

The Imperative of Securing Nigeria's Security

*An Inaugural Lecture delivered
At the Bingham University, Karu*

On Friday, 21 June, 2024

By

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Late Deacon Joseph Onuh Odoh and Late Mrs Salome Etumabo Odoh, who out of their meagre resources, insisted they procured for me formal education that neither of them had.

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NATIONAL ANTHEM

Nigeria we hail thee,
Our own dear native land
Though tribe and tongue may differ
In brotherhood, we stand,
Nigerians all, and proud to serve
Our sovereign Motherland.

Our flag shall be a symbol
That truth and justice reign,
In peace or battle, honour'd,
And this we count as gain,
To hand on to our children
A banner without stain.

BINGHAM UNIVERSITY ANTHEM

Bingham ECWA U-ni-ver-si-ty
Where Christ is Master and Lord
In ma-king god-ly to-tal men
For the glo-ry of the Lord

Excellence, Love and all godliness
Lord we pray to us endow
Honesty, Hard-work, Christ-likeness
Virtues that we cherish dear

University with the difference
Marches on from grace to heights
Pacesetters in conduct and learning
Mission to serve Christ the Lord

Lord bless those who care for all our needs
Grant us wisdom, love always
To impact other lives daily
For the glory of the Lord



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The Imperative of Securing Nigeria's Security

The Vice-Chancellor, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Registrar, Librarian, Provost College of Medicine, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Deans of other Faculties here present, Dean of Postgraduate Studies, Dean of Student Affairs, Directors of Institutes, Distinguished Gentlemen and Ladies.

Introduction: The Beginning.

I was born into the family of Late Deacon Joseph Onuh Odoh and Late Mrs. Salome Etumabo Odoh as the number eight of ten siblings. Eight of us were males and two females, but as fate will have it, I ended up being the only surviving male child of the family having lost all my male siblings who were my seniors except one. I am in between my two surviving sisters in age. One an elder and the other my younger sister. Consequently, my parents became devastated, frustrated, dejected, and poor. The best this poor family of orientation could provide for me was secondary education which I completed in June, 1982. Although, I had a good secondary school (WAEC) result, the best I got was an auxiliary teaching appointment at the Government Day Secondary School, Adumu in Ofu Local Government Area of the then Benue State. As soon as the state government got enough qualified teachers to teach at secondary schools, I lost my auxiliary teaching appointment in 1984 and returned to the farm!

What looked like the only hope for me acquiring a white collar job at the time was through an uncle, my mother's youngest sibling: Late Mr. David Ibrahim Oyibo, who was then a Sales Representative with the Nigerian

Match and Chemical Industry, Kano. During his Christmas visit to the village in 1984, I pleaded with him to allow me live with him in Kano. I eventually joined him in 1985, but my hope of getting a white collar job in Kano was dashed as he (my uncle) insisted that I pursue higher education rather than any job at the time. The question was, who was going to sponsor the venture, since my parents were poor and were only praying for me to get a job so that they could have a respite? Uncle David insisted that any white collar job at that time was going to discourage me from aspiring for further education. By 1986, he bought for me Admission Forms into the defunct School of Basic Studies (SBS), Makurdi for an IJMB A'level program. My parents were not happy with this plan, but because my late uncle was the sponsor, they posed little resistance.

On graduation from the IJMB program in 1988, the family responsibilities of my uncle had enlarged, so he could not continue the support of my plan for university education. I returned to the Local Government (Ofu) in search of job. I was interviewed for an Assistant Administrative Officer's job in the Local Government, but the release of Appointment Letter became a subject of politics. Another uncle: Late Mr. Peter Ikani, became the Secretary to the Local Government and accepted to squat me. He invited me to his office one day to introduce me to an Army Recruitment Officer (Major Adaramoye). Against my dream, I got lured into the Nigerian Army by the duo of my uncle and the Recruitment Officer in 1991.

