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Federalism and Politics of Security Management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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Abstract

The escalation of national security challenges beyond national frontiers has brought to scrutiny, the nature and character of the security framework designed to respond to these challenges. The agencies responsible for managing security in Nigeria are the Armed Forces of Nigeria, Nigerian Police Force, Nigerian Customs Service, Nigeria Immigration Service, and Nigerian Civil Defense Corps among others. The centralized nature of the management of security in Nigeria has generated issues of concern considering poor responses to the dynamic nature of national security challenges in Nigeria's federal system. This study examines the federal government's negotiation procedures with the terrorist groups and why the money being allocated to buy weapons to fight these terrorist groups are not yielding the expected results over the years in Nigeria. To realize the central objectives (To examine the federal government's negotiation procedures with the terrorist groups and why the money being allocated to buy weapons to fight these terrorist groups are not yielding expected results over the years in Nigeria), samples were drawn from the military, para-military, Journalists and Political Analysts. Findings from the study revealed that; the nature and configuration of Nigeria's security apparatus seem to have been over-centralized in terms of laws and reporting lines. It also discovered high-level discontent and disenchantment by civil society, major stakeholders and security agents with the existing legal framework of security management as a result of misinterpretation and/or abuse of Sections 14(2), 13, and 4 (1and2). These partly explain the unending nature of security challenges bedevilling the Nigerian state. The study recommended decentralization of

the national security architecture on its management to give more impetus to the federating unitsat the state and national levels to manage aspects of the security architecture, as the present framework appears to have outlived its military usefulness.

Keywords: Federalism, Security, Management, Centralization

Introduction

Nigeria has recently been confronted with a myriad of security challenges which has resulted in clamouring for restructuring of the country. Almost all geo-political regions or states in the federation have experienced insecurity that has been spreading like wildfire. Many people have been internally displaced as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency, herdsmen-farmers conflicts, communal disputes, militancy, cultism, ritual killings, and abduction threat, which have claimed many lives and destroyed properties worth millions of naira. This has put the country at large into a state of commotion where nearly everyone is afraid of moving around safely. The Federal Government's centralized security management system may be one factor in Nigeria's ineffective security measures as Nigerians mostly adhere to a centralized structure, even in terms of national security architecture, in contrast to other federal states like the United States of America, which is seen as a classical example of a federal state. Federalism is a system of government where power is divided among tiers of government. This division of power cuts across different sectors of society, including education, economy, and security (Odewale, etal 2020). In the case of Nigeria, the national security

apparatus rests heavily on the shoulders of the federal and less on the state governments.

National security refers to the safety and defense of a state, including its people, economy, and institutions, against any external or internal threat. It refers to the safety and defense of a state, including its people, economy, and institutions, against any external or internal threat (Onkwoko, 2019). National security in Nigeria is typically exemplified by the activities of the military and para-military security agencies like the Nigerian Police, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, Civil Defense, Immigration and Customs Service. A significant source of contention in national security discourses has been Nigeria's centralized security system (Ukwayi, & Anam, 2017). Nigeria has experienced extreme insecurity in recent years, undermining law and order as well as the protection of lives and property significantly. In fact, following the transition to civilian government in 1999, there has been an increase in violent instability, with distinct offenders including militants, kidnappers, cultists, pirates, and terrorists.

Furthermore, the Nigerian government has also moved to improve international ties as it relates to security, particularly through active involvement in the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) and the consolidation of engagement with the regional intelligence fusion unit. Also initiated are several other internal security operations across the country like the re-organization of the counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operation codenamed "*lafiya Dole, now Operation Hadin Kai*", Operation Hadarin Daji among several others. But despite all these moves, it really baffles one when the host government of a particular country is negotiating, pardoning and giving amnesty to terrorists in Nigeria even to the extent of sending them abroad to study. My question now is, were these repentant terrorist group (so-called) being sent abroad to acquire more knowledge to come back and start their usual business, why negotiating with terrorist groups and why are the money being

allocated to buy weapons to fight these terrorists groups are not yielding expected results over the years in Nigeria? All these questions aided this study to be embarked on.

