purpose of rigging the 2007 general elections. Unfortunately these guns were not taken back at the end of the elections.

As a result, kidnapping later turned to profitable business mostly among the youths in Imo, Abia, Ebonyi and other states in the zone. Thus, the increasing rate of kidnapping activities in Abia State, particularly in Aba metropolis, resulted in several foiled attempts to kidnap the Abia State Governor, Chief Theodore Orji in 2008 (Nwogu, 2008). Thus, from 2007 to 2010, several prominent men in Aba and its environs were kidnapped for ransom. This adversely affected the economy of Abia State as many businessmen and manufacturing companies relocated to other states like Enugu and Anambra. Also, this pathetic situation got to a crescendo, when school children were kidnapped in Aba in 2010.

**iii.     The Herders-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria**

The Interaction between nomadic herders and farmers is usual. If anything, there exists all possibility for a symbiotic relationship between them. Through barter or purchase, nomadic herders, on the one hand, may depend on farmers of their host

community for grains, and the farmers, on the other hand, may depend on the herders for dairy products. in addition, farmers may make crop residues available to herders as feeds for their cattle, while dung's from the herders' cattle could be utilised as manure by farmers.

Blench (2003) asserts that building a friendly relationship with farmers is most crucial for nomadic herders so they could be welcomed and tolerated in a visited farming community in subsequent times. It is when herders are unable to develop a mutual relationship with the farmers of a particular community that they resort to either "flexible movement patterns that involve encountering new arable communities every year" or "intimidation of the farmers" (Blench, 2003, p. 2). This hints on how conflict tends to breakout between herders and farmers in Nigeria.

The fundamental cause of the conflict between nomadic herdsmen and crop farmers in Nigeria lies in their competition for natural resources. Herders and farmers compete for land and water, with the former seeking these resources for the help of their cattle and the latter concerned in using them for the cultivation of crops. This rivalry has turned violent in recent decades due to growing scarcity of the resources, a phenomenon that has been alluded to as a direct effect of climate change (Abugu & Onuba, 2015; Odoh & Chigozie, 2012; Shettima & Tar, 2008).

According to Bakuh (2005), 45 per cent of the land mass in Africa is decertified, and as a result of reduced land mass available for farming and grazing, violent conflicts tend to erupt between farmers and pastoralists in their pursuit of space. Desertification and drought in Northern Nigeria, Abugu and Onuba (2015)

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point out, are the major reasons why Fulani herders are forced to migrate down to other regions, especially the southern part, of the country. Abass (2012) adds that decrease in annual rainfall and shortening of the wet season are contributory factors to the itinerancy of Fulani herders toward the south. Odoh and Chigozie (2012) concludes that while resource scarcity may be the immediate cause of the conflict between herders and sedentary farmers in Nigeria, climate change constitutes the remote cause.

Farmland and grazing route encroachment readily incite clashes between pastoralists and farmers. Farmers confront herders when cattle stray into their farmlands and destroy their crops. Cases of such confrontations whereby herders react with violence are rife. Abass (2012) avers that over 60 per cent of reported cases of the herders-farmers conflict occur during the dry season. Meanwhile, Olayoku (2014) affirms that, resultant from the incursion of livestock on farmlands, clashes between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria assume greater intensity during planting and harvest periods. Conversely, herdsmen also feel aggrieved when they discover that portions of land that had hitherto served them as grazing routes have been taken over by farmers for cultivation. By virtue of their nomadic movement, Fulani herdsmen are outsiders in any farming community they temporarily settle. Hence, they are considered the "landless group" by the community farmers (the "landed group") who claim the right to land use and ownership (Shettima & Tar, 2008).

Blench (2010; 2003) put the conflict between herders and farmers into perspective of two developments that historically shaped the relations between both

parties in Nigeria. Namely, the collapse of the *burti*(migratory routes) system in the 1970s and the growth of fadama cultivation since the 1980s. According to Blench, around the colonial era, there were mutual understanding and agreement between Fulani leaders and local community authorities on routes Fulani pastoralists could lead their cattle through for grazing, and local farmers distant themselves from farming on those routes. There were established committees, Blench confirms, that intervene and resolve issues before they degenerated into violence. But this system began to collapse when farmers started planting on those routes because they "increasingly felt they owned the land across which the cattle passed", and as a result, "cattle migrating southward increasingly wandered into newly created farms"; consequently leading to disputes and breakdown of trust between Fulani pastoralists and local farmers (Blench, 2010, pp. 6-7).

On the impact of fadama (cultivation on naturally flooded piece of land especially valley-bottoms), he states that it notably improved income generation and dry-season engagement for farmers. However, its impact was negative for pastoralists who faced impeded access to riverbanks, discovering that "where they grazed their cattle are now blocked off by gardens and farms"; and this meant their cattle could "potentially stray and cause damage" to the farmers' crops (Blench 2010, p. 8; 2003, p. 5).

By the time disputes between herders and farmers evolve into violent clashes, the provocation is most likely to have gone beyond a mere competition for scarce resources. That is to say violence can be motivated between herders and farmers by

other factors complementary or detached from the root cause. For one, feuds between the two groups are often predicated on accusations of acts of intentional deprivation or criminality against each other. Herders accuse farmers or members of the host community of having stolen or poisoned their cattle. Farming communities also accuse herders of abduction, rape, armed robbery and murder. These accusations or the actual deeds tend to stir violent attacks and reprisals.

Ultimately, contestations between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria are often placed within ethnic and religious contexts. Blench (2003) adduces that in a case where the religious and cultural views of a pastoral group diverges from those of the agrarian community hosting them, to the extent that they supersede all conceivable economic advantages both parties stand to gain from cordiality, the outbreak of conflict becomes more likely. In their venture to other regions in Nigeria, Fulani herdsmen, who are predominantly Muslims, come in contact with diverse groups of people, not only of a different ethnicity, but equally of a different religion to their own.

There are evidences from sectarian conflicts that have occurred in Nigeria that instructively suggest there can sometimes be a blur in the root cause of a conflict and the ethno-religious identities of disputants that amplify it (Human Rights Watch, 2013). It is widely considered that the ethno-religious differences between the predominantly Muslim Fulani herdsmen and the mostly Christian-populated (farming) communities, especially in the North-Central, South-East and South-South zones of the country, are a major reason for the volatile dimension the conflict has taken in

recent times in those areas (Genyi, 2014; Okoli & Atehli, 2014).

Ethnic and religious interpretations have increased the complexity and fostered an easy politicisation of the conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria. In this line of thought, Abass (2012) posits that the fusion of religion, politics and ethnicity has made the herders-farmers conflict susceptible to manipulation and, seemingly, difficult to resolve.

## 2.2 Factors that Promote Threats to Internal Security of Nigeria

Nweze (2004) identified some factors that promote threats to internal security in Nigeria to include: militarism, and military experiences, ethnic/religious pluralism, unemployment, poverty and failure of governance, socio-economic inequalities and demographic factors, small arms and ammunition trafficking, migration and indigene question in Nigeria, Nigeria's socio-economic status in Africa and the illegal alien issues, globalization, porous security heritage and external influence. It is necessary to distinguish between different causes as each may require different remedy. Like in other countries, the sources of insecurity in Nigeria can be traced to a number of factors. Beyond the external-internal dichotomy, sources of insecurity can equally be classified as either remote or proximate and immediate. In Nigeria, the challenge is not so much about external sources but rather that of internal sources. Hence the focus of the research was on the internal sources.

### 2.2.1 Remote (root) Factors

#### a) Lack of Institutional Capacity

There is apparently a breakdown of institutional infrastructure. The foundations of

institutional framework in Nigeria according to Achumba et al (2013) are very shaky and have resulted in the deterioration of state governance and democratic accountability, thereby paralyzing existing set of constraints including the formal and legitimate rules nested in the hierarchy of social order. According to Igbuzor (2011), the state of insecurity in Nigeria is a function of government failure. This is manifested by the inability of government to deliver public services and provide the basic needs of the masses. Lack of basic necessities in Nigeria has created a pool of frustrated people who are easily ignited by any event to become violent. It is argued that Nigeria has the wherewithal to provide for her people, but corruption of public office holders has made this impossible. Nigeria according, to Hazen & Horner (2007) is a „paradox of plenty‟, a very rich country with very poor people. With this kind of situation, insecurity of lives and properties is bound to arise/occur.

### b) Pervasive Material Inequalities and Unfairness

Great disparity in life chances is a major root cause of insecurity in Nigeria. Inequity and unfairness have given rise to grievance by a greater number of people. Some sections of the people may feel marginalized in government development policies, and political offices and this may become a source of disaffection and resentment. According to Onuoha (2011), a large number of the Nigerian people have become frustrated and lost hope, particularly the youths who have taken to violence.

### c) Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Among the various ethnic groups and religious in Nigeria have arisen distrust and lack of confidence. According to Hazen & Horner (2007), Salawu (2010) and Igbuzor

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(2010, ethno-religious conflict is a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. Frequent and persistent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes between the two dominant religions (Islam and Christianity) present the country with a major security challenge. In every part of Nigeria, there exists ethno-religious conflict which according to Ibrahim & Igbuzor (2002) have arisen as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often associated with ethno-religious identities. As Adagba et al (2012) have noted, claim over scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy, local government council, control of markets and sharia among other trivial issues have resulted in large scale killings and violence among groups in Nigeria.

### d) Conflict of Perceptions between the Public and Government

Over time, there has be a standing mismatch between public and government perceptions. A situation which often results in the reaction of the public to the excesses of the military regimes which governed Nigeria has created sensitivity by those in government as public intrusion matters of state. Frequently, on every given incident, public and government reactions diverge. The media have not helped matters in such situations. Such reports have always been capitalized upon in sophisticated ways by various groups, some of which are violent to incite public clamour for a change and immediate reaction through strategically provocative violence. The truth is that the media has contributed to exacerbate insecurity or perception of insecurity in Nigeria. The pen, it is said, is mightier than the sword.

### e) Weak Security System

This arises from inadequate equipment for the security arm of government both in weaponry and training. This is in addition to poor attitudinal disposition of security personnel. In most cases, security personnel lack the expertise and equipment to handle such situations in a way to prevent them from occurring. Even when this exists, some personnel get influenced by ethnic, religious or communal sentiment and are usually swallowed by their personal interest to serve their people, rather than the nation. People as a result become saboteurs of government effort by supporting and fuelling insecurity through either lacking vital security information or aiding and abetting criminals to acquire weapons or to escape the long arm of the law.

### f) Loss of Socio-Cultural and Communal Value System

The traditional value system of the Nigerian society like most other African societies according to Clifford (2009) is characterized by such enduring features as collectivism, loyalty to authority and community, truthfulness, honesty, hardwork, tolerance, love for others, mutual harmony, and co-existence and identification of individual with one another. Other distinctive features of the Nigerian traditional society are abhorrence for theft, incest and high values for life. Stealing was considered extremely disgraceful and lives were highly valued. All these values which made society secured and safe have all gradually been discarded or lost. New obnoxious values have succeeded the lost ones. We are often acquainted with modernity and civilization. Most traditional Nigerian endearing values and morals have been traded off for western values which portend a dangerous precedence.

### 2.2.2 Immediate and Proximate Factors

### g) Porous Borders

One major immediate factor which has aggravated insecurity in Nigeria is the porous frontiers of the country, where individuals are largely untracked. The porosity of the Nigerian borders has serious security implications for the country. Given the porousness of our borders as well as weak security system, weapons and small arms get into Nigeria easily from other countries. Small arms and light weapons proliferation and the availability of these weapons have enabled militant groups and criminal gangs to have easy access to arms (Hazen & Horner, 2007). According to Edeko (2011), Nigeria is estimated to host over 70 percent of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa. Due to the porosity of Nigerian borders, unwarranted influx of migrants from neighbouring African countries such as Republic of Chad, Niger and Benin has become possible. These migrants who are mostly young men according to Adeola & Oluyemi (2012) are some of the perpetrators of crimes in Nigeria.

### h) Rural/Urban Drift

The migration of jobless youths from rural to urban centre also causes insecurity in Nigeria. According to Onuoha (2011), Nigeria is one of the countries in the world with very high rural/urban drift. Most urban areas in Nigeria have grown beyond their environmental carrying capacities and existing infrastructure and this has resulted to increased poor quality of the living conditions. Out of frustration due to over population, these youths are drawn into crime.

**i) Social irresponsibility of companies**

Corporate social irresponsibility is a set of actions that increases externalized costs and/or promotes distributional conflicts. Companies engage in corporate social responsibility (CSR) in order to offset corporate social irresponsibility. The rise of terror groups in some parts of the country is directly related to the neglect of social responsibility. Thus was the case in the Niger Delta Region crisis.

**Unemployment/Poverty**

As a result of high level of unemployment and poverty among Nigerians, particularly the youths, they are adversely attracted to violent crime. Adagba et al (2012), Nwagboso (2012) noted that the failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities are the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria.

**j) Terrorism**

Today, terrorism is the most fundamental source of insecurity in Nigeria and its primary source is located in religious fanaticism and intolerance, particularly in Moslem dominated states of Nigeria. Terrorism which is a global phenomenon was defined by Sampson & Onuoha (2011) as „the premeditated use of threat or violence by an individual or group to cause fear, destruction or death, especially against unarmed targets, property or infrastructure in a state, intended to compel those in authority to respond to the demands and expectations of the individual or group behind such violent acts". Terrorism in Nigeria is an Islamic insurgence with a political undertone by a faceless group based in the northern region of the country,

which calls itself Boko Haram, which takes into account the legitimate political, social and economic grievances of the northern population. According to Oluokun (2014), Nigeria has lost up to 1,500 lives in the north since 2009 since the insurgency of Boko Haram.

Many theories have explained the terrorism challenge in Nigeria both in terms of personal motives of the terrorists, the underlying causes of terrorism and the values of the communities that host terrorism and sustain it. The theories according to Adagba et al (2012) commonly linked terrorism in Nigeria to religious, socio-political, economic and cultural parameters. Implicitly, while terrorism may have originated from Islamic fanaticism, it is now driven as much by other factors such as inequalities and lack among Nigerians. The current challenge of terrorism to physical security is threatening the very foundation of the Nigerian nationhood. The sources of insecurity in Nigeria have been summarized by Kufour (2012) as located in four factors, namely: political conflicts, unbalanced development that involves horizontal inequalities, religious/ethnic distrust and leadership failure. The crime statistics in Nigeria as was reported by CLEEN (2012) and the summary of activities of Boko Haram and the number of attacks and victims from 2009 – 2012 as was noted by Achumba et al (2013) are as indicated in table II below:

## 2.3  Theoretical Framework

The complex nature of this research work necessitates us to use two theories as its basic foundation. The first theory centered on Relative deprivation theory. This theory was propounded by Dollard et al (1939). This theory was propounded as part of

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efforts to link socio-political and economic inequalities in the society to uprising and insurrections. As individual and group- based theory of aggression, the relative deprivation theory argues that when expectation outshine achievement regardless of the absolute levels of economic consumption or the provision of political rights, frustration is generated. The theory argues that people become dissatisfied if they feel they have less than they should and could have. Over time, such dissatisfaction leads to frustration and then rebellion against the (real or perceived) source of their deprivation. Thus, the combined frustration turns to anger and violence (Dollard et al, 1939:52, Davies, 1962:44, and Feierabend, 1966:89).

