Globalization, Security and Governance Challenges in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT
The study focused on the nature of the challenges and opportunities the process of globalization imposes on the development of the security sector of the Nigerian state. Security challenges such as insurgency and political agitations relying on terrorism were studied in the context of a globalized world. The Instrumental Theory of Insecurity was adopted as the theoretical framework guiding the study. Secondary sources of data were used relying on content analyses and the literary critical method for analyses of the data. The study found that residual authoritarian constructs still pervade Nigerian society and as such the peaceful processing of conflicts have not been adequately prioritized as policy across the country. It also found that the inability of the Nigerian state to deliver on material development aspirations of citizens exposes the country to global terrorist actors who highjack the difficulties of governance to pursue their own ends. This study contributes to knowledge in a number of ways, including by attempting to pinpoint the prominent role that violent non-state actors in play on the global stage in subverting the governments by reenacting the narratives surrounding violent extremism with ethnic and religious overtones in an effort d to benefit economically and politically from the outcomes. That is a defining attribute of terrorist organizations that are active in Nigeria with their international links. The study also shows that the international system has been successful in establishing substitute routes for supply chains and communication that circumvent the legal exchange route for the transfer of illegal goods and money between nations, compromising the ability of those nations to survive. The study therefore recommended that Nigeria need to be at the forefront of promoting the establishment of a strong economic bloc among African nations with the goal of curbing the explosive trend of globalization toward the proliferation of weapons and other types of transnational crimes.

Also, Nigerian state should prioritize good and inclusive government to reorient citizen loyalties, mechanisms oriented towards the peaceful processing of conflicts and seriously engage in delivering on economic development for its citizens through adopting modern economic practices and enforcing global best practice protocols for public institutions within the state.

Introduction

As with most postcolonial African countries, Nigeria has had a painful and tortuous political history. The country has spent 29 years under authoritarian military regimes and 33years have so far been under constitutional civilian governments since independence from Britain in 1960. This has made the political process in Nigeria remain prone to authoritarian tendencies and activities that seek to constrict political spaces through which citizens express themselves and legitimately engage in partisan politics. Some authoritarian attitudes in the political process in the country include the use of governmental institutions to unfairly punish political opponents, the conscious refusal to be accountable to the electorate by public office holders, activities that prevent citizens from exercising their rights to challenge their government as well as activities that prevent the growth of civic consciousness and the emergence of a vibrant civil society through the use of the institutions of the state.

Needless to say, there are practically no benefits with regards to security and governance for a society that suffers from chronic political instability and persistent policy changes on a rather short to medium term basis. It remains disorganized and where most of its regimes and governments are authoritarian, accountability and good governance become scarce commodities. The social impact of a combination of political instability and authoritarian rule is a militarized populace and this has been the hallmark of Nigeria's experience since her post-independence era from 1960. In the light of these, a lot of effort has been directed at reversing the persistent nature of the emergence politically unstable regimes in Nigeria.

While resisting military rule and perceived marginalization by the Nigerian State, some political actors resorted to militarized ethnic, clan and other primordial identities to shore up their resistance. They used ethnic based organizations like MOSOP (Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People) the OPC (Odua People Congress) to reduce the legitimacy of the Nigerian state and government in the eyes of members from such ethnic groups. With the inception of the Fourth Republic in 1999, other groups using ethnic, cultic and religious sentiments have proliferated and have relied on a systematic attempt to impose authoritarian control over people and territories for instance the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) as well the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), the Egbesu cultic group which was central to the organization of the Niger Delta militants and the most vociferous in this regard has been the Boko Haram and Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) insurgency in parts of Northern Nigeria whose ideology is rooted in militant Islamist traditions (Uzoma R. 2004).

Our study contributes to our knowledge in a number of ways, identifying and typifying the crucial role that globalization plays in the international system, which has exacerbated the security situation worldwide, with Africa bearing a disproportionate amount of the burden. Samuel M and Wafula O. (2007), in their work; The African Union: Challenges of globalization, security, and governance, did a comprehensive examination of the work of the African Union (AU), with special emphasis on its capacity to meet the challenges of building and sustaining governance institutions and security mechanisms. They demonstrate how only with strategic leadership can Africa—and the AU in particular—address the difficulties of establishing and maintaining security and governance frameworks. Important solutions for resolving the challenges faced by African leaders are examined, along with discussions and critiques of current leadership in Africa.

The study however, did less in paying attention the role and actions of Violent-Non-State-Actors (VNSA's), which have the support of

the global system and strong State actors, this is quite significant in the understanding of international dimensions of conflicts in Africa fuelled by globalization. These actors turn a blind eye to the ways in which these organizations are establishing a substitute social and economic pathway for local terrorist and ethnic militia groups to survive, thereby fostering a thriving black market that fuels terrorism across the continent. They neglect to question the impotence of African leaders who are unable to face the complexity of issues brought about by these terrorists' operations, which undermine their countries' ability to survive and grow politically and economically. Our Study aligns with work of Manu et al (2000); they asserted that globalization has expanded under a variety of guises, and that as its effects on citizens' living conditions worsen, it encourages uprisings by violent non-state actors (VNSAs), who are typified as insurgents. This was particularly true in the years following the Cold War and continued after the Soviet Union's collapse and subsequent disintegrations in 1991. Africa has the highest rate of violence and the biggest share of violence risk worldwide in comparison to other continents; this risk is having an impact on the continent, particularly Nigeria. Given the complexity of these issues, our paper examines how globalization has continued to exacerbate Nigeria's security and governance problems and calls for a new strategy to address the country's concerns about losing its identity and cooperating with other countries within the international system.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are

i. To assess the impact of globalization on the level of insecurity and governance in Nigeria.

ii. To assess the nature of the challenges to governance of the security sector in the context of globalization

iii. To make recommendations on the policy frameworks that can best address the existing problems in the security structure through the governance process despite challenges imposed by globalization.

Methodology

In the course of this study we relied on secondary sources of data. These were essential to guiding our ability to generate a correct understanding of the nature of the relationship between the variables of the study. The insights already developed by a wide variety of scholars, statesmen and actors in security operations as well as others who have gained experience as participants in the processes that form the framework of the problems that make up our study area was vital to the study.

These sources of data are made up of already written published, unpublished, detailed and summarized documents that have a bearing on our area of study. In this regard, remote and proximate issues relating to our study that can improve our insight with regards to our work that have been captured in a variety of literary forms and over an extended period were consulted and studied in depth. We relied on content analyses of the given texts and the literary critical approach as methods guiding our analyses.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Frameworks adopted for this paper is the Instrumental Theory of Insecurity. This is associated with scholars such as Edward Mickolus (1976), Richard Betts (1982), and Martha Crenshaw (1985). It is premised on the assertion that terrorist acts are a deliberate choice by a political actor and that organizations behave in ways that enhance their probabilities of achieving collective values, which involve radical changes in political and social conditions (Crenshaw, 1985:13). Here, terrorism is interpreted as a response to external stimuli, particularly government actions thus are directed at the process of governance itself. The major thrust or basic assumption of this theory is that violence is intentional.

Terrorism is a means to a political end. Schelling (1966) suggests that terrorism is one form of violent coercion, a bargaining process based on the power to hurt and intimidate as a substitute for the use of overt military force. As such it is similar to other strategies based on the power to hurt rather than conventional military strength. Within this context, terrorism is meant to produce a change in the government's political position, not the destruction of military potential. The theory also submits that non-state

organizations using terrorism is assumed to act on the basis of calculation of the benefit or value to be gained from an action, the cost of the attempt and of its failure, the consequences of inaction, or the probability of success. According to Betts (1982), violent actions may occur for several reasons; the value sought for is overwhelmingly important; costs of trying are low; the status quo is intolerable; or the probability of succeeding (even at high cost) is high. Thus, violent groups may act out of anticipation of reward or out of desperation, in response to opportunity or to threat. This strategic perspective, according to Betts (1982), is a conceptual foundation for the analysis of surprise attacks. Thus, he concludes that violence is par excellence a strategy of surprise, necessary for small groups who must thereby compensate for weakness in numbers and destructive capability.

Conceptual Clarifications

Globalization

Globalization is the favorite trap-concept of journalists and politicians. The term has also become the key idea for the practice and theory of the business, but also came in academic debates. Unfortunately, what people want to express or define by globalization is often confusing. Globalization is usually used as a handy form to describe the spread of communication production and connection technologies throughout the world. Most often, the term globalization is used in a confusing manner with respect to the efforts of IMF, World Bank and the institutions to create a free global market for goods and services. This political project otherwise significant (and potentially harmful for many poorer nations) is in fact designed to develop and exploit more complex processes (Larsson 2001). Globalization in terms of connectivity across the entire world of the economic and cultural life increased throughout the centuries. Yet many believe that the current situation is a fundamentally different order from what it was before. The communication and the exchange rate, the complexity and size of the networks involved, the volume of trade, the interaction and the risk give a strange force to the label "globalization". With the increase of economic interconnection, the political changes have deepened - the poorer "peripheral" countries became more dependent of the “central" economies, such as U.S., where capital and technical expertise tend to be blocked (Gray, 2000). There was also a shift of power, far away from nation states and, as some argue, from multinational corporations. We have seen the growth and globalization of the "brand" It is not just large corporations operating in several different countries - they also have developed and brought on the market products that can be sold packing as well as in Washington. Brands like Coca-Cola, Nike and many others have become part of the life of a very large number of people.

Globalization involves spreading of ideas, practices and technologies, and it is little more than internationalization and universalization. It is not simply the modernization or westernization. Certainly it is much more than market liberalization (Hutton & Giddens, 2001). The challenge of understanding security and risk in terms of conventional divisions between internal and external threats has been highlighted by discussions of globalization. This is because the state system's unique porosity encourages the consideration of social, physical, and environmental threats that cross national boundaries rather than those that remain within countries or cause issues between them (Held et’ all 1999). In actuality, globalization not only changes the scope and potential for intra- and international conflicts, but also creates new kinds of threats and insecurities as transnational flows of people, money, technology, and ideas increase and penetrate established institutions. Additionally, it redefines the roles and powers of social actors often involved in security provision and administration, particularly the state, and set a new agenda for managing security challenges.

Security

The concept of security has mostly been discussed and examined in political and international relations theory, with discussions typically centering on state-to-state conflicts and their effects. The security of the state, its sovereignty, and its borders could be viewed as deciding the security of everyone because, from the standpoint of liberal ideology and conventional political science, the state has been the very incarnation of community and collective identity. Security was perceived in connection to the concerns of "national sovereignty" and "national interests," particularly during the tumultuous bipolarity of the Cold War. But since the late 1980s, as a multi-polar world order has emerged, conversations have taken unexpected turns, challenging conventional wisdom regarding state sovereignty, interests, and security. Security was perceived in connection to the concerns of "national sovereignty" and

"national interests," particularly during the tumultuous bipolarity of the Cold War. (Shapiro et al. 1996). The military's defense of the country's borders and institutions is no longer viewed as being the primary means of ensuring its security. Rather, the preservation of social order on a national and international level along with environmental management is portrayed as essential activities for the replication of security.

Concurrently, the terms "security" and "risk," which go hand in hand, have become commonplace in various domains of social and cultural philosophy. Current research on risk and security shows how, in late modernity, human existence and social structure concurrently produce and effect damages, losses, anxieties, and worries, also known as "threats to security" or "insecurity." Some of these works assume that danger and insecurity are more prevalent in high-tech, globalized living and approach risk and insecurity as ontological issues. Additional research focuses on the discourses surrounding risk and security, including criminal activity and the personal use of security, examining the public agenda, policy concerns, and the ways and reasons that security appears to be taking up more and more people's time (Beck 1992; Hope and Sparks 2000; O'Malley 2000; Loader 1999). Some of the traditional social science concerns, such as solidarity, justice, and welfare, are occasionally overshadowed by risk and security.

Governance

Current theories of the state in sociology and political science have noted a shift in state rule patterns, especially in the previous few decades, pointing to a shift from "government" to "governance." That is, from the acceptance of a multilevel, transnational governance system made up of numerous diverse, interacting members of a network with partially overlapping and segmented domains; to a model of a supreme and sovereign state government that hierarchically organizes the rule of society. This literature claims that there are numerous internal and external threats to state sovereignty that have an impact on both state authority and sovereignty (Pierre, ed., 2000).

First, the state no longer has much of its historical power to control the national economy as a result of the growing worldwide financial market deregulation and the resulting volatility of global capital. Furthermore, the state's power to control political and social life within its borders has been altered or even undermined by the quickly growing transnational policy networks that involve state workers, academics, and consultants (Pierre 2000:). Second, new social force constellations have emerged domestically to challenge the state: the state's information monopoly is under threat from the emergence of the "information society," which has emerged as a result of the decline of industrial society, which has left no stable configuration of interests and interest organizations. Lastly, there has been an increasing trend to see the state as a cause of societal issues, including subpar economic performance, rather than as a remedy. This point of view has resulted in deregulation, as well as the accountability and even the empowerment of non-state sectors, such as NGOs, private businesses, and organizations. Regarding "external sovereignty," it appears that a "global polity" or anarchic hybrids of imperialism and regional integration are taking shape (Held, 1999; Jackson, 2000). Regarding "internal sovereignty," the destabilization or erosion of traditional bases of authority through decentralization and the empowerment of non-state actors within national territory have put the central state's formerly uncontested areas of responsibility under increasing pressure (Higgott and Ougaard, 2001).

In summary, the transition from government to governance has resulted in a decentering of authority: more polyarchical, deterritorialized public and private networks of governance, ranging from the local to the global level, have complemented, challenged, and in some cases even completely replaced the hierarchical, territorially bound patterns of nation-state government (Duffield 1998; Kaldor 2000). Modern societies have been inextricably linked to actors outside of their borders since they were first constructed by national institutions of the market and political systems with a national mandate that were coextensive with the nation-state's territory.

The Impact of Globalization on Insecurity and Governance in Nigeria

Nigeria’s security challenges with regards to the Boko Haram Islamic sect revolves around the beliefs of the sect that politics in Northern Nigeria has been seized by a group of corrupt, false elites and thus it seeks to wage a war against them, and the Federal Republic of Nigeria generally, to create a “pure” Islamic state ruled by Sharia law. Since August 2011 Boko Haram has planted bombs almost weekly in

public places or in worship centers in Nigeria's north east region in particular and the north in general. The group has also broadened its targets to include setting fire on schools. In March 2012, some twelve public schools in Maiduguri were burned down during the night, and as many as 10,000 pupils were forced out of education (Walker, 2012).

The multiplication of actors in international relations is one of the major trends in the development of contemporary international politics. This has climaxed in the twenty-first century. These actors are classified into state and non-state actors. Among the non-state actors in international politics of concern to this study are international terrorist groups otherwise called "Violent Non-State Actors" (VNSA) (Williams, 2008). All non-state actors in international politics whether violent or not, have some features and characteristics in common that enable them to initiate, participate and, often, influence the outcome of international relations. One of such characteristics is that they espouse and promote ideas, beliefs and courses of action whose impacts cut across several independent and sovereign states. Thus, they range from international movements with shared ideologies to religious movements spread across the globe to ethnic groups involved in various struggles such as the Ogonis of Nigeria and native Indians of the Amazon Forest or the Boko Haram insurgent group in the northern part of Nigeria or the Al-Qaeda terrorist networks, these movements have become recognized and are increasingly gaining global relevance and significance.

A number of scholars (Williams, 2008; Negroponte, 2006; Ampatuam, 2003) have successfully established a nexus between the emergence and prevalence of modern international terrorism and globalization especially since the twenty – first century. According to Williams (2008), although terrorism has a long historical background, an important factor in the understanding of the rise of VNSAs, over the last few decades is globalization. Williams submits that not only has globalization challenged individual state's capacity to manage economic affairs, it has provided facilitators and force multipliers for VNSAs. According to him, global flow of arms, for example is no longer under the exclusive control of nation-states.

Illicit arm dealers have become transnational players and have contributed to a diffusion of military power that has provided VNSAs with weapon capabilities that allow them to challenge government forces. In a similar vein, globalization has allowed Violent Non-State Actors to develop transnational social capital and to create alliance and generate support outside their immediate area of operations. Globalization, along with the rise of illicit global economy has also provided funding opportunities for Violent Non-State Actors and other terrorist groups generally. In 2006, John Negroponte, then Director of U.S. National Intelligence wrote that "The 21st century is less dangerous than the 20th century in certain respects, but more dangerous in others. Globalization, particularly of technologies that can be used to produce weapons of mass destruction (WMD), has led to the spread of jihadist movements, and of course, the horrific events of September 11, 2001" (Negroponte, 2006:1, 2).

In addition, Ampatuam (2003) submits that while globalization has brought unprecedented development and progress to people, it has also unleashed negative aspects such as "facilitating international terrorism and other forms of transnational crimes." According to him, transnational terrorism is a global phenomenon which is seen as one of the most destructive. The September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States of America illustrate the lethality of this threat. In Nigeria, globalization has facilitated the prevalence of terrorism and violent groups such as the Boko Haram and the many militant groups in the Niger Delta region. This is evident in the method and means of their funding, supply of logistics and weapon system, training, coordination and flow of information of the groups. For instance, the security operatives in Nigeria have established a link between the Boko Haram and the many terrorist groups that are directly or otherwise engaging in the current political and security crises in the West African state of Mali, namely the Islamist Ansar Dine ("Defenders of the Faith"), Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Jama'a al Tawhid wa al Jihad fi GharbAfriqiya (The Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa, MUJWA), from where its operations and activities are coordinated. The Boko Haram group also has ties with Somalia's al-Shabaab while its membership has spread to other West African countries such as Cameroun, Benin Republic, Niger, Mauritania, and Chad which also provide sanctuary for the group's members Okpaga, Chijioke & Eme, (2012).

In addition, because violent groups receive both funding and logistics from international sources and because globalization has enabled illicit arms dealing and free movement of goods and services and illicit global economy such as oil bunkering to flourish, many of these groups have sprung up. This is mostly the case with the militant groups in the Niger Delta region where groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) led by Henry Okah, the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Alhaji Asari Dokubo, the Niger Delta Vigilante force (NDVF) led by Ateke Tom, the Bush Boys, the Martyrs Brigade among others operate Cesarz, Morrison & Cooke, (2003). Apart from their international connections, sources of funding and logistics, the organizational structures, coordination of the activities and operations of the terrorist groups have been enhanced by the use of global system of communication such the cell phones, internet, websites, media releases. These are all processes of globalization Afoaku, (2011).

Thus, sources of funding, training and supply of weapons of terrorist groups have been aided by a global system that encourages free flow of liquid cash, information and easy movements of human beings. A recent United States report indicated that Boko Haram receives funding and training from international terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda in the Middle East, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and radical Islamic group, Al-Muntada Trust Fund, based in the United Kingdom (Nigerian Tribune, February 12, www.ccsenet.org/jpl Journal of Politics and Law Vol. 7, No. 3; 2014 25 2012). With regard to the Niger Delta Militants, Ebienfa and Nwaodike (2010) have argued that globalization has swell up the capacity of the Militant groups in terms of logistics, funding and training opportunities. This according to them is evident by the fact that advances in communication and information technologies now have serious implications and outcomes on the Niger Delta crisis. As for the sources of the Militants' weapons, analysts have submitted that illicit arm dealers created by a global system of interconnectedness supply weapons from various locations.

Impact of Insecurity and Responses of the Nigerian State

Recent events in Nigeria have indicated an emerging security trend in the form of terrorism and terrorist group attacks. It would be recalled that in September 12, 2007, the Australian government issued a travel advisory advising its citizens to re-consider their needs in travelling to Nigeria at this time due to the high threat of terrorist attack, high risk of kidnapping, unprecedented security situation and the heightened risk of violent civil unrest. This was sequel to an earlier warning issued on September 6, 2007 by the US Mission in Lagos to her citizens against travelling to Nigeria due to high risk of terrorist threat and attack against the West Ojiabor, (2007). At the time of this message, the terrorist activities in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria especially hostage taking, kidnapping and other criminal activities was just assuming an unprecedented rise. Nigeria lost an estimated 58.3bn in oil revenue to crisis in the Niger Delta in the last nine years the Chairman, Senate Committee on Niger Delta Peace and Conflict Resolution, Senator David Brigidi disclosed (Nwachukwu &Ekwere 2007).

Criminal violence in the Niger Delta degenerated overtime into an irrepressible wave of abductions for ransom, armed robberies, cult wars between gangs and fighting connected to the dangerous trade in stolen crude. Within the period over 200 foreigners were kidnapped in an ex-change for money, fueling insecurity in the region. Thousands of expatriate workers and their relatives fled the region, abandoning oil production and infrastructural projects in the zone. Terrorist activities in the form of kidnapping soon gain pre-eminence because it attracted ransoms. The South East zone became the happening zone. Accordingly, it was reported that "virtually all the kidnappings this year (July 2010 reporting period), occurred in the South-East and Niger Delta regions, home to African's biggest oil and gas industry" (Akasike& Adelekan, 2010:3).

The south-eastern State of Abia had the most incidents with 110 people taken hostage. Total income generated (to the criminals) from the kidnapping enterprise stood at a whopping estimated N10bn so far (Akasike & Adelekan, 2010). The Senate President and well-meaning Nigerians called for a state of emergency to be declared in the south-east. According to President Jonathan Goodluck, "the emerging dimension of threat to national security that is rearing its ugly head in our nation must be confronted headlong and defeated. The spate of violent crimes in parts of the country including kidnapping, armed robbery, assassinations etc. are contemporary security challenges facing our nation" Soriwei& Fidelis (2010:1). The President went on to say that the unfortunate act of

terrorism that was unleashed on the nation on October 1, 2010 is another emerging threat by some unpatriotic and undemocratic elements in the country. He therefore called on the Nigerian Army to be ready to do all within its capability to partner with other security agencies to address the security challenges.

Boko Haram's frontal challenge of the Nigerian government has made government seem weak in tackling the menace. The Human Right Watch Report on Nigeria in January 2012 estimated the number of deaths lost in Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram terrorist activities between 2009 and 2011 at 935 cited in Laden, (2012). There has been more death caused by Boko Haram bomb attacks across Northern States from January 1, 2012 to November 18, 2012 Eke Chijioke Chinwokwu (February 2013: 265).

The increase in the level of insecurity was manifested in a number of high-profile jail breaks in the country. Between 2015 and 2022 there were 20 jailbreaks recorded across the country. In a spectacular event on 6th July 2022 at Kuje correctional facility in Abuja the nation's capital a jailbreak which was reported to have been preceded by the withdrawal of security forces succeeded in freeing 889 inmates many of whom were convicted for activities related to terrorism (Oyedeji, 2022). In Bwari also in Abuja there was a series of attacks on the Nigerian army personnel leading to the deaths of 6 soldiers and 2 officers. The response was swift and a security detail was deployed to flush out and neutralize the growing threat from terrorists in and around the capital leading to the deaths of 30 terrorists and the destruction of their base (Omonobi, 2022).

Meanwhile in the South Eastern Zone the IPOB agitators who were designated as a terrorist group by the Nigerian government on 10th September 2017 became increasingly intransigent (Okakwu, 2018). It advocated for forced sit ins to protest what it considers the genocide against indigenous people in the area (Ujumadu, 2022). The group did not shy from the use of violence and terrorist activities to push its agenda. Thus as a result of the enforcement of its sit in orders about 10 billion naira is lost to businesses weekly in the region according to governor Umahi of Ebonyi state (Ujumadu 2022). Additionally, one of the main sources of insecurity that have plagued the Nigerian State recently is banditry. The Northwestern region of Nigeria, which includes the states of Kano, Kaduna, Kebbi, Jigawa, Sokoto, and Zamfara, has developed into a hotbed of criminal activity. Bandits there wield sophisticated weapons and engage in a variety of illegal activities, including robbing local communities, kidnapping for ransom, and cattle rustling. As a result, these activities impede and disrupt economic activity in those states.

Primary Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

Omale (2013) pointed out that it is necessary to distinguish between different causes as each may require a different remedy. Besides, it is to provide a holistic view to the suggestion or recommendations of solutions. More often, however, policy makers are disinclined to isolate and clarify particular causes. They prefer blanket references, with the consideration that the causes of insecurity are interwoven and contributory to one another. Like in many other societies, the sources of insecurity in Nigeria have been traced to a number of factors and explained by different people. These factors have been classified or grouped into external and internal factors. Beyond the external-internal dichotomy, sources of insecurity have also been classified as either remote or proximate and immediate sources/causal factors. In Nigeria, the challenge is not so much about insecurity of external sources, but rather that of internal sources. We recognize that some internal factors have been enhanced and strengthened by the presence of external forces, but, there is no doubt that, if the internal situations did not present themselves, the external forces would be unable to infiltrate. He also went further to discuss the root factors of insecurity in Nigeria. His main observations are:

Lack of institutional capacity resulting in government failure described as the corrosion or breakdown of institutional infrastructures. The foundations of institutional framework in Nigeria are very shaky and have provoked deterioration of state governance and democratic accountability, thus, paralyzing the existing set of constraints including the formal and legitimate rules nested in the hierarchy of social order. The state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, or can be linked to government failure. This is manifested by the incapacity of government to deliver public services and to provide basic needs for the masses. The lack of basic necessities by the people in Nigeria has created a pool of frustrated people who are ignited easily by any event to be violent. The argument here, is that, Nigeria has

the resources to provide for the needs of its people, but corruption in public offices at all levels has made it impossible for office holders to focus on the provision of basic needs for the people Nigerian situation as a 'Paradox of Plenty'. A situation where the country earns a great deal of revenue through oil sales, but fails to use these earnings to meet the needs of its people and to develop infrastructure as well as the economy. When these situations exist, crime rate is bound to rise and the security of lives and properties cannot be guaranteed.

Pervasive material inequalities and unfairness – Greater awareness of disparities in life is a major root cause of insecurity in Nigeria. This is a rooted general perception of inequality and unfairness which has resulted in grievance by a large number of people. This perception stems from the perception of marginalization by a section of the people, government development policies and political offices and this has become a primary source of disaffection and resentment. A large number of the Nigeria population is frustrated and have lost hope, especially the youths, and have now emerged to express their disillusion about the pervasive state of inequality. For example, the case in the Niger Delta where the Avengers, Niger Delta Revolutionary Crusaders have been blowing up installations reducing the exploration and production of oil to abysmal levels. The activities of the Niger Delta Avengers were responsible for the epileptic power supply in the country as well as the inability of state governors to pay workers' salaries due to the low revenue generated in the oil sector as a result of the attack on pipelines.

Ethno-religious conflicts have arisen from distrust among various ethnic groups and among the major religions in the country. He identified ethno-religious conflict as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. Ethno-religious conflict defined as a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation. Frequent and persistent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes between the two dominant religions (Islam and Christianity), present the country with a major security challenge. In all parts of Nigeria, there exist ethno-religious conflicts and these according to him, have emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often structured around ethno-religious identities. The claim over scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy, local government, councils, control of markets and sharia among other trivial issues have resulted in large scale killings and violence amongst groups in Nigeria.

Weak Security systems resulting from inadequate equipment for the security arm of government, both in weaponry and training. This is in addition to poor attitudinal and behavioral disposition of security personnel. In many cases, security personnel assigned to deal with given security situations lack the expertise and equipment to handle the situations in a way to prevent them from occurring. And even when these exist, some personnel get influenced by ethnic, religious or communal sentiment and are easily swallowed by their personal interest to serve their people, rather than the nation. Thus, instead of being national watch dogs and defending national interest and values, and protecting people from harm by criminals, they soon become saboteurs of government effort by supporting and fueling insecurity through either leaking vital security information or aiding and abetting criminals to acquire weapons or to escape the long arm of the law.

Statistics have also indicated that in the last one year, there is a slight improvement in peace as Nigeria moved up one place to 147th out of 158 countries in the 2020 Global Peace Index Ranking (GPI, 2020).

Conclusions

As we have shown, the rejection of authoritarian approaches to governance and the orientation of the State towards entrenching the concept of democracy is one of the core ingredients necessary for security, stability and development in society. The ideal of democracy suggests the equalization of individuals across various social spheres. It does this through its emphasis on the principle that every individual has the same nights as another in the political process. For democracy to thrive there must be an emphasis on creating the basis for a minimum level of equalization in the social, economic as well as political spheres of society. In this regard it becomes obvious that democracy is not only about granting franchise to the entire adult population. This is because it is obvious that economic and social considerations also feature prominently in the political process. The night to vote must be followed by the freedom to choose before any meaning can be attached to it. Thus,

in a situation in which there is mass poverty, the existence of a culture of intolerance, the willful militarization of responses to perceived injustice by citizens organized in primordial identity groups makes a mockery of democratic principles and they become difficult to entrench in a given polity.

In whatever way it might be interpreted, globalization has not improved the situation in Africa. Rather, it has led to widespread oppression, inequality, and exploitation, which have resulted in various types of terrorism and insurgency, especially in Nigeria. Given this, it is acceptable to acknowledge that insurgency and other forms of criminality, particularly in Nigeria, are fueled by globalization and that they both function as feathered friends in Africa. The Nigerian State has been struggling for decades with various dysfunctional mechanisms in the governance process as a result of the significant distortion of security. State actors must act quickly to save the country from complete collapse, which is becoming more and more likely every day.

Recommendations

1. Nigeria needs to be at the forefront of promoting the establishment of a strong economic bloc among African nations with the goal of curbing the explosive trend of globalization toward the proliferation of weapons and other types of transnational crimes.

2. Nigeria requires an institutional and political framework to deal with the problems posed by the proliferation of ethnic and religious militias, whose actions have undermined the State's legitimacy and sovereignty and continued to pose a threat to the internal security system.

3. To create a sustainable political structure for Nigeria that overcomes security and governance challenges, these core values must be embedded in the institutional and structural framework of the Nigerian political system.

4. Authority must emanate from the consent of the people. For our purposes, the fact of the existence of the Nigerian state means that the authority it utilizes must be consistent with the collective resolve of the people, freely given.

5. The system must be based on the rule of law. There must not be any form of arbitraries in the legal system. This is one of the main reasons why military regimes with their rule by decree can be very harmful to social stability.

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