Statement of the Problem

The necessity for federation is primarily driven by goals of national integration and unity, in addition to the problem of managing security.The division of the various powers or tiers of government into exclusive, concurrent, and residual lists has created significant misunderstanding on which tier of government is in charge of which layer of a security breach.The ubiquity of the rhetoric of insecurity across all social strata of Nigerian society is thus not surprising. The proliferation of armed groups, ethnic militia groups, religious fundamentalism, bombing, murder, arson armed robbery etc. requires a cerebral and logical interrogation of the effect of the centralization of the nation's security apparatus on the framework for governance. Furthermore, the persistent nature of Nigeria's security issues, particularly in the Fourth Republic, has not only made the general public hopeless but also the ruling class at the sub-national level, including state governors who areusually referred to as "*Chief Security Officers"* in their respective states.

This partly explains why the country has been described as one in transition as a result of the unpardonably low performance in the area of the delivery dividends of democracy including the safety of lives and properties. The nature and configuration of Nigeria's security apparatus seem to have been over-centralized. Analysts have alluded to this factor and conceived it as one of the major reasons for the unending nature of the security challenges bedevilling the Nigerian state. Administratively, many levels of government have been accused of willfully or unintentionally ceding their duties under the Constitution.

Attempts at explaining these unfortunate developments from the point of the structure of government might not be out of order. The normative assumption of this study is that; a federal system that adheres to its spirit and letter can engender a coordinated and seamless flow of operations by agencies that might be federally or sub-nationally owned and controlled. The current scenario in Nigeria depicts an obtuse framework that is fundamentally tilted in the favour of the central government. This makes the federal government often, act like a lone ranger in situations where the actual security breaches occur at the sub-national levels of government. It is against this background that argument, and civil rights advocacy is being built around the clamour for state police or administrative revolution that decentralizes the Nigerian security apparatus between and among the three tiers of government. On that premises, an attempt was made to provide answers to the following research questions:

i. Why did the federal government choose to negotiate with the terrorist groups?
ii. Why is the money being allocated to buy weapons to fight these terrorist groups not yielding the expected results over the years in Nigeria?

Objectives of the Study

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:

i. To examine why did the federal government chose to negotiate with the terrorist groups

ii. To evaluate why the money being allocated to buy weapons to fightterrorists groups are not yielding the expected results over the years in Nigeria

Conceptual Discourse

Concept of Federalism: The word "federalism" is derived from the Latin term “foedus” which means treaty or alliance. This implies that at the root of every federation lies an agreement among the federating units (Agbonika, 1990).As a result, a sizable number of academics have written about federalism. However, there is a prevalent trend in the literature to regard federalism as a form of government intended to uphold unity and stability, preserve variety, and resolve social conflicts (Muhammad, 2007; Orluwene, 2018).Each government exists independently from all other governments, not as an extension of one government. This means that each government isable to conduct its own business at its discretion. Conversely, both the federal and the state governments are independent in their respective spheres. According to Muhammad (2007), federalism is a form of government and institutional arrangement that aims to preserve unity in variety since power is divided between a central government and several component units, each of which maintains its own identity within the federal union.

According to Fawole and Bello (2011:211), federalism is a political system that recognizes the existence of a central authority and several regionalized governments in a way that allows each unit, including the central authority, to function as a separate government from the others.This implies federalism serves as a process of unifying powers within the unified state. Similarly, Nwabueze in Orluwene (2018:76) shed more light on the concept of federalism by defining it as an arrangement whereby powers of government within a country are shared between a national (nation-wide) government and a number of regionalized governments in such a way that each exists as a government separately and independently from the others, operating directly on persons and property within its territorial area, with a will of its own, and its apparatus for the conduct of its affairs and with an authority in some matters exclusive of all others.

Concept of Security

Security is the protection of the interests and values of a state or a nation against threats. Security can be viewed from many perspectives and prisms but no single definition can lay claim to universality and perfection. In any case, the common element to all definitions of security is that of protection against threats (Akinyeye, 2001). This realist approach to security is perhaps better buttressed by Tickner (1975) cited in Ugwuja and Ubaku, (2014) when she observed that "to a realist, security is conceptually synonymous to the security of the state against external dangers which is to be achieved by increasing military capabilities". She further argued succinctly that one of the greatest causes of insecurity in the world inheres from our lack of agreement as to what security itself entails. This may be why Akinyeye (2001:17) elects to see security as "the protection of the interests and values of a state or a nation against threats". Handreder and Buel (2000) cited inUgwuja and Ubaku (2014), believe that security must aim "to protect a nation against all types of external aggression, annoyance, espionage, hostile reconnaissance, sabotage, subversion and all forms of inimical influences". For Damus (1977:13) security must involve "the prevention of property damage, injury, loss of lives caused by military means as well as limitation of damage, casualty and death in the event of war". It was argued that the avowals of Handreder and Buel (2000), and Damus (1977) must be considered too narrowly conceived to serve any analytic purposes for critical description of security.

Handreder and Buel (2000), however, restricted security to external threats alone; it is clear and has been demonstrated that threats to a nation can come from the nation itself (as the activities of the Boko Haram group and other internal security challenges confronting the Nigerian state and it's federating units has lucidly showcased). Again in conceptualizing security as having to do with war only, Damus (1977) neglected to factor in non-military threats and ecological disasters which are no less devastating than wars. Mcnamara (1968) Ugwuja and Ubaku, (2014) appear to be nearer to the point when he opines that the "security of a nation or entity lies

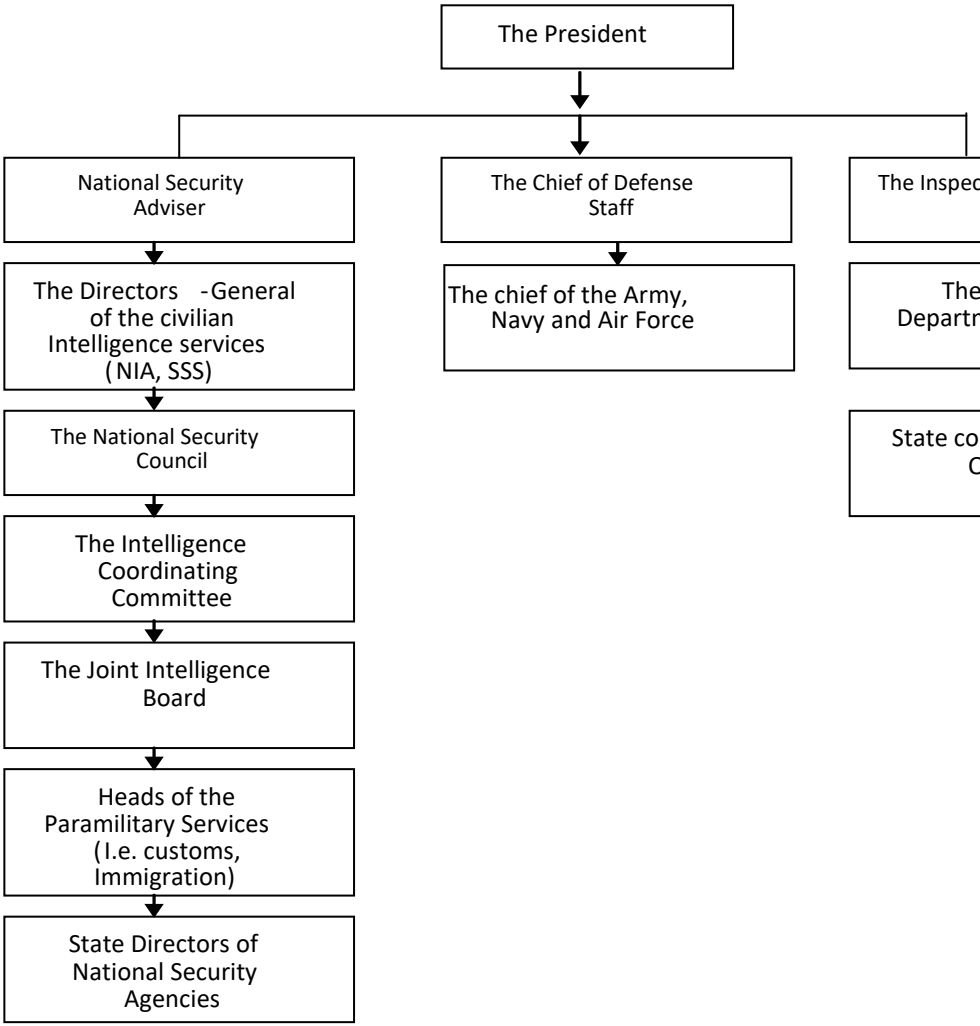
not solely or even primarily on its military preparedness but also in developing relatively stable patterns of economic development and political growth at home and abroad". Hence, Enuka (2010:60) asserts that "the objective of security is protection. But certainly, the term is more than being protected from military attacks. It encompasses the whole domain and gamut of human life and, therefore, should be defined in broad and general terms". In this way, this study elects to see security as the removal and protection of citizens from threats both internal and external and other encumbrances that impinge and jeopardize their lives.

National Security Management in Nigeria

The spate of insecurity in Nigeria appears to have defied all security measures thereby making a mockery of the law enforcement agencies. The National Security Organization which was created by virtue of decree no 27 of 1976 by the military administration of General Olusegun Obasanjo after the aborted Dimka coup which claimed the life of the former head of state General Muritala Mohammed though helped to reduce insecurity in Nigeria to a sizable form but not curbed the problem. The National Security Organization was given the mandate of coordinating internal security, foreign intelligence and counterintelligence activities. It was also charged with the detection and prevention of crime against the security of the state, protection of classified materials and carrying out any other security missions assigned by the president. The Babangida administration redesigned the National Security Organization and separated same into three divisions namely: Federal, State and local government (Eme Et al, 2017). In the Grand Strategy for National Security, Sambo (2013), definesecurity as the aggregation of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups, political entities and institutions which inhabit the territory of Nigeria. This encompasses the provision of a conducive atmosphere for the pursuit of individual and collective aspirations. The Grand Strategy (2012) specifically states that paramount importance is attached to the

safety, security and prosperity of individuals and institutions within Nigeria and what belongs to Nigeria and Nigerians abroad. A country's national security, therefore, is concerned with the well-being, welfare and interest of its citizens, the preservation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity against external aggression. The importance of security to the economic well-being of a country and its citizens was amply highlighted by a former American Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara (2013) when he stated that security is development and development is security. This means without security there cannot be any meaningful development (Eme, et al, 2017). Also, the importance attached to security was well captured in the Nigerian Constitution of 1999-section 14 (2) (b) of the Constitution states that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government". Invariably therefore the Constitution has saddled the government with the responsibility of safeguarding the lives, properties, and welfare of Nigerians against both internal and external threats including other forms of danger. Thus it is incumbent on the government to monitor public order and safety, including law and order (Eme and Onyishi 2011).

Nigeria National Security Architecture



Source: Researcher's Compilation (2023)

Security in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values. The significance of a Top-down diagram is to succinctly explain the top-heavy report line between or among the levels of government. As far as Nigeria's federal security structure is

concerned, this justifies the asymmetrical channel of communication among levels of government in Nigeria's national security management which is considered to be over-concentrated of security functions on the federal government than any other levels of government; And this invariably put vantage of burdens on the central government in terms of managing security in other levels of government.

Theory of Structural Functionalist

In order to adequately provide a vivid explanation, prediction, prescription and analysis of the issue of Security challengesthat pervaded Nigeria's federal arrangements right from the local levels to the federal level; Structural-functionalist Theory (SFT) was adopted by this paper. This is believed by the view that this theory will help to gain depth understanding of how to predict and explain the Security Loopholes in Nigeria. The adoption of this theory is justified in the ability of theory in providing a proper analysis of why indigenous terrorist activities are yet to be curbed.

Structural functionalism as wholly explained refers to the large-scale social structures and institutions of society, their inter-relationships, and their constraining influence on actors (Ritzer, 2008). Historically, some founding fathers of sociology like Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, laid the classical foundation of structural-functionalism. Talcott Parsons later redefined it to reflect his work titled “the social system” in 1951 (Scott & Marshall, 2005). From a theoretical perspective in sociology, functionalism holds a view of society as a social system that is made up of different parts, which are interdependent and interrelated (Igbo, 2013). These important parts of society, which include the family, school, government, law enforcement agencies; economy, etc. perform various functions positively toward the maintenance, stability and survival of the social system (Ravishankanr, 2019).

From the organism analogy, the functionalists equate the human society with the human or biological organism that has a

structure comprising organs, systems and capillaries, which must function for the maintenance and survival of the whole organism. To understand the structure of the organism (man), the respective parts and their interconnected functions must be examined. The foregoing forms the basis of Parsons' concept of Adaptation, Goal maintenance, Integration and Latency function (AGIL). Thus, AGIL is an elaborate model of systems and sub-systems. It implies that for any society to survive, each system must meet the aforementioned four (4) functional prerequisites namely: Adaptation (adjustment to the physical environment); Goal attainment (a means of organizing resources to achieve the societal goals and obtain gratification), Integration (forms of internal coordination and ways of dealing with differences), and Latency or pattern maintenance (means of achieving comparative stability). The point of emphasis here is how social equilibrium can be achieved and maintained between and among the various elements or institutions of a social system and sub-systems in such a way that all the assigned institutions in Nigeria protect the lives and properties of the citizens at large should rise to the task of meeting their daily functions and responsibilities (Ritzer, 2008).

Parsons further opined that among these different structures and institutions such as Government, Police, Army, Civil Defense, and Defense Headquarter etc, any dysfunctionality in a structure could equally affect others that are intricately connected to it because of its mutually reinforcing interdependence on others. For example, bad governance and political leadership can mar an effective security system through corruption, selfish interest, and misappropriation of weapon and ammunition funds (Scott and Marshall, 2015).

Systemically, the security unit in the country has some component units with their mode of operation and institutional stakeholders that must work harmoniously to ensure that the lives and properties of the citizens are well protected at all levels. Some of these stakeholders repeatedly mentioned include the government, security agencies, community heads, general masses, etc. Among its statutory functions, the government through the security agents and

other stakeholders sets standards and guidelines for all the stakeholders to observe. The host government must not promise to be firm but rather seen to be firm in terms of their willingness and ability to provide adequate funds for all security units in the country so as to be able to acquire all the necessary modern weapons and other types of equipment that will help them to discharge their duties diligently. This chain of activities between and among these stakeholders must be kept intact and unbroken if the entire security of the country is to be achieved. The interdependence of these security agents and other stakeholders underscores the practical engagement of structural-functionalism. Since government alone could not single-handedly handle all the security challenges in Nigeria, hence the introduction of E-security (adoption of modern technology tools), the host government, security agencies and all the concerned stakeholders are expected to work together as it is inline with the major tenets of functionalism.

Research Methodology

The research methodology adopted for this work is the quantitative technique which was based on the numeric analysis of data and opinions of selected respondents (military, para-military, Journalists and Political Analysts). This is to enable the researchers to expand the frontiers of the study achieve the stated objectives and provide answers to the research questions.

Data presentation and analysis in this study employed the quantitative descriptive method because quantitative data were involved in the study and required correlation statistical tools of analysis.

The data generated were described, interpreted and analyzed in conjunction with secondary data to prove the study's assumptions right or wrong. In other words, the use of quantitative descriptive analysis helped the study to simply, explain andinterpret the results of the findings corroborating the information generated which helped the researchers to conclude the findings

Relevance of the Existing Security Framework for Security Management in Nigeria

The structure of security institutions with respect to chains of command and operational guidelines determines the extent to which security issues are addressed. Concerning Nigeria's security architecture, where powers and responsibilities for national security are concentrated at the centre, fundamental questions and opinions have been raised as to the efficacy of such a structure for the security of lives and property in the country.

Echoing the above position, Ufot, Peter, Esin & Anietie (2014) observed that, nations that ignore or refuse to acknowledge the undisputed importance of security are bound to face instabilities and threats to her corporate existence as in the case of Nigeria in recent times. The past governments both military and civilian have tended to pay lipservices to security responsibilities especially its management as reflected in inadequate funding and equipping of these security departments, especially the Nigerian Police Force. As a result of the lack of prioritization of the needs of these security providers in Nigeria, the country has continued to face destabilizing threats to its corporate existence and national integration.

The complexities of security challenges confronting the country have been attributed to a complex and cumbersome command structure which supports the centralization of power and authority after the order of the practice of federalism. This situation has made sub-national security formation dependent on a central authority for instruction on all occasions.Reacting to issues relating to the structure and operations of security agencies in Nigeria's federal system, selected respondent from the concerned security institution of the Nigerian Army, Lt Gen, Efedue, (Director of Policy and Administration) stated thus;

> The constitution and establishment of security institutions in Nigeria follow strictly the line of the federally constituted structure in the country. The appointment, posting and promotion of personnel are carried out within the framework of ethnic and

> national considerations. These and many other factors formed the basis of their existence and it also determines to a large extent their relevance and efficacy in addressing the core and pressing issues across the country. Most important are the issues of funding which lay the responsibility of providing security finance at the doorstep of the central government through security votes to sub-nationals such as States and Local Governments. And most of these funds are poorly being spent by the chief executive officers at each level of government.

Buttressing the above, Fayemi and Olonisakin, (2008) noted that constitutionally, the armed forces, police and prisons are answerable to the federal government because they are under the exclusive and legislative list. For example, despite the existence of police commands in the 36 states of the federation as well as the FCT Abuja, the central decision-making authority over the police rests with the Inspector General of police who is answerable directly to the President.

In the light of the above, Ufot, Peter, Esin&Anietie (2014) listed other lapses in critical security management and elements application in Nigerian security operations to include; (i) inadequacies in manpower recruitment and training of security forces and law enforcement agencies (ii) lack of timely and promptness in the handling of security issues by government (iii) lack of citizens involvement in state security management (iv) low standard of security awareness (v) reluctance by citizens to volunteer security information to law enforcement agencies (vi) slow threat response by government to security advices on threat assessment and neutralization (vii) lack of effective coordination and harnessing of human material and technical resources (viii) poor funding of security agencies and low motivation of security personnel (ix) lack of effective security networking between security and law enforcement agencies (x) lack of security personnel's self-control and discipline (xi) lack of secrecy and porous security network (xii) non-adherence to document security classifications and violation of oaths of secrecy Acts in security and government departments in Nigeria and (xiii) neglect and abandonment of retired

security personnel who would have still been useful to the nation but are often abandoned by their former department after retirement which can force some of them to engage in criminal activities

In a related development, another respondent averred that "Nigeria's security formation and structure were centralized in nature in terms of division of power, works, order and reportage, which is strictly adhering to the notion of centralization of security apparatus. Within these contexts, the significance or relevance of the existing Security management in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized and their importance is measured through the discharge of their constitutional responsibilities and allotted function by the government in no way are they expected to deviate from the Nigeria Constitution framework which provides for security mandates and functions.

Buttressing the above, Nijs (2017), stated that, the various military regimes centralized many fiscal policies, serving political interests and personal enrichment. The turn to democracy in 1999 did introduce elections on all administrative levels but did not alter the federal system, which thus remained highly centralized and dominated by the North. The transition to democracy was highly influenced by the military; the former military Head of State Obasanjo became president. The complete lack of popular participation in the drafting process of the constitution is important to note as this resulted in a widespread lack of support for the new laws. It was widely criticized to be supportive of the northern and military interests while ignoring the interests of the southern Nigerians.

The over-centralized command and control of the Nigerian Police and other internal security providers in the country does not make room for rapid response at state levels and invariably affects their performance and responses in emergencies. The attribute of over-centralization of security operations without respect for emergencies and peculiarities of respective security challenges across regions has greatly escalated the security challenges in the country (Ufot, Peter, Esin&Anietie, 2014). Another dimension was raised by a Nigeria Police officer, who is vast in

the operations of security agencies in.He observed that "the centralized security architecture and operations in Nigeria has dashed the hope of Nigerians in terms of getting security operatives and government to live up to the responsibility of protecting their lives and properties across the thirty-six states of the federal and even in the Federal Capital Territory where insecurity has become a recurring decimal. The centralization of security operations tops the chart in the issues raised by stakeholders regarding the growing security challenges in Nigeria. The criminal wave in Nigeria is geo-metric (high increasing) which needs to be addressed by all the state actors (President, Governors and Local chairman) with the solution of decentralization.

Data Presentation, Analysis and Findings

Descriptive survey analysis was adopted in this study, while a self-constructed questionnaire was designed and distributed to the major stakeholders such as security agencies, traditional rulers/chiefs and general masses. Hence, the figures below show the frequency tables of the respondents based on the two major objectives and questions this study intends to solve as far as federalism and security management in Nigeria during the fourth republic is concerned.

Reasons for the Federal Government chose to negotiate with the terrorist groups in Nigeria.

S/N	Statement	SA	A	U	SD	D	TOTAL
1	There is a good and cordial relationship between the host government and terrorist groups.	13	16	4	5	2	40
2	Negotiation is the only means of reducing and curbing terrorist attacks in Nigeria.	6	1	2	13	18	40
3	The host government believes that the terrorist groups are fighting for their rights.	12	9	1	7	11	40

TOTAL	**31**	**26**	**7**	**25**	**31**

Source: Survey data collected from fieldwork, 2023

Reasons for the misappropriation of the money being allocated to buy weapons in Nigeria

S/N	Statement	SA	A	U	SD	D	TOTAL
1	There is no proper coordination and monitoring of money released to buy weapons.	17	9	6	4	4	40
2	The money released was not released to the appropriate quarters.	7	8	2	18	5	40
3	The personnel involved in handling this money are not competent.	14	16	1	6	3	40
4	There is prompt auditing of the financing process.	11	18	3	7	1	40
	TOTAL	**49**	**51**	**12**	**35**	**13**	

Source: Survey data collected from fieldwork, 2023

X_1	31	26	7	25	31
Y_1	49	51	12	35	13

Correlation analysis was used to analyse the above data in order to know whether there is a strong relationship between the host government's efforts in curbing security, actual results and expected results on security challenges over the years in Nigeria. Reasons for the federal government to choose to negotiate with the terrorist groups in Nigeria were to be represented by X_1 and reasons for the

misappropriation of the money being allocated to buy weapons in Nigeriawere to be represented as well as Y_1

	X_1	31	26	7	25	31
	Y_1	49	51	12	35	13

X_1	Y_1	$X_1 - \bar{X}_1$	$Y_1 - \bar{Y}_1$	$(X_1 - \bar{X}_1)^2$	$(Y_1 - \bar{Y}_1)^2$	$(X_1 - \bar{X}_1)(Y_1 - \bar{Y}_1)$
31	49	7	19	49	361	133
26	51	2	21	4	441	42
7	12	-17	-18	289	324	306
25	35	1	5	1	25	5
31	13	7	-17	49	289	-119
120	160	0	0	392	1440	367

				9		
31	13	7	-19	49	361	-133
120	160			678	1420	315

$\mathbf{X_1} = \frac{120}{5}$

$\mathbf{X_1} = \mathbf{24}$

While $\mathbf{Y_1} = \frac{160}{5}$

$\mathbf{Y_1} = \mathbf{32}$

$$R = \frac{\sum\left(X_1 - \bar{X}_1\right)\left(Y_1 - \bar{Y}_1\right)}{\sqrt{\sum\left(X_1 - \bar{X}_1\right)^2\left(Y_1 - \bar{Y}_1\right)^2}} = = \frac{315}{\sqrt{678 \times 1420}}$$

$$\frac{315}{\sqrt{962760}} \qquad \frac{315}{981.203}$$

R = 0.321

R is 32% correlated, this indicates that there is no strong relationship between the two variables involved in the study offederalism and politics of security management in Nigeria's fourth republic. The above result shows how the Nigerian government is deliberately using insecurity to play politics with citizens' lives and properties in Nigeria at all levels. Though the host government has been promising to be firm they have never seen to be firm.

Conclusion

The incessant security challenge in Nigeria is more worrisome than the tsunami being experienced in the Western world to the point that individuals' lives and properties are no longer safe across the six (6) geo-political zones with various kinds of attacks and other social

vices such as kidnapping, Boko Haram, Niger-Delta Militant, Herdsmen are making the country a battlefield despitea large number of security arms being established by the host government at all levels. This is why, this paper proposedthorough decentralization of national security management and architecture to give more impetus to the federating units at the state and national levels as the present framework seems to have outlived its centrist/military usefulness and that host government must urgently address the problem of low morale in the rank and file of security agencies by increasing training and capacity development; this will have a positive effect on their confidence in coping with assigned roles in the face of growing agitations for regional/state-owned security outfits to complement the existing framework. This will help to bridge the security loopholes in the country at large.

Recommendations

For Nigeria to manage the problem of insecurity i.e. kidnapping, ransom killing, terrorist abduction, Ethno- religious violence, Internal displaced of persons, Cultists, Herdsmen and Fulani conflict and others, the following should be observed:

i. The study recommended a thorough decentralization of national security management and architecture to give more impetus to the federating units at the state and national levels as the present framework seems to have outlived its centrist/military usefulness.
ii. It also recommended a review of the constitution to give specific operational responsibilities to State Governors and Local Government Chairmen concerning all security management agencies in order not to make them “toothless bulldogs” in security affairs. This will also go a long way in reducing the tension associated with proposed state-owned security outfits.
iii. Government must urgently address the problem of low morale in the rank and file of security agencies by increasing training

and capacity development; this will have a positive effect on their confidence in coping with assigned roles in the face of growing agitations for regional/state-owned security outfits to complement the existing framework.

iv. In essence, there should be consistency in policy formulation and implementation with regard to the policy initiated by preceding administrations, to ensure that the effects of the policy will be continuous such that the aims of security policies will be realised.

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