However, the horrible training experience at the Nigerian Army Training Depot, Zaria, soon made me to begin to think of exiting the military as soon as I could. Again, the question then was, if I exited the military at that

time, what was I going to live on? I thought the best was to try and lay my hands on possible alternative before I disengage my services with the military. The best alternative I thought of was to acquire higher educational certificate (at least a bachelor's degree) before I quit. My first posting in the Army was to the Headquarters Nigerian Army Signals, Apapa-Lagos. A year later, I was re-posted to the Headquarters, 52 Division Signals, Ibadan. At Ibadan, I made some Commissioned Officers my friends to whom I made myself available for any errand job they had. I became a 'good boy' to many of them who picked interest in the desire to further my education. Guided by their counsels, I applied for Direct Entry admission to the University of Ibadan because of its proximity to the Military Formation I served then. I eventually got the admission in 1995 to read Sociology.

I was only four years in service when I gained admission to the premier university, Ibadan. I did not find it easy on the program as I was then a Private Soldier. My monthly salary then was one hundred and sixty-five Naira, seventy-five kobo (N165.75). But with the support of my late wife, (Mrs. Blessing Aladi Odoma) and my determination to acquire a bachelor degree, I completed the program in 1999. In year 2004, I returned to the same university for my Master's program. At the end of the Master's program, four of us made Ph.D grade (CGPA of 60.0 and above), and were advised if interested, to proceed straight to doctoral program. Although I had wanted to suspend further educational pursuit after my Master's program, but because I had the opportunity to proceed to doctoral program without having to apply again, I enrolled for it in 2006 and completed it in year 2011. Today's program summarizes my success story. I therefore express my appreciation to the Vice Chancellor, Professor

Haruna Kuje Ayuba and the University Committee on Inaugural Lecture for perfecting my nomination to present this inaugural lecture on behalf of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Today's lecture is the sixth to be delivered in Bingham University since its establishment in 2005/2006 session, the second from the Faculty of Social Sciences and the first ever from the Department of Sociology. Table 1 shows the list of previous inaugural lectures from the university.

Table 1: Chronicles of Inaugural Lectures in Bingham University

Serial	Name	Title of Inaugural Lecture	Year of Presentation
1.	Prof. Olufemi E.D Babalola	Return to Galadimawa: The Mectizian Story in the Control of River Blindness	25 May 2016
2.	Prof. Lovett Lawson	My Journey into the World of Tuberculosis: A Life Challenging Experience	15 Nov 2016
3.	Prof. Joseph A. Lori	From Metals to Man: A Story of Analytical Chemistry	20 Apr 2017
4.	Prof. Adebayo P. Adejola	Beyond Numbers: Accounting Data Explaining Better About Your Organization	13 Jul 2017
5.	Prof. John O. Aiyedogbon	Defence Expenditure and Insecurity in Nigeria: Implications for Macroeconomic Indicators	24 Feb 2022

Today, it is my turn to inform this esteemed audience of my contributions to the discipline of Sociology and the sub-field of Criminology and Deviance Studies to be specific. I shall therefore, be making references to some of my works from when I was appointed Assistant Lecturer in 2009 up to my promotion to the enviable rank of a Professor in 2022

The Discipline Criminology

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, esteemed audience, before venturing into Academics as an Assistant Lecturer in 2009 at Bowen University, Iwo, Osun State, I had sojourned into the Nigerian military as a combatant soldier for a period of almost two decades. I voluntarily disengaged my services in 2008 having contributed my quota to national security. Although a latent function, my sojourn into the military was for me a period of participant observation. It was my practical security experience at this time that influenced my desire to study sociology and later criminology, which eventually became my field of specialty. The inspiration to study sociology and later criminology was remarkably seamless. As a serving soldier, I was involved in taming the aftermath of the annulment of 12th June 1993 general elections result in Nigeria and other internal security duties. I equally participated in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) in 2001 and in Liberia (UNMIL) in 2007. The question that kept agitating my mind in all of these operations was '**why the conflict**' that necessitated my service as a peacekeeper? The answer was not far-fetched. Willful violations of a people's hallowed values by deviants in society caused the conflicts. I therefore realized that, there was a correlation between deviance and insecurity in society. I then concluded that, if I must unearth this link between deviance and insecurity, I needed to study criminology. This was how I fell in love with criminology as my field of specialty. I am glad today for the opportunity I have as a Criminologist to stand before this esteemed audience to discuss some of my contributions to the discipline of Sociology and particularly Criminology and Deviant Behaviour.

