Security Challenges: Appraisal of Threats to Nigeria's Sovereignty in the Fourth Republic (1999-2019)

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Abstract

Peace and security asprimacy of sovereign states is crucial forharmonious human relations and economic development. In the recent past, insecurity has been the greatest challenge to Nigeria's corporate existence as a sovereign state.Ironically, these challenges are not externally propelled rather, they areinternally impelled byinter-ethnic conflict, religious insurrection, electoral violence, banditry, kidnapping, ritualism, pipeline vandalism, separatists' agitation, and farmers-herders crises among many others.These generate insecurity in the polity to the boiling point of fractured and failed state.The objective of the study, therefore, is to investigate the nexus between internally induced insecurity and failed stateposture experienced in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Theoretical framework adopted for the analysis is State Fragility-cum-Elite Theory. The study adopted qualitative research methods in which secondary data are employed for analysis. The study identifies poor intelligence information gathering and usage by security agents, militarization of civil society, poor harmonizationof resources for development, inadequate knowledge onmodern state system management, poormaintenance of balance between competing interests/values, liberalization of military industrial complex, poor judgement of emerging political issues and inability of state/government to live up toexpectations as causes of security challenges. The study recommends good governance and unadulterated fiscal federalism, free and fair elections; discourage culture of impunity, proactiveresponse to intelligence information gathering/usage; and non-politicization of unfolding socio-political issues. The study concludes that emergence of popularly elected action-centered or functional leadershipwith good economic development blueprintand national integration strategies can reduce identified insecurity issues.

Key Words: Challenges, Security, State failure, Political elites, Governance

Introduction/Background:

The strengthof state's sovereignty hinges on the ability of government to maintain peace and stability that permeate civil enforcement of law and order in the polity.Peace and security as prerequisites for harmonious relations and continuous economic development to support humanity makes it primacy of sovereign states globally.Thus, provision of mechanism for protection of lives and properties remains the basis and fundamental of states and statecraft. Inability of a state to maintain these essential human needs make humanity to be 'nasty, brutish and short' due to emerging threats coming from disorderliness and insecurity. Meanwhile, failure of a state to carry out this vital dutyof orderliness and peaceful polity moves a state towards failed state status, since the basis of state existence and survival is being threaten by insecurity, (Omemma, 2016).Precarious security situation in the Nigerian state is horrifying and worrisome. All attempts to tame the monster of insecurity in Nigeria have been futile.

Security remains basic and fundamental duty of any sovereign state and dereliction of this cogent governmental duty can jeopardize governance in a state. Security as the live wire of a state requires eagle eyes to manage, tactical strategies to preempt, legitimacy and purposeful leadership to run, as well as effective functioning state's institutional structures to provide stability when and if there are some malfunctioning within the state system. Thus, provision of adequate security for citizens requires availability of many variables to be combined in the right proportion. Meanwhile, criminality creates insecure environment which undermines state aspiration for peace andpsychologically destabilize citizens of a state.The security environment of a state is very important because it determines virtually the well-being of man in his productive activities, human relations and even making of merriments. Secured environments are both internal and external.The two are very crucial to the well-being of a state.While external deals with threats coming from outside the shore of a state to jeopardize peace and tranquility in a state, internal are those issues generated within the state that undermines its peace and security. The healthiness of the two are very crucial to the overall well-being of a state.

One of the greatest challenges Nigeria is facing in the life of its statehoodis continuous escalation of insecurity emanating from criminal acts toinsurgency since thebirth of the fourth democraticadministration in 1999. This increase in crime waves and criminal acts in Nigeria is worrisome as these activities not only affects socio-economic life of people, it greatly threatens peace, unity and sovereignty of Nigerian state.These violent crimes that causes disorderliness, insecurity and wanton destruction of lives and properties makes maintenance of law and order herculean tasks for the Nigerian state today. Meanwhile, it is instructive to note that theinsecurity challenges confronting Nigeria are not externally propelled, rather they are internally induced by ethnic, religious and political related issues. Meanwhile, continuous escalation of criminally induced insecurity has put Nigerian federation on the verge of fractured and failed state syndrome. This is becausethe Federal Government seems to be helpless as security operatives appears completely overwhelmed by the enormity of the insecurity problem.

The parloussecurity situation andit poor management by government has brought havoc, misery and hopelessness to Nigerians and threatens to wipe out the entire Nigeria's productive force(Obasanjo, 2002,speech at the 57th UN Gen Assembly). Therefore, there is the need to identify and critically analyze the factors responsible for the insecurity in Nigerian state to the level of failed state under the Fourth Republic.These obvious threats affecting security ranges from myopic ethnic clashes, militancy, ethnic militia, insurgency, separatists, kidnapping, terrorism, cattle rustling, armed banditry, unruly herdsmen, the ritualists, pipeline vandals, rampaging rapists and violent extremist religious groups

causing mayhem in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. The commonality between these forms of criminal acts is that, they all 'generateinsecurity' to human lives and properties as well as creates discordant tunes that permeate suspicion/lack of trust, hatred and sometimes all-out confrontation, (Obasanjo, 2000).

Nigeria as a richly blessed state lacks three important things: good governance, coherent policy on nation-building and national integration, as well as prompt response to intelligence information on identified threats to peace and security of Nigerian state. The three are not only the sources of political conflicts; it is also served as the causes of violent crimes and criminal acts that are making insecurity prevalence in Nigeria and driving the country to the path of permanent and unstable polity. Poor governance and response to intelligent information incoherent makes internal political environment of Nigeria tobe increasingly littered with perennial goons who are continually fomenting tensions that spiraled into insecurity in every parts of Nigeria. Thus, majority of domestic turmoil are products of inability of political elites to effectively manage the internal political dynamics of modern states with diverse ethnic nations which require consultation, consensus building and compromise.

Conceptualizing Peace and its Imperativeness

It is essential to highlight in thematic form the concept of peace. This will enable proper understanding the essence of peace and peaceful environment to humanity. Hence, in this work peace is a condition in which harmonious relations exist among the people that facilitate existence of stability, orderliness and progress which permit justice, equity and fairness in society due to absence of armed conflict. Furthermore, peace is a social condition that guarantees stability, prosperity and well-being of people in a society. Although, peace may not be everything, nothing works without peace (Njoku, 2008:9). Peacerelates to interpersonal, inter-group and inter-national relationships that facilitate effective understanding and harmonious communication toenhance integration and nation-building. Peace as a vital ingredient to stable polity enhances productive capacityis avital prerequisite for national development. However, where these effective and harmonious communication and understanding is lacking, it is the sinister sister, conflicts or crisis ensuewhich can be in different forms. Hence,peace as a fundamentally all-embracing concept that involves existence of harmonious citizens' relationsarenot just absence of war, but absence of structural factors that are capable of provoking war. This is positive peace which entails absence of war and direct violence in addition to pervasive presence of social justice in the polity. Thus, achieving peace and secured environment cannot come from an environment riddled by social injustice, inequality, ethnic chauvinism or nepotism, discrimination or where citizens are repressed and oppressed in the state which Johan Galtung terms "structural violence".

Importance of Peaceful Environment to Human Society

The importance of peaceful environment to a society cannot be overemphasized. This among others include:

1) Creating enabling ground for economic production for basic human needs which are necessary for human health and sustenance.

2) Provision of opportunity for citizens to imbibe good political culture through a carefully drawn out political education that will facilitate nation-building and national integration as well as international respect and acceptability.

3) Serene and peaceful polity make it possible for imparting knowledge that aids both research and technology needed in solving human problems which enable man to conquer nature or his environment.

4) Secured polity provide citizens with psychological relief from fear of attacks against their lives.

5) Secured environment provides greater opportunity for state to plan for national development.

6) Peace and orderliness enable a state to efficiently and effectively tap and utilize its abundant resources for the wellbeing of the citizens rather than devote them to arms.

7) Secured and well order state savescitizens from the agony of war and or bleak future.

Theoretical Framework

Fragility theorycontends that a legitimate and functioning state is a prerequisite for re-establishing peace, security, economic development, social order and democracy. A fragile state is one that is *unable to effectively respond to the challenge of governance and security* within its geographical territories (Emphasis is ours). This explains Collier's (2009) position that fragility is a product of 'fundamental failure of a state to perform functions necessary to meet citizen's basic aspiration and needs. Fragility occurred due to absence of legitimacy that evolves from popular sovereignty to freely elect their leaders that are accountable and are responsive to the people. Rotberg(2003) cited in Ndukwe et al (2018:34) notes that 'fragile state increases criminal violence which does occur through electoral violence, ethno-religious clashes/cleansing, insurgency and ethnic militia which further weakens the state's authority and potential for effective governance. Fragile states are usually associated with tensed, deeply conflicted and dangerous warring factions which most times lead to breakdown of law and order. The relevance of the theory lies in its deduction of legitimacy and functioning institutions as the basis of peace and security in a state. That is why to restore its legitimacy and right to rule, states must transform society, restore and preserve social order and societal cohesion, (Taylor, 1975:12)Thus, the main reason why peace, stability and security continue to elude many African states like Nigeria is traceable to weak institutions and inability of state to effectively response to challenge of governance and security.Meanwhile, emergence of fragility increases criminal activities and violence like, terrorism, banditry and insurgency. The major reason why many modern African states are fragile and may remain fragile is dearth of dynamic, action-centered leadership that command legitimacy nationally and, is able to meet the yearning, needs and, aspiration of the people. Emergence of nationally acceptable and action-centered leaderwill propel the state towards national integration and nation-building and prevent people from embarking on divisive behavioursthat is capable of putting the state in jeopardy. Prominent scholars of this theory are Collmer, Kaplan and Rothberg.

Elite theorywas popularized by Gaetano Mosca in 1939 as a theoretical and methodological framework for researching connection between political and economic powers in a society. Elite theory investigates power, influence and control with the aim of analyzing elites and non-elites'differentiation. It is concerned with inequalities based on power or lack of it thereof. To elite theory, power is based on resources such as economic assets and organizational strength which may give rise to control over other resources. Thus, public policies (including security and poverty alleviation programmes) are values and preferences of governing elites. Elites are groups of people, who hold institutionalized power to control societal resources (due to their possession of time, energy, wealth, status and prestige which enable them to motivate people) and have a serious influence either actively or potentially on decision-making process. Political elites' inordinate ambition makes them to use their possession of wealth, position, knowledge and spirituality to cause division between different ethnic nationalities that are supposed to be integrated into a well-established state. Myopic political leadership according to Sani (2006) leads to relegation of security matters to non-priority area in public policy decision making. Continuous undermining of public policy by

political elites on fight against poverty, ethnic harmony, religious tolerance, effective tackling of youth bulge and unemployment are what snowballed into restiveness and insecurity.This neglect had pushed manyNigerians toward violent demonstration, indulgence in kidnapping and banditry for economic rewards. Because elites possess economic, political, spiritual and institutional power with which they use to control both brain and might of people to uphold elite desire objective such as democratic breachesand enlistment of extremist group for political gain as was done by ModuSherrif in Borno State that gave birth to Boko Haram terrorists group. Recruiting and distributing arms to young able-bodied supporters by politician as was revealed by confession of Offa robbery suspect are all elite induced insecurity. Much of the arms that were not returned after demobilization as political thugs constitute large bulk of what criminal elements are using to carry out crimes within the state. Moreover, low intensity warfare opens the region for marketing and sales of ammunition by war merchants and military industrial complex making it easy to access weapons in the region. Possession of wealth, status, prestige, knowledge, spiritual/religion and institutional power enable elite to motivate and influence gullible citizens into adversarial ethnic nationalism and cause division among people. Once state is fractured, its institutions weakened, bad governance set in, then insecurity is inevitable. Combinations of these variables prevent a state from effectively combating its internal political crisis. There are different types of elites. These include political elites, business elites, military elites, academic elites; trade/labour union elites and traditional elites(Mosca ,1939 cited in Okpanachi and Bello (2014). Other proponents of the theory are Wright Mills (1956), Vilfredo Pareto (1968).

Forms of Insecurity Agents in Nigeria

There are different forms of criminal activities that is putting Nigerian state on path of fractured and failed state.Insecurity challenges apart from political crisis like ‘‘*operation wet e’ of the notorious wide wide west”*and AdakaBoro insurrection inNiger-Delta part of Nigeria dates back to post-civil war in 1970 when the post-civil war economic policy of federal government created mass population of wretched people whose properties, investment and money were decimated.Themass poverty created in the face of opulence and blatant show of wealth induced some Nigerians to embarked on armed robbery usingremnants of arms used to prosecute the civil war. Thus, emergence of first set ofcriminality and criminal acts to causeinsecurity in Nigerian stateis armed robbery.But, the level of prosperity brought by the oil boom blind-folded Nigerian elites and political leaders from embarking on sustainable socio-economic development Programme and socio-political engineering that will structurally transform the state.Nigerian leadership managed the Nigerian state in such a way that it accentuated the gap between rich and poor as well as build ethnic animosity.The menace of armed robbery became prominent but the government failed to address the root cause of the menace which was the poor socio-economic conditions of many Nigerians. Government punitive measuresto reduce the menace, incongruously made armed robbers more deadly and sophisticated in their mode and tools of operation. Since then, the ghost of armed robbery remains an unresolved riddle in Nigeria.

Another type of insecurity experience in Nigeria can be traced to communal conflicts over ownership and usage of ancestral land between two adjoining communities. This is because to an agrarian state like Nigeria land is a potential source of economic wealth. Ancestral land and its possession remain insecurity source in Nigeriawheretwo adjoining towns laid claims to a parcel of landbased on history.This is buttressed by the fierce hostility that took place between Ife-Modakeke in Osun state. Ancestral land hostility inUmuleri-Aguleri of Anambra state contributed immensely tointra-ethnic conflictand insecurity in the area.Many Nigerian communities had gone to war with their neighboring towns

on the issues of ancestor's land examples are fierce crises between Offa and Erin-Ile in Kwara state.The intergroup hostilities that ravaged Junkun-Tiv communities in Taraba state,Tiv-Azara in Benue State, Urhobo and Itshekiri in Delta state as well as other communal clashes that is ravaging in Kaduna, Plateau and Bauchi states are rooted in "who owns the land" (Jega, 2002). The various inter-communal clashes have claimed many lives and properties as well created deep animosity between the warring communities. The implication of all these on the Nigerian state is threat to her harmonious co-existence among the tribal groups.

In relations to the foregoing is the farmer-herders clash over land resources. Although, it is acknowledged thatthe potent resources base of a state is peaceful, secured and healthy human resources most especially those that lives in the rural communities that cultivate the land to produce foods and raw materials needed in industrial sectors. Meanwhile, these are the major areas where heinous crimes of killing and reprisal attacks is going on between sedentary farmers and nomadic Fulani. Although, conflict of interest is not always far from people with divergent economic interests in a diversely large state like Nigeria. But, in the recent past, Nigeria has been inundated by herder-farmers domestic hostilities that is fast becoming threats to the corporate existence of the country. The dreaded Fulani herdsmen unrelenting carnage and confrontation was so critical that Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, included it in their International Conference on National Question in 2018. The transformation of herdsmen from stick wielding cattle herders to AK 47 carrier terrorists terrorizing their fellow partners in traditional occupation of agriculture still remain mystery to many Nigerians. The dynamics of Fulani herdsmen reckless killing and destruction of farms and rural community throughout the country has largely contributed to food insecurity and created deep animosity between Fulani tribe and other ethnic nationals who are predominantly farmers. The tension was further heightened by unguarded utterances of by Mayetti Allah, a Fulani socio–cultural association. Most of the statements issued by this association are offensive and lack empathy needed in a multiethnic state like Nigeria. The statement not only heat up the polity, it causes spike in reprisal attacks in some other places to enlarge the circle of insecurity in Nigeria. Closely related to the herdsmen attacks and killings is the emergence of criminal acts of cattle rustling that rocks many parts of northern Nigeria. The cattle rustlers have turned cattle rustling to lucrative business to the extent that the Katsina and Zamfara State governments is helpless and have to negotiate with the presumed identified cattle rustling groups. The carnage from these fights by the traditional occupation and enmity it generates will take another generation to resolve it. And all these are threats to unity, peace and corporate existence of the federation.The issues of increase in social crime was described by Atteh(2001) as 'social catastrophes. Social catastrophes have very destructive consequences on socio-economic and lives of the people and is gradually putting the healthiness and happiness of Nigerian state to traumatic standpoint of food and human insecurity, (Memud, 2018).Stop 13/12/22

Anotheremerging major notorious criminal group of recentthat is daily threatening corporate existence and survival of Nigeria is thebandits. Banditsare security hazards to Nigeria polity. Banditry is a criminal act that thrives in a rudderless state with weak institutions that cannot perform optimally which enable perpetrators to raid, kill and maim with reckless abandon, without being apprehended. Today in many communities in the northern part of Nigeria, there exist one group or the other who daily terrorize the people by raiding them of their farm produce and taking advantage ofpossession of ammunition to rape the women in the vicinity.Due to the financial benefits it conferred on the perpetrators coming from humongous amount of money victims are forced to pay as ransom, there is an

astronomical spike in this type of crime and has become endemic since the inception of the Fourth Republicin the country.

Moreover, while bandits are unleashingtheir violent criminalities on the northern part of Nigeria, the irredentist separatist movements like Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) are busy making preparation to proclaimits breakaway from the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This heightened tension and insecurity for theNigerians residing in the eastern part of Nigeria. This went for a couple of years before there was dispute in the rank and file of Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) on strategies to be adopted to achieve their mission objectives. This led to formation and emergence of Independent People of Biafra (IPOB). It is asplitter group that is forceful and militant in its approach to achieving separation and independence from the Republic of Nigeria. The extreme militant approach of IPOB to their cause contributed immensely to insecurity experience in the eastern part of Nigeria which is gradually drifting Nigeria into the abyss of fractured state. IPOB's militancy constitute a major threat to the unity, peace and security of Nigerian state. Incessant issuance of threat statements into the polity has continuously widened loopholes of ethnic suspicions and hatred. At the same time. continuous clashes with security forces by the IPOB through their organized recruitment, protest, training, radio broadcast, arson and other activities heightened tension of possible break up of Nigerian republic. IPOB appears to be waxing stronger in Nigeria because it has started courting many European states and United States of America and has deposited a well scripted letter to the United Nations (UN) on the reasons why there should be dismemberment of Republic of Nigeria. All attempts to tame the monster of insecurity from MASSOB/IPOBby Governmentseems not to be yielding the desired result despite the continued incarceration of its leader, MaziKanu by the Federal Government.

Another violent crime threatening security and peace of Nigerian state in the recent time is kidnappers. The kidnappinghas become professional occupation and the masters of the game are currently dictating the pace for the security forces to follow.Today, kidnapping has already become a lucrative and flourishing business enterprise inNigeria because of the sums of money kidnappers demand and collect as ransom.For example, the kidnappers that kidnapped the Primate of Nigerian Methodist Church demanded and got #100,000,000.00 as ransom within three days that he and two other persons were held captives. Meanwhile, the Federal Government seems to be helpless most especially when the security operatives are completely beaten by the kidnappers to cart away their victims.From ChukwudimemeOhamadike aka Evans to Amisu Bala, who are notorious kidnappers that turned the illicit acts to professional business to build mansions with proceeds of dastard acts, collect billions of naira per-victim depends on how their intuition dictate. Kidnapping is longer child's play in Nigeria as adults are targeted by kidnapping gangs to negotiates with the family of the victims for ransom. Kidnapping got its peak when a royal father was kidnapped and Lagos state Government had to come to his rescue. The daredevil kidnappers derailed the esteem and serenity of a popular state-owned secondary school, Lagos Model School, Igbonla-Ikorodu where sizeable number of students and their teachers were kidnapped and government had to intervene. Kidnappers has caused untold damage to many happy homes who due to financial incapability to raised ransom demand by kidnappers led to loss of their loved ones. The case of Abdul Malik Tanko, a school proprietor who kidnapped Hanifa her pupil to demand for ransom but, when the family could not pay the ransom, he poisoned her to death in Kano is a case in point. Although there is no moral and legal justification for the criminal acts but, there can be rational deduction from the present poor socio-economic and weak security situation as the basis of endemic criminality in Nigeria.

In the southern part there existhazardous ethnic militias known as Niger-Delta militants (they are many) that carried out insurgent activities in the south-south most especially oil producing areas. Their activities which sometime include kidnapping, pipeline vandalizationand outright confrontation with security operatives constantly disturb peace, security and orderliness in that part of the country. There is a group of sea pirates who specializes in high sea robbery and international crimes of gun running across the coastal areas of Nigeria. These groups have contributed in no small way to volatility and turbulence experience in Nigerian state.

Extremist religious terrorism remains great threats to peace and security of Nigerian state and is fast becoming a thorn on the path of Nigerian state. One of prominent criminal activities that has been on re-occurrence daily basis is extremist terrorism which has almost decimated north-eastern part of Nigeria. Terrorism which emanate from fraternization and political chemistry between Modu Sheriff Musa, a former Governor of Borno State and a group of Islamic sect in attempt to secure their support for election purpose only to turn around to become "Nigerian Taliban" and later "Boko Haram" (Obj 2005 speech to the AU).) see Shehu Sani. Terrorists are now nightmare to Nigerians and fear of insecurity from terrorist is embodiment of wisdom.

Causes of Heinous Crimes and insecurity Challenges in Nigeria

Road to fragility and state failure from insecurity are laden with many issues that made individual committed to criminal acts or cause spike in criminality in the polity.Spike in social crime which Atteh (2001) refers to as 'social catastrophes' and Prof. Soyinka (2020) describedas "collective suicide"becomes endemicwith destructive consequences on the healthiness and happiness of Nigerian state to a traumatic standpoint.Generally African (Nigerian inclusive) culture is known for respect for sanctity of human lives and abhor any criminal acts that can tarnish the name and image of a person's lineage. But there are certain psychological and motivating factors that make present set of Nigerian citizens to set aside this noble Nigerian cultural values to indulge in violent criminal activities that turned Nigerian fertile land to battle land. What are the factors that propels crops of young Nigerians to be callous, destructive without any sense of humanity when carrying out their different acts of criminal activities?

Desire for Material Wealth: Aristotle inferred that, what man conceived as happiness can be subsumed into three parts: attainment of educational height, honor of occupying position of authority, and ability to enjoy bodily pleasure. However, Aristotle stated that what majority of people considered as happiness is this bodily pleasure. Therelevance of this value laden analysis to the current Nigeria situation explain the rational for mad isrush for material wealth most especially money for bodily pleasure (foods, exotic cars, mansions,designer's clothes etc.). It is this desire that has led many people including youthsinto scandalous attitudes and money rituals which made human life unsafe as many victims of such attacks have been killed in cold blood. In the western part of the country, there exists a great deal of professional ritualists that continues to beat the imagination of security network. The ritualists are group of infamous Nigerian who specialized in killing human beings for purpose of selling its parts for fetish and money making rituals. Virtually every day Nigerian newspapers is filled with different forms of ritual killings and the security officials are yet to make sufficient arrest, prosecution and secure conviction for the perpetrators which is an evidence the operatives are not on top of the situation. In addition, cultism and clash between rival cult groups also accentuate insecurity in many urban centres especially in the southern part of Nigeria. The cause of this cultism phenomenon is not farfetched from inordinate quest for material wealth by their members which is the ultimate purpose of their membership.

Loss of Family Value: One of the main causes of the internally induced insecurity in Nigeria is loss of family values.Poor parentage

and lack of proper social upbringing and socialization has made many Nigerian youths to lose most of their African human value heritage. Weak and collapse family life system and institutions have made a great number of Nigeriansmost especially youthswithin the range of 18-40 years to be involved in crimes and criminality. Failure of family institution/system to nurture and instill discipline and training in younger ones to be of good behavior and ambassadors to the family in futurecaused moral decadence in characters of Nigerians.Dereliction of family values due to urbanization, cosmopolitan nature of modern Nigeria cities, avarice and "make it quick syndrome" and the negative influence from social media has contributed in no small measure to the surge in youth bulge and restiveness with its unfolding calamities scenario. Many young Nigerian youths are not cultured in the true African family value of cherishing good names.

Leadership Quality: Closely related to this is the dearth of quality,purposeful and visionary leadership to manage modern state system with its baggage of social and economic problems which generate poverty, inequality, and deteriorating living standard which provide entry point into criminality and criminal acts, (Rotberg and OjukwuP39). Despite the large reserve of mineral resources which made Nigeria potentially a rich state, inept leadership, mismanagement and corruption, prevent manifestation her wealth from getting to the ordinary Nigerians. Thus, where State failed to live up to expectation and the citizens have no effective means of addressing and redressing this failure (because the election will not bring forth desire changes) some of the citizens may resorted to social crimes like insurgency and kidnapping to demand for ransom. Frustration of having governing elites that cannot appropriately harmonize national resources to ease out underdevelopment and poverty and improve well-being of citizenry induce crime and criminality (i.e. Niger-Delta militants)Ndukwe, Maiangwa and Abraham (2018). Establishment of many productive industries that provide good and reasonable employment and remuneration would have kept away many Nigerian youths off criminal acts. For instance, successful completion of Ajaokuta Steel will reduce criminality in the axis of Kogi State where the plant is located, when youth are gainfully employed. Effective functioning of Kaduna, Warri and Port-Harcourt refineries will alleviate restlessness and militancy when majority of workforce emanates from that place.

Inability to maintain a balance between competing interests by political elites. Moreover, a close relation the aforementioned is on causes of insecurity challenges in Nigeria is inability of political elites to comprehensively maintain a balance between competing interests and values in a multi-ethnic state with unequal socio-economic development. Refusal by the governing political elites to give adequate attention to both individual and group needs and opinion always generates hot disagreement that leads to insecurity in a pluralistic society. Inability of state political elites to objectively live up to expectations in providing socio-economic needs of people is the basis of militancy in Niger-Delta and partly responsible for ethnic militia in other parts of country (for instance poor performance by security operative led to formation of Odua People Congress, Egbesu Boys, Bakassi Boys). This can be seen in the emergence of ethnic militants that grows to insurgents in Niger Delta and extremist religious groups in the north, (Mavalla, 2014; Williama, 2005).

Poor Political Culture: Politics to the liberalism is an avenue of resolving human divergent interestsin order to avoid conflicts that can threatens peace, orderliness and security. Politics as an avenue for harmonizing divergent interest and views may cause threats to the polity in Nigeria to serves as the basis of crimes and criminality. Political contest in Nigeria on many occasions leads to the enlistment of thugs and touts who are fully armed to destabilize perceived opponent camps, rallies and if need be eliminate their opponents.These armed thugs and touts are not often disarmed after

election and nobody cares what they aredoing with arms in their possession. Most of the arms and ammunition given to thugs which are not retrieved are used as weapons to carry out criminal acts.Also, Nigerian politician indulge in divisive political campaigns which many ignorant and ordinary citizens who gullibly fall into such campaigns leads to ethnic attacks like Junkun-Tiv attacks. These indiscriminate acts of criminality are pushing corporate existence of Nigeria to the limit as many component units are complaining of insecurity in their respective areas and the end is not yet in sight. Today many ethnic groups who are supposed to be integrating are reclining to ethnic security apparatus such as the Amotekunin the South-west.

Weak legitimacy: Weak legitimacy refers to a situation in which an elected political leader is unable to exercise effective control over his jurisdiction due to partial loyalty by the people, fraud that characterized the election that brought him to power, war economy, poor governance arising from nepotism, insufficient dividends of democracy in the polity. Compromised electoral process hampers firm and effective functioning of government to control the people within the territory due to unhealthy, divisive democracy which fractured the state along party, ethnic, religious divisions. This kind of state will be made up of tensed, deeply conflicted and with dangerous warring factions that provide fertile ground for increase in criminal activities like separatist, insurgency, ethnic clashes and banditry, (Ndukwe, 2008:35). Meanwhile, prolonged militarization of civil population makes people to cease to believe in democratic principle of dialogue, conciliation and compromise. Prolong military regime in Nigeria has killed destroyed the culture of dialogue and deliberation among Nigerian political elites and people. Emergence of civil rule with political elite's divisive politics brought to bear turbulence situations accompanied by widespread violent conflicts that fractured Nigerian state into fragile posture that is now threatens her sovereignty.

Reckless Display of ill-gotten Wealth: There will bespike in criminality will be on the higher side in an environment where there is financial recklessness on the part of political elites while multitudes of citizens are living in penury. For instance, reckless display of wealth by former NIMASA boss will accentuate criminal acts like kidnapping for ransom. Politics induced and politically motivated crimes are a generational insecurity in Nigeria right from the first republic up till the present time of 'do or die'.Self-centeredness and corruption have decimated moral values of Nigerians to the point criminal records.(Continuous display of ill-gotten wealth by People like Senator Melaye on social media accentuate the tendency of many youth to fast track their way to wealth) Give concrete evidence of the connectivity between reckless display of ill-gotten wealth and insecurity, (Mohammed et al, 2016).

Poor response to intelligent information:Nigerian authorities are fond of not acting proactively to intelligent information and this has accentuated the problem of insecurity in the polity. Lackadaisical response to intelligent information gathering and usage due to perk of office created spike in crime and criminality in Nigeria,(Ndukwe et al, 2008:31). Nigerian political leaders have security reports on that Niger and Chad our north-east neighboring states are fractured with continuous fighting between different factions. Yet,Nigerian government did nothing to fortified Nigeria's porous borders from infiltrating Nigeriens and Chadians fleeing from wars and displaced Fulani who later turned out to be cattle rustlers and bandits. Acceptance of any nomadic Fulani as kit and kin of Nigerian state without ascertaining their ancestral ties to the Nigerians folks is sitting on keg of gun powder. Because many of this fleeing Fulani are coming with culture that are completely contradictory to established customs in Nigerian state. Outbreak of wars in Libya is known to have generated a lot of security residue into the international political system of Africa. Defeated Gadhafi supporters with cache of arms and many displaced Fulani are now

big threat to the Nigerian state as these infiltrating arm carrying herdsmenare hostile to host culture and are terrorizing farming communities nationwide.Causes Availability and wide circulation of small and light weapons has help in promoting criminal activities to the highest of threat to corporate existence, terrorism encourage prolong conflicts that will undermine political stability and threatens the continuous survival of a state. (Obasanjo, 2000; Saliu & Saka, 2019; Nna& Pabon, 2018; Ihenancho,2018). Continuous littering of Nigerian state environment with small and light arms with astronomical increase in the rate of cross border was not technically tackled by the Nigerian state until it reaches explosive level Nigerians are currently facing.

Lack of Political Will: Lack of political will among the political elites and state leadership to tame insecurity before its bulge to become monster is a factor that drains away effective security mechanism irrespective of variables combined. Role of political elite in national polity is very crucial and germane to serene or insurgent environmental situations. Political leaders when faced with the task of formulating public policy generally decide what role to play in emerging internal issues and problems like insecurity. The line of policy taken depends on internal political situation as well as the character and ideas/knowledge possess by the political leader, Njoku (2008:132). Government inadequate attention for youth development and policy inconsistency on technical education have turned many Nigerian youths to job seekers. The mentality of get-rich-syndrome to discouraged many youths from learning or go into vocational vocation training or jobs. This subsequently led many youths into internet fraudsters popularly called “yahoo boys” and other criminal acts like militancy, kidnapping, thuggery, armed robbery and lately banditry and terrorism. All of which these acts are seriously heightening insecurity in the polity, (Kinge& Nweke, 2019).

6)**Impacts/Effects of insecurity on Nigerian Statehood**

1) Loss of state authority on the troubled/occupied/controlled places under insurgency, whenever there is dislocation in peace security of a state. The political environment is always divided between the state and the insurgents who completely disregard constitutional order. This is pronounced if and when the state security agents are unable to reclaim theterritory-controlled insurgents.
2) Disunity among the constituent citizens where there are perennial communal clashes. Many neighboring communities who had lived peacefully before emergence of ethnic conflicts usually becomes bitter enemies because of attacks and reprisal attacks.
3) Aggravating religious polarization and division where there is prominent insecurity that has religion coloration.
4) Insecurity creates opportunity for terrorist and insurgency to thrives and this weakens most political institutions and make these institutions unable to effectively functions well in responding to challenge of modern statecraft
5) Bad international image occasioned by insecurity affect both business and investment opportunities for both the citizens and foreigners.While the citizens are not able have security for effective functioning of their establishments, insecurity discourages inflow of foreign direct investment into the country and this affect job creation/employment.Continuous volatility in a state is a bad international image to the state whose prospective foreign investors are scared of putting their investment in an unpredictable political environment. This denies many states in Africa the much-needed investment opportunities that would have encouraged establishment of industries to provide employment and tax revenue for government.
6) One of the major implications of insecurity on the state is the loss of confidence on the governmental leadership who could not provide security for people. Fear of known and

unknown dangers of threatens citizen-state cordial relationship.

7) Effect of insecurity engenders food insecurity and a nation that is unable to feed her teeming population adequately is vulnerable to more political crises that invariably affect the stability of the state.

7Recommendation Good governance and efficient utilization of state resources to promote collective welfare and well-being of citizenry will bring harmonious relations in the state. Where there are discordant tunes, available platforms for dialogue such as Parliamentary Debates and uncompromising judicial system will resolve it. Purposefulleadership will provide appropriate and right directional policy that can elicit national integration and nation-building that will facilitate sustainable national economic development that will make meaningful impacts on the lives of people. Integrative and nation-building will correct all identified divisive elements in the polity that are inimical to peace and orderliness in the state. These provide the healthiness for the sovereignty of state. Peace and orderliness in a sovereign state is a function of certain variables and absence of these core elements may mar peace and security to generate unprecedented levels of political conflicts and insecurity in a state. Peace and security in a state is a function of action-centered leadership that possess time bound socio-economic plans that not only concentrate on economic growth but socio-economic development with effective national integration that can facilitate functioning nation-building that can create national unity, cohesion and social security for both the youth and adults and give a sense of belonging in the state. Strong economic base is the bedrock of sustainable economic development that will serve as panacea to underdevelopment and poverty which serves as nursery shed and breeding ground for nefarious activities that produce insecurity in the polity. Existence of good employment opportunity for the young and able-bodied citizens cordoned bad habits to the lowest point invariably reduces crimes and criminality. Well-fortified security defense institutes in the state with capacity of state to preempt, prepares and prevent occurrence and escalation of criminal activities that can promote insecurity that will put the healthiness and sovereignty of a state to strain and stress to cause fractured and failed state. Fractured, fragile and failed state just like good governance is a human induced situation.

This ugly situation as well improper address of it with utmost urgency and commitment it deserves, may boil down to a point where Nigerian citizens as a whole have to face great danger of solvent state from fractured and failed state that emanates from the scourge of criminals and criminality. Criminality continues to bring havoc, misery and hopelessness to Nigerians and threatens to wipe out entire productive force set of people (Obasanjo, 2002, speech at the 57th UN Gen Assembly). Extremist religious terrorism remains great threats to peace and security of Nigerian state and is fast becoming thorn on the path of Nigerian state to developed statehood.

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