THE
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Issues, Perspectives and Challenges

Editors

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INTRODUCTION

The Nigerian armed forces have played a significant role in the shaping of Nigeria's destiny from the colonial era through independence in 1960. Since independence, these security agencies have witnessed steady growth and development with some attendant successes both individually and collectively. These successes have however been limited in nature as sustainable solutions to security problems have continued to elude the country. This is due to some problems peculiar to the agencies and the general orientation of the country as a whole. There are also the problem of manpower, not only in terms of numbers, but also as regards skills and the right orientation. It is also pertinent to note that the effectiveness and efficiency of the security agencies cannot be divorced from the economic and socio-political environment in which they grow, develop and operate. In other words, these agencies are also affected by the general economic, political and social crisis the country has been going through for many years now especially the debilitating effect of corruption that have now become the major problem of development in Nigeria (Birai and Abubakar, 2001:86).

In view of the associated challenges raised above, it is clear that the security agencies face a lot of problems and difficulties in dealing with internal threats to Nigeria's national security. Indeed, one of the fallouts from the democratic project engaged by Nigeria since May 1999 is the intensifications and expansion of internal security threats to Nigeria's political stability. Thus, security problem has been the most devastating phenomenon towards democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The country has persistently found it difficult to

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attain any meaningful political, social and economic development due to security challenges. Security challenges whether in the form of electoral violence, ethno-religious conflict, armed robbery, kidnapping, sea robbery, insurgency and border disputes have contributed in no small measure to state of underdevelopment in Nigeria. The quest for security is one of the objectives of nation-states both in their local politics and in foreign policy. Scholars believe that security constitutes the focal point of the national interest. States do pursue their goal of security individually and collectively (Obukohwo and Oromareghae, 2006: 53). Thus security as the name implies, involves the ability to pursue cherished political and social ambitions (Williams, 2008: 6).

The security challenges in the present political dispensation suggest that its management is very crucial for the survival of Nigerian state. Therefore, the Nigerian state is in the best position to deal with the security challenges. The general objective of the study is to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the role of the armed forces in the management of security crisis in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The study identifies the sources of security challenges from 1999 to 2014. In the same vein, the study is designed to establish the prospects for enhancing, motivating and improving the Nigerian armed forces in the management of security problems. It is against this background that this chapter examines security agencies and security management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, with emphasis on the armed forces.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

Security as a concept is very controversial both in its meaning and usage to scholars in the field of security studies. The concept has, therefore, been widely misunderstood, abused, mystified and often elevated to the status of an ideology (Obukohwo and Oromareghae, 2006). Sheehan (2005) points out that the field of security studies is been bedeviled from the absence of a common understanding of what security is and how it can be conceptualised, and what its most research questions are. She went further to inquire whether security is a

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goal, an issue area, a concept, a research programme, or a discipline.

However, security as an essential concept is commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherished values, especially the survival of individuals, groups or objects in the near future (Nwagboso, 2012: 244). Imobighe (2008) sums up security as the elimination of threats to one's ecosystem, socio-cultural values, as well as the political and economic structures. Thus, if any action threatens a nation or state's ecosystems, socio-cultural value, political life and institutions and above all, its economic life and structures, then, it becomes a matter of security interest and concerns (Bakut, 2010: 92). As observed by Palme (1992: 9), "there is a correlation between security and survival". Whereas, survival is an essential condition, security is viewed as safety, confidence, free from danger, fear, doubt, among others.

For Nwolise (2013) it is a truism that the security of a person, identity group, nation, or the world is not only a sacred and strategic value, it is the utmost value. This is because "unless one can be assured of his physical security or safety, everything else will be meaningless" (Zabadi as cited in Nwolise, 2013: 9). From this, the concept of national security takes root, meaning the military defence or protection of a country. Buzan (1991:17) conceptualises national security as "relative freedom from war; coupled with a relative high expectation that defeat will not be a consequence of any war that should occur". Orwa (1984: 203) sees national security as comprising "the protection of the national interests, including national values, political and economic ways of life against internal and external threats and challenges". The measures adopted to ensure national security include: using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defence and emergency preparedness measures (including anti-terrorism legislation); ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure; using intelligence services to detect or avoid threats and espionage and to protect classified information; and using counter-intelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats (Aondoakaa, 2008).

As the Cold War tensions receded, it became clear that the security of citizens was threatened by hardships arising from internal state activities as well as external aggressors. Civil wars were increasingly common and compounded existing poverty, disease, hunger, violence and human rights abuses. In this regard, the traditional state-centric notion of security has been challenged by more holistic approaches to security, which is the perception of security from the human angle. Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General (quoted in Mijah, 2008:3), warned that there can be no peace and security in nations and the world in the face of widespread debilitating hunger, poverty, unemployment, and injustice. In his words:

Today, we know that security means for more than the absence of conflict. We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education, health democracy and human rights, protection against environmental degradation, and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We know that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and that we cannot build freedom on the foundations of injustice. These pillars of what we now understand as the people centred concept of human security are inter-related and mutually reinforcing (Mijah, 2008:3).

The uniqueness of human security approach as observed by Adedoyin (2013) lies in the fact that it focuses primarily on individual physical security in any part of the world. It has also assisted in creating awareness towards the enforcement and development of international humanitarian law, most especially the principles of command or superior responsibility through which necessary machinery is put in motion to bring to justice those people that have committed war crimes and other crimes against humanity (Adedoyin, 2013: 126). Nevertheless, both human and national securities reinforce each other. Without human security, national security cannot be attained, and vice versa.

From the above analysis, two theories are germane for understanding the concept of security. These are realism and liberalism. Realism is a term that is used in a variety of ways in many different discipline. In the field of international relations, the theory perceives relations among states as a struggle for power. Political realism is a tradition of analysis that stresses the imperatives state face to pursue a power politics of the national interest (Donnelly, 2005: 29). The conjunction of anarchy and egoism and the resulting imperatives of power politics provide the core of realism (Morgenthau, 1973, Waltz, 1979). To be sure, realism declares that international society can be viewed as a condition of international anarchy, since there is no central authority to protect states from one another. This situation makes individual state to act as independent, sovereign political units that focus on their survival or expansion. Because of this, the aim of national security focuses on the survival of the nation-state rather than the guarantee of international security (Adedoyin, 2013: 120).

Realists, although recognising that human desires range widely and remarkably variable, emphasise "the limitations which the sordid and selfish aspects of human nature place on the conduct of diplomacy" (Thompson as cited in Donnelly, 2005: 30). Realists emphasise the centrality of military threats and the use of force, and the referent object of security is the state. The major flaw in this theory is that it fails to appreciate the contributions of the United Nations to global peace and security. Moreover, the centrality of the use of force has given way to dialogue, negotiation, and reconciliation on the international scene (Adedoyin, 2013).

On the other hand, liberalism holds that human nature is basically good and that innate goodness makes societal progress possible. Evil or unacceptable

human behaviour, such as war, is, according to liberals, the product of inadequate or corrupt social institutions and of misunderstandings among leaders. Thus liberals believe that war or any other aggressive behaviour is not inevitable, and can be moderated through institutional reform (Mingst, 1999:66). Moreover, the liberals believe that the rule of law, limitations of state power, transparency of government, and democratic processes make it easier to sustain international cooperation, especially when these practices are enshrined in multilateral institutions. In other words, through collective action, states can cooperate to eliminate the possibility of war. A central principle of liberal theory is the importance of the freedom of the individual. The liberal states view security not only in terms of military, but also in terms of the protection, and promotion of individual rights. The liberal concept of security issues also include migration, environmental degradation, and transnational organised crime. It is not in doubt that the above views expressed in the liberal theory is in tandem with the new thinking in the security concept that de-emphasise the focus on military by concentrating attention on the welfare of the people (Adedoyin, 2013: 120).

This study is anchored on liberal school of thought for the understanding of security management. The foundations of contemporary liberal institutionalism were laid in 18th and 19th centuries liberals; proposing preconditions for a peaceful world order. For liberals, peace is the normal state of affairs. The laws of nature dictated harmony and cooperation. In this context, the role of the Nigerian armed forces in security management can be situated in the realm of liberal institutionalism in which progress and the perfectibility of the Nigerian state is a sure guarantee to sustainable peace and development.

METHODOLOGY

The study was carried out on the basis of the strategies employed by the Nigerian armed forces in the management of security problems from 1999 to 2014. It presents a profile of security challenges in the Fourth Republic. The data for this study was basically from secondary sources; collected from books, journals, government publications, monographs, magazines and newspaper articles. In order to examine the relationship between the armed forces and security management, this study utilised the liberal institutionalism as its theoretical guide.

Empirical Explanation of Security Challenges in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

The internal security challenges in Nigeria's Fourth Republic has received mixed reactions within and outside Nigeria's political environment. It is imperative to note that since 1999, the security situations in Nigeria took different dimensions. Nigeria has been facing more internal security challenges including

Niger Delta militancy, ethno-religious crises, terrorist bombings, kidnapping, armed banditry, small arms proliferation and trans-border crimes. Some of these internal security challenges are briefly explained.

Ethnic Militia Movement

The degree of social instability and the discontent of the various sections of the country, especially in the period of General Sani Abacha led to the emergence of ethnic militias. However, with the rebirth of a new democratic government on 29 May, 1999, the activities of these militias become more pronounced. An observable trend in the pattern of militancy in Nigeria since 1999 is that ethnic nationalities that feel short-changed in terms of distribution of power or political offices usually have the most restive militia. With the exception of Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) that has been moderate in its engagement with the Nigerian state, the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) can be described as militias of ethnic nationalities who at one time or the other felt short-changed in the power distribution arrangement of the country (Animasawun, 2013: 12). Thus, many of these suppressed militias found reason to question the so-called Nigerian federation and the basic essence of powerful centre. Consequently, violence through the instrumentalities of militias is gradually emerging as the most potent strategy of bargaining for power in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Kidnapping

The Fourth Republic is witnessing series of kidnapping. There were reported cases of kidnapping in the Niger Delta region and the Southeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria. In the Niger Delta region, MEND adopted several approaches to drive out foreign oil companies. MEND kidnapped foreign oil workers for ransom; and as a protest to draw government's attention to the marginalisation and environmental degradation of the region. Unfortunately, the kidnapping of foreign oil workers in the Niger Delta by MEND later became a viable business among the restive youths in the Southeast political zone of Nigeria. Thus in the Southeast, particularly Abia and Imo states, kidnapping activities by restive youths were ultimately targeted at prominent Nigerians residing in these states, rather than foreign oil workers (Nwagboso, 2012: 244).

Illegal Arms Proliferation

The alarming rate of small arms trafficking and proliferation nationwide has contributed in changing the face of conflict in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Security reports on various conflicts have implicated both Nigerians and foreign mercenaries from across the borders in the trade in arms and use of same (Sanda,

2005: 45). Arms proliferation originates from trans-border trafficking in arms especially from the Northeast and Northwest zones of Nigeria. These arms originate in the crises areas in Niger and Chad Republics. There is a thriving business of local arms manufacturing industry in some parts of the country, particularly in Plateau state and Southeast zone. There were also cases of weapons being imported illegally into the country in the wake of the 2011 general elections. On 26 October 2010, 13 arms-laden containers, ammunitions and other deadly weapons imported into the country, was intercepted by the State Security Service (SSS) at Apapa Port (Essien, 2012: 441). A vessel, MV Everest, had brought in 13 containers of sophisticated and calibre weapons which included 107mm rockets, rifle rounds and grenades into the country on 15 July, 2010 (Essien, 2012: 441). In September 2014, an attempt to smuggled $9.3 million cash into South Africa by some Nigerians and an Israeli, believed to be running errand for the presidency, ostensibly for arms purchase, was foiled by that country's officials. South African authorities also made a similar cash seizure of $5.7 million meant for arms two weeks after the first (*TELL*, 2014: 27). Civil society groups under the banner of Nigerian Human Rights Community staged a protest march in Lagos to register their grievances over the embarrassment which the arms deal brought to Nigeria and its citizens. This however, has security threats to Nigeria's democracy.

The Niger Delta Crisis

The Niger Delta crisis began with the activities of the militant groups who were used and abandoned by politicians that took over from military régime in 1999. However, the catalyst for violence in the region is the indigenous population dissatisfaction with their impoverished condition, despite the wealth generated by the area's resources; and the environmental degradation caused by energy related development. The emergence of MEND and other agitating groups in the struggle to addressing the injustice by the Federal Government against the region exacerbated the security problems not only in the region, but also in the entire Nigerian state. These include Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Mujahid Asari Dokubo and Niger Delta Vigilanté (NDV) led by Ateke Tom. The activities of insurgents group in the Niger Delta were highly uncoordinated, until when an umbrella organisation called MEND was established in 2006. As a result of the conflicts in the region, lives and resources have been wasted, hostage taking, shoot-outs between soldiers and armed militant groups, petroleum pipeline sabotage, etc. led to the production shut-in and deferment. In the first three months of 2006, $1 billion in oil revenues were lost and national output was cut by one third. Conflict in the region had continued until 2009 when the Federal Government and the militants reached an agreement through the Amnesty Programme (Essien, 2012: 438).

Political/Electoral Violence

Since 1999, general elections has been marked by violence. Unscrupulous politicians habitually exploit the cultural, religious, ethnic and political differences among Nigerians to threaten the corporate existence of the nation. Whereas conflicts which result from these differences may be considered normal in any society, the violent manner in which they are sometimes expressed is what gives the authorities much concern. It is not an exaggeration to state that political violence in Nigeria is as old as Nigeria. Discontents which give rise to political violence may be due to poor living and environmental conditions, disagreement with prevailing moral standards or political beliefs and inadequate opportunities to effect changes. The problem of the fragmentation, which has in recent time, become a terminal problem of Nigerian politics, became more compounded in the last three electoral dispensations. The problem manifests in terms of deeper intra-party conflicts all over the country, but was most symbolised at the national level by the hostility between former President Olusegun Obasanjo and his deputy, Atiku Abubakar (Agbegbedia, 2011: 49). Other causes of electoral violence include religious fundamentalism, commodisation of politics, reckless manipulation of the electoral process, imposition of unpopular candidates, élite fragmentation and injustice. For instance, post-election violence in many states of the North, especially in Kaduna and Bauchi states exhibited the usual pattern of violence. More than 500 Nigerians were killed and six Police officers were among the dead, more than 1,400 homes were burnt down, 157 churches and mosques were razed, with 437 assorted vehicles and 219 motorcycles either burned or damaged in the violence following 2011 April's presidential election (Essien, 2012: 440).

Ethno-religious Conflict

The manifestation of the upsurge in ethno-religious conflicts in the Fourth Republic could be captured in the various violence that erupted in different parts of the country immediately after the inauguration in May 1999. The first was the outbreak of religious violence in Sagamu in 1999 which involved the Hausa community and "Oro" cult tradition. Trouble started at about 11.00pm on Saturday when an Hausa woman allegedly flouted "Oro" cult tradition. Some Hausa ladies believed to be prostitutes supported by their male counter parts refused to heed the warnings of the masqueraders that women are forbidden to see "Oro", and to stay away from the streets at night (Alanamu, 2005). The action of the Hausa drew annoyance of the "Oro" masqueraders and a dispute ensured which allegedly led to the death of the Hausa lady who was seen at a spot in Sabo where the Hausa mostly live. The death of the lady led to the mobilisation of the Hausa community in attacking the Yoruba community.

In the same vein, the introduction of the Shariah Islamic law in 2000 generated into sectarian violence which led to thousands of deaths and injuries. In 2000, many killings were recorded from religious disturbances. From February 21 to 22, an estimated 3,000 people lost their lives in a clash between Muslims and Christians in Kaduna, the capital of Kaduna state. In 2001, the religious clash between Muslims and Christians in Tafawa Balewa local government area of Bauchi state, which began on June 19 and ended on July 4, resulted in the death of over 100 persons (Alanamu, 2005: 175).

More importantly, Nigeria's ethnic and religious heterogeneity is the most persistent of violent conflicts in the Fourth Republic. Ethno-religious conflict has adverse effects in Jos, Plateau state. The Jos crisis has claimed numerous lives of Nigerians and property worth millions of naira destroyed. The Jos crisis has resulted in several attacks on Christians by Muslims. From 2007-2010, thousands of Christians were slaughtered during the Jos crisis. In 2010 crisis for instance, about 500 Christians lost their lives (Oladoyinbo, 2010: 15). The International Red Cross estimated that 17,000 people were displaced following the crises. An Islamic fundamentalist group, Jama'atu Ahlus-Summah Lidda' Awati Wal Jihad on January 2, 2011 claimed responsibility for the Christmas Eve multiple bomb blasts in Jos that led to the death of about 80 people. The Jos crisis has resulted in unimaginable confrontation, killings, bombings and other forms of violence. Apart from the Jos attacks the Islamic fundamentalist group also claimed responsibility for the bomb attack on Church of Christ in Maiduguri, Borno State that claimed four lives on June 7, 2011 (Essien, 2012: 439). In the same vein, the Northeast zone – involving Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe States appears to be the most violent region in Nigeria today. The region is home to the Hausa-Fulani and the Kanuri and also hosts migrant ethnic groups from various parts of the country, including Yoruba and Igbo. Its population of about 22 million is mainly Muslims but includes a Christian minority. The deadly violence affects both Muslims and Christians, and it would be inaccurate to reduce the crisis in the region to a religious war or a contest between Islam and Christianity. Between January and March 2014, the fatality figures in the Northeast was put at 1187 (IFRA Newsletter, 2014:2). There is no disputing the fact that the problem of ethno-religious violence casts a serious doubt to the future socio-political and economic stability of the country. Also, ethno-religious conflict constitute a threat to Nigeria's national security.

Terrorism

Terrorism is another security challenge in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. It has increased in both quality and intensity. The resurgence of the fundamentalist Islamic groups such as Boko Haram sects particularly in Borno, Yobe and Bauchi

states is an indication of escalating security threats in the country. The Boko Haram group was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Utaz Mohammed Yusuf. In 2004, it moved to Kanama in Yobe state, where it set up a base called "Afghanistan", used to attack nearby Police stations and killing police officers. The Boko Haram is a controversial Nigerian Militant Islamist group that seeks the imposition of Sharia law in the Northern states of Nigeria. Ideologically, the group opposes not only western education, but western culture and modern science. To be sure, the founder of the group, Mohammed Yusuf was hostile to democracy and secular education system. This partly explains why he vowed that the war he began in 2002 would ultimately change the political and educational systems in Nigeria, a dream not realised till his death in 2009.

The activities of Boko Haram have constituted a serious security challenge in contemporary Nigeria, as the group has even been linked to al Qaeda. The activities of members of this group have raised critical questions among investors on the safety of their investments in Nigeria. This ranges from killing of innocent Nigerians, kidnapping, arson, looting, raping of women, to bombing of major cities and police stations in the Northern part of Nigeria, particularly, Borno, Kano, Bauchi, Niger, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, among others (Nwagboso, 2012; Essien, 2012; Adagba, 2012).

THE ARMED FORCES AND SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

The statutory role of the military is to curb and manage all forms of insecurity in Nigeria. For the purpose of this chapter we shall be examining the role of the armed forces in security management; with emphasis on the army, navy and air force.

The functions of the armed forces in Nigeria's Fourth Republic are well spelt out in the 1999 Constitution. While section 217 (1) of the Constitution provides for the establishment, equipment, and maintenance of the armed forces, section 217 (2) sets out their purposes, functions and role. In section 217 (3), the Constitution provides for certain peculiarities that have to be considered in the recruitment and placement processes of the armed forces, especially in accordance with Nigeria's federal character principle.

Specifically, this section of the Constitution states as follows:

(1) There shall be armed forces for the federation, which shall consist of an army, a navy, an air force, and such other branches of the armed forces as may be established by an Act of the National Assembly.

(2) The federation shall, subject to an Act of the National Assembly made in that behalf, equip and maintain the armed forces as may be considered adequate and effective for the purpose of:

(a) Defending Nigeria from external aggression;

(b) Maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea or air;

(c) Suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President, but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of National Assembly; and

(d) Performing such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

The foregoing constitutional provisions clearly put in place a template for the maintenance and operations of the Nigerian armed forces. Thus, for ease of reference, the duties stated in the Constitution may be simplified as including the followings:

(i) Defence of the country against attacks by external forces on land, sea and in the air.

(ii) Assisting civil power and civil authorities to maintain internal peace, law, order and security. Thus when any branch of the armed forces works with the police in combating armbed robbery, kidnapping, illegal oil bunkering, sea piracy, terrorism, or any external armed insurrection, etc. it is performing part of its constitutional duties.

(iii) Assisting government in managing natural and other forms of disasters.

(iv) Participation in Peace Support Operations (PSOs), which can be multi-dimentional (Yusuf, 2012: 42).

The Army

The Nigerian Army have provided civil power assistance in putting down many violent conflicts since 1999. One of such violent conflicts which seemed to defy any solution was the one between the Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups in Taraba state. Majorly, members of the Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups have been involved in violent inter-communal disputes over ownership of land in Central and Eastern Nigeria for decades. This conflict has resulted in hundreds of deaths in Nassarawa, Plateau, Taraba and Benue states. In the context of the intervention of the Nigerian Military in the conflict, a company of 150 soldiers, from the 24th Armoured Brigade, usually stationed in Yola, Adamawa State, were sent to Takun Barracks, in Taraba state, in September 2001, following another round of violent eruptions between the Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups in that area. The troops were deployed upon request by the Governor of Taraba state and with the authorisation of the President, with the orders to clear roadblocks (set up by militiamen) in the border zone between Taraba and Benue states (Zabadi and Bot, 2005:93).

Following the killing of soldiers by the Tiv militia group in Benue state, the army were dragged to restore law and order. The soldiers were reported to have been mobbed by a large crowd, killed, their bodies were mutilated, and their arms taken away. The Army, faced with a situation which seemed to challenge the authority of the Nigerian state to maintain law and order through these killings, moved to restore the superior position of the state. This resulted in what became known as the Zaki-Biam massacre. The army used the force of arms on the Tiv in Zaki-Biam and surrounding villages with the objective of clearing the area of the militia and their activities, recovering the bodies of the soldiers and their arms, and restoring the authority of the state.

The activities of the militant groups in the Niger Delta poses a security challenge to Nigerian state. In other words, the continuous escalation of killings and abductions of the civil populace in the Niger Delta area occasioned by the KIAMA declaration by the Ijaw youths constitute a security threat to the region and Nigeria as a whole. The army was essentially faced with the seeming growth of the phenomenon of domestic terrorism perpetrated by criminal elements who were involved in hostage taking of oil workers, kidnapping, hijacking of helicopters, sea piracy and demands for ransom. Thus, OPERATION HAKURI II was initiated with the mandate of protecting lives and properties particularly oil platforms, Flow Stations, Operating Rig Terminals and Pipelines, Refineries and Power Installations in the Nigeria-Delta. And by extension, it was to ensure that the authority of the Nigerian state being exercised through the Federal Government, was maintained. It was as a result of this that, in November 1999, after the killing of 12 Police officers by a group of militant youths in the town of Odi, Bayelsa state, the army was ordered in by the President to contain the situation (Zabadi and Bot, 2005: 97). Soldiers are now stationed at key oil facilities to protect the government's huge investment in the region.

The Nigerian Army also had to intervene in Yelwa-Shendam, Jos and Kano in 2004 to restore peace after well over a thousand persons had been killed in ethno-religious violence between Hausa Muslims and Indigenous Christian peoples in the central highlands and reprisal killings which followed in Hausa Muslim-dominated Kano thereafter. So serious was the violence that a rare state of emergency was declared in Plateau State.

Some years later, serious ethno-religious violence broke out and reprisal killings followed thereafter and across board swathes of Northern and Eastern Nigeria in that order, occasioned by perceive indiscretion on the part of a Danish cartoonist who allegedly defamed aspects of the Islamic religion in 2006. In 2011, post-election violence broke out in some disaffected segments of Northern Nigeria leading to the deaths of over 800 people with thousands that were internally displaced (Okoli, 2013, Johnson, 2014).

More importantly, the deployment of the army to quell internal security

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threats has now become a popular management strategy of the Federal Government in the Fourth Republic. The army has been deployed to restore peace in the northern parts of Nigeria, following the terrorist attacks by the Boko Haram group. The group has refused to enter into dialogue with the government. Boko Haram's refusal is based on the grounds that the security agents are using brutal force and attacks against members of the sect. Threatening further attacks on the entire North and other parts of the country including Abuja, Boko Haram leaders insist the serial killings and bomb attacks in Borno State will not cease until their demands are met. Thus the sect has launched a reign of terror in Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Kano and Adamawa states since 2009. This however constitutes threats to the Nigerian state with the increased militancy of this terrorist groups. Worried by the state of bombings in the Northeast Nigeria, the Federal Government declared a state of emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states. The Nigerian Army has carried out security measures of tackling and combating terrorist attacks in the region. The activities of the Army was complemented with the support of the navy and the air force.

The Nigerian Navy

The traditional roles of navies worldwide are classified into military, policing and diplomatic. Some other classifications include peace time roles, military operations other than war and war time roles. The roles of the Nigerian Navy are encapsulated in extant provisions of the 1999 Constitution, the Armed Forces Act 2004 and the Grand Strategy for National Security (Jibrin, 2014:7). Specifically, the Constitution charged the Nigerian Navy with the defence of Nigeria from external aggression by maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea and air; suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authority to restore order when called upon by the President. Section 1 (4) (a) of the Armed Forces Act (AFA) CAP A 20 LFN 2004 imposed additional responsibilities on the Nigerian Navy to include:

(a) Enforcing and assisting in coordinating the enforcement of all customs laws, including anti-bunkering, fishery and immigration laws of Nigeria at sea.
(b) Enforcing and assisting in coordinating the enforcement of national and international maritime laws ascribed or acceded to, by Nigeria.
(c) Making of charts and co-ordinating of all national hydrographic survey.
(d) Promoting, coordinating and enforcing safety regulations in territorial waters and the Exclusive Economic Zone of Nigeria.

However, the Nigerian Navy has initiated a number of cooperative mechanisms with relevant agencies. Apart from participating in securing peace

far, comprising 2, 468 on various ground platforms, about 1, 443 missions on the ATR-42 and Beechcraft air surveillance platforms and 1, 479 airlift missions using the G-222 and the C-130H (Amosun, 2014:14).

CHALLENGES OF THE ARMED FORCES
IN SECURITY MANAGEMENT

The involvement of the armed forces in security management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic has, produced landmark results. However, the armed forces faces some challenges in discharging their constitutional roles within the context of security management. One of such challenge is the ignorance of the people of issue such as; the fact that the citizenry seem to be finding it hard to appreciate the professional calling or role of the military, especially as regards the constitutional roles. To put this in proper perspective, it has to be understood that, the military (armed forces) is traditionally trained to handle mostly external aggression. Therefore, calling on the military to put down civil insurrections ("with minimum force") or negotiate cease-fires and peace agreements (all of which, are still part of their constitutional roles) requires of different disposition from their traditional one of "shoot to kill" and use of "maximum force". It is in this regard that the military will pose a big challenge in managing internal conflicts (Zabadi and Bot, 2005:100). Another issue is the perceived attitude of the armed forces when called upon to perform internal security operations. Some soldiers are of the opinion that they have a more noble role than this and some even think they have been called upon because of the incapability and inefficiency of the police in maintaining law and order. The resultant effect is that the military usually take over operations from the police instead of aiding the civil authorities as provided for in section 217 of the 1999 Constitution. Instead of lending support to the Police or other civil authorities concerned the armed forces end up taking leading roles. This can give rise to jealousy and distrust between the Police force involved in the operations and the soldiers deployed for the internal operations. This is capable of causing unhealthy rivalry which can eventually undermine security efforts.

Similarly, the attitude of soldiers is also posing a major challenge. Each time a Soldier on internal security operations uses his uniform or gun to rape, loot, torture, beat, maim or kill, he (further) paints the Nigerian armed forces black in the eyes of Nigerians, Africans and the world. This is because the Soldiers become a dog that bites its owner (Nwolise, 2007: 404). This kind of behaviour which the military is alleged to be involved in does not earn them goodwill, only hatred will be generated. Such atrocities also destroy the confidence of the civil society in the military, widen further the psychological gap between the military and civilians, and worsen the nation's civil-military relations.

The State in Contemporary Nigeria: Issues, Perspectives and Challenges

Another challenge confronting the armed forces is their joint personnel strength in relation to the estimated national population. With a rough estimation of about 600,000 for the entire defence and security sector, vis-à-vis Nigeria's estimated population of 160 million, it is a ratio of one security personnel to about 265 citizens (*see* Table 1). This is grossly inadequate, especially when compared with the prevailing situation in countries like the United Kingdom, the US and other parts of the developed world, where the security personnel are also better equipped in terms of communication gadgets and logistics in general. There are also several African countries like South Africa, Ghana, Bostwana and Senegal, among others that have better and tighter ratio between the security personnel and the citizenry (Yagboyaju, 2013: 22).

Table 1: Personnel Strength of the Armed Forces

Security Agency	Personnel Strength	National Population	Ratio
Army	130, 000	160,000	1:1, 270
Navy	18,000	160,000	1:9, 167
Air Force	15,000	160,000	1:11,000

Source: Yagboyaju, D. A. (2013). "Relevance of the Masters in Strategic Studies Programme to the Nigerian Defence Forces, Security Agencies and National Security", *Strategic Periscope:* A Magazine of Masters in Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan.

Furthermore, the Nigerian military is in the throes of transition amidst much turbulence. Trapped between increasing insurgency and political strife, the Armed Forces have to dig deep and bend backwards to fulfill its mandate of securing the country. All hopes are on the military not only to protect democracy and guarantee the success of the elections, but to also overcome Boko Haram and guarantee the sanctity of life and safety of properly. Until recently, the military has been accused of unprofessional conduct in the counter-insurgency operations and numerous security checkpoints in some part of the country. The initial lack of progress in the war against Boko Haram is seen by many as a testimony to a non-committed military. Reports of desertions, mutiny and refusal to obey lawful orders by soldiers had become commonplace. Whispers from the barracks suggest that politics and Boko Haram may have polarised the military along religious and geo-political cleavages in a manner that is affecting the counter-insurgency operation. Apart from that, decisive intelligence is said not to be forthcoming because of the challenging terrain and political variables (*TELL*, 2015: 24). Other

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challenges include inappropriate formulation and implementation of polices on recruitment, training, promotion and discipline. They also include prolonged neglect, underfunding, mismanagement of resources, corruption, inadequate equipment, inadequate office and residential accommodation, unnecessary political interference and manipulation among several others.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have attempted in this chapter to throw light on the role of the armed forces in security management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. In stemming the tide of conflicts and in helping to ensure peace and security in this present political dispensation, the Nigerian armed forces have come to play significant and often complex role. There is no doubt about the constitutional role of the armed forces in protecting the territorial integrity of Nigeria; which goes beyond just fighting external aggression, but also putting down or nullifying any force within or outside the country security. Quite obviously, looking back at the pre-1999 situation in Nigeria, especially with the involvement of the military in politics and governance, the armed forces appeared to have done better in the performance of their constitutional duties since the commencement of the Fourth Republic.

Essentially, the increasing roles taken by the military in internal security operations have been criticised by people who are of the opinion that the military is not trained to manage internal operations like other civil authorities such as the police. This therefore, suggests that there is an apparent lack of appreciation on the part of the populace, for armed forces' role in internal security management in the country. In spite of this criticisms and the challenges confronting the Nigerian armed forces, the fact remains that the military should be applauded for relatively maintaining law and order and guaranteeing peace and security to the entire nation. However, the armed forces needs to acquire modern training, which is necessary in understanding the imperativeness of managing complex security issues like terrorism in the present international system.

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