Mr. Vice Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, threat to human security is as

old as human existence on the planet earth. The Holy book reports that, the first family was exposed to threat immediately after their fall (Gen, 4:8). Consequently, the first family bequeathed humanity the legacy of first murder case ever in human history. Insecurity in human society has since this time not abated, but keeps worsening centuries after. Not even man's celebrated achievement in global technological advancement has helped to improve security in human society. Generations after generations have been engulfed in the elusive search for security (Odoma, 2018). This is probably because virtually everything ever desired by man on earth grinds to a halt in the absence of security. The endless search for security by humans has made it the most costly article ever in human society. More so, no nation can boast to have produced enough security for her citizens. No, not even the technologically advanced societies of the world. Man's desire for security has so far remained all-time insatiably high. As averred by Odoma (2014), security is costlier than gold because the all-time costly gold requires security of some sort continually, if it must retain its value and admiration. What then is this security?

Security

Security is conceptualized by scholars in several ways. The divergent perceptions of scholars about security are largely because everyone needs security in the same way that they are threatened by their various social and physical environments. Therefore, from their distinctive professional backgrounds, they seek to theorize and or define the ever desired but often elusive social virtue of all-times. For instance, the Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms (2023) defines security as measures taken by a military unit, activity or installation to protect itself against all acts designed to, or which may impair its effectiveness or is the

condition that prevents unauthorized persons from having access to official information that is safeguarded in national interest. Toeing this line of reasoning, security is viewed as a term which implies safety or freedom from danger, and protection from external attack or infiltration, whether with reference to individual or the state (NISER, 2005). Yet, Dzurgba (2010) posits security as things that are done in order to keep someone or something safe. It could also mean a state of being protected from bad things that can happen to a being or a thing. However, adopting a fairly different approach is Nwolise (2005). In his views, aside from contemporary criminal acts like robbery, terrorism, assassination, kidnapping, human and money trafficking, hostage taking, rape, etc that have posed lethal threat or crippled modern societies, other subtle forces such as ignorance, injustice, poverty, hunger to mention but a few, transmit enormous threat to peaceful existence and co-existence of citizens and thus incubate restiveness and insecurity. Precisely, Nwolise (2005) cited by Odoma (2014:11) assert that:

A country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient police force, the most efficient custom men, the most active secret service agents, and best quality prisons, but yet have most insecure nation in the world, as a result of defence and security problems from within- bad government, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment, or even activities of foreign residents or companies.

Corroborating Nwolise is Odoma (2014:11) who argues thus:

A good security is such that is anchored on the welfare of majority of the citizens. It must encompass all activities of citizens, inspired by dogged belief in the system, willful commitment to the actualization of

national projects, and the synergy of all informal and formal agencies of social control to protect the state and her citizens. Any security system that fall short of this standard is no doubt bound to fail and rather breeds chain of threats to peace and development of any society.

Abolurin (2011) consenting with Nwolise and Odoma, refers to this form of security a contemporary security as it projects both military and non-military elements, some of which are military security, political security, human security, energy security, communication security, among others. The purpose of this arrangement is to further ensure the safety of lives and property of the citizenry. Security is therefore ubiquitous as it pervades every facet of human life (Odoma, 2014). From the foregoing it is safe to state that security refers to anything done by an individual or a people to ensure that plans, intentions, and aspirations (corporate or individual) are confidently and peacefully actualized without deliberate efforts of anyone/group from within or without to frustrate them.

However, because there is always an innate drive in some persons to usurp the rights of others in society (Stirk & Weigall, 1995; Appadorai, 2004), modern societies have characteristically evolved formal agencies of social control to police and ward-off possible violations and usurpation of the rights and popular values of the people that could breed insecurity in society. Such agencies include the Police, Military, and quasi-policing organizations like the Customs, Immigration, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), etc. With these security agencies performing their constitutional duties, the state should have less of security challenges to contend.

It is these agencies that are at the vanguard of security that sums up our security architecture. Surprisingly, the experiences in the past few decades in parts of Nigeria have shown how prone to hatred, in-fighting, and destruction these agencies have become, thus exposing the nation and her citizens to vicissitudes of threats because security agencies are themselves not secured. The security operatives who are the arrowhead of our security architecture are attacked and sometimes killed like common criminals, thereby sending dangerous signals to the citizens that they are after all not secured. Consequently, investment in the economy nosedived, poverty increased, national image dwindled, life expectancy dropped, violent crimes have become the order of the day, brain-drain soars as the nation bleeds helplessly. This explains why there is the urgent need to secure security in Nigeria.