The application of the theory helps us to map out the historical antecedence of conflicts, agitations and frequent rise of individuals and groups against the Nigerian government. From the perspective of the assumptions of Relative Deprivation Theory, we argue that the abysmal disappointment of the Nigerian government in addressing critical challenges to development in many parts of the country may be responsible for the internal insurrection by armed militia groups, herders and farmers clashes, kidnapping against the state. Further, we equally argue that security challenges or threats in some parts of Nigeria particularly the northern region, are clear indications that government seems to have failed in her constitutional role of protecting lives and properties of the Nigerian people. This is clearly because, available evidence shows that there is increasing rate of poverty among Nigerians. Also, unemployment looms large, per capita income is low and high rate of inflation has not been tackle. Similarly, Nigerians are still facing challenges of poor health status, poor state of

infrastructures, high rate of illiteracy, low technological development, among others (Anosike, 2010:8). Thus, it is against this significant analysis that, most of the unemployed youths find themselves in malicious activities, such as kidnapping of innocent citizens, joining Boko Haram to create illicit act as against the security of the country. The clash between herders and farmers was as a result of deprivation on the part of government.

The implication of Relative Deprivation Theory on security challenges and economy of the Nigerian state is that democracy is most likely to be destabilized, thereby paving way for military incursion in the country. Also, the incessant attacks by Boko Haram insurgency, herders and farmers clashes, kidnapping and across the country could distort any meaningful efforts by the government to achieve radical economic development in Nigeria.

This theory has been criticized that, this theory fail to explain why some people who feel discontent fail to take action and join social movements.

The second theory center on structural functionalism which is associated with the works of Emile Durkheim (1917), Robert K. Merton (1968) and Talcott Parson (1979). The fundamental assumption of the theory observes the society as a living organism made up of components part, which functions harmoniously for the survival of the whole system. If any parts fails to contribute to identifiably useful function neither does it promote values consensus among members of the society – it will not be passed on from one generation to the next (Schaefer, 2002).

When applying the theory to explain the social problem of herders and

farmers crises, Boko Haram insurgency and kidnapping in Nigeria, and its implication on the socio- economic development; structural functionalism assumes that, the economy which is part of the social system is not functioning well. This is due to the mismanagement, negligence that occurs within the political sector. This dysfunction within the system causes high level of poverty, unemployment, deprivation as well as marginalization.

The result is envisaged in the high crime rate. The crime of kidnapping has been acknowledged as profitable and functional to its perpetrators. The lucrative nature of kidnapping makes it very attractive. Kidnapping as observed in some parts of Nigeria, is identified as a functional measure of politicians to fight their opponents. The money collected as ransoms are means to destabilize the opponents and as well force them to back-out of the political race. In the Niger Delta, kidnapping of foreign expatriates has drawn government attention to look into the plight of the region. This is visualized in the post-amnesty program initiated by Yar'adua/Goodluck administration in 2009, which is expected to restore the much needed peace in the region and the country at large so that socio-economic activities could be conducted without obstruction. However the structural functionalism theory is criticized for not being capable of explaining change and also for addressing the issues of a system as "closed" concept (Charles, Ikoh, Iyamba & Charles, 2005). Despite these criticisms, the theory is justified for its ability to highlight on the functional aspect of crime in our society.

Structural functionalism was criticized for being unable to account for social

change or for structural contradictions and conflict. Also, it ignores inequalities including race, gender, class which cause tension and conflict. The refutation of the second criticism of functionalism, that it is static and has no concept of change.

In the light of the foregoing, the Relative deprivation theory serves as the major theory and also as the foundation to explain the effect of emerged national security threats in Nigeria while structural functionalism theory serves as the subordinate theory to assist in formulating the preventive measure against another uprising of other security threats.

## 2.4    Review of related Empirical Studies

This present research study is about the effects of the emerged threats to Nigeria internal security (2013-2018). Knowledge is unlimited and hence there will always be improvement, criticism and update in all researches. This is why it's referred to as Research. Thus in this context the present study moves to review empirical studies that are similar, directly and indirectly related to the present study.

Usman and Mathew (2014) in their study tittled Security Challenges in Nigeria and National Transformation advocated for structural development. Usually, structural development leads to changes in all sectors of the economy. However, in most cases structural development can only be possible if the security situation in the country is handled with all seriousness. But in the situation where security issues such as insurgence, theft, kidnapping, abduction, to mention but a few are handled with lukewarm attitude, transformation and structural development will be aborted. This is because when there is security threat in the country, money meant for such

developments are often diverted into fighting such threats in the country.

This study is similar to the present study, but they did not make inferences to other threats to National Security in Nigeria, such as herders and farmers clashes among others. Hence, the present study shall include a qualitative approach in its data gathering as interviews will be conducted to compliment other sources of data.

Arisukwu (2017) conducted a study titled The Infleunce of Insecurity on Socio-Economic Development in Ilorin Metropolis, Kwara State Nigeria. The study examines the pertinent issue of insecurity in Nigeria and its implication on socio-economic development in Ilorin metropolis. Quantitative research design was used to gather information from the respondent available, data analyzed showed the level and dimensions of insecurity in Nigeria, which reveals an increase over time. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistics of frequency and percentage. The sampling techniques adopted for this study were stratified and random sampling which enable the administering of questionnaire. The result of the research states that the attitude towards Insecurity is negative. People have a negative perception about insecurity and they want it to curbed because it tends to affect the society, business, social life and economy At the end of the research, the cause of insecurity includes lack of unemployment, poverty and other factors included in the research.

Although the above study is similar to the present study as it both considered the issue of insecurity in Nigeria. This research utilizes Quantitative research design to gather information from the respondent. However, this present study adopted qualitative research design to analyze is data.

Ajuru and Thom-Otuya (2013) in their study tittled Security Challenges as Threats to National Unity in Nigeria: Causes, Prevention and Treatment noticed that every country on earth is faced with the problem of security challenges in her process of national development; it is not peculiar to Nigeria. But the security challenges confronting Nigeria is capable of disintegrating the Country and even metamorphose to civil war. The experiences of Nigerians during her civil war from 1966 to 1970 called for caution and academic intervention in other not to cause disaffection, disunity and human suffering. The study seeks to probe into the etiology of security challenges in Nigeria and also draw a nexus between security challenges and national unity and seek for prevention of these causes of security challenges in Nigeria.

The above study is similar to the present study but in their research lay more emphasis on security threats before democratic rule in 1999. The present study deals with the emerged threats to internal security in Nigeria.

| S/N | Author's Name | Topic | Methodology | Findings | Gaps |
|-----|---------------|-------|-------------|----------|------|
| 1. | Modia and Aliu (2013) | Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic | Qualitative | The study concludes that there is a strong association between the poor state of governance in Nigeria and the widespread threats to national security. | The above research is similar to the present study, as the present study sees threats to national security as a result of bad governance in Nigeria. Moreover this present study intends to know the effects of emerged threats to Nigeria internal security. |
| 2 | Nwagboso (2012) | Security Challenges and Economy of the Nigerian State (2007 – 2011). | Qualitative | The result of the study reveals that the security challenges in Nigeria have | This study is similar to present research, as the study also utilizes qualitative |

| | | | | long historical antecedence and traceable to bad governance. The study argues that the abysmal failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges such as poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities, ultimately resulted to anger, agitation and violent crimes against the Nigerian state by some individuals | research design but differed by the period of year covered by the present research, which is from 2013-2018. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | and groups. Such crimes include militancy, kidnapping, bombing, armed robbery, vandalisation of government properties, among others. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| 3 | Nweke and Nwachuku (2014) | National security issues and challenges in Nigeria: Which way forward | Qualitative | The study concludes that, Mr. President as the only authority that should acknowledge the failure of the security agencies and provide complete overhaul of the Security Agencies to pre-empt these security breaches. In particular, the failure of the intelligence services to contain the recurring security breaches. Such as the spate of bombings which has once more brought to limelight | The study is similar to the present research because they are on the same page on national security issues and challenges. But fail to buttress their claim with a theory. |

| | | | the need for a Sovereign National Conference. And until these structural distortions and anomalies are addressed, the monster of insecurity will loom large. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Source: Compiled by the Researcher 2019

**CHAPTER THREE**

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

**3.1     Research Design**

Research design is a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever question he or she has posed, (Ragin 1994 cited flick, kardorff and Steinke, 2004: 146). The research adopted for the research is a qualitative method. A good research design performs two main functions; it answers research question and control variables. The method of data collection for this study is the qualitative method.

According to McNabb (2005), qualitative data refers to some collection of words, symbols, pictures, or other non-numerical records, materials or artifacts that are collected by a researcher and is data that has relevance to the social group under study. The use of these data go beyond simple description of events and phenomena; rather they are used to creating understanding, for subjective interpretation and for critical analysis as well.

First, in qualitative research, cases can be selected purposefully, according to whether or not they typify certain characteristics or contextual locations. Second, the researcher's role receives greater critical attention. This is because in qualitative research the possibility of the researcher taking a 'neutral' or transcendental position is seen as more problematic in practical and/or philosophical terms. Hence, qualitative research reflects on the role of the researcher in the research process and makes this clear in the analysis. Third, qualitative data analysis can take a wide variety of forms,

and approaches analysis holistically and contextually, rather than being reductionist and isolationist. Nevertheless, systematic and transparent approaches to analysis are almost always rewarded as essential for rigour.

Burnham et al (2005) sees the qualitative method as very attractive in that it involves collecting information in depth but form a relatively small number of cases. He goes on to state that analytic induction is often used by qualitative researchers in their efforts to generalize about social behavior. Concepts are developed intuitively from the data, and are then defined, refined and their implications deduced from the data.

Therefore, the study relied on institutional and official documents from organizations such as the National Beareau of Statistics publication, Central Bank of Nigeria annual report, Trent online, United Nation, Nigeria Watch annual report, among others. All this will be complemented by interview which will be given to key security expert. The institutional and official document were complemented by other secondary data sources as textbooks, journals and magazines, articles and other written works bordering on the subject matter. Finally, this study extensively utilized materials sourced from the internet.

## 3.2    Population for the Study

The target population of this study comprises the security expert which includes: Officers from the Department of Investigation and Intelligence in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Officers of Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC), officers from State Security Service (SSS), officers from Nigerian Army

(NA), among others will be interviewed.

**Table: 3.1 below contain the target population for interview and sample size.**

| S/N | Target Population for interview | Sample size |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1.  | Nigerian Police Force          | 5           |
| 2.  | NSCDC                          | 5           |
| 3.  | SSS                            | 5           |
| 4.  | Nigerian Army                  | 5           |
|     | **Total**                      | **20**      |

**3.3    Relevance of the Sources of Data Adopted**

The relevance of the secondary source of data to this research is that they are information which have been published and interpreted. Thus, it will allow for easy access of some relevant materials and also it will not only discuss the topic in contemporary terms, but how they were in the past, now and the future.

**3.4    Validity and Reliability of Data**

The issue of validity and reliability of data is so crucial that no worthwhile scientific investigation should ignore. Hence, to enhance scientific utility of this study, the problems associated with its validity and reliability needs to be adequately addressed. The study relies on secondary data and thematic analysis of data gathered through secondary sources. The relevance of the secondary source of data to this research is that they are information which have been published and interpreted. Thus, it will allow for easy access of some relevant materials and also it will not only discuss the topic in contemporary terms, but how they were in the past, now and the future.

**3.5** **Method of Data Analysis**

The study adopted qualitative descriptive method in analyzing data. Qualitative descriptive analysis according to Asika (2006) essentially has to do with summarizing the information generated in a research, so that appropriate analytical methods could be used to further discover relationship among the variables. The adoption of the foregoing analytical method is necessary because the study principally relied on secondary sources of data which will also be complimented by interview by key security expert in Nigeria.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**AN ANALYSIS OF THREATS PERCEPTION TO NIGERIA'S INTERNAL**

**SECURITY**

This chapter presents the analyses and discussion of results from the field data which comprises of interview and documentary evidence and procedures in relation to the objectives of the study. The data answers the following research questions: What are the factors that promote threats to internal security of Nigeria? How has the Nigeria state responded to the threats to internal security in the country? What is the institutional capacity of the main managers of Nigeria's security architecture?

**4.1     IDENTIFYING THE EMERGED THREATS TO INTERNAL**

**SECURITY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS ON NIGERIA.**

The emerged threats to national security threats have adversely affected socio economic development of the country. This is due to the fact that, criminal related activities which constitute this threats in the Fourth Republic. From Boko haram insurgency, herders and farmers clashes, to kidnapping all have in one way or the other affected the country. These threats are examined intermittently to know how they have affected the socio economic development of the country.

**4.1.1   Boko Haram insurgency**

Boko Haram, meaning Western education is forbidden, is the overt name for Jama'atu Ahlis Suna Lidda'awati Wal Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad), which was renamed the Wilāyat al-Islāmiyya Gharb Afrīqiyyah (or the Islamic State West African Province (ISWAP) in March

2015. The group belief that Western influence is responsible for state failure, political corruption, underdevelopment, poverty, inequality and injustice in northern Nigeria, and considered Islamic revivalism as the only way to redemption (Oyewole, 2014.)

The weak institutional capacity of the Nigerian state in providing public goods and lack of governance are at the root of Boko Haram's emergence, change, and boldness. The deep level of underdevelopment in northern Nigeria and the dichotomy between Westernisation and Islamism also stimulated the calamity. Thus, Boko Haram emerged as a non-conformist group under the leadership of Muhammed Yusuf in 2002. In addition to proselytization and anti-state mobilisation, the group engaged in series of confrontations with the security forces between 2002 and 2009, which climaxed in the short-lived July 2009 uprising under President Umaru Musa Yar Adua's administration (Onuoha, 2010).

The civil disobedience was brutally dormant by state security forces, during which hundreds of its members were murdered and Yusuf extra-judicially killed by the police. Abubakar Shekau succeeded Yusuf as Boko Haram's leader, transforming the group into a furtive organisation that adopted the strategy of terrorism and insurgency from 2010. Under Shekau's brutal leadership, the Boko Harm has sustained a deadly insurgency that crushingly targeted civilians involving assassinations, assaults, bombings, abductions, invasion of border communities, and seizures and control of territory in Nigeria.

Boko Haram developed ability for insurgency with recruits and sometimes conscription from Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger, Chad and beyond. It professed support

for Al Qaida in 2010 and later pledged loyalty to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2015.

**Trend of Boko Haram's Violent Attacks**

Boko Haram would seem to have mastered ingenious means of launching its brutal attacks. It has claimed responsibility over 1639 terrorist attacks, with 14436 fatalities, 6051 injured victims and 2063 hostages captured in Nigeria(Global terrorism Database, 2015).

The abduction of 276 school-girls from Chibok in April 2014 by the group has been the largest single occurrence so far, generating international outrage campaign to 'Bring back our Girls'. The Nigerian government asserted that the crisis affected 14.8 million people, and caused 23,461 deaths, over 5,000 missing persons, 2 million displaced persons (IDP) and 1.66 trillion naira economic loss in north-eastern Nigeria (Presidential Committee on the North East Initiative  2016).   Between 2009 and 2017, Armed Conflict Location and Event Database (ACLED) documented 2445 offensive, defensive or strategic incidents that involved BokoHaram, with record of 28,168 fatalities in Nigeria (see Figure 1). At the peak of the insurgency in early January 2015, the insurgents controlled about 20,000 square miles of territory in Nigeria - an area the size of Belgium.

Fig.1



| | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Incident | 20 | 37 | 123 | 379 | 272 | 415 | 456 | 320 | 423 |
| Fatalities | 817 | 75 | 594 | 1649 | 2974 | 7713 | 8852 | 2815 | 2679 |

Source: Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project(ACLED) 2009 2017

Figure 1 above shows the yearly trends of the activities of Boko Haram insurgency from 2009-2017. At inception the incidence and fatalities was at the lowest level. The fatalities began to rise up in 2013 with total number of 3000 fatalities; subsequently the fatalities rate surged up in 2014 with the sum of 7800. This was during the administration of former president Good Luck Ebele Jonathan. Not surprising that the Boko Haram issue became central to opposition campaigns issue against the administration. BokoHaram crisis was at its peak in 2015. GTD shows that there was a decline in Boko Haram attacks by 8 percent, hostages by 23 percent and fatalities by 30 percent between 2014 and 2015.

Similarly, the decline in violence in 2015 could be attributed to President Muhammadu Buhari, administration's effort in counterinsurgency (COIN) operations of the Nigerian military and the rejuvenation of Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF). A combination of these led to group recovery of swathes of previously

occupied territory, loss of thousands of its fighters, and freeing of hundreds of abductees. However, the group has proven resilient despite repeated claims by President Buhari's administration that BokoHaram is "technically defeated, "terribly degraded" and "completely decimated".

There are claims that Boko Haram's violence and associated cost are underreported. This is possibly the reason why most available public data often reported fatalities from Boko Haram's violence to be between 20,000 and 30,000. As of mid-2017, the government of Borno State stated that Boko Haram's crisis was responsible for destruction of N1.9 trillion ($5.2 billion) worth of properties, including one million houses and 5,000 classrooms in the state. Boko Haram has abducted thousands of people much as it has destroyed thousands of property (Premium times, 2017).

**Socio Economic Implications of Boko Haram insurgency in the North East of Nigeria.**

Aside the human cost in the Boko Haram insurgency, the atrocities of the sect have socio-economic implications, especially in the North East where Boko Haram has dominance. The economic, social and psychological costs of the insurgency cannot be quantified. Commercial activities in the North East have been reduced because of the unprecedented attacks by the sect. Banks, markets and shops do not open regularly due to the fear of the coordinated attacks from Boko Haram. According to Okereocha (2012), human capital and investors drain is hampering economic development in the northeast this is due to the attacks on banks, markets, parks and

government departments. The attacks on these commercial areas have led to the migration of people to other parts of the country. Shiklam (2012) posits that:

*"The Maiduguri Monday Market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners, especially Southerners are said to have closed their businesses and left the troubled city. About half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city."*

Aside the migration of people who have business in the northeast to other parts of Nigeria, foreign nationals of Chad, Cameroun and Niger are being repatriated to their home countries for what the government of Nigeria said they constitute the members of Boko Haram. Evidence has shown that not all the repatriated nationals of the above countries are members of Boko Haram. Definitely, those who have business in cities like Maiduguri, Damaturu and Yola will form part of those that are sent homes which will actually affect the economic activities in these cities. Ovaga (n.d) asserts that under this situation, the economy of the northeast will seriously be affected if foreign citizens who contribute large quota to the development of the northeast vis a vis their economic activities are sent back to their countries of origin. The never-ending attacks by Boko Haram in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states have a severe impact on the economic lives of people living in these areas. A case in point is that the work duration of most commercial banks in the affected areas hit by Boko Haram bombings has been reduced from eight hours to three hours (Mohammed,

2012). In Maiduguri, Borno state, where the sect originated, the frequent bombings and clashes between Boko Haram and the security agents have weighed down seriously on the commercial and businesses activities in the city as many business have reportedly crumbled while many people have fled the state (Shiklam, 2012). There is already a dichotomy in the north and south development in Nigeria. The poverty profile released by the National Bureau of Statistics illustrates that there is the prevalence of poverty in the north as compared to the south. It is in this data that the Business day newspaper predicted that if the security persists development in the northern part of Nigeria will remain static and the poverty gap between the north and south will broaden further (BDN, 2012).

"The region needs peace and stability more than any region in the country, particularly because the region is clearly lagging behind in terms of infrastructure, education and other development indices" (Minster of Information, Labara Maku cited in Ogochukwu, 2013). Prominent Nigerians who have bemoaned the economic impact of Boko Haram insurgency in northeast Nigeria include President Goodluck Jonathan and Northern Governors forum. According to Obaremi (2014) "Economic affairs in the north is already depleted due to a massive departure of people and financial institutions from the north west region. But of telecom operators have not been left out from the attacks of Boko Haram. For instance, some telecom masts belong to some major mobile telephone operators were destroyed by Boko Haram and the banning of telephone services by the military affected the income generation of some of the mobile phone operators.

Just as the economic implications of Boko Haram atrocities cannot be quantified, the social costs are enormous. The churches, schools, markets, clinics and mosques have become soft for Boko Haram. For example, in April 2014, a federal government girls' college was attacked which subsequently led to the abduction of over 250 female students. Attacks on these social places have prevented people from going to these places. Some students have stopped going to school, others have been transferred to the southern part of the country to continue their education. Christians are afraid to go and worship in the church on Sundays due to the fear of being attacked by the sect. Same for the Muslim faithful who abandon their worshiping centers because of Boko Haram attacks.

The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) that was created by the government after the end of Nigerian civil war to foster unity among Nigeria is under serious threat due to Boko Haram attacks. The NYSC directorate posted 4171 corps members to Adamawa state, 1041 of the corps members have to abandon their national duty due to the precarious security situation (Ovaga (n.d.). Some parents from the south of the country have protested vehemently against the posting of their children to the northeast.

## 4.1.2 Kidnapping

Kidnapping has remained one of the major crimes in the nation. Abati noted that kidnapping has become a national phenomenon as the entire country is now a kidnappers' den. According to him, ransom kidnapping and hostage taking are no longer restricted to the Niger Delta area, or South- South of Nigeria with reported

cases in Lagos, Abuja, Benin city, Owerri, and now Kaduna and Kano.

Fig.2
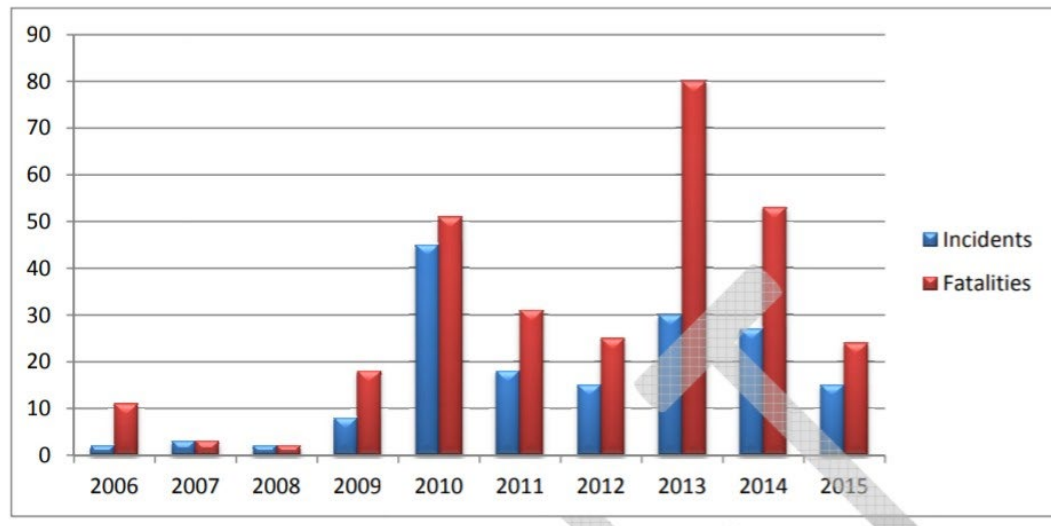


Yearly Trend of Kidnap Fatalities and Incidents (June 2006 -2015).

In fig.2 kidnapping incident was at its peak in 2013. A downward trend was recorded in 2014 due to government intervention. The fatalities reduced in 2015 compare to 2014. 2013 reported the most fatal with 80 deaths from 30 kidnap incidents. There were kidnap fatalities and incidents in 2014 as 53 deaths were recorded in 27 incidents. This trends of kidnapping is not helping the situation of Nigeria because funds that are mearnt for development are been diverted to tackle the security threats of the nation. Thereby, increasing the national budget on security.

**Economic Effects of Kidnapping in Nigeria**

The economic effects of kidnapping include direct and indirect costs. At the individual level, the costs include the economic value of money that may be lost to kidnappers, while the indirect economic cost of kidnapping include expenditures on preventive measures, such as the employment of private security personnel. At the

governmental level, the economic effects of kidnapping involve the expenditure on security and security agencies. The federal government budget for 2009 for police formations and command was N195 billion. The Lagos State Government was also reported to have spent three billion naira in two years on security alone (Soyombo, 2009). Much money has been spent on ransom payments. The former Inspector General, Sir. Mike Okiro, disclosed that N15 billion have been paid as ransom to kidnappers between 2006 and 2009 (Kyrian, 2009). The large sum of money spent as ransom payment affects the economy drastically, as it could have been used for meaningful economic development.

Also, the country loses a lot of revenue when expatriates working in the multinational oil companies are attacked. Out of fear, people tend to stay clear from the environment and the adverse effect is always on the economy. Dode (2007) noted that, in 2006, when kidnappers abducted six foreign expatriates from Shell Oil Company premises the company was forced to closed down and this led to the loss of millions of standard cubic feet per day of gas production for the country.

In Uyo Metropolis, many people are kidnapped often and a lot of money is given out as ransom. This situation affects both the state and household economy. Some people usually go as far as borrowing to bail their relatives out from the hands of hoodlums. In many instances, it is often the bread winners of families that are usually targeted, the implication is always felt particularly within the family, whereby members of such families will have to feed themselves and adjust to their normal daily activities, until they secure the release of the victim. The victim's work-place

will also be affected adversely. If the victim was a business man or woman, the business will suffer some setback pending his or her return. In a formal organization, the challenges are enormous as the absence of the victim will cause problem within the system, and the output will automatically be affected as well.

**Social Effects of Kidnapping in Nigeria**

Kidnapping affects the social life and social relations of many people who are held hostages in their homes from dusk to dawn, for the fear of being kidnapped. As a result of kidnapping, night travel has become a high risk venture. Furthermore, many people have been forced out of their newly completed houses by kidnappers. People are compelled to present an unfinished look of poverty by not painting the external walls of their houses. Many people are afraid to buy or use new motor vehicles for the fear of kidnappers. It was reported that rich people in Rivers State have resorted to riding in taxi cabs and commercial motorcycles popularly called okada to market, school and social outings as a means to check hostage takers (Soyombo, 2009).

In regards to inter-personal relationship, kidnapping has also contributed to a relatively high level of mistrust among people. Few people still extend the traditional African hospitality to strangers. Some people do not acknowledge or return greeting by strangers nor oblige strangers asking for direction most people are unwilling to render help to people in distress for fear of being kidnapped. Few people would venture to stop to assist people calling for help on the express way. Increasingly many people nowadays barricade themselves in their homes (Soyombo, 2009).

Most devastatingly, it has been noted that, it is the fear of kidnapping that has

contributed to the current high demand for police escort by diverse public officials in the country, thereby further depleting the inadequate police personnel that could have been deployed to street crime control (Soyombo, 2009).

### 4.1.3 Herders and Farmers Clashes

The Fulani pastoralists appear to be greater in number than any other group in Nigeria that are involved in the business of animal rearing. They are the most prosperous. They make cattle meat affordable and readily available at the door post of Nigerians. Their animal meat constitutes a huge source of protein for the citizens. Hence they contribute substantially to the Nigerian economy. Eniola (2010:3 cited in Abbass 2014) opined that the Fulani indisputably represent a significant component of the Nigerian economy. They constitute the major breeders of cattle and the main source of meat, the most widely available and cheapest source of animal protein consumed by Nigerians. The Fulani own over 90% of the nation's livestock population, which accounts for one- third of the agricultural gross domestic product (GDP) and 3.2% of the nation's GDP (Bello 2013).

Nonetheless, the frequent attacks on the farmers and citizens of Nigeria these days by the herders are terribly alarming. Attesting to this fact, Adetula (2016) avers that previously the herdsmen were known to wreak havoc in certain communities in Nigeria, but now the rate at which they are committing these crimes has increased exponentially. This threatens the peace, security and unity of the nation as one geographical entity and will retard growth and development in all spheres of people's lives.

Table 1

| S/N | Period | Number of deaths | Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2014 | 6347 | Armed Conflict Location and Data Project (http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/23/boko-haram-nigeria-civilian-death-death-toll-highest-acled-african-war-zones |
| 2 | 2015 | 4780 | The Cable News (https://www.thecable.ng/path-of-a-ruthless-killer-all-boko-haram-deaths-in-2015) |
| 3 | 2016 | 2500 | Voice of Africa news (https://www.voanews.com/a/farmer-herder-conflict-rises-across-nigeria/3326151.html) |
| 4 | 2017 | 549 | Amnesty International (http://www.dailypost.ng/2018/01/30/amnesty-international-reveals-many-nigerians-fulani-herdsmen-killed-2018) |

Source: Compiled by the Researcher 2019

Yearly death statistics resulting from herders and farmers clashes (2014-2017)

The numbers of deaths by herders and farmers clashes rise up in 2014 with 6347, the death rate reduced to 4780 compare to 2014. In 2016 the number of death reduced to the bearest minimum with the total number of 2500. In 2016/2017 the number of deaths reduced drastically due to the transition of government.

