Changing Insecurity Threats in Nigeria from 1999-2021

Samuel Adesina

A Research Project in the Department of Political Science, Submitted to the Faculty of Social Science, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Masters of Science Degree in Political Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the changing insecurity threats in Nigeria, focusing on the significant causes of insecurity threats in Nigeria since 1999, the impacts of changing insecurity threats on human security, and strategies that the government could adopt to curb insecurity threats. The study address insecurity threats not only from the traditional security approach but also incorporated human and social security approach. As a matter of fact, most of the research on security studies heavily rely on the traditional security approach. The study adopts a qualitative research approach, and secondary data obtained from journals, articles, organization reports, academic materials, libraries, the internet, and newspapers were analyzed with hermeneutics approach. Elites' theory and relative deprivation theory were adopted as the study theoretical framework. The study shows that several insecurity threats exist in all the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria which includes; Kidnapping, Insurgent groups, Separatist agitators, Boko-Haram, Herdsmen-farmers conflict. The study gave certain recommendations and advises the government to adopt the composite model approach, perceiving security as a collective responsibility of individuals, government, religious groups, business organization, and civil society. The study further provides the following recommendations that government must ensure good governance and promote democratic principles, government should train and retrain security operatives, government should also invest in agriculture, health and education. The study also recommend that the Nigerian government should set up a referendum that will cut across nooks and crannies of the country and must also address crucial issues that threaten the peaceful coexistence of Nigerians.

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Insecurity poses a significant threat to human existence, extending beyond personal violence and military operations. It encompasses all disasters, violent or non-violent, restricting human rights, privileges, and living standards (Charas 2015). Security is crucial for social, political, and economic activities, and a stable security architecture is vital for a nation's survival (Charas 2015). Security perspectives can be traditional or non-traditional. The former focuses on statelevel protection, while the latter emphasizes safeguarding individuals from various threats (Hettne 2010).

Nigeria, the most populous black country in West Africa, is rich in resources but plagued by poor governance and security challenges (Ucha, 2010). Since gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria has faced diverse security threats, including political unrest, robbery, kidnapping, secessionist movements, terrorism, and conflicts between herdsmen and farmers (Eme & Anthony, 2011). The Northern region grapples with Boko Haram and ISWAP terrorism, causing economic downturn and displacing thousands. The South East

faces disruptions due to "sit-at-home" orders, leading to economic losses and loss of life (Eme & Anthony, 2011).

Fulani herdsmen compound the crisis by attacking farmers, resulting in loss of lives and millions in damages. The Niger Delta experiences oil-related conflicts, impacting people's lives and the nation's economy (Nwogwugwu et al., 2012). Police brutality, as highlighted by Coomasie and documented cases of torture, compounds security challenges (Punch, 2016). Recent controversies, including the Lekki Toll Gate incident, reflect the complexity of security issues (Nasiru 2020).

Statement of the Problem

Insecurity is deeply rooted in humanity, traced back to the pessimistic views of Hobbes and Rousseau on the state of nature. Hobbes described it as "poor, short, brutish, and nasty," with humans naturally selfish and driven by personal desires. The failure of the Nigerian government to address root causes like poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment exacerbates insecurity (Presidential Committee on Security, 2019).

Insecurity in Nigeria results in displacement, economic losses, increased mortality rates, and reduced hygiene. Government resources diverted to security hamper essential sectors like health and education (Achumba et al., 2013). Efforts, such as social investment programs and police reforms, aim to combat insecurity, but challenges persist. Addressing insecurity requires collaboration, arms control, technological advancements, and database management for effective criminal tracing (Eme, 2019).

Research Questions

1. What are the primary causes of changing insecurity threats in Nigeria?
2. What are the various insecurity threats in Nigeria since 1999?
3. How does changing insecurity threats impact human security?
4. What strategies can address changing insecurity threats in Nigeria?

Objective Of The Study

1. To assess changing insecurity threats in Nigeria by examining the major causes.
2. To identify various threats since 1999.
3. To interrogate the impact of Insecurity threats on human security.
4. To provide better strategies for addressing insecurity threats.

Significance of the Study

This study adds knowledge to security studies, examining causes, threats, and impacts on human security in Nigeria. It aids policymakers in adopting effective strategies to address insecurity challenges.

Scope and Limitations

The research covers insecurity in Nigeria from 1999-2021, focusing on causes, various threats, impacts, and strategies. Limitations include reliance on qualitative methods and constraints in time and finances.

Research Methodology

The study uses qualitative methods and hermeneutics for content, narrative, historical, and discourse analysis. Data sources include government publications, academic materials, journals, articles, and online

sources.

Research Design

A qualitative approach is adopted to analyze changing insecurity threats, considering the interpretive and constructivist orientation. The study aligns with ontological and epistemological perspectives to understand insecurity issues.

Sources of Data

The study relies on secondary data from libraries, the internet, policy documents, academic journals, articles, newspapers, and online materials.

Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis involves hermeneutics, focusing on content, narratives, and discussions from various sources.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter will provide a clearer conceptual clarification of terms in order to provide a comprehensive explanation of various concept that are used in the study. Several academic literatures would also be reviewed both published and unpublished which will facilitate the process of synthesizing knowledge and bridging the gaps of knowledge on security studies, causes of insecurity threat in Nigeria, several changing insecurity threat, implication of security threat on human security as well as solutions to solve the insecurity threats that befall Nigeria. The theoretical framework will also serve as analysis base for theories that will be used to explain, understand, make prediction and will also help to address the research questions.

Security

It is defined as the capability of a state to defend its territorial integrity from threats, either actual or imagined, as well as an act of aggression against other potential threat (Okwori, 1995, p. 20).

Every country prioritize their security affairs, that's why nations of the world persistently build military might and constantly increase military expenditure in other to procure sophisticated military equipment for defensive and offensive position. Without security the pursuit of social political and economic life is impossible to attain. This implies that security is concern about citizen protection of human right abuses, physical threat, social, political, economic risk and sovereignty threat (Ibrahim, 2013).

Williams (2008) defined security as widely associated with mitigating the threat to cherished value, particularly if left unchecked in the future, it might serve as a threat to ones existence. Williams view on security is a perfect expression of the Nigeria security challenges. The long ageing security issues in Nigeria were not objectively addressed by the government, for instance, inability of government to effectively manage and address diverse ethnicity group, inequality, social discontent, unemployment and social deprivation have given rise to insurgency, banditry, kidnapping, prison break and unknown gunmen attack.

Omede (2011) view security from the traditional perspective which is concerned about core values of states and state ability to counter threat that might affect its existence, furthermore the modern approach was also acknowledged which focus on human security, the modern perspective view security as a benefit that

citizens enjoy from the state. Omede (2011) proposed how Nigeria security should be 'Nigeria's security will involve efforts to strengthen the capacity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria so it can advance its interests and objectives to curtail internal and external aggression, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth and improve the welfare and quality of life of every citizen at home and abroad.