The Evolution of Contemporary Security

For a long time, security has been viewed from the realist viewpoint. The realist scholars perceive security and insecurity of society to be basically a function of activities of state and state actors. To them, threat to global security is derived from competition driven by vested interests of states or state actors which often ends in conflicts. According to Tripp (2013), inter-state conflicts were heightened as states were often not under any mutual authority that was capable of controlling their interests. This position necessitated the formation of a number of International Political Organizations such as the United Nations Organizations (UNO), European Union (EU), African Union (AU), among others to checkmate excesses of states and state actors. The realist school of thought is essentially militaristic, but was rarely able to tame global threats. This approach to understanding security pervaded the globe until the end of the

'cold war détente' in the 20th century.

The contemporary dimension to security is however rooted in the idealist tradition. This school of thought emphasizes human consideration as having greater prospects of taming and or incubating threat to security in human society (Nwolise, 2005; Abolurin, 2011; Odoma, 2014). This approach to security is concerned with the need to make individuals and groups (non-state actors) the reference point in security ideas and design. It insists that threat to national security are not only always from state actors, but from non-state actors like militia groups, local terrorist groups, economic saboteurs, religious groups, etc. Therefore in contemporary society, restricting security consideration to only state actors without commensurate concerns for other sources such as hunger, bad governance, poverty, restiveness, etc amount to poor appreciation of the concept of security. Therefore, any sincere security design must necessarily revolve around the citizens. This position may equally affect any intervention process by an external agency that seeks to provide security or maintain peace among a people. Consequently, to provide security, it is necessary that the consumers of security (citizens) perceive or be made to perceive threat to their peace and must equally be prepared to take ownership of the process of attaining the security.

The Problem

There is no doubt that in the absence of security, every other thing desired by man in society grids to a halt. It is in line with this popular perception that the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as Amended, states expressly that the primary function of the State (Nigeria) is the provision of security to her citizens and their properties (FRN,

1999). Consequently, formal security organizations such as the Police, Armed Forces and other policing agencies were created as coercive mercenary of the state to ensure citizens and their properties are protected while assisting the state to exercise the right to sole use of force to command compliance of all. Where these state actors are themselves exposed to forms of violence, hatred, death and are constantly molested by criminals with ease as has been the case in the recent past (see Table 4), not only is the security of the state and her citizens threatened, but also the integrity, sovereignty and power of the state to command compliance of other groups and institutions through the exercise of force is equally contested by non-state actors. Furthermore, the essence of government in a democratic polity is fast getting eroded. It is therefore, in the interest of the state and her citizens to secure Nigeria's security.

My Contributions

Inter-Agency Conflicts and National Security

Mr. Vice Chancellor, my distinguished audience, my doctoral research in year 2010 was basically a longitudinal study that examined the menace of Army-Police clashes in Lagos, Nigeria, between year 2000 to 2010. The study exposed me to the world of social research. Inter-agency conflicts have become a protracted and widespread social problem in Nigeria since the first officially reported case in Port-Harcourt in 1977. The crisis has repeated itself in several parts of the country with attendant grave implications as loss of lives and property, death of both the operatives and civilian population, and above all, it has often exacerbated security challenges of the nation. This is obviously because other policing agencies have equally been caught in the web of inter-agency clashes (MILPPOPROF, 2007; Abolurin, 2011). As long as animosity exists

between and within these agencies, intelligence sharing and the expected professional synergy between the forces becomes difficult.

Although inter-agency feud have been reported in several parts of the nation, the city of Lagos has experienced the problem more than any state in Nigeria. This provided justification for the conduct of the study in Lagos. More importantly, the Army and the Police enjoys common origin, evolution, organizational/command structure and socialization (Adekanye, 1993). It was therefore taken for granted that the findings were not expected to be significantly different if it was conducted elsewhere.