**Effects of Farmers-Herders Clashes on National Development**

The effects of the Fulani herdsmen's activities cannot be overemphasised. Hereunder they are enumerated.

**Economic Effect of Herders and Farmers Crisis**

It is an indisputable fact that the activities of the Fulani herdsmen against the farmers have resulted in a huge economic setback in Nigeria today. Some of these setbacks are discussed here below.

i. **Creation of Artificial Scarcity:** From what we know, anytime farmers are attacked they will run away from their farmlands and find it difficult to return for fear of being attacked again. This sometimes lasts for a long time, thereby hindering sowing and reaping. This undoubtedly creates an artificial scarcity of goods and services.

ii. **Inflation and Devaluation of the Naira:** Inflation, simply put, is a persistent increase in the prices of goods and services over a period of time. Anyanwuocha (1996:25) defines it as a persistent rise in the general price level. The artificial scarcity created by the frequent attacks of the herdsmen on citizens as stated earlier leads to inflation, which in turn leads to devaluation of the naira.

iii. **There is a Decrease in Output per Capita**, because of restrictions on people's movements as a result of curfews. Moreover, the daily output in goods and services is seriously affected. People can no longer move to their farms, shops and business centres freely as they wish.

iv. **Discouragement of Foreign Investment**: The incessant attacks by the Fulani herdsmen scare away foreigners who have come to Nigeria to do business. In the course of the attacks, lives and property, public companies, film-producing

houses and industries are destroyed. When foreigners see these things happen, they get discouraged and withdraw their businesses and go back to their countries (Ibenwa 2012).

v. **Creation of Refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs):** Anytime there is any serious attack on the citizens, houses are burnt down and people are rendered homeless. Consequently, some of them who are not well-to-do cannot easily find themselves a home and, therefore, they are quartered in public buildings as IDPs.

**Social Effects Herders and Farmers Crisis**

i. **Increased Unemployment Gap**: Because companies, films and industries are destroyed during such crises, it takes owners of these businesses time to rebuild their destroyed business centres. Their employees spend this long period without work to do. They add to the number of unemployed youths that are roaming our streets.

ii. **Change in Population Size:** People living in areas experiencing frequent Fulani herdsmen attacks usually relocate to areas not prone to attacks. This is what has been happening in southern Kaduna from the middle of 2016 to 2017.

iii. **Wanton Destruction of Lives and Property:** It is common knowledge that whenever herdsmen carry out an attack, people are killed in the tens, hundreds or thousands and property worth hundreds of naira is destroyed.

iv.   **Increase in Number of Physically Challenged People:** During the pastoral attacks people are killed or maimed. Those who are maimed may no longer be able to do what they hitherto did themselves because of impairment. And they may resort to begging as a means of livelihood, thereby increasing the number of beggars on the streets of our towns and cities.

v.   **Restriction of Movement or Declaration of State of Emergency:** Most times when there is an attack, people's movements are restricted. In some cases the government may decide to declare hours of curfew or a dawn to dusk curfew. This is an infringement on the statutory freedom of movement of the citizen.

Thus, from the above analysis emerging security threats has contributed to low level of socio-economic development in Nigeria between 2013 and 2018.

The new national security threats in Nigeria's fourth republic have retarded socio economic development in Nigeria in various ways. These include:

i.   Social dislocation and population displacement.

ii.   Social tensions and new pattern of settlements which encourages Muslins/Christians or members of an ethnic group moving to Muslim/Christian dominated enclaves.

iii.   Heightens citizenship question which encourages hostility between "indigenes" and "settlers".

iv.   Dislocation and disruption of family and communal life.

v.   General atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and frenzy

vi.  Dehumanization of women, children, and men especially in areas where rape, child abuse and neglect are used as instruments of war.

vii.  Deepening of hunger and poverty in the polity.

viii.  Discourages local and foreign investment as it makes investment unattractive to business people.

ix.  Halts business operations during period of violence and outright closure of many enterprises in the areas or zones where incidence of insecurity is rife and are on daily occurrence.

x.  Increases security spending by business organizations and governments.

xi.  Migration of people from area or region where there is prevalence of insecurity.

Socio-economic development is the primary goal of every well meaning government, and it is essentially dependent on the level of economic activities in a country; the level of economic activities is in turn enhanced by peaceful co-existence by people. In the absence of security, socio-economic development cannot be sustained as it destroys economic, human and social capital. The Boko Haram insurgence in Northern Nigeria has almost crippled economic activities in that region. Also activities of herders and farmers clashes, kidnapping and cyber crime in other parts of the country pose serious threat to the economic health of these regions. The security crises in different parts of Nigeria is destroying existing infrastructure and preventing a peaceful environment for the development of further infrastructure, and a safe environment for economic activities by individuals to give them economic

empowerment that will enable households not only to cater for their present generations, create wealth, but also to provide for future generations.

The report by World Bank (2011) on "Conflict, Security and Development" reveals that about 1.5billion people live in countries affected by political and criminal violence, which has exacerbated human misery, and disrupted development.

The bane of Nigeria's development is insecurity. Insecurity situation is costing Nigeria its leadership role in Africa in terms of development. Consequently, more proactive initiatives regarding tackling menace of the new national security threats are needed in Nigeria since security is central to development.

## 4.2    Factors Responsible for the Internal Security Threats

- **Poverty**

The perception of what constitutes poverty has evolved historically over time and varies among nations in magnitude and in scope. Since it varies among nations, universally accepted definitions have become very difficult to emerge. Thus, there are as many definitions of the concept as there are scholars writing on the issue. But there are universally accepted indicators of what constitutes poverty and these indicators categorize and explain the concept. These indicators categorize poverty into absolute poverty, relative poverty, and material poverty.

Absolute poverty means the inability of a person or group to provide the material needs for physical subsistence and protection of human dignity. These materials are food, clothing, shelter, water, health services, basic education, transportation, and work because the persons or groups do not have jobs or income. Relative poverty on

the other hand is the inability of certain sections of the society to satisfy their basic needs as well as other needs; while material poverty is the absence of ownership control of physical assets as lands, and all other resources that land produce or that subsists on land as birds and animals and mineral resources. Finally, poverty could be spatial – rural poverty and urban poverty (UNDP, 1996).

Poverty is an abject state of being, in which an individual is incapable of utilizing resources around him to improve himself or herself economically, socially, politically or otherwise. It could be due to lack of opportunities for education which is basic to any human development. Poverty could occur as a result of indolence or misinterpreted religious beliefs (Chigbo, 1996). It could also be a state of the mind or a psychological disposition that places the individual in question in want, material or spiritual. Materially, it involves the want for food, clothing and shelter. Spiritually, it involves want of peace of mind, the spirit and the inner man. According to Okoronkwo (1996), poverty ordinarily stands for a situation whereby one cannot meet average requirements. Any situation under which one cannot afford a good meal at any given time is real poverty. One is poor when one cannot plan for tomorrow because he or she has failed for today. Poverty means a man's inability to afford decent food, shelter, clothing and recreation (Jolaosho, 1996). Poverty entails the absence of the basic requirements essential for the survival and comfort of man. It is hunger and starvation. It is squalor and it is the non- availability of basic medicare.

Poverty therefore is about the absence of the basic necessities of life for any person or a human group. A Somalian elder was quoted as saying that "all

development activities are about human beings. The first human need is water. It is the first thing needed to live. Without it, a plant, an animal or a baby dies. Second is food. Without enough of it, life is miserable and short. Third, once water and food are won, is health otherwise the human being becomes sick. Fourth is education, once a human being has water, food and health, he needs to learn new horizons and unlock new possibilities. And there is the fifth – peace and order. Without these, none of the four basic needs can be sustained" (UNDP, 1996).

Poverty therefore is a condition of being poor; deficiency; inadequacy, or scarcity. Poverty is a condition of having insufficient resources or income. In its most extreme form, poverty is a lack of basic human needs, such as adequate and nutritious food, clothing, housing and health services. Poverty also relates to other things such as poverty of ideas or information. Poverty in the most common usage can be defined as the insufficiency of means relative to human needs (Adefolalu 1992). However, poverty does not affect only the individual, but classes of people, whole societies and nations as well. In Nigeria, the sub-groups among the poor include the unemployed, those with low level of education and female – headed households (NBS, 2009).

According to Adefolalu (1992), poverty is caused by what may be called "exogenous forces" or forces outside an individual's control such as over population, high standard of living, high cost of living, inadequate education, unemployment and environmental degradation; and is also caused by "endogenous forces" or forces that operate within the victims as exemplified by individual responsibility and welfare dependency, and are thus self-created.

By geographical area poverty is evenly divided between urban and rural areas, though the severity of poverty is worse in urban areas. Consequently, in urban areas as is the case in many Nigerian metropolitan areas, the economic pressures of the poor coupled with high youth unemployment has contributed to growing problems of crimes. And this problem is particularly acute among male youths (Gilbert & Gugler 1982).

Generally, poverty is a condition that somewhat dehumanizes the individual because of the various disabilities that it causes to the sufferer. Poverty makes people to suffer from severe malnutrition, diseases, famine and war. And the effects of poverty include poor nutrition, food insecurity, mental illness, drug dependence, crime and high rates of diseases; all of which are threats to national security. Besides, the poor in urban areas is a source of constant embarrassment to government and the rest of society; for they remain not only politically volatile and seedbeds for urban socio-political intrigues when not catered for. Their utter neglect creates social imbalance and can provide ripe conditions for the outbreak of urban social disorder which may find expression in the form of urban riots, crime and other clandestine activities. Any unpleasant occurrence or situation can be used as excuse by the urban poor with long pent-up grievances, to create sporadic or even widespread disorder. Examples are the Jos riot of 2008; the post- election violence of 2011 in the northern states of Nigeria following general/presidential elections that were believed to be free and fair; and the sporadic disturbances in many parts of the country triggered off by the January 2012 removal of petroleum subsidy in Nigeria. In sum, as crime and violence occasioned

by poverty situation continue to increase, they often have detrimental effects on the economy, the administration of the country, and national security in the country.

**\*      Unemployment**

Simply put, unemployment describes the condition of people who are without jobs. The International Labour Organization - ILO (2007) defines the unemployed as numbers of the economically active population who are without work, but available for and seeking work, including people who have lost their jobs and those who have voluntarily left work (World Bank, 1998). According to Adebayo (1999) unemployment exists when the labour force wish to work but cannot get jobs. Various forms of unemployment have been identified and elaborated upon by scholars. These include seasonal, frictional, cyclical and structural employment (Adebayo, 1999; Damachi, 2001).

According to National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2009; 2010) the national unemployment rates for Nigeria between 2000 and 2009 showed that the number of unemployed person constituted 31.1% in 2000, 13.6% in 2001, 12.6% in 2002, 14.8% in 2003, 13.4% in 2004, 11.9% in 2005, 14.7% in 2006, 14.6% in 2007, 14.9% in 2088 and 19.7% in 2009.

Unemployment in Nigeria varies by age group, educational level and sex classification. This is evident from the data provided by NBS (2010). For person between ages 15-24 years, 41.6% were unemployed. And person between 25-44 years 17% were unemployed. For those with primary education, 14.8% were unemployed, while those with secondary education, 23.8% were unemployed. And for those with

post- secondary education 21.3% were unemployed. Data for those who never attended school and those with below primary education showed that 21.0% and 22.3% were unemployed respectively. As regards sex, data revealed that 17.0% male and 23.3% females constituted the unemployed (NBS, 2010).

The causes of urban unemployment and under-employment in a developing country such as Nigeria are complex. Firstly, there is the pressure of rapidly growing population and especially of school leavers which means that year by year vast numbers of new job opportunities have to be created.  Secondly, there is the growing unemployment of trained people including university graduates. Thirdly, there is defective manpower planning coupled with inappropriate bias in the educational system in which disproportionate numbers of white collar job seekers are turned out at the expense of much-needed technicians, technologist and scientists.  And lastly there is the fact of job seekers selectivity of job availability or of location, posting or hankering after jobs unrelated to acquired training and skill.

According to Okafor (2011) unemployment in Nigeria are with attendant social, economic, political and psychological consequences. One of its social consequences on the Nigerian youths is the high level of youth unemployment. A phenomenon which encourages the development of street youths and urban urchins ("area boys") that grows up in a culture that encourages criminal behaviour. Unemployment has also contributed to increasing feminization of poverty among young women, which has encouraged prostitution as a means of survival and leads to trafficking of young women across international borders with transnational security implications.

Psychologically, the unemployed usually experience trauma, anger, frustration, low self esteem, negative life satisfaction, unhappiness and mental disorder including depression and acute stress. Other economic consequence of unemployment include flight of youths and able bodied men from the country in search of better opportunities elsewhere, thereby reducing the labour force and producing capacity in Nigeria (Akande, 2009 and Okuwa, 2009).

- **Unemployment, Poverty and National Security**

Conventional wisdom dictates that insecurity rises with unemployment and poverty (Kirby, 2011) because unemployment leads to loss of income which affects the people's ability to pay their bills and provide basic necessities for their house-holds and dependent relatives. It is because of the insecurity posed by unemployment that advanced countries make social security payments to the unemployed to keep them off the streets until they get jobs. This has helped to make their nations safer than countries like Nigeria where no forms of assistance are given to the unemployed.

According to Lamido (2013), unemployment is generally caused by improper orientation of the youths, absence of policy on social welfare, societal attitude towards vocational and technical education, and inadequate teaching facilities. These have manifested in the alarming rate of armed robberies in the south-west region; militancy and arson in the south-south region; terrorism in the north-west, north-central and north- east regions; and in kidnapping in the south-east region. All these have impacts on the security situation in the country, and on business and investments; socio-political processes and governance. They for instance raise the cost of governance.

The unemployed must find a means of livelihood and this they do by engaging in crimes and making themselves available to the political class as thugs and assassins. Political violence, ethno-religious conflicts and terrorism rife in Nigeria today are no doubt consequences of unemployment and poverty. If most of our youths are employed, there would be drastic reduction in the level of crime and insecurity in the country. A large number of the nation's youth are unemployed and the employed are very poorly remunerated and have large number of dependents. After taxation, their take home pay cannot take them home.

The law enforcement agents are very poorly remunerated, equipped, and insufficient in number to police all nooks and corners of the country. And the educational system is dysfunctional in its curriculum and has not thought of introducing entrepreneurship development in the academic curriculum until very recently. The financial institutions cannot provide loans to young and honest school leavers to start their own businesses but would rather give loans to politicians who cannot pay back these loans when they fail elections; while the poverty eradication programs designed by the governments to eradicate poverty are cornered by the politicians and those in charge of the programs in the various regions for political patronage. These have security implications in the country.

From all indications, poverty and unemployment are social menace in Nigeria and constitutes a threat to national security. Evidently, unemployment creates poverty and poverty lead to insecurity. It therefore follows that both poverty and unemployment have implications for national security. This is because poor and

unemployed people especially the youths could be manipulated to undermine national stability and cause violent disorder in the country at any point in time. It can be concluded that one of the greatest threats to stability and national security in Nigeria is the large army of poor and unemployed people. Okafor (2011) stated that present graduate unemployment in Nigeria is over 50% while poverty (of less than $2 per day) rate is experienced by over 70% or the population, these have led to the general insecurity and rising crime wave in the country.

Table2. Poverty and Unemployment are Factors that contribute to the increase in threats to internal security in Nigeria.

| Poverty and Unemployment | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S / N | Variables | Very Moderate | Moderate Positively | Positive | Very Negative | Moderate Negative | Negative |
| 1 | Poverty | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |
| 2 | Unemployment | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |

Source: Author's Field Study, 2019.

Table 2 above shows respondents' opinions on security factors that contribute to internal security threats in Nigeria. The data collected revealed that majority of respondents were strongly believed that poverty is one of major factor that promote internal security threats in the country. In similar vein, unemployment has been identified as very moderate factor that undermine the success of security development of the country as large number of youth who engages in all sorts of violence / crimes

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are not gainfully employed by either the public or private sectors which make them engaged in kidnappings, cattle rustling, intra and inter communal crises and Boko Haram. This was also supported with opinion of respondent 1, an SSS who participated in the survey when he noted that:

*"The primary functions of government are to protect the lives and properties of the people, to create employment opportunity and provision of social amenities to guarantee enabling environment. In Nigeria, unemployment and poverty keep increasing on a daily basis. Evidently, unemployment leads to poverty and poverty lead to insecurity. This is because poor and unemployed people especially the youths could be manipulated to cause violent disorder in the country at any time".*

From the above analysis it can deduced that, unemployment and poverty has been the major factors responsible for the internal security threats in Nigeria.

## 4.3    STATE RESPONSE TO EMERGED THREATS TO NIGERIA INTERNAL SECURITY.

Nigeria's national security policy since independence in 1960 has been attached to the challenges of external aggression and tackling the problem of domestic disorder. The Nigerian Constitution perfectly provides that the security and welfare of the citizens shall be the primary purpose of government (Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria, 1999, Section (14) 2). The role of the public policy process in matters of national security cannot be overemphasized because of the important role it plays in identifying problems, deciding on what measures to take in addressing those problems, assessing efficiency, or otherwise, of the measures, as well as in implementing and monitoring these measures (Bello, 2014:56).

At the beginning of the Fourth Republic in May 1999, the administration of Former President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007) focused its national security policy on ensuring the protection of Nigerians, locally and internationally as well as ensuring the protection of the sovereignty of the country (Teniola, 2016:3). President Obasanjo`s security policy focused on bringing together the security comfort of individuals, ethnic nationalities, communities, political groups and institutions in the country (Teniola, 2016:3).

In 2007, the government of Former President Umaru Musa Yar"adua (2007-2010), there was an effort to bring domestic affairs  and foreign policy together in a way that made the national the focus of foreign policy (Dickson, 2010:1).  According to Mbachu (2007:9) the major force of this new foreign policy plan was the concern

for the basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of Nigerians in bilateral and multilateral actions.

In 2015, the administration of Former President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015), having observed the absence of a all-inclusive National Security Policy and Strategy document for the country (Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme [NSRP], 2015:2), initiated a framework for a holistic and more coordinated approach and response to security concerns in the country called the National Security Strategy (NSS) (Jatau, 2017:11). The NSS acknowledged major security issues and allotted roles and responsibilities to the government, private agencies, civil society and individuals in tackling these issues, including counterterrorism and cyber-security strategies (Jatau, 2017:11).

The Jonathan government approved that the approach demanded multi-sectoral, domestic and international approaches, efforts and collaboration for its accomplishment (Usman, 2015). However, the policy was meant primarily at fighting terrorism, and is contained in three separate documents: the National Security Strategy, Counter Terrorism Strategy and Cyber Security Plan and Strategy (Usman, 2015). The implication of this state-centric focus on terrorism was that the underlying factors that created the environment for terrorism itself were not given the significant attention.

In May 2015, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-till date) came on board, having inherited all the security challenges of past government. In November 2017, president Muhammadu Buhari administration launched its own

policy framework and national action plan to stop and counter terrorism (Ogunmade and Olugbode, 2017). With the challenges of Boko Haram, Herdsmen/Farmers, kidnapping, Niger Delta militants and the secession calls for the state of Biafra, the Buhari government has been neck deep and sometimes appears overwhelmed with searching for solutions to these security challenges.

The response of these governments to security challenges reveals a state-centric view, overdependence on military force and lack of interest in tackling human security challenges. The rise of the Boko Haram threat is often traced to the atrocious killing of members of the sect along with their leader, Mohammed Yusuf in 2002. The creation of the Joint Task Force (JTF) in 2004, to combat the threat of the group, further revealed the government's view of the condition (Williams, 2016:182).

These cases are signs of the cruelty and heavy handedness with which Nigerian leaders observe and deal with legitimate political dissention (Aghalino, 2009:64). The government has a narrow view of security and has pay more attention on state security at the expense of human security as seen in the rise in defense expenditure over the years in tackling security issues. An exclusion to this state-centric performance was the "citizen diplomacy" of the Yar"adua government which was people oriented and could have been a pace in ensuring that national and international actions would be determined largely by the need to support citizens welfare and security (Eze, 2009:8). However, this move has not been persistent largely because it was not consistent with the strategic culture of the Nigerian state, as placing the citizen at the center of national policy, in practice, is alien to the Nigerian

state (Dickson, 2010:6).

There is a strategic need for the re-definition of Nigeria's defence and internal security apparatus in the midst of the current security situation in the country. This is most expedient because of the intensity and multifaceted nature of the country's security challenges which is gradually shifting to other militant and insurgent groups different from the Boko Haram terrorist sect. As a matter of fact, the Boko Haram massive and intimidating presence has gradually gone down with the successes so far recorded by the Buhari led administration in tackling the insurgency. The insurgent camp seems to be in disarray as outside intermittent suicide bombings in the North East there is no single local government in the region where the terrorist group still have their flag flying as was the case during the President Goodluck Johnathan's era.

There is however a spread in the level of agitation and militancy in the country a development which has tended to distract the attention of the federal government from the Boko Haram to such other ones as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), the bloodthirsty Fulani insurgency in the north central region among many other groups laying claims to the very soul of the country.

The above scenario would have influenced the thinking of President Johnathan who in February 2015 launched a new national security document with a view to re-invigorate, reenergise and re-position the defence and internal security apparatus in line with these security realities. The document though prepared in 2014 alongside the inauguration of a committee to review the nation's defence policy was presented in

three different documents namely National Security Strategy, Counter Terrorism Strategy and Cyber Security Plan and Strategy. In his speech, Dr. Jonathan noted that the National Security Strategy was a wakeup call on every Nigerian to develop that "individual and collective consciousness and readiness to forestall, pre-empt, protect and defend the country against natural and man-made disasters." "It also demands multi-sectoral, domestic and international approaches, efforts and cooperation," while noting that the strategy was carefully thought-out and designed to approach security from a comprehensive perspective, leaving nothing to chance (Usman, 2015).

Elaborating further, Johnathan's National Security Adviser, Colonel Sambo Dasuki (Rtd) gave an overview of the strategy, Mr Dasuki said the document recognised that while the country would continue to focus on the persistent and evolving terrorists' threat, it must at the same time address the full range of potential catastrophic event including man-made and natural disasters, due to their implications for national security. The purpose of the strategy, according to him, was to guide, organise and harmonise the nation's security policies and efforts as it provides a common framework on which the entire nation should focus its efforts. He said the strategy was required to maintain the survival of the nation through the use of economic power, diplomacy, military and political power (Usman, 2015).

In view of the above, the Buhari government has recently received the reviewed copy of the National Defence Policy which it claimed has not been done for the past ten years; all pointers to the need for a holistic approach to the country's internal security challenges. The Defence Minister, Mansur Mohammed Dan-Ali who

spoke while receiving the 2015 National Defence Policy Committee's report in Abuja, observed that the existing National Defence Policy had not been reviewed in the last 10 years. According to him, the lack of review over the years had made it difficult for the armed forces to effectively tackle emerging threats to national security. Mr Dan-Ali also explained that his ministry was already restructuring the armed forces to enable civilian staff undertake military training aimed at building their capacity.

In order to ensure enduring national security for lives and properties, the National Security Agency (NSA) was constituted and recognised by enabling laws. The NSA as the apex security apparatus in Nigeria comprises of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Service (SSS), Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) is mandated to keep the country safe (Gbanite, 2002).

Moreover, for effective and efficient enforcement of the laws in civil communities, the Nigeria Police Force maintains security for lives and property; the Nigeria Customs Service safeguards the border posts; the Nigeria Immigration Service Nigeria coordinates entry and exit of nationals and foreigners into the country; National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) ensures the nation is rid of narcotics and hard drugs; while the National Intelligence Agency/State Security Service carry out undercover security surveillance.

Apart from legal framework for national security, the various security agencies are massively funded to discharge their statutory mandates effectively and efficiently; the constitution approves the appropriation of budget for "defence and national security". Interestingly since 1961, the Central Bank of Nigeria reflected "defense and internal security" as two functional classifications of security expenditures in Nigeria (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2011).

Table 3: Measures Taken by government to curb the menace

| Measure Taken by the government to curb the menace | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S/N | Variables | Very Moderate | Moderate Positively | Positive | Very Negative | Moderate Negative | Negative |
| 1 | Training and Re-training | No | Yes | No | No | No | No |
| 2 | Expansion of Security Base | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| 3 | Security Summits | No | No | No | No | Yes | No |
| 4 | Recruitment of Personnel | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| 5 | Monitoring and Surveillance | No | Yes | No | No | No | No |
| 6 | Joint Taskforce | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |
| 7 | Quick Intervention | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |

Source: Author's Field Study, 2019.

From the table 3 above, it shows that measure taken by the ministry on training and retraining of security personnel are moderate positive, meaning the ministry is working tiredness to train personnel on how to tackle security challenges in Nigeria, on the area of expansion of security base is positive since the dispensation of this administration various security base as being established to tackle insecurity, recruitment of personnel polled positive by the respondents, as well as quick intervention to security issues were strongly achieved by the ministry mean while, on the area of monitoring and surveillance equally polled very moderate and attendance of security summits polled moderate negative respectively.

Based on documented evidence and interviews from respondents, the results show that the ministry is making frankly efforts in curbing emerged threats to internal security in Nigeria as one of the survey participants, respondent 12, NPF Officer recounted that:

*"We are trying our possible best to curb crimes by making sure we make use of every necessary facilities within our domain and also gather information, penetrate to some extent in to the criminal arena and we disseminate the information to the right authority to take necessary step".*

The findings from the above analysis reveals that, the government has been trying there possible best to curb crime rate in the society but there best is not enough due to uprising of security threats on a daily basis.

**4.4   INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE MAIN**

**MANAGERS OF SECURITY MANAGEMENT.**

**Fig.3 : Main trends of violence 2006-2018**
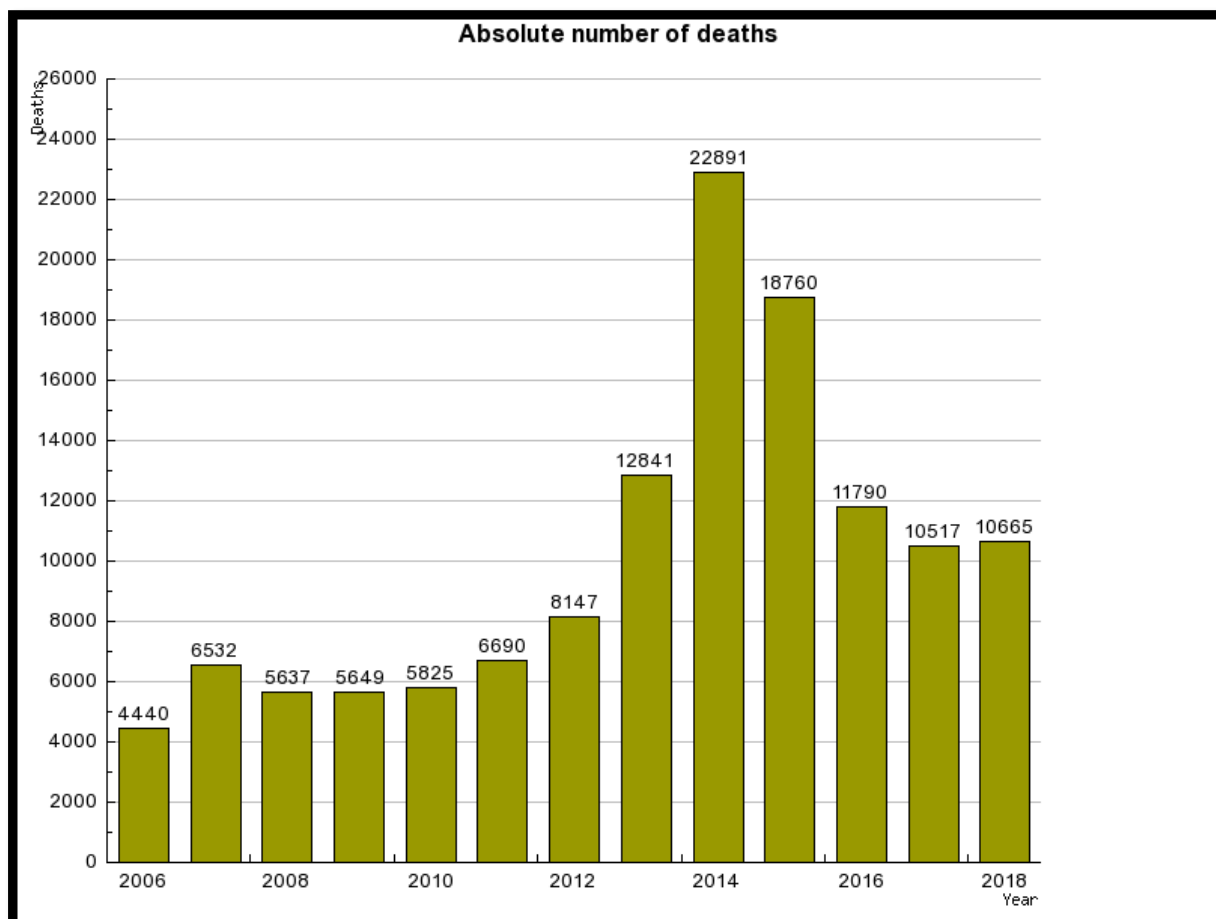


Source: Nigeria watches 7th Report on Violence (Chart showing rising number of violence per year).

Figure 3 above shows chronology of security challenges in Nigeria from 2006-2018. Year 2014 alone has 22,891 number of absolute death; year 2015 has 18,760 death causalities, while 2018 has 10,665 death casualties respectively. The consistent decrease in fatalities from violence in Nigeria since 2014 was halted in 2018 when the figures slightly increased by 1.4%, from 10,517 in 2017 to 10,665 in 2018. The year marked a rise in general crime across the country. Banditry was prevalent in Zamfara

and Kaduna states. The first quarter of the year witnessed massive killings in Benue and Plateau states by alleged herdsmen. Rivers and Lagos states also recorded large incidents of cult attacks in 2018. Delta, Ebonyi, Cross River and Akwa Ibom witnessed rise in inter-state and intracommunal clashes that resulted in several loss of lives and properties. Despite the fact that the overall number of fatalities in Boko Haram insurgency reduced in 2018, many casualties were recorded in attacks on military bases in Tumbum Gini, Metele and Gashigar in Abadam LGA, Zari and Gudumbali in Guzamala LGA and Damasak in Mobbar LGA, Borno state, as well as in Kukareta in Damaturu LGA, Yobe state(Nigeria Watch,2018).

**Fig.4: Fatalities to different causes of violence**
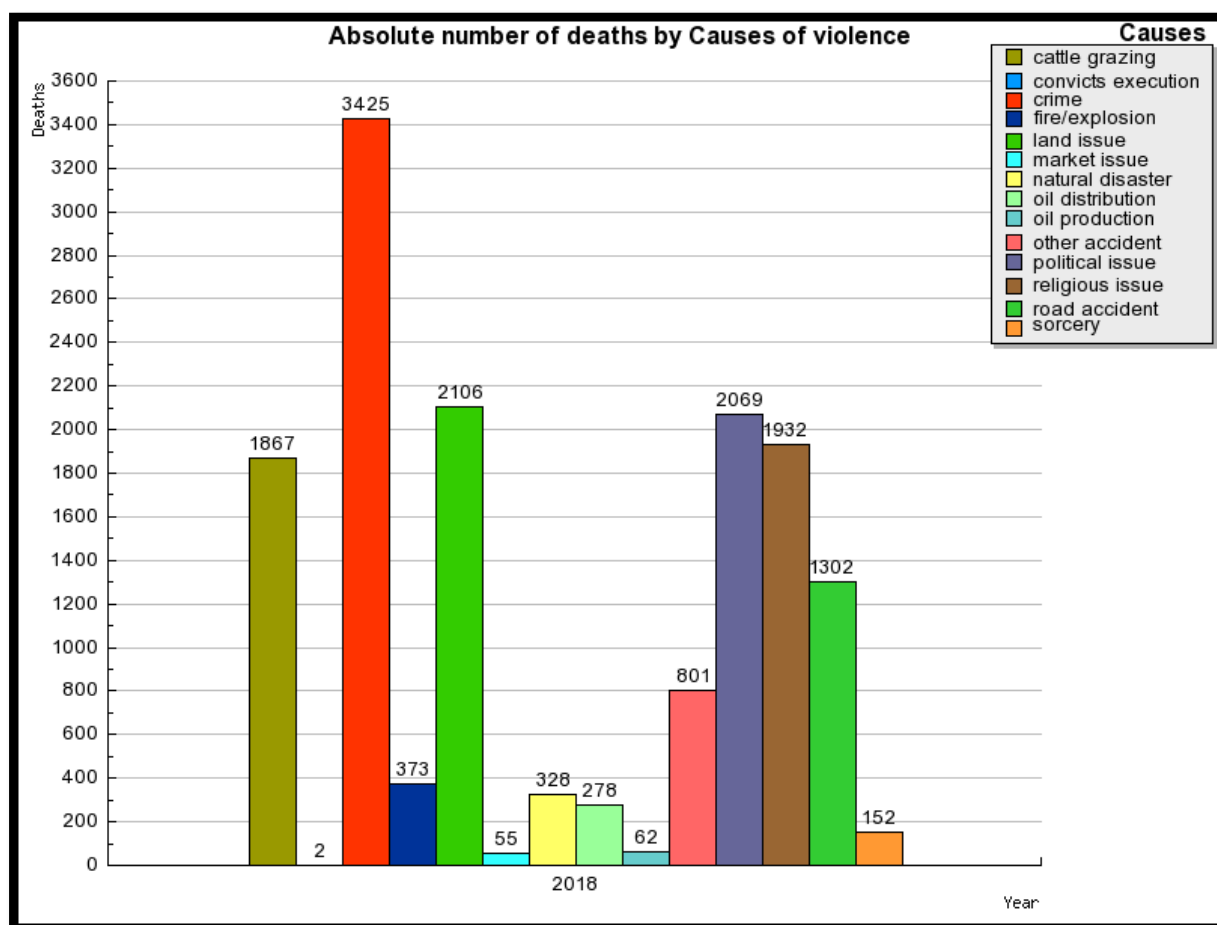


Source: Nigeria Watch 7th Report on Violence (2006-2018).

The figure 4 shows various causes of violence/ security challenges in Nigeria between 2006 - 2018. It revealed that crime perpetrated issue are the high rate of violence in Nigeria. Crime overtook political and religious issues as the most important cause of lethal violence in Nigeria in 2018, with 3,425 fatalities recorded in 1,191 incidents. Zamfara state was most hit with fatalities from lethal criminal incidents as it recorded 896 victims, seconded by Kaduna state with 262 casualties. Both states are from the North West region which has largely been ravaged by banditry and cattle rustling. Lagos state came third in the ranking with 225 fatalities as it witnessed numerous incidents of cultism, domestic violence, hooliganism and

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extra-judicial killings. States with the least lethal crime incidents included Yobe, Borno and Gombe states, all in the North East. Other causes of lethal violence in 2018 included land issues (2,106 fatalities), cattle grazing (1,867 fatalities) and road accidents (1,302 fatalities).

Fig.5: Main Protagonist of Violence
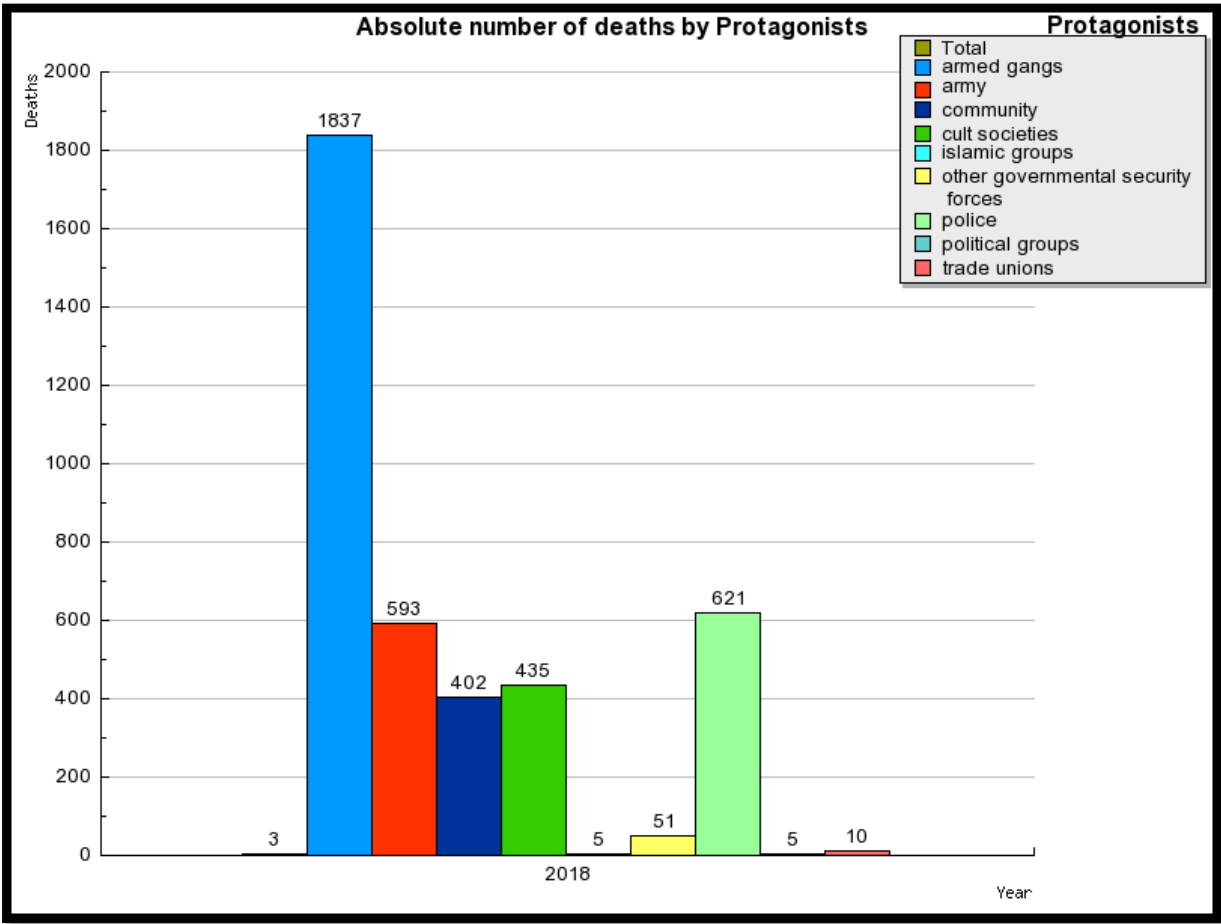


SOURCE: Nigeria Watch 7th Report

Figure 5 shows the protagonists of various crimes in 2018; armed gangs are the major causes of violence in the year under review. Boko Haram is usually considered as being driven by political and religious issues. In 2018, Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states recorded 2,134 fatalities in 170 incidents related to the conflict. Borno state accounted for majority (89%) of the overall fatalities, followed by Yobe

(7%) and Adamawa (4%). Out of 27 LGAs in Borno state, 20 came under Boko Haram insurgent attacks. Yet there were no reported fatal incidents in Bayo, Biu, Gubio, Kwaya Kusar, Marte and Shani LGAs. Moreso,the faction of Boko Haram called ISWAP (Islamic State in the West African Province) successfully carried out 15 attacks on 6 military bases in Borno (Abadam, Bama, Kukawa, Mobbar, Guzamala and Konduga LGAs) and 4 in Yobe (Damaturu, Gulani, Gujba and Geidam LGAs). A total of 169 insurgents, 144 soldiers and 27 civilians were killed during these attacks (Nigeria Watch, 2018).

From all indications, the emerged national security threats are big challenges in Nigeria's effort to develop. Of which the primary responsibility of any government is to ensure the security of lives and properties of the citizens are well protected. Equally, Boko Haram insurgence, herders and farmers, kidnapping and has also compounded the existing threatening security situation in Nigeria.

Security for lives and properties are statutory function of the state, which the constitution guarantees. The contentious security vote, which the political elites have turned it into a goldmine for the sitting President, Governors and Chairmen of local government councils are paid from funding for "defence and internal security" (Eboh and Obodoechina, 2012; Best Naira, 2012).

According to Eboh and Obodoechina (2012) "security votes are funds provided at the three tiers of government in Nigeria to provide security for the citizens. These funds are collected by the Federal, state and local government chief executives in Nigeria as security votes." The security vote despite the positive

intention behind its creation has not mitigated incidences of insecurity; rather the political officeholders enrich themselves with the funds. The Institute of Directors (IoD) remarked that despite huge sums of money earmarked for security vote, there has been consistent annual increase in the incidences of killings, kidnappings, cultism and other acts of insecurity across the length and breadth of the country (Ibid.).

**Fig.6: Nigeria Security Architecture**
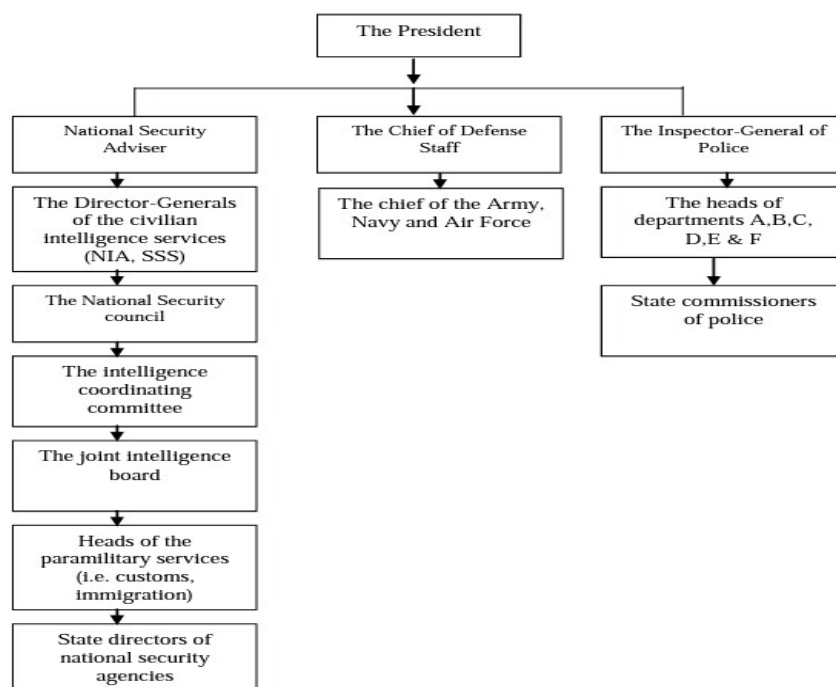


### 4.4.1   The Nigerian Security structure - accomplishment and Functions:

The Nigerian state is under a federal structure comprising Federal, State and Local Government Areas and three arms of government (Executive, Legislature and Judiciary) operating distinctively only at the federal and state levels. At the Local Government Areas, the Judiciary has no direct bearing with the council. There are

presently thirty-six states and a federal capital territory in Abuja. The states are spread into (6) geo-political zones, namely: South-South, South-East, South-West, North-East, North-Central and North-West.

Constitutionally, the security mandate to provide peace, law, order and security to lives and assets of Nigerians is the first goal of the Nigerian state (government).The Nigerian constitution clearly defines the structures of the Nigerian security management organs to include, the security, law enforcement and defense military forces which for the purpose of this work are classified into five major groups namely; Military forces (Army, Navy and Air Force, Security and Intelligence Services (State Security Service (SSS), Police, Defense Intelligence Service (DIS), National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC). Others are para-military services (the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), Nigerian Customs Services (NCS), Nigerian Prisons Services (NPS), Non State Actors – Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community- Based Organizations (CBOs), Community Vigilantes, Neighborhood Watch Groups (NWO), Private Security outfits and Premise Guards. It is the responsibility of the government to assign specific functions to these security agencies depending on their areas of specialization which are backed up by law. An Act of National Assembly establishes these organs and such other branches of the armed forces of the federation. These do not include the non-state actors, community vigilantes and Neigbourhood Watch Groups. For easy security management, the system is further structured into various departments and units that network together for harnessing and co-coordinating

human, technical and material resources to ensure the protection of lives and property.

However, the increasing threats to security now include factors such as social, political, environmental, economic, legal or legislative issues, and poverty. Such other threats which are without enemies are natural unforeseen disasters. These diverse security threats have correspondingly widened the scope of security management mandates to include, non-state actors, individuals, and international social justice and civil rights movements, aimed at achieving national and international peace and security. Thus, security management in a state like Nigeria has gone beyond only the government and now involves individuals, non-state actors such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), International Human Rights, and Civil Liberties Movements. This notwithstanding, government remains the chief security provider. This makes security a collective responsibility, which fits Buzan (1983) levels 1, 2, 3 models. In the case of the Nigerian State, the original mandate is on the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which is constitutionally empowered to establish, fund and manage both military forces, security intelligence agencies and other Para-military and law enforcement agencies in exercise of this constitutional mandate.

The Nigerian state uses the above military, Para-military, other enforcement agencies to enforce law and order and ensure security to Nigerian citizens at home and abroad. The increase in security threats such as terrorism, espionage, economic and industrial sabotages, insurgency and increasing internal subversive actions against the Nigerian state has also widen the scope of threats and calls for collective security

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management approach. This is being exemplified by the Nigerian government seeking the assistance of the US government, European Union and the international community in tackling the Boko Haram insurgency which has external imports from outside terrorists.

The widening view of fields and scope of security management has also diversified the mandates to manage security as an effective security management model involving multiple dimensions and net-working of many departments and institutions working together to achieve corporate peace and security in any given country such as Nigeria.

The diversification of security mandate is also connected to consideration of the individual as a security referent object. Also, the international system is considered for global peace and security as referent object where non-state actors and nation states inter- face in global fora like UNO to achieve global peace and security and new world order. Traditionally, under a democratic government, the statutory mandate to provide internal security is given by the government to the Nigerian police and other security and law enforcement agencies while, external security and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state is the statutory responsibility of the military and Para-military security and intelligence services. However, in considering the individual and community as security management referent objects, the need for private security mandates, community policing and neighborhood security watches comes into purview of security mandates in the Nigerian state.

The judicial arms of the Nigerian government also play its roles in the area of

justice and correction system as part of security management mandate. The law courts are the final medium to confirm the guilt of security breaches or criminal breach suspects and the judiciary has the mandate to sentence such security threat elements to prison with such sentences as penalties against security or law breaches. The mandate for management of the security of the Nigerian functional air, water, land and external territorial integrity of the Nigerian state, is the statutory responsibilities of the Nigerian Air Force, Nigerian Navy and the Nigerian Army as defense forces of Nigeria.

Similarly, those that provide timely and sensitive intelligence for critical protective security of the Nigerian state are the State Security Service (SSS) (internal security intelligence). The National Intelligence Agency (NIA), for Foreign Intelligence and the Defense Intelligence Service (DIS) for purely military intelligence. The National border is manned and remains the statutory mandates of the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), the Nigerian Customs Service (NCS), National Port Health and Quarantine Service, the Nigerian Prisons Services and Prosecuting Police Officers who work in conjunction with the judiciary in prosecuting, ensure prison custody and imprisonment terms are served by convicted criminals. In recent times, with rising personal and community based security threats, the Nigerian state has introduced Community Policing policy and individuals now also employ private security guards to guard homes and industrial premises, including vigilante groups for community watch security at community levels for effective security service delivery in the Nigerian state. The worsening security situations in Nigerian have thrown up

questions on the capability and capacity of security managers in Nigeria.

The unity and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state could not have been maintained till date if not for the effective combined efforts of armed forces of Nigeria. These armed forces have managed to preserve the unity and corporate existence as well as maintained the territorial integrity of the Nigerian state from external aggression and keep it from internal dis-orders. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided for the establishment and maintenance of Army, Navy, Air Force and other security agencies that may be necessary for the purpose of:

(a) Defending Nigeria from external aggression

(b) Maintaining territorial integrity and securing Nigeria's borders from violations on land, sea or air.

The role played by the Nigerian military during the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) is a very good pointer to the strength and capability of the Nigerian Military. In terms of strength, the Nigerian Military forces stand out as about one of the largest and relatively well-organized military forces in Africa. The Nigerian Military forces have been committed in several global and African continental peace-keeping missions where the Nigerian military officers distinguished themselves. For instance, they recorded huge successes in the Economic Community of West African State (ECOMOG) and United Nation Peace-keeping efforts in several parts of the world.

The Nigeria police are designed by section 149 of the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria as a national police of Nigeria with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the country. The rise of insurgency and terrorism in the Nigerian state

revealed the weaknesses of the Nigerian police force whose primary mandate it is to maintain internal security under a democratic civilian government in the Nigerian state. However, due to the perceived weakness of the Nigerian police, the Nigerian state taught it wise to re-structure and include the Nigerian military into internal security management. This has long been paying-off as the Nigerian military forces in many internal crises that overwhelmed the poorly funded and trained Nigerian police force have provided an effective back-up.

The effectiveness of the Nigeria police is limited by operational, administrative and logistics needs. These include, shortage of well trained, educated and qualified personnel, inadequate operational tools (operational vehicles, modern communication, technical surveillance, adequate sophisticated and up-to-date fire-arms), low salaries and allowances, poor funding, lack of properly equipped forensic laboratory, bad leadership and corruption, Phenson (2014:173).According to Umoh (1999), "the security agencies in the state would be able to execute their operational plans and functions. It is most pernicious and frustrating to be saddled-with responsibilities, but not equipped with adequate tools of action and funds to perform the expected functions of office. Due to poor salary and funding, the police have performed below public expectations".

The Nigerian police can hardly boast of serviceable vehicles, barracks accommodation and communication gadgets. In proffering solution to security problems of the nation, Jimibewon (2001) cited in Oduneye (2008:3) asserts that, "while one does not justify police ineffectiveness, the point must be understood that

the task of internal security in a country populated by over two hundred nationalities with a population of over two hundred and twenty million people should not be left in the hands of the police. Therefore, the task of policing is a collective responsibility which each sectorial stake holder in the Nigerian state must realize if our society is to be rid of crimes.

The 1999 constitution of Nigeria (Section 215) delegates predominantly the security role of the nation to the Nigeria police force whose primary duty is that of the protection of lives and property of the citizenry. The force is therefore charged with two inter-related and sometimes in-distinguishable tasks of law enforcement and maintenance of law, order and peace-keeping. In addition, police is also mandated to perform a range of other tasks including; crime prevention, preservation of law and order, protection of lives and property and due enforcement of law and regulations (Police Act, section 4). In carrying out these mandates on behalf of the state, the police are also empowered by law to investigate crimes, apprehend and prosecute offenders.

The sharing of security management functions based on specialization in Nigeria notwithstanding, where there is public loss of confidence in internal security measures as it is the case in Nigeria, the military are usually drawn in to boost operational confidence and capacity of the police and other security and intelligence agencies. This is the situation in most states of the federation, including the three Boko Haram based states of the Northern Nigeria – Borno, Yobe and Adamawa.A state like Akwa Ibom Statehas provided a good example of this military backed-up

security measure as the Governor – Chief Godswill Akpabio, GCON, has since constituted a Joint Military/Police and Task force,code named ODUMA, later re-named Operation Thunder and now Quick Response Squad (QRS).

However, the issue of corruption has remained the bane of effectiveness of the Nigerian police force as this endemic virus has eaten deep into the Nigerian police force and has damaged its public image and negatively affects the police integrity and effectiveness to combat crime till date. The Nigerian police are further plagued by poor equipments, poor training, poor motivation and welfare of the Nigerian police personnel. In the area of quelling internal and communal clashes, the Nigerian Police Force mobile Units have continued to perform very effectively as a plus to the police force. The Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) Act. 2003 as promulgated by the National Assembly gave the agency the responsibility of monitoring oil and gas pipelines and arrest vandals.

Due to the menace of criminal activities including, kidnapping, hostage-takings for ransoms, political assassinations, cult-related activities and so forth, states in the country under the authorization of the federal government (Presidency), have gone ahead to form their separate joint security task forces in order to strengthen their internal security. Aja (1999), aptly supports this assertion. He notes that, "every state in Nigeria has drawn in the military to be part and parcel of internal security measures as part of federal government's restoration agenda in the face of the people's loss of confidence in the capacity of the state to protect their lives, liberty and property. The role of intelligence in any security arrangement cannot be over-emphasized.

The dominance of military rule in Nigeria could be regarded as an offshoot of the Nigerian civil war between 1967-1970. After the independence in 1960, there was the 1966 tribally – motivated military crisis which explained the need for effective security through intelligence information procurement to boost internal security operations in the country. In these upheavals, the Special Branch which was the intelligence unit of Nigerian Police Force then, could not perform effectively against a military dominated regime.

However, after the civil war and the 1976 military coup, the Nigerian state saw the weaknesses of police intelligence arm and created the Nigerian Security Organization (NSO) which later metamorphosed into three separate intelligence agencies - SSS, NIA and DIS in 1986. These security intelligence agencies have so far provided timely and pertinent intelligence regarding external and internal security requirements that have continued to protect the Nigerian state against internal, external and military threats to her security till date.

The Nigerian intelligence services have continued to train and produce note worthy intelligence officers to give timely and pertinent security advices to the Nigerian state, including the past and present military and civilian governments in Nigeria. The security intelligence services have also helped in monitoring and vetting persons and companies' resident in Nigeria to ensure that only those who are qualified are appointed to political offices and loyal companies are cleared to open offices in Nigeria. The services also help in vetting those applying for Nigerian passport and citizenship to ensure that only Nigerians with required security clearances are given

the Nigerian Passport and only cleared foreign applicants are cleared for naturalization as Nigerian citizens.

The agencies have continued to contribute meaningfully in maintaining internal and external security of the Nigerian state by their prompt actions at home and abroad against threats of espionage, sabotage and the current twin plagues of Boko Haram insurgency and terrorism. In all these, the security intelligence outfits have continued to play their statutory roles successfully in conjunction with the military forces to supply timely intelligence and help in keeping the Nigerian state as one indivisible entity until date.

The Para-military services are meant to monitor the borders of the Nigerian state to prevent un- authorized immigration and importation of illegal goods and in-flux of un-authorized aliens and criminals into the country. However, the rise of insurgency and foreign-packed terrorists gaining entrance into the Nigerian state is an indictment on the effectiveness of these Para-military security services. The observed porous borders also encourage influx of foreigners and illegal arms and ammunitions which have continued to encourage criminal activities in the Nigerian state.

The overwhelming importation of smuggled goods and the ease with which human trafficking are going on through the Nigerian borders, does not tell well about effective border security of the Nigerian state and calls to question the security mandates of above Para-military security services in particular and Nigerian state in general. However, in the area of reforms in issuance of Nigerian passport, the Nigerian Immigration Service has improved time for processing and issuance of

Nigerian passport at home and abroad. Similarly, the Nigerian customs recent reforms have improved collection of national revenues from import and export duties and have revolutionalised the revenues of the Nigerian Economy. The prisons service reforms have also helped in welfare and rehabilitation programmes of the Nigerian prisons and inmates.

The prerogative of mercy granted the Nigerian judges and state governors' and the judiciary, have helped to reform the prison and reduce prison congestions in the Nigerian state. The non-state actors also help in the pursuance of human rights and civil liberties of Nigerian citizens both at home and abroad. These NGOs and CBOs under the auspices of the UNO organs have continued to pressurize the Nigerian state to respect the fundamental human rights and ensure the democratic and civil liberties of the Nigerian citizens. These non-state actors acting in concert with Global Organizations and Social Movements in ensuring that countries honour global treaties to check environmental and climatic disasters respect human rights and ensure respect and liberties of their citizens.

The Nigerian state security cannot be complete without the security consciousness and individual vigilance against internal subversive activities. The private security sector is made up of Private Security Guards employed at individual homes or employed to guard industrial or company premises. There are also private security guard companies that train and supply these private security guards that help in maintaining internal security in the country. At the community levels, the Nigerian state enjoys the formation of Community Vigilante Groups and Neighborhood Watch

Groups who provide security at community levels in conjunction with the Nigerian police force. The concept of community policing have also helped the Nigerian state to maintain internal security at community levels where individuals residents, collaborate and act as eyes and informants to the Nigerian police and help in securing such communities.

The community-base arrangements have helped the Nigerian police in rural investigations by informing the police on the presence of criminals their hideouts and also report on criminal activities in these communities to the police.

Though the military, Para-military, non-state actors and private security outfits in the Nigerian state have had relative successes in comparison with other African nations, the current overwhelming security threats seem to have revealed its weaknesses which can be traced to the following:

1. Obsolete defense strategy and security equipments.

2. Corruption and poor motivation of the Nigerian security and law enforcement personnel.

3. Porous Nigerian borders.

4. Influx of illegal weapons due to uncontrolled border access.

5. Influx of aliens, particularly through the Northern borders of the Nigerian state.

6. Lack of new technological facilities for fighting crimes and criminal activities in the Nigerian state.

7. Lack of continuous training of security personnel and worse still, Nigerian

police personnel whose statutory mandate have failed in the face of current security challenges in Nigeria.

8. The current Boko Haram insurgence and continued terrorism have also shown the obsolete equipments of the Nigerian military forces who are now elicit the assistance of the US and European Countries to help fight Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria, the giant of Africa.

### 4.4.2 Challenges Encountered by Nigerian National Security

The statutory responsibility of National security in Nigeria is vested in the President (the executive arm of government) through all such security agencies established by law. As noted by Fayemi and Olonisakin (2008:245), Nigeria's security sector comprises the following:

i. The armed forces (army, air force and navy of approximately 77,000 personnel);

ii. ii. The Nigerian police service (of about 360,000 men and women – increased in 1999 from the initial size of 120,000);

iii. iii. Paramilitary bodies including customs and exercise, the immigration service, intelligence services –including military intelligence and the state security services;

iv. Judicial and state service bodies – judiciary, justice  ministry, correctional service (prison);

v. Private security outfits; vi. Militia groups –including, for example the Odua People's Congress, Bakassi Boys, Hizba Corps;

vi.    vii. Community vigilante groups.

Constitutionally, the armed forces, police and prisons are answerable to the federal government because they are under the exclusive and legislative list. For example, despite the existence of police commands in the 36 states of the federation as well as the FCT Abuja, the central decision-making authority over the police rests with the Inspector General of police who is answerable directly to the President (Fayemi and Olonisakin, 2008). The non- formal security organizations also respond to the security needs of communities.

Some measures taken to ensure national security include using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats; marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel co-operation; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defence and emergency preparedness (including anti-terrorism legislation); ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure; using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage; and protecting classified information and using counter- intelligence services or secret Police to protect the nation from internal threats (Bachmann, 2014; Osumah and Aghedo, 2010; Okeke, 2004). The National security apparatus, however, operates at two levels - the external and internal security considerations. Ordinarily securing the state from external threats is principally the responsibility of the Nigeria Armed Forces, while the internal security responsibilities are vested mainly in the Nigeria Police and her offshoot services.

Though intellectual works on doctrines of national security are hard to come by, it is possible to identify two distinctive approaches as far as the management of national

security is concerned namely, the military and related coercive response; and the progressive (Ekoko and Vogt, 1990; Imobighe, 1990). These two methods are equivalents and are variously described as operational and strategic, responsive and preventive, reactive and proactive respectively (Bassey, 2004; Nweke, 2002; Safir, 2003). However, Green (2006) adduced an intelligent combination of both for optimum achievement. This may constitute a third and perhaps better doctrine.

With regard to the military approach to national security, Ochoche (1998) holds that national security focuses on the amassment of military armaments, personnel and expenditure. The military approach to security is often justified on the basis that only a strong military force can deter attacks and provide the means of fighting undeterred attacks. However, it should be noted here that in the case of Nigeria, the vast size of the military has not resulted in a corresponding increase in the maintenance of its traditional functions, which Heywood (1997) rightly identifies as the maintenance of security and territorial integrity of the state and society; the maintenance of domestic and civil order; and the provision of humanitarian services.

Contrary to popular and reasonable expectations, the military in Nigeria has been used for largely negative purposes including the oppression, terrorization and repression of the citizens. Indeed, the military has been used to curtail the activities of unions, opposition groups and popular demonstrations and movements, making it more an instrument of censorship. This trend has been particularly prevalent under military regimes. Therefore, Heywood (1997) concludes that rather than be the solution to Nigeria's national security, development and national integration

problems, the military has compounded and perpetuated them. The failure of the military to fulfill its constitutional role has made the military to be distracted and has failed to distinguish itself in the political realm of life into which it has intruded (Ochoche, 1998).

No doubt, national security delivery by the police and military has been confronted by different challenges for both the society and these principal security agencies themselves. For example, many security agents have been convicted of aiding and abetting such criminalities as oil theft, armed robbery, kidnapping, and even terrorism (Marenin, 1987; Osumah and Aghedo, 2010; Hills, 2012). Also, because securitization is centered on speculative threats to the state and government which may not necessarily occur rather than the wellbeing of the people and environment, the State deliberately or otherwise has positioned itself to fail in its primary obligation of ensuring the security of its people. This has facilitated outrageous budgetary allocation and votes on security without guaranteeing security.

In Nigeria, 'security votes' have become a major conduit of political elite corruption because such funds are unaccounted for and unquestionable (Obiamaka et al, 2012). Security in essence, has become a mirage and a culture of insecurity has evolved over the years. This has largely eroded professionalism in the agencies leading to elite privatization.

Owing to privatization, security praxis has been secluded from the assurance of the wellbeing of the people and national development. And it has been associated with the security of the state and individuals in government. Security has become

commoditized, commercialized and made ordinarily inaccessible to the masses. This in itself has resulted in the bifurcation of society into those that have security and those that have not, with the implicit tension and crisis therein. For instance, the former Inspector General of Police, Mr. Ogbonna Onovo disclosed that there had been huge illegal deployments of Police personnel to private individuals by some high ranking officers of the Nigeria Police largely for pecuniary motives. Similarly, former Rivers State Governor Peter Odili was alleged to have used members of Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) as his personal electioneering thugs. At the same time, the security personnel harass, oppress, subdue, deprive and dominate the poor and vulnerable citizenry, while the 'big men' or 'grand patrons' are insulated from such treatments.

In a very fundamental sense, national security is a public good and not the private property of the state or of particular dominant interests. According to Luckham (1998), there exists a tension or contradiction between the manifest and latent functions of security. This is especially the case where the military is employed as an instrument of state coercion to oppress, exploit, extort and terrorize the citizenry. Central to the failure of the military approach to national security in Nigeria has been that situation in which, as Hutchful (1998) says, the military has failed to achieve operational efficiency, institutional solidarity and stability. In our view, other crucial factors that led to the failure of the military to uphold the principles of truth, justice, respect for human life and compassion towards other human beings in the society.

The unprofessionalism of the security agencies has also resulted in the

infliction of pain upon the offender through coercion. This 'organized hurt' becomes very clear in capital offenses where society takes the lives of offenders convicted of murder, armed robbery or treason. This implies that society is doing the wrong it forbids its citizens, though upon stated rationalization. The approach perceives crime as inevitable and the fight against it perpetual. This application of violence embodies inherent tendencies of replicating and escalating violence. As criminals notice and encounter fire power as a veritable factor in the success or otherwise of the nefarious operations against the restraints from the law enforcement agents, the criminals endeavour to criminally acquire weapons considered superior to those in charge for routine law enforcement duties. With such weaponry criminals are emboldened to even confront law enforcement officers in gun battles to enable them commit crime. This is the situation in Nigeria where the war against criminals has escalated with sophistication and usually with fatal collateral damage.

Indeed, even though the country has 37 state police commands, 106 area commands, 925 police divisions, 2,190 police stations and over 360,000 personnel, the Nigeria police service remains incapable of providing security for Nigeria's over 170 million populations. In fact, the country's police- citizens ratio of 1:1,000 is one of the lowest in the world and falls grossly below the United Nations stipulation of 1:400. Added to personnel shortage, the police institution grapples with the challenges of "inadequate accommodation and transportation, poor communication networks, poorly funded training institutions and insufficient criminal intelligence gathering capacity" (Fayemi and Olonisaki, 2008:252).

These challenges confronting security personnel have bred pervasive corruption among them. For example, the Nigeria Police has a global "reputation for brutality, corruption and arbitrariness" (Fayemi and Olonisakin, 2008:258). This has led to entrenched militarism in social relations which undermines peaceful, amicable and consensual resolution of problems, thereby encouraging frequent recourse to arms and culture of violence.

However, considering the advancement of tactics employed by criminals and the caliber of weaponry on charge to these criminals, (going by the reactionary system) it would require the deployment of a higher than conventional category of weaponry for use by the anti-crime personnel. This may mean the application of light bombs, thunder blasts, light artillery and armored ordnance in routine internal security activities. This shall amount to running a militarized state with its attendant ills and anti-social democratic implications. This scenario is already evident in Nigeria with the country's sizeable importation of arms compared with other African states.

Table.4

| Rank | Supplier | Largest recipient (share of exports) | Other recipients | Number of recipients |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | China | **Nigeria (35%)** | Benin, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe | 16 |
| 2 | Ukraine | Chad (28%) | Comoros, Congo (Democratic Republic of), Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda, Zimbabwe | 9 |
| 3 | Russia | Sudan (77%) | Chad, Niger, Senegal, Uganda | 5 |
| 4 | Italy | **Nigeria (77%)** | Namibia, Tazania, Zambia | 4 |
| 5 | South Africa | Gabon (58%) | Burkina Faso, Burundi, Malawi, Rwanda, Senegal, Tazania, Uganda | 8 |
| 6 | Belarus | Sudan (94%) | Eritrea | 2 |
| 7 | Moldova | Angola (100%) | - | 1 |
| 8 | Jordan | Kenya (100%) | - | 1 |
| 9 | United States | Congo, Dem. Rep. (56%) | Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Ghana | 6 |
| 10 | Singapore | **Nigeria (96%)** | Chad | 2 |

**Source:** Taylor and Wu (2013: 464)

The crave for acquisition of superior weaponry by criminals and state security apparatus respectively in order to gain better bargain in the war on crime could result in a systematic 'arms race' between the two 'forces' (as is almost the case now) with consequent budgetary and cost implications. Besides, the violent dimension of the war against criminals and the violent battles rather indicate the 'MADness' in the Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) of lives and property within the state by its own citizens avowed to take their position sternly on crime in spite of obviously known fatal consequences to lives and investments.

The unrestricted use of arms in everyday life within the community by contenders in the war on crime makes the seeming enigma in weaponry a common and everyday experience to the people. This gradually develops a social psyche of 'arms power' is 'right'; its use is 'normal'. This explains why and how arms are now easily used even in facilitating less serious crimes as examination malpractices, rape, and trespass on land, malicious damage, and many more. The reactionary policing

system centers on the beat patrol. Inherently this requires mobilization of a large number of personnel with requisite logistics to cover the area of security responsibility (the beats). Paradoxically, criminals would carefully avoid such covered areas and strike elsewhere considered safe for them; otherwise criminals may dare the might of the security personnel and gain access. In either case, the essence of the beat patrol is seriously infringed if not defeated, and man-hours and resources wasted, while crime may not even be deterred as rationalized.

The unhealthy perception of the law enforcement agents by the public by whatever reasons makes to alienate the agents from the public due to loss of confidence and suspicion. This deprives the Police the public support it needs to be effective in policing the community. The gamut of the nature of administration of criminal justice, the dominant demeanor of offenders and the nature of punishment rather facilitate in most cases the recycling of criminals in society. The approach is inherently prone to overt conflicts among law enforcement agencies, inter agencies distrust, withholding of information and wanton rivalry as these agencies are systematically plunged into a 'war' of power superiority. Thus, the war on crime poses challenges for all parties involved - the state, the criminals, the victims of crime and the general public.

The findings reveals that, The inability of government to effectively check these re-occurring security threats left much to be desired as the citizens are sleeping with one eye closed due to the rampant cases of violence and crimes. Over the years, the Nigerian state could not check the re-occurrence of crimes nor bring the perpetrators

to face the law due to political partisanship, cult-related sentiments and affiliations, coupled with the endemically-weak and corrupt judiciary often manipulated by the politicians.

The security situation was not helped because security management agencies of government and their operatives were handicapped due to in-experience man-power, lack of logistics requirements and conducive atmosphere to operate. These security services could hardly boast of serviceable vehicles, good guns, barracks accommodations and so forth. Additionally, the intelligence gathering capacity of security agencies remains poor due to lack of operational tools, motivation and poor funding of the agencies by the Nigerian government.

Table.5: Why are the measures taken by the main managers of security operatives not effective?

| Ineffectiveness of Measures taken by the main managers of security in Nigeria | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S/N | Variables | Very Moderate | Moderate Positively | Positive | Very Negative | Moderate Negative | Negative |
| 1 | Corruption | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |
| 2 | Bad Leadership | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |
| 3 | Lack of Policy Framework | | Yes | No | No | No | No |
| 4 | Lack of Monitoring and | No | Yes | No | No | No | No |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Supervision of flow of Funds | | | | | | |
| 5 | External Influences | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |
| 6 | Self Interest | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| 7 | Lack of Sophisticated Equipments | Yes | No | No | No | No | No |

SOURCE: Study's Fieldwork, 2019.

From the Table 5 above shows, reasons why efforts taken by the main managers of security have not being effective. This is as a result of lack of sophisticated equipment, self interest on the part of stakeholders on security, external influences, and lack of policy framework to tackle the emerged threats to internal security, lack of monitoring of flow of funds, corruption and bad leadership respectively. Majority of the respondents that participated in the study agree with the construct that very moderate and positive moderate were the underline factors to the issues of security in Nigeria. For instant, one of the participants in the study highlighted what should be done to improve efficiency in the management of various crises in the country, through research and development because:

............. *We are weak in research. We need to make research everyday to find solution to our problems.*

Also, another participant, respondent 9, noted that:

*The measures have not been working simply because; the weapons and ammunitions used by the criminals are more sophisticated than those of our officer's weapons.*

A thematic explanation of the causes of emerged threats to internal security shows that improper funding of the police and other security agencies is the major cause of insecurity question in Nigeria.

This causes stems from the fact that there are inadequacies in the security agencies, modern communication equipment, sophisticated arms and ammunition so that the security agencies will be able to contain these criminal gangs. Also, the allowances and salaries of these security agencies are hardly paid; their welfare is nothing to write home about.

Aside from the bad eggs in the force, the poor welfare of the police, military and paramilitary personnel, with lack of adequate working tools, inadequate personnel contribute to the weaknesses of the main managers of security management.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**Conclusion**

The internal threats remain a significant problem confronting the democratic government in Nigeria's fourth republic. Security concerns and threat perception emanated from many quarters. Over the years, the inability of the government to address the root causes of dissatisfaction, anger and agitation among various groups which includes, poverty among others resulted to serious security challenges confronting the contemporary Nigerian state.

This ugly situation has not only denied the Nigerian government enormous revenues, but has also led to serious problems such as unemployment, infrastructural decay, poor health status, and poor image of Nigeria at regional and global scene, low participation of investors in Nigeria's economic development, relocation of existing investors to peaceful states in Nigeria, among others.

These problems are traceable to internal security challenges in Nigeria occasioned by the activities of herders-farmers clashes, kidnapping, cyber crime, Boko Haram group, among others. In consideration of the consequences of these challenges on the economy of the Nigerian state and to save the country from the brink of total collapse, the need for good governance, justice, equity, and tolerance among ethnic nationalities as well as religious groups in Nigeria, is advocated and should be rigorously pursued by both the government and the Nigerian people.

**Recommendations**

The federal government should formulate and effectively implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of the emerged threats to internal security in Nigeria such as, unemployment, poverty, dearth of infrastructural facilities, environmental degradation, , uneven development, among others.

Governments at all levels should ensure that rising unemployment and poverty indices are reversed and a realistic social security programme is pursued and systematically implemented to ensure that the populace meets their basic needs.

Government must be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats, through modern methods of intelligence gathering, and intelligence sharing, training, logistics, motivation, and deploying advanced technology in managing security challenges.

The real panacea for solving the emerged threats to internal security in Nigeria is for government to accelerate the pace of development. Development in this context consists of creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure for business operations and industrial growth, to provide gainful employment, high level of educational facilities, and medical care for the people.

The federal government should re-organize the country's intelligence system and build a capable and more proactive security apparatus in Nigeria. This will add more values in checking incessant bombings, robbery, kidnapping and violent crimes/crises by hoodlums all over Nigeria.

The government should include Peace Studies and Security Management in school curriculum at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in Nigeria. This will facilitate the Nigerian youths to value the significance of peace and security in a worldly state like Nigeria.

The federal government should phase out the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and establish a more viable and result-oriented agency capable of addressing the problem of abject poverty among large population of Nigerians, particularly those residing in the rural areas.

The government should resuscitate the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and reposition agricultural sector so as to play active role in job creation for Nigerian youths.

There is the need for cooperative security planning by federal, state and local governments in Nigeria. This planning should produce a committee at village, community, local, state and federal level with the responsibility of providing sensitive security information for security agencies at their areas of operation. This will eventually help in find out the criminals, their sponsors and hideouts in Nigeria.

The federal, state and local government should be more devoted to improve the standard and value of education in Nigeria. The three levels of government in Nigeria should work together to make sure free education at all levels. This will diminish the number of ignorance among the youths who engage in various fierce crimes against the government and the people.

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