Insecurity

Michael (2011) define insecurity as the state of being subjected to danger or injury. It is also seen as the anxiety that makes individual or group of individuals to feel that they are insecure or vulnerable to threat which brought about lack of confidence in themselves or in the state security architecture. Achumba et.al (2013) view insecurity as a state of being subjected to danger and exposure to risk or anxiety. It is also the lack of confidence in oneself or zero confidence in the state security system as a result of its failure to protect its citizens. (Imhonopi & Urim, 2012) describe life in Nigeria since 2009 till date as indicator of crimes against humanity which include, ritual killings, kidnappings, ethnic clash, religious killings, car high-jerk, political killings and bombings.

Agomuo (2013) further stressed the fact that the nature and pattern of insecurity in Nigeria is dynamic and difficult to categorized, he argue about several compromise by Nigeria government with different lawless groups whom the government security agencies has not been able to overwhelmed but have a compromise just for peace to reign in the country and this act by the government project the government to be weak and this situation makes other violent groups to emerge thereby demanding compromise and commitment from the government in the name of establishing peace to reign in the country (Agomuo, et al .2013).

Human Security

James (2014) defines human security as the foundational base of human condition which include the sustainable protection and provision of the material conditions for meeting the basic needs of the people and the protection of the conditions for maintaining a dignified life. It is a multi discipline which include international relations, human right, strategic studies and developmental studies which is human centric in nature. The UNDP report in 1994 strongly argue that human security requires attention on freedom from want and freedom from fear. Both of them stand as different school of thought which could be used to explain several threats that confront humans and how the threats can be addressed.

Although, there is no generally acceptable definition of human security because it is a vague concept and the Illumination of justice could be done to this vague concept if certain human security conditions could be put into consideration. The various human condition include health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, economic security and political security (Onywera and Blanchard, 2014).

Health Security

This has to do with the protection of humans from harmful and dangerous diseases, infections, parasites, unhealthy lifestyle, pandemic, epidemic, virus and chronic diseases. The aforementioned serve as a threat to quality living condition of humans. Although the UN attest to the fact that threat to human security is common in developing countries as a result of poor or lack of equipped health facilities, inaccessibility to clean water and quality food (Mohammed 2013).

Personal Security

It is the protection of humans from any form of physical violence which may be perpetrated by state actors or non- state actors. The non-state actors include individual or groups of individuals who engage in any

form of violent crime against humans in a political society. The government of a particular state is basically charged with the responsibility of protecting its citizens from any form of physical violence that can damage the core values of humans beyond repair (Onywera and Blanchard, 2014).

Environmental Security

Environmental security is concern with the protection of humans from short term or long term natural disaster which could be as a result of artificial human activities on earth or as a result of nature. This disaster includes flood, earthquake, volcanic eruption and excessive hot or cold weather in some part of the world. The environmental security is the most neglected across the globe, although little attention and commitment is geared towards climate change and environmental degradation. It is required for government to embark on necessary environmental policies that can reduce the production of greenhouse and improve the preservation of the natural environment (Lawal and Abe, 2011).

Political Security

Political security aim to protect and promote fundamental human right and certain privileges that supposed to be enjoyed by citizens of a state, for instance there should be freedom of speech and expression, freedom of movement, right and privileges to vote and to be voted for in an election, right to own private properties and businesses (Okafor 2012).

Community Security

This is the activity of the government of a particular state that involve the protection of minority group, less privilege, vulnerable and weak individuals in the society in other to prevent them from having a feeling or mindset of being marginalized, separated or neglected. This translate to a long term prevention of ethnic crisis. Ethnic and internal crisis arising from the inability of government to protect and manage diverse ethnic groups is one of the major causes of conflict in African society (Ojo 2016).

Economic Security

Economic security is the accessibility of an individual to a basic income and the provision of employment opportunities and enabling environment for both foreign investors and local investors by the government of a state. This helps to improve quality standard of living and also prevent poverty and every other means that can make individual to be vulnerable to poverty (Okafor 2012).

Food Security

Food security is the physical and economic access to basic quality food in other to prevent malnutrition, diseases and contaminated food which might subject individuals to be vulnerable to diseases, cancers, etc. Food scarcity and inaccessibility to quality food is common in developing countries where people could not afford three square meal in a day (Onywera and Blanchard, 2014).

Terrorism

Terrorism can be defined as a method of coercion that threatens to utilize violence in order to spread fear in the minds of the people and the government for the attainment of political or ideological goals. Terrorism is also a violent activity carried out by terrorist on soft target, which are innocent civilian, military officers, business men, top political officials and government symbols (Onywera and Blanchard, 2014).

Parker and Sitter (2016) define terrorism as an act of motivation through four oriented goals which include socialism, nationalism, religious extremism, and exclusionism. Just like the face of terrorism in Nigeria, the

ISWAP and Boko-haram are highly motivated by extreme religious belief in Islam. They belief that they are fighting a holly war for cleansing the society with the expectation and hope of having virgins as rewards in heaven.

Jackson (2011) trying to explain terrorism as an act itself was of the view that terrorism is a social fact rather than a brutal fact with complex and unpredictable intention. It is also seen as a clandestine violence that aim to terrify or intimidate its victims. Although Jackson (2011) view emphasis that the violent aspect of terrorism is not as important as the real intentions behind the act of terrorism. That is while terrorist might appear to be a state enemy or another man freedom fighter. Terrorism victims are known as soft target who could be civilian, top business official, politicians, government symbols and sometimes state military. While the perpetrators of terrorism are non state actors or organize groups such as Al-Qaida, ISWAP, Boko-haram, ISIS, Hezbollah, Hams, Taliban, etc. They operate both locally and across state boarders.

Sandler & Ender (2008) identified both Domestic, Transnational or Global terrorism as the major type of terrorism. Domestic terrorism operate within a state boarder either by inflicting fears, pains and uncertainty in the state in order to achieve religious or political aims. For instance Nigeria is currently faced with severe insecurity threat majorly by several terrorist groups and their activities that terrorize the peaceful existence of Nigeria. Such terrorist groups are Boko Haram, ISWAP, IPOB, Oil-militant, kidnappers and unknown gunmen. On the other hand Global terrorism are group of terrorist who are highly motivated by extreme religious and ideological belief that carry out clandestine violent attacks on sovereign states that hold an antagonistic view or ideological perspective that is quite different from theirs. Example of global terrorist groups are Al-Qaida, Hamas, Hezbollah, Taliban, ISIS, etc.

Literature Review

Adeleke (2013) examined the threat of insecurity on human development and its impact on the Nigerian economy. Nigeria faces multifaceted insecurity threats, including kidnapping, ritualism, terrorism, ethnic tension, oil militancy, assassination, and porous borders. Political, leadership, and unemployment factors were identified as major causes. The government initiated measures like the Joint Task Force (JTF) and various development commissions.

Omoyibo and Akpomera (2012) likened Nigeria's security threats to a trapped man in a fire accident. Unscrupulous leaders contribute to insecurity, suggesting the preservation of peace requires maintaining law and order. The study proposed open dialogues across ethnic groups for peaceful coexistence but lacked specific government recommendations.

Achumba et al. (2013) listed unemployment, poverty, terrorism, porous borders, and rural-urban migration as causes of insecurity. OSIWA identified economic issues, organized crime, unproductive policies, and political differences as contributing factors. Ogunleye-Adetona (2010) linked insecurity to political non-accountability, corruption, and weak institutions, spawning anti-state groups motivated by extreme ideologies.

Christian (2022) delved into separatist movements, highlighting ethno-cultural diversity and political dominance as key reasons. Nigeria's federalism was criticized, but the study lacked a theoretical framework.

Zubairu (2020) identified unemployment, poverty, corruption, bad governance, marginalization, inequality, and ethno-religious conflict as causes of rising insecurity. The study emphasized tackling root causes for effective solutions but lacked a theoretical framework.

 Omodunbi (2016) explored cybercrimes, linking increased computer and internet use to cybercrime activities in Nigeria. The study presented a case study in Ekiti state institutions, revealing high student

involvement in cybercrimes. The study failed to mention area of future research.

Theoretical Framework

Two theories were adopted (Liadi, 2013), no single social theory is self sufficient on its own to bring justice to the various research problem that the study address. (Leedy& Omrod, 2005) defined theory as "an organized body of concepts and principles, intended to explain a particular phenomenon". This study adopt Elite theory and Social Deprivation theory.

Elite Theory

The study adopt elite theory of politics by Vilfredo Pareto (1963) which was a reaction to Karl Marx view on power and Abraham Lincoln view on democracy (Epstein, 2011). The major argument of the theory stressed on the division of the society into two groups in which the first group is the few minority ruler who has the monopoly of power and inappropriately manage the resources of the society at the detriment of the ruled. They are well organized and strategically coordinated. The second group is the ruled majority who are also known as the masses or subject, they are not well organized and are easily manipulated by the few elite. (Sambo, 1999,p.294) provided their submission on the assumptions of elite theory which are of the following;

- Society is divided into the few who have power and the many who do not.

Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy.

- The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socioeconomic strata of society.

- The movement of non-elites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution.

- Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.

- Elites share a consensus on the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system.

- Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.

- Active elites are subjected to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elite influence masses more than masses influence elites.

Application of The Theory

The theory explains Nigeria insecurity threats in relation to leadership failure and the struggle for leadership status among Nigeria elite at the detriment of the masses, which has resulted into the annulment of June 12 presidential election and several military coup. Nigeria elite class is a group that failed to produce futuristic leaders, which led to corruption and misappropriation of pubic funds, thereby inhibit development.

Criticism

Elite get into power through the vote of the people, not because they are in the elite circle (Tomoloju 2007).

Relative Deprivation Theory

The relative deprivation theory, proposed by Gurr (1970), suggests that social unrest, terrorism, and conflict stem from a perceived sense of inequality and injustice rather than absolute measures. Relative deprivation is the feeling of being deprived of something, knowing others possess it, and believing it is realistic to obtain.

Application Of The Theory

In Nigeria, relative deprivation theory explains insecurity threats arising from inequality and social segregation. Marginalization feelings among various groups have led to secessionist movements, conflict groups, and criminal activities. Injustice in job recruitment, corruption, and favoritism contribute to frustration, prompting violence as a means of achieving collective satisfaction.

Criticism

Critics argue that relative deprivation theory fails to explain why some individuals, unaffected by a social issue, actively participate in social movements. Instances like straight individuals advocating for LGBTQ rights or wealthy individuals protesting against policies impacting the poor challenge the theory's ability to account for altruistic motivations. In summary, both elite theory and relative deprivation theory provide insights into the complexities of Nigerian politics and societal issues, but they face criticism for oversights and limitations in explaining certain phenomena.

HISTORICAL OF CHANGING INSECURITY THREAT IN NIGERIA FROM 1999-2022

Introduction

Kyari (2016) asserts that insecurity challenges and threats have been like a parasitic attachment to Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa. The nation has struggled with political, ethnic, and religious violence since gaining independence. The turmoil started with the civil war in 1967-1970, followed by pastoral conflicts in the middle belt, oil militancy in the Niger Delta, ethnic clashes nationwide, Boko Haram terrorism, bombings, farmer-herder crises, kidnappings, and secessionist threats across the country (Kyari 2016).

History And Activities Of Boko Haram Terrorism

The origin of Boko Haram traces back to radical Islamic youth at Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri. The group initially advocated for creating an Islamic state devoid of corruption, irredeemable and intolerant, contradicting the peace teachings of Islam (Andrew, 2012). Led by Muhammad Ali, they later relocated to Kanama in Yobe state, establishing a distinct community. In 2003, clashes over fishing rights led to a police attack on the group, resulting in casualties, including Mohammed Ali. Some members fled (Okoro, 2018).Survivors regrouped in Maiduguri under

Mohammed Yusuf, renaming their mosque Ibn Taimiyyah Maajid. Known as the Nigerian Taliban, they expanded across neighboring states, attracting members with welfare packages and rejecting Western education as sinful (Okoro, 2018). The group received funds from influential politicians and individuals, claiming charity aligned with Islamic principles (Andrew, 2012).In 2007, Boko Haram began assassination missions, targeting Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmoud, and clashed with police in 2009, leading to Mohammed Yusuf's death. Some members fled to Mali, Cameroon, and the Sahel region (Andrew, 2012).In 2010, Boko Haram resumed attacks, deploying IEDs, causing chaos in various cities. They targeted police headquarters and the UN compound in 2011, claiming numerous lives. Abubakar Shekau emerged as a notorious leader, orchestrating attacks and uploading videos online (Andrew, 2012).Boko Haram's violent acts escalated,

including abductions, rapes, and arson in schools. However, their activities gradually faded after Shekau's reported death during a clash with ISWAP (Andrew, 2012).

Government Response And Tactics Against Boko Haram

The Nigerian Government response to Boko Haram was aggressive, utilizing force against its members. Captured individuals were imprisoned, but the Buhari administration also implemented a program for rehabilitating repentant Boko Haram members who surrendered their arms and renounced their wrong ideological beliefs (Amnesty International, 2014). Security forces employed sophisticated weapons, drone surveillance, and helicopter bombings to combat Boko Haram. However, this fight led to human rights violations by security personnel, including extortion, unjust killings, and detentions (Andrew, 2012).

Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict

Many crises faced by Nigerians go unnoticed by the government, leading to instances of jungle justice as a form of retaliation. The conflict between farmers and herders escalated due to government lackadaisical response. Consequently, affected parties feel compelled to seek revenge, taking matters into their own hands. The careless handling of the farmers-herders conflict has resulted in the loss of lives and properties (Okoro, 2018).

Causes Of The Conflict

Land Usage

One of the main causes of the Farmers-Herdsmen conflict is the competing usage of land by both parties. conflict arises during the rainy season, a crucial period for cattle breeding, milk production, and limited grazing hours, which clashes with farmers' planting and harvesting seasons. This competition and encroachment have resulted in the loss of lives, property, displacement, agricultural produce shortages, and unemployment in Nigeria. Taiwo (2010) reported Farmers-Herdsmen crises over land usage in 20 villages in Nigeria, including locations like Kekere, Idi Ope Kekere, Olukore, Olokuta, Apena, Jaramosan, Akeeran, Alagigo, Aaaro, Temidire, Iya Ibadan, Ideto, Apapa, Akele, Agwo, Bodija, Olufayo, Oko Teku, Moniya, Oke Ogun, Shaki, Egbedore, Ilobu, Efon Alaye, Alu, and Iya moye. These crises have not affected urban areas significantly due to the lack of grazing space amidst residential buildings, companies, religious buildings, markets, and schools (Idowu, 2017).

Revenge and Retaliation

The conflict between herdsmen and farmers often manifests as retaliatory violence, with attacks carried out as reprisals for seized assets or deaths within each group. Herdsmen retaliate by rampaging against communities when their members or cattle face seizure, arrest, or death. Conversely, farmers resort to self-defense tactics to protect their lives, families, and properties from herders' attacks. According to John (2018), about 70 people were killed in Adamawa on December 4, 2017, in retaliation by herdsmen for the killing of their members. Similarly, 19 people lost their lives in Plateau State as vengeance for the death of a young herdsman.

Dis-Satisfaction Over Anti Grazing Law

The enactment and enforcement of anti-grazing laws by state governors have left the Miyetti Allah Cattle Association of Nigeria (MACAN) deeply dissatisfied and frustrated. This dissatisfaction led the group to vocally oppose and thwart the efforts of state governments (Taiwo 2010).

Government Intervention

Government established RUGA plan, aiming to create settlements for herdsmen and discourage open grazing. State governments initiated anti-grazing laws to prevent open grazing and associated crises. Notably, South West governors implemented the Amotekun security operatives, effectively managing crises and identifying criminals among herdsmen hiding in forests. Similarly, governors in Benue, Taraba, and Plateau mobilized local vigilantes to address insecurity posed by Fulani herdsmen (Obiezu, 2019).

Oil Militancy

Historical Overview And Activities Of Oil Militancy

The Niger Delta is one of the richest deltas in the world, significantly contributing to the growth and development of the Nigerian state. It plays a substantial role in the country's GDP and attracts foreign direct investment. Oil was first discovered at Olubiri in the 1950s, just a few years before the country gained independence. However, militancy emerged among the aggrieved people of the Niger Delta who felt politically and economically marginalized by the Nigerian government. Additionally, discontent arose due to the activities of foreign companies, leading to environmental degradation in the Niger Delta without systematic provisions for regional development. The grievances included demands for the release of prominent figures from prison and a greater share in resource control. Oil militancy erupted due to the federal government's failure to address the needs and demands of the Niger Delta people (Nwogwugwu, et al., 2012). The militants engage in various illegal activities, such as kidnapping over 200 foreign oil workers, including indigenous people working with oil companies. Their actions also involve the destruction of oil installations and facilities, illegal oil bunkering, robbery, piracy, land disputes, election violence, communal disputes, and planting explosive devices. Notable militant groups include the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVP), Niger Delta Vigilante, Tombolo Boys (TB), Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC), and Icelanders Coalition for Military Actions (ICMA). These groups contribute to insecurity threats in the region, leading to developmental setbacks in Nigeria. Oil production has declined from 2.6 million barrels per day to 1 million barrels per day, representing a 40% drop (Ojieh, 2010).

Government Response To Oil Militancy

The government employed force to combat the militants. The Nigerian government mobilized its armed forces, engaging in armed conflicts with the well-equipped militants during Obasanjo regime. The Yaradua administration adopted a more peaceful approach to address the crisis. The introduction of the Amnesty program aimed to alleviate the grievances of the Niger Delta people. Militants were encouraged to surrender and disarm, receiving benefits such as house rent allowances, monthly payments of ₦65,000, and free skill acquisition training. This initiative facilitated the reintegration of former militants into society.

Separatist And Insurgency

Separatism is the strong desire of a particular population to loosen political and legal ties that bind them with the whole population, either to secede or gain regional autonomy. Separatist movements typically don't have static goals; they vary based on separatist leadership, mass support, and events like revolutions and wars, serving as justifications for breaking away or renegotiating unity with the central government. In Nigeria, most separatist movements arise from grievances or a conscious realization of injustice by the central government (Ijaw National Congress, 2016). Examples include the oil militants in Niger Delta, IPOB in the East, Oduduwa in the Southwest, and the Arewa Youth Forum in the North (Badal, 1976).

Corruption

Corruption, as described by Ogbeidi (2012), involves the abuse of political office through practices such as bribery, embezzlement, fund misappropriation, fraud, money laundering, favoritism, and nepotism. The United Nations (UN) identifies corruption as the abuse of power for personal gains, a prevalent issue in developing countries like Nigeria. Adeshina (2015) highlights government measures, including institutions like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corruption and other Practices Commission (ICPC), aimed at combating corruption. However, corruption persists in both public and private sectors, with looted funds traced to foreign accounts, as exemplified by historical cases like that of Late Abacha.

THE MAJOR CAUSES OF CHANGING INSECURITY THREATS IN NIGERIA

Introduction

Nigeria, the most populous black nation globally, endowed with abundant human and natural resources, faces a paradox where its substantial human resources remain largely underutilized. The resulting underutilization contributes to the manifestation of insecurity and various criminal activities (Nwagbosa, 2012). This chapter explores the primary causes of insecurity threats in Nigeria.

Unemployment & Poverty

High levels of unemployment and poverty persist in Nigeria, with unemployment serving as a catalyst for poverty. In turn, poverty acts as a determinant of insecurity threats (Zubairu, 2020). Unemployment refers to the incapacity of capable youths to secure gainful employment, while poverty is characterized by a lack of basic necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing. The link between unemployment, poverty, and engagement in criminal activities is evident, as individuals seek means to survive (Obasanjo, 1999). Adagba et al. (2012) argue that the failure of past Nigerian governments to address poverty and unemployment has significantly contributed to heightened insecurity threats, 33% of the Nigerian population is unemployed. The Nigeria Bureau of Statistics reported a sharp increase in insecurity, indicating that unemployment has risen by 400% since 2015. The recent 33% increase is 23% from the 27.1% rate in the second quarter of 2020. The underemployment rate declined from 28.6 percent in Q2 2020 to 22.8 percent in Q4 2020. According to NBS, the total number of Nigerians with jobs during the fourth quarter of 2020 was 46.49 million, with 30.57 million fully employed and 15.915 million underemployed out of over 180 million of the total Nigerian population.

Porous Border

As posited by Achumba (2013), the argument was that the porous frontier of the country's border posed a peaceful welcome to insecurity threats. Hazen & Horner (2017) argued that Nigeria hosted over 70% of approximately 80 million illegal weapons in West Africa. These weapons are used by crime perpetrators to inflict terror on the people of Nigeria. Crime perpetrators are not only Nigerians; most of them are illegal migrants and hired machinery who gained access to Nigeria as a result of its porous borders (Edeko, 2011).

Corruption And Poor Governance

Corruption and poor governance are internal factors that have necessitated the various insecurity threats faced by the present Nigerian state. Peters (2018) defines corruption as the offering, giving, receiving, obtaining, or an act of soliciting for any advantage to influence any public officer in the process of carrying out their duties. It is also illegal compensation and unequal treatment in society. Ijewereme (2015) identifies

political behavioral actions, such as corrupt practices: awarding contracts to family and friends, cronies, or one's personal company, embezzlement, illegal gratification, succumbing to undue influence, misappropriation and conversion of public funds for personal use, electoral malpractice, nepotism, tribalism in recruitment and promotion, favorable judicial decisions, falsification of financial records, money laundering, and budget padding. Modernization theorists argue that developing countries like Nigeria do not develop due to internal factors, not external ones. Corruption is seen as an ingrained culture in all sectors in Nigeria; both the rulers and the followers exhibit elements of corrupt practices.

Kadiri (2022) Corruption cuts across all sectors in Nigeria. Recent cases include corruption in the police force, where a former high-ranking police inspector, Abba Kyari, was found guilty of drug trafficking and bribery. Additionally, there were reports of the embezzlement of a $2.1 billion arms deal fund and the hoarding of COVID-19 palliatives by some state governors during the pandemic. The government was also reported to have claimed to feed school children during the Covid pandemic, despite schools being locked down. According to Transparency International (2018), Nigeria was ranked as the 36th most corrupt country in the world, indicating that corruption has deeply penetrated the Nigerian state.

Ethno Religious Conflict

Igbuzor (2011) defines ethno-religious crisis as a situation where members of an ethnic group and religious groups perceive others with mutual suspicion and fear of being victimized by the other. Ethno-religious crisis is mostly common between Islam and Christians, with several occasions when Christians were targeted to be killed in the North. The crisis of ethnicity occurs virtually everywhere across Nigeria, and the majority of these crises result in mass killings of humans, displacement, and destruction of properties (Adagba et al., 2012). Nigerians should try to accommodate each other irrespective of people's religious beliefs or ethnic background.

Weak Security System

The Nigerian security system is weak. Security operatives lack motivation due to unattractive welfare packages, and the number of available security personnel is insufficient to handle insecurity threats. Olorisakin (2008) argued that the police population is 1:450, below the United Nations standard, indicating that Nigeria is under-policed. This is also applicable to other security agencies, both military and paramilitary funds meant for arms and ammunition are being diverted, and old and weak weapons are being purchased, posing a danger to the lives of security personnel. This situation results in low morale among them to tackle insurgents, who often possess more sophisticated weapons. Security personnel need to be well-trained and retrained to stay physically and mentally fit. New modern equipment like drones, surveillance cameras, and satellites should be made available to enable them to repel attacks and proactively prevent them. There is a need for Nigerian security agencies to cooperate in curbing crimes by sharing intelligence gathered from security reports among sister security agencies (Olorisakin 2008).

Terrorism

Terrorism in Nigeria is a major cause of insecurity threats, claiming millions of lives, both young and old (Oluokun, 2014). Nigeria faces challenges such as Boko Haram terror, unknown gunmen activities, banditry, militancy, etc. Terrorism has driven away foreign investors, and local investors are hesitant due to the disruptive activities of terrorists, impacting peace. Adagba et al. (2012) state that terrorism in Nigeria originated from extreme Islamic fanatics who view themselves as Jihadists. Unemployment, poverty, and inequality also serve as triggers for terrorism, as these vulnerabilities can inspire individuals to join terrorist groups when lured with incentives.

Marginalization & Inequality

Preferences and undue advantages obtained from a specific region at the expense of others. The people of the Niger Delta state feel deprived and marginalized because the government neglected the development of the region, which significantly contributes to Nigeria's GDP. In the South East, there is renewed agitation for the Biafra Republic due to perceived neglect by the Nigerian government in crucial federal-level appointments. This has led to dissatisfaction and a call for an independent Biafra Republic (Nwadialor, 2011).The current state of Nigerian affairs has resulted in citizens' dissatisfaction with the Buhari government's failure to fulfill most of its promises. Much is expected from the government, but there is perceived favoritism in the allocation of federal jobs, contracts, and appointments, favoring those connected to influential and powerful individuals. Additionally, there is a widening gap between the rich and the poor. To address these issues, jobs, contracts, and appointments should be based on merit rather than favoritism. This approach would instill hope and a sense of belonging among the Nigerian masses (Onuoha, 2011).

Human Rights Abuse

Human rights encompass fundamental rights like the right to life, human dignity, freedom of speech, expression, association, fair hearing, and liberty. In Nigeria, both military regimes and civilian administrations have been guilty of violating human rights, particularly evident in cases like the government's actions in the Niger Delta, where environmental damage occurred during oil exploration, leading to the loss of Ogoni lives (Adeleke, 2013). Additionally, police brutality, illegal detentions, and acts of terrorism by Boko Haram further contribute to widespread human rights abuses, sparking anger and crises (Adeleke, 2013).

Various Insecurity Threats In Nigeria Since 1999

Insecurity threats in Nigeria are both regional and national, manifesting as armed robbery, militancy, banditry, ethno-religious conflict, and cyberattack.

Ethno-Religious Conflict

Nigeria's diverse ethnic groups, including Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa, contribute to conflicts fueled by leaders exploiting ethnic and religious identities for political gain. Religious tensions between Christians and Muslims, exacerbated by Boko Haram's actions, have led to the formation of ethno-religious movements. The government's failure to address ethnic crises has allowed these conflicts to persist, often incited by the desire for revenge from past clashes (Isiaka, 2006).

Cyber Attacks

Cyber security threats have become prevalent, affecting entrepreneurs and businesses in Nigeria.

Despite ranking lower than the United States in cyber attack percentages, Nigeria faces challenges due to a significant population engaging in cybercrime. High unemployment rates, coupled with limited awareness among internet users, contribute to cyber attacks. Urgent policy actions are recommended to curb cyber bullying, fraud, and various cybercrime activities (Hassan, 2012).

Oil Militancy

Originating in the Niger Delta due to dissatisfaction, environmental issues, and perceived marginalization, militancy encompasses activities like robbery, cult violence, election violence, piracy, and kidnapping. Various militant groups with distinct objectives emerged, targeting oil related infrastructure. The

economic impact on Nigeria due to the disruption of oil production has been significant, affecting revenue and overall development (Ikein, 2009).

Armed Robbery And Kidnapping

Widespread armed robbery and kidnapping, particularly in Southern Nigeria, reflect a lack of effective security measures. Perpetrators, often unemployed youths, resort to crime for greed, with illegally imported weapons contributing to the severity of the issue. The urgency for proactive government measures to address insecurity, especially kidnapping and armed robbery, is highlighted (Ikein, 2009).

The Impact Of Changing Insecurity Threat On Human Security

Communal Insecurity

There are several impacts of insecurity threats on humans, including food insecurity, environmental insecurity, personal insecurity, political insecurity, social insecurity, and economic insecurity.

Health Insecurity

Sound health and a good wellbeing is not guarantee to the people of Nigeria as a result of health insecurity, and large population of Nigerians do not pay good attention to their health conditions until it deteriorate or get worse and many of individuals and family are ignorant of health

insurance. Lack of good health system has led to the death of several individuals in the country both rich and poor and right now it is important for the Nigerian government to prioritize the lives of her citizens by providing more health care facilities, employment of more health workers, and good health policy that caters for both rich and poor, (Ani, et al, 2016).

Food Insecurity

The prevalence of food insecurity in Nigeria manifests in two ways. The first involves a low quantity of food, resulting from factors such as inadequate storage facilities, farmers' lack of access to soft loans, insufficient knowledge of modernized agricultural practices, government neglect of the agricultural sector, conflicts with herdsmen, kidnapping, and the killing of farmers in the farm, as well as poor preservative techniques. The second aspect pertains to the lack of quality foods, indicating a deficiency in clean and nutritious foods essential for proper body growth and development (Shahrbanou, 2005).

Environmental Insecurity

The environment in which we live is a major determinant of our well-being as humans, but the issue of environmental degradation is neglected and not prioritized by individuals and the state. Environmental degradation in Nigeria has resulted in the loss of lives and properties, especially in the Niger Delta region. The activities of oil companies have led to the destruction of the livelihood of the people in the Niger Delta, whose main sources of living are farming and fishing. Due to oil exploration, living creatures in their water are killed due to water contamination, and sometimes, the aftermath of oil spillage burns down their farmland, making life unbearable for them (Ani et al., 2016).

Personal Insecurity

Personal insecurity entails the violation of fundamental human rights in Nigeria. The people in the North experience disasters such as humanitarian crises and Boko Haram terrorism, while the South faces challenges like banditry, armed robbery, thug activities, unknown gunmen, ritualism, kidnapping, and

conflicts between farmers and herders, leading to environmental destruction. These threats prove that no single individual is safe from personal insecurity threats in Nigeria (Agbelusi, 2022).

Political Insecurity

Edwin (2007) identified three roots of political insecurity: leaders' idiosyncrasy, military intervention in politics, and poverty. Political insecurity in Nigeria is attributed to leadership and a weak institutional framework. It is evident that political insecurity peaks during military governance, characterized by limited room for criticism and recognition of citizen demands unless the military government perceives a need to address them. During military interventions, political exercises and voting activities are often suspended. Civilian administrations tend to violate human rights and disregard court orders in favor of individuals in the state.

Economic Insecurity

Eme & Onyishi (2011), approximately 33% of the Nigerian population is unemployed. Out of the 40 million employed, about 30 million are underemployed, posing a significant threat to the nation's prosperity. Unemployment leads to poverty, depriving individuals of the purchasing power for basic necessities. Even among the employed, job security is scarce, and some face expropriation of their labor. Numerous cases exist where employers owe salaries and wages, both in the private and public sectors.

Communal Insecurity

Amujiri & Agu (2012), Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpan-Robaro (2013), and Ewetan & Urhie (2014) explained community insecurity as a situation where occupants or migrants of a community feel threatened or exposed to danger, lacking access to basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter, which adversely affects their living conditions in their own area.

Social Insecurity

Social security involves protecting citizens through government schemes. Nigeria faces challenges due to hunger, unemployment, inequality, and political issues. The International Labour Organization sets standards for social security components, but Nigeria's government has been inconsistent in prioritizing and addressing these issues, leading to insecurity threats. Pate (2018), social security has not been prioritized by the Nigerian government until recently. The salient issue lies in government consistency and continuation in addressing social insecurity. Most social insecurities are not being handled comprehensively. For instance, the Buhari administration implemented social policies for unemployed youths and young entrepreneurs to empower them. However, there is a lack of special care for the aged who can no longer work, no specific treatment or benefits for those who lost jobs due to the pandemic, and no support for individuals with unpaid salaries and laid-off workers. To effectively address insecurity threats in Nigeria, the government must attend to all nine forms of social security benefits, fostering relative peace in the Nigerian state.

Better Strategies That Could Be Adopted In Addressing The Various Forms Of Changing Insecurity Threat In Nigeria.

Good Governance: Prioritizing citizens' welfare and prosperity is crucial. Past leadership problems and military interventions have affected the stability of the country.

Social Economic Development: Concentrating efforts on economic development can reduce insecurity threats. Creating a favorable economic environment and imitating developed countries' commitment to social securities are essential.

War Against Corruption And Indiscipline: Corruption is a root cause of

insecurity. The fight against corruption is ongoing, and its elimination is vital for societal justice and security.

Change In Value System: Incorporating good values into society, starting with education, can contribute to a more patriotic and law-abiding populace.

Solidification Of Security Personnel & Security Agency:

Strengthening the military, providing modern equipment, and promoting collaboration among security agencies are crucial. The UK's security strategy, including pursue, prevent, protect, and prepare, can be a model for Nigeria.

Security Strategy Management Approach And Model

Two-Way Approach Model: Addressing both perpetrators and root causes of insecurity through force, legislation, and surveillance.

Composite Approach Model: Involving collaboration between the government,

individuals, businesses, religious groups, communities, and civil society to collectively address insecurity.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Introduction

This final chapter encapsulates the study's findings, recommendations, conclusion, and potential areas for future research within the field of security studies, aiming to enhance the understanding of insecurity threats in Nigeria.

Summary

Examining changing insecurity threats in Nigeria, the study adopts a multi-perspective approach, combining traditional security viewpoints and human security notions. The research, divided into five chapters, addresses the root causes, identifies various threats since 1999, and explores their impacts on human security, and proposes effective strategies.

Conclusion

Insecurity threats pervade all six geographical regions of Nigeria, evolving and spreading rapidly. Traditional security issues such as terrorism, banditry, and other crises demand urgent attention. The government's willingness to employ force is crucial, especially concerning threats like Boko Haram, unknown gunmen, and Fulani herdsmen. Urgent and comprehensive handling of insecurity threats is imperative.

Recommendations

To combat insecurity effectively, the study proposes several recommendations:

Government should conduct a nationwide referendum to address issues threatening peaceful coexistence.

Adopt the composite model approach involving government, individuals, businesses, religious groups, and civil society.

Religious leaders should emphasize moral values and peaceful coexistence among diverse religious beliefs.

Government should ensure good governance and promote democratic principles.

Reform the National Orientation Agency for effective public enlightenment.

Secure national borders through increased deployment of security personnel.

Address environmental insecurity, particularly climate change.

Invest significantly in agriculture for food security.

Prioritize training, retraining, and welfare of security personnel.

Establish accessible health facilities nationwide.

Area Of Future Research

Future research in security studies should delve deeply into the core aspect of human security, emphasizing sustained growth and development. Researchers and government think tanks should focus on programs and policies that prioritize human development over increased military expenditure and prison facilities. This shift can contribute to lasting solutions for Nigeria's security challenges (Clifford, 2009).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

1. Badal, R. K., (1976). The Rise and fall of Separatism in Southern Sudan. African Affairs 463. Pg 9
2. Sampson, I.T. & Onuoha, F.C. (2011). Forcing the horse to drink or making it realize its thirst? Understanding the enactment of anti-terrorism legislation (ATL) in Nigeria, Perspective on Terrorism 5(3-4), 64-92.
3. Sambo, A. (1999). What is Public Policy?. In: Anifowoshe, R. & Enemuo, F. (Eds). Elements of Politics. Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd. pp. 281-311.

Articles And Journals

1. Achumba, I.C, Ighomereho, l. and Akpor-Robaro, M.O. (2013). Security, Challenges in Nigeria and the Implication for Business Activities and Sustainable Development. Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development. Vol 4, No:2. P. 14.
2. Adagba, O., Ugwu, S. C. and Eme, O. I. (2012). Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria, Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review, Vol. 1, No.9, Pg 77-99.
3. Lawal, T. and Abe, O. (2011). National development in Nigeria: Issues, challenges and prospects. Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research, 3(9): 237-341.
4. Charas (2015) Insecurity in Northern Nigeria: causes, consequences and resolutions. Vol 8. Pg
5. 16 Contest (2011). The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism, Retrieved from Cotula, L; Toulmin, C; and C. Hesse (2004). Land Tenure and Administration in Africa: Lesson of

Experience and Emerging Issues," IIED.

6. Edeko, S.E. (2011). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa: A case study of the Niger Delta in Nigeria, Sacha Journal of Environmental Studies 1(2). Pg 55-80.

7. Eme .O. and Onyishi A. (2011), The Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition.

8. Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business. Vol 3No 8. Pg 16

9. Eme, O. I. & Anthony, O., (2011). The Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria. Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business, III (8), pp. 1-14.

10. Eme, O.I. (2019). Terrorism and its Social Economic Effects in Nigeria. Pg 19

11. Epstein, R. A. (2011). Direct Democracy: Government of the People, by the People, and for the People. Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy, 34(819): 819-26.

12. Edwin, B. (2007). Repression, political violence and terrorism: The case of Uzbekistan. Security and Human Rights. vol. 18, pg 108-118.

13. Fatima Kyari (2016) the future of Nigeria: Security Challenges and Implications for Internal, Regional and Global Security Environment. Pg 14.

14. Hassan, A. B. Lass F. D. and Makinde J. (2012). Cybercrime in Nigeria: Causes, Effects and the Way Out, ARPN Journal of Science and Technology, vol. VOL. 2(7), pg 626 – 631.

15. Hazen, J.M. and Horner, J (2007). Small Arms, Armed Violence, and Insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in Perspective, Switzerland: Small Arms Survey.pg 4.

16. Hettne, B. (2010). Development and security: Origins and future. Security Dialogue, 41(1), pg 31-52.

17. Ibrahim, A. A. (2013). Issues in security, good governance and its challenges to economic growth and development. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 4(13), pg 187-191.

18. Idowu, A.O. (2017). Urban violence dimension in Nigeria: Farmers and herders' onslaught.

19. AGATHOS International Review, 8(14), 187-206

20. Igbuzor, O. (2011). Peace and Security Education: A Critical Factor for Sustainable Peace and National Development, International Journal of Peace and Development Studies Vol.2(1), pg 17.

21. Ikein, A. (2009) "The Potential Power of West African Oil to the Economics and Energy security

22. Interest of Euro-America in the 21st Century". Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa Vol.10(3) Pg 540 – 556.

23. Imhonopi, D and Ugochukwui, M.U. (2013). Leadership Crisis and Corruption in the Nigeria Public Sector: An Albatross of National Development in The African Symposium: An Online Journal of the African educational research Network 3(1):pg 120-141.

24. Isiaka, A. B. (2006), Ethnic Militia Movements and the Crisis of Political Order in Post-Military Journal of Social Sciences Vol. 13(3) pg 13.

25. Jackson, R. (2011): A Critical Introduction (2011). An accessible assessment of terrorism and its study which rethinks mainstream assumptions and thinking. Smith publishers. Pg 50

26. James, P. (2014). Human Security as a Left – Over of Military Security, or as Integral to the Human Condition. In Paul Bacon and Christopher Hobson (Ed). Human Security and Japans Triple disaster, London: Rutledge. pg. 73.

27. John P.O. (2018). Herdsmen/Farmers Conflict and its Effects on Socio-Economic Journal of Social Science, 24(1): pg 33 – 42.

28. Leedy, P.D. and Ormrod, J.E. (2005) Practical Research: Planning and Design. Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, NJ. Pg 17

29. Mohammed, U. (2013). Corruption in Nigeria: A challenge to sustainable development in the fourth republic. European Scientific Journal, 9(4): pg 118-37.

30. Nasiru, Z. (2020), Rising Insecurity in Nigeria: Causes and Solution. Department of Criminology and Security Studies, Federal University Dutse – Nigeria. Journal of Studies in Social Sciences ISSN 2201-4624 Volume 19, 2020, pg 4.

31. Nwagboso, C.I. (2012). Security Challenges and Economy of the Nigerian State (2007 – 2011), American International Journal of Contemporary Research, Vol. 2 No. 6, pg 244-.258.

32. Nwogwugwu, N. et.al (2012). Militancy and Insecurity in the Niger Delta: Impact on the Inflow of

Foreign Direct Investment to Nigeria' Kuwart chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review; Vol no 1. Pg 31

33. Nwogwugwu, et al, (2012). Militancy and Insecurity in the Niger Delta: Impact on the Inflow of Foreign Direct Investment to Nigeria. Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review Vol. 2, No.1; pg 4.

34. Ogbeidi, M. M. (2012). Political leadership and corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A socioeconomic analysis. Journal of Nigeria Studies, 1(2): pg 1-25.

35. Ojieh, C. (2010). The Niger Delta Crises: A Focus on post Amnesty, Militancy and National. Pg 54-67.

36. Okafor, V. I. (2012). Corruption and underdevelopment: (A Case Study of Halliburton). A BSc

37. Project Submitted to the Department of Political Science. Caritas University, Enugu. Pg 59

38. Omodunbi, et al, (2016). Cybercrimes in Nigeria: Analysis, Detection and Prevention,

39. Department of Computer Engineering, Federal University Oye Ekiti, Nigeria. FUOYE Journal of Engineering and Technology, Volume 1, Issue 1, ISSN: 2579-0625 (Online engineering.fuoye.edu.ng/journal. Pg 37.

40. Omoyibo, K. U. and Akpomera, E. (2012). Insecurity Mantra: The Paradox of Nigerian Growth and Development". European Scientific Journal 8 (15), pg 132-142.

41. Onuoha, F.C. (2011). Nigeria's vulnerability to terrorism: the imperative of a counter. Pg 65

42. Onywera, V. O. and Blanchard, C. (2014). Road accidents: a third burden of „disease? in subSaharan Africa. Global Health Promotion, 20(4): pg 52-55.

43. Parker, Tom, and Nick Sitter (2016). "The Four Horsemen of Terrorism: It's Not Waves, It's Strains." Terrorism and Political Violence, vol. 28, issue 2, pp. pg 197-216.

44. Pareto, V. (1963). A Treatise on General Sociology, edited by A. New York: Dover Publications: Livingstone. Pg 23

45. Robert, L. (2021) Critique of Relative Deprivation Theory. Robert publisher. Pg 65

46. Sandler, T. and Enders, W. (2008). Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developing and Developing Countries: An Overview. In P.Keefor and N. Loayza, eds, 'Terrorism, Economic

47. Development and Political Openness' Cambridge; Cambridge University Press. Sars-operativessuspects-torture. Security and the State in Nigeria, op. cit., pp. 237–245.

48. Shahrbanou Intervention Challenges in Afghanistan. Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 3 No. 1and2 pp. 1-14. T. (2005) Human Security: Concepts and Implications with an Application to Post

Official Publication

1. Adeshina A. (2015). The institute of public administration and Anti corruption. Pg 13 & 10.

2. Andrew W. (2012) What Is Boko Haram, Special Reports, United Nation Institute of Peace. 2301 Constitution Ave., NW, pg 14.

3. Ani, K. and Onyebukwa, C. (2016) Nigerian Security Challenges and Recommendations for Sustainable National Development. Published in Urbanization, Security and Development Issues in Nigeria, 1914-2014. Published by Ahmadu Bello University Press. Pg 54-70.

4. Christian, O.O. (2022). Separatist Movements and Nigeria's Struggle for Political Stability, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Istanbul Aydin University Academic Journal of Current Research Vol.9, No.1; ISSN (2343 – 403X); pg 54-90.

5. Gurr, T. R. (1970). Why Men Rebel, Princeton, NJ: Centre of International Studies, Princeton UP. Pg 14.

6. Imhonopi, D. & Urim, U. M. (2012). The Spectre of Terrorism and Nigeria's Industrial Development: A Multi-Stakeholder Imperative. Independent Communication Network Ltd, pg 54-89.

7. Liadi, O. (2013). Sociological theories: An introduction. University of Ibadan Press: Ibadan. Pg 30.

8. Mary C. (2007). Council Special Report: Nigeria- Elections and Continuing Challenges. Pg 67.

9. Nwabueze, B. O. (1989). Social Security in Nigeria. The 10th Anniversary Lecture of the Nigerian

Institute of Advanced Legal Studies. Ibadan: Intec Printers Limited. Pg 76.

10. Ojo, J. S. (2016). Looting the looters: The paradox of anti-corruption crusades in Nigeria"s fourth republic (1999-2014). Canadian Social Science, 12(9): pg1-20.

11. Okoro, J. (2018). Herdsmen-Farmers' Conflicts: Implication on National Development (Nigeria in Perspective). Paper Presented at the 1st International Conference of Social Sciences (ICOSS'2018) held at National Open University of Nigeria. Pg 56.

12. Okwori, A. S. (1995). Security and deterrence: Towards alternative deterrence strategy For

13. Nigeria in the 21st century and beyond. Defense Studies: Journal of the Nigerian Defense Academy, Kaduna, 5, pg 19-28.

14. Omede, A. J. (2011). Nigeria: Analyzing the Security Challenges of the Good luck Jonathan Administration. Canadian Social Science, Vol. 7, No. 5, 2011, pp. 90-102.

15. Pate, M. I. (2018). Nigeria's sustainable development agenda. Pate ventures. Pg 5

16. Tomoloju, B. (2007). How the elite underdeveloped Nigeria culture. The Constitution, 7(3): pg3-27.

Newspapers And Magazines

1. Agbekusi, S. (2022) Insecurity: A Norm in Nigeria. The Cable. pg21

2. Kadiri, S. (2022). Corruption in Nigeria, Letters to the Editors. The Nigerian Tribune https://tribuneonlineng.com/corruption-in-nigeria/ Olonisakin, F. (2008). In the line of fire, BBC focus on Africa (April-June).pp 19-23.

3. Oluokun, A. (2014). Terror returns to Abuja, The News 42(16), 14-23. Lagos;

4. Punch Editorial (2015). UK money laundry indicted Nigeria formal minister Taiwo. A (2010).

5. Terror in their Land" The Nation, Sunday March 7, 2010.

6. A (2010). Terror in their Land" The Nation, Sunday March 7, 2010. The Punch (2016) you are not authorized to kill, IG tells SARS. The Punch Newspapers. Retrieved September 23, 2016, from http://punch- ng.com/ai-report-ig-warns

7. Ucha, C. (2010). Poverty in Nigeria: Some dimensions and contributing factors. Global Majority E-Journal, 1, (1), pg46- 56.

8. Williams, S (2011) FDI inflow to Nigeria declines to $6.1bn. Daily Trust Newspaper. Retrieved from http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/index.php/business/23995-fdi-inflow-to-nigeria–declines1bn

Internet And Electronic Media

1. Adeleke, A. (2013) Insecurity: A Threat to Human Existence and Economic Development in Nigeria. Public Policy and Administration Research www.iiste.org ISSN 22245731(Paper) ISSN 2225-0972(Online) Vol.3, No.6, 2013.

2. Agomuo, Z. (2013). Security Challenges Pose Risk to Nigeria's Emerging Economy". Retrieved April 28, 2013, from http://businessdayonline.com

3. Amnesty International (2014). Nigeria: gruesome footage implicates military in war crimes." August 5th. ‹http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/nigeria-gruesome-foot- age-implicatesmilitarywar-crimes-2014-08-05›

4. Ijaw National Congress (2006), The Ijaws, the Niger Delta and the Nigerian State (University of Port Harcourt Press) 43.Kirk-Greene, A. H. M., (1967), "The People of Nigeria: The Cultural Background to the Crisis" 66 African Affairs 3.

5. Ijewereme, O. B. (2015). Anatomy of Corruption in the Nigerian Public Sector: Theoretical Perspectives and Some Empirical SAGE Open, 1-15 https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015581188

6. Nwadialor, E. (2011). Nigeria and Security Challenges. June 20th, Vanguard Newspaper, 4-9 Obiezu, T. (2019). Nigeria's Plan for Cattle Herders Triggers Some Negative Reactions . Retrieved from Voa News: https://www.voanews.com/africa/nigerias-plan-cattle-herderstriggerssome-negative-reactions.

7. Peters, A. (2018). Corruption as a Violation of International Human Rights, European Journal of International Law, 29(4), 1251–1287 https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chy070Policy Centre. Programme.

Journal of Sustainable Development, I(5.8), p. 48.