Utilizing the survey method, the study drew a sample size of 1,047 respondents from among the Police, Army, and civilian population who were either eyewitnesses or victims of the clashes in Lagos. Data were collected using both the quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and archival materials) instruments of data collection. The analysis of the triangulated methods produced a body of findings:

- a. Army-Police clashes in Nigeria are caused by superiority struggles among the agencies, economic poverty, involvement in illegal businesses, professional encroachment of responsibilities, poor orientation and lack of regards for other agencies (Odoma, 2011a).
- b. The clashes occurred when the operatives embarked on illegal duties/businesses.
- c. The operatives rarely clash when on official duties such as Joint Security Task Force.
- d. The operatives clashed when pursuing whatever they considered as

supplement to their incomes as they attempted to deal with poverty. This explains why there have been more of the clashes in Lagos that is popularly considered the commercial nerve center of the nation.

e. Although the clashes often started between two individuals from the forces, the exhibition of spirit of comradeship among the forces often made it a group problem.

f. The claims of superiority and exercise of rights among the forces often exacerbated the conflict whenever it occurred.

g. Surprisingly, virtually all the clashes between personnel of Nigeria Police Force and the Army started between officers of the lower ranks (Non-commissioned Officers). Commissioned Officers of the forces hardly engaged in violent conflicts. There appeared to be disparities in the socialization/orientation of officers and men of the forces.

h. Security duties were momentarily left unattended to at the peak of inter-agency clashes.

i. Inter-agency conflicts have grave implications on the reputation of the agencies and the security of the nation.

Recommendations

Arising from the findings, the study recommended that:

1. Cooperation and collaboration of security agents was envisaged at the time of their formation. To this end, the constitution of the nation clearly emphasizes the need for collaboration among the agencies, such that they can effectively deal with security issues in the interest of the nation. It is recommended that the agencies remain mindful of this in their service delivery as a panacea to building harmonious relationship towards a common cause.

2. There is absolutely no justification for superiority struggles among security agents. It is the nature of tasks to be performed, not status/superiority that account for the tools used by the agencies. The weapons available to a particular agency should not in any way be misconstrued to imply superiority or inferiority. The joy of any of the agencies and the nation in particular should be the delivery on their mandates and not projecting their ego. Furthermore, the security agents should know that the nation is not secured until the complementary roles of other agencies are successfully accomplished.

3. The driving force in all the reported cases of inter-agency clashes was unruly behaviour exhibited while on illegal duties. When on illegal duties, they momentarily were not under any command, but controlled by self and ego. It was at the point of everybody assuming the status of self-commander that unruly behaviour that triggered violence occurred. The hallmark of any security agency is discipline. The authorities of these agencies need to do more to curtail the excesses of their men.

4. In the same vein, economic poverty has often enhanced inter-agency conflicts in Nigeria. The welfare of these security professionals has for long not been given enough attention. It is their desire to complement their inadequate incomes that lure them into unauthorized businesses/duties. Security is a costly venture, the nation can only enjoy it better if it cares to pay the price. It is only then that condemning them of failure can be seen justifiable (Odoma, 2014).

5. Constant dialogue/interaction and re-socialization of security personnel is important. In fact, it is recommended that the form of

socialization and or interaction among Commissioned Officers of the forces be introduced among the Non-Commissioned Officers cadre. So far, violent conflicts among the forces were not linked to the officer's cadre, but have often been caused by the men.

6. Failure to subject self for scrutiny of other security agencies performing lawful duties was another reason for violent clashes among security forces. In a democratic dispensation, security officers should themselves live by example by respecting the same laws that they are meant to protect. It is not enough that they apprehend offenders while they themselves flagrantly violate the same laws especially in the full glare of civilians. A law enforcement agent that wishes to absolve self of any complicity in violation or wants to prove his/her innocence of violation or aiding criminals must be willing to submit self for routine checks by other agencies. It is only then that they can be seen to show respect for their organizations, and it is also then that others would accord them such respect.

Misperception of Security in Nigeria

Mr. Vice Chancellor and my esteemed audience, the repeated cases of security challenges in Nigeria, at least in the past two to three decades, awakened in me in 2014 the curiosity to attempt to decode the reasons why insecurity in the land appears to have defied the prescriptions of both security operatives and scholars.

Government after government have introduced new methods of social control, diversified security measures and operatives, and have increased annual budgetary allocations to security, yet, the results have been a steady rise in security challenges (Abolurin, 2011). Aside from the fact

that scholars have advocated the introduction of contemporary security approach that gives priority to the amelioration of social issues from within the country such as bad governance, alienated and suffering masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment and poverty (Nwolise, 2005), it appears that there is something peculiar with the Nigerian security situation. No doubt, while Nigeria is not the worst in the generation of these internal incubators of insecurity when compared with other nations, yet, she none-the-less, appears the most insecure.

It was discovered that erroneous perception of the concept of security by most Nigerian citizens have made security elusive in the country even when the same is sought after by all. Although the average Nigerian citizen seeks and admire security, they perceives it as what must be provided by the government, only to be enjoyed by the citizens. This has made efforts at providing security fruitless. To provide and or enjoy security, citizens must be actively involved and be ready to take ownership of the process. Odoma (2014:11), succinctly asserts that:

A good security is such that is anchored on the welfare of majority of the citizens. It must encompass all activities of citizens, inspired by dogged belief in the system, willful commitment to the actualization of national projects, and the synergy of all informal and formal agencies of social control to protect the state and her citizens. Any security system that fall short of this standard is no doubt bound to fail and rather breeds chain of threats to peace and development of any society.

Following from the above, collaboration and synergy between the government and the governed becomes seamless. Unfortunately, most Nigerian citizens have failed to volunteer information of security

importance to security operatives, while many others have connived with criminals to unleash mayhem on citizens and security operatives (Asaolu, 2021; Jimoh, 2022). Furthermore, security operatives have failed to acknowledge most of the times, the relevance of their civilian masters as the best of resources in security industry. This misperception has kept and may continue to keep the much desired security far from the citizens. The major difference between relatively secure and insecure societies like Nigeria is wrong perception of security. Attitudinal change by stakeholders to national security remains the veritable route to virile security in Nigeria.

Threats to Nigeria's Security

Generally, every parts of the nation have faced insecurity of one form or the other in the recent past. Citizens are neither secured at home nor away from home. In the face of this, it does not appear that the government or its agencies are able to provide succor to citizens as criminals terrorize members at will on a daily basis.

Threat to Nigerian national security can be grouped into four basic dimensions: inter-agency rifts, intra-agency conflicts, activities of unknown gunmen, and activities of some unscrupulous individuals in Nigeria. We shall attempt to discuss them accordingly.

(a) Inter-Agency Conflicts

Security responsibilities in Nigeria are unambiguously defined by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended. The security of the nation is left in the hands of the two dominant agencies of the state: the Nigeria Police Force and Nigerian Armed Forces. These

agencies enjoy common evolution as the early Army (later Armed Forces) performed both police and military duties to the British colonial regime (Adekanye, 1993; Abolurin, 2011). Traditionally, the Nigeria Police Force is saddled with the domestic security responsibilities, while the Nigerian Military is tasked with the maintenance of territorial boundaries against all forms of external aggression (Adekanye, 1993; Oditia, 1993;FRN, 1999).

However, because there is only a thin line of demarcation between internal and external security of the Nigerian state, these agencies are further empowered by the 1999 constitution as amended and other enabling Acts to collaborate and or synergize to ensure that the nation is secure at all times internally and externally (Omoigui, 2006). Although these agencies have records of smooth collaborations in support of each other at sundry times in the past, they have equally been involved in several unhealthy operational rivalries that culminated in loss of lives and destruction of public and private properties. This has often exposed the nation to a terrible dimension of insecurity, first of the security operatives themselves and the civil society. Table 2 below presents chronicles of some cases of unhealthy rivalries between security operatives particularly between personnel of the Army and the Police in Nigeria.

Table2: Some Cases of Army/Police Clashes in Nigeria and their Consequences

Serial	Date	Location	No: of Death	No: of Wounded	The Aftermath
1.	09/11/1977	Port Harcourt	Several policemen were killed	Several others wounded	Civilians deserted their homes, tension, threat to security and withdrawal of police from duty posts.
2.	06/09/1992	Yaba	1 Army Colonel	Nil	Tension, threat to security, withdrawal of police from checkpoints, lawlessness among security agencies and miscreants.
3.	06/07/2004	Ikeja	1 Soldier	25 Policemen	Traffic flow hindered, economic and commercial activities disturbed.
4.	04/10/2005	Ojuelegba	2 Policemen and 3 Civilians	6 Soldiers, 2 Policemen and several Civilians	Area C Police Station, Police Barracks and vehicles burnt, 40 detainees unlawfully released, while traffic flow was hindered.
5.	16/01/2006	Bauchi	Nil	2 Policemen	Bayan-Gari Police Officer's Mess burnt and several days of tension and uncertainty.
6.	24/09/2006	FESTAC Town	Nil	3 Soldiers and 1 Policeman	Satellite Police Station destroyed and confusion among civil populace.
7.	30/03/2007	Benin	Nil	10 Policemen	Ring Road Police Station destroyed.
8.	29/05/2009	Orile	1 Soldier	Several Policemen	Confusion, fear, and panic among civilian population.
9.	11/02/2010	Benin	2 Soldiers and 3 Mobile Policemen	10 persons wounded	Tension, serious threat to security and fear among civilians.
10.	11/04/2013	Ibadan	Nil	Several Soldiers and Policemen injured	Confusion and apprehension among civilians, disruption of commercial activities.
11.	1/5/2020	Bomadi	1 Soldier killed	1 Policeman sustain gunshot injury	Lawlessness and confusion.
12.	2/6/2020	Zaria	Nil	Nil	Chaotic atmosphere for hours.
13.	1/6/2022	Numan Rd Adamawa	1 Soldier killed	Nil	Apprehension among the civil population.
14.	29/6/2022	Yenagoa	Nil	2 Civilians hit by stray bullets	Confusion, tension and breakdown of law and order.
15.	20/03/2023	Jalingo	2 Police officers killed	Several police officers injured	Confusion and apprehension among the civil populace.

Source : Adapted from Odoma 2014b; Vanguard 1/5/2020; Blueprint 2/6/2020; This Day 1/6/2022 Daily Trust 29/6/2022; Saharareporters 20/03/2023

Table 2 above presents the chronicles of regrettable reality of our security services that span about four to five decades of our nationhood. The experiences no doubt negates the basis and objectives that underlay their creation. Reasons such as ignorance, superiority struggles, economic poverty, illegal businesses, unhealthy rivalries, and unfair handling of previous rifts are held accountable for repeated violent clashes between these dominant security agents of the Nigerian state (Omoigui, 2006; Odoma, 2011; Abolurin, 2011). What is more disturbing is that, aside from irreparable losses of lives of these operatives and destruction to properties and general chaotic atmosphere they generate, the security of the society (Nigeria) often suffer great setback at the time of their clashes as security officers were withdrawn from their bits to prevent spiral effects. This is because as noted by Odoma (2011), the operatives are hardly seen in public/on duty at the peak of their crises for fear of reprisal attacks from each other. At such times, hoodlums freely take advantage of the absence of security in their area of responsibilities to unleash mayhem on defenseless citizens. Yet, it is for the provision of national security that they were *abinitio* established. Because of this ugly outcome, Nigeria has featured prominently among nations of the world considered insecure by the international community. Insecurity alone scares investors to the economy and dents the hallowed image of the most populous and geostrategic nation of the continent of Africa (Kolapo, 2006).

Furthermore, other security operatives or para-military organizations in the country appear to have been infected by the virus of inter-agency conflict. For instance, similar conflicts have been reported between personnel of Nigeria Police Force and Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), the Police and Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), the

Police and State Security Services (DSS), the DSS and Nigeria Correctional Service (NCS) (MILPOPPROF, 2007). According to Abolurin (2011), it is for the purpose of providing robust security to the nation and her citizens that Nigeria like other nations operate multi-agency or multi-track security system. The multi-track security, he posits encompasses arm-bearing and non-arm-bearing operatives who are expected to work in collaboration in the overall interest of national security. This unintended consequence of our security system has been attributed to myriads of reasons. Overlapping roles, ignorance, superiority struggles, suspicion, and hatred among the forces are some of the reasons advanced for this security misnomer (Odoma, 2011).

(b) Intra-Agency Rifts

Just like inter-agency conflicts, intra-agency rifts across the nation have resulted in regrettable experiences, compromised national security, and dented our image and reputation as a people in the past decades. As shown in Table 3, whenever such rift occurred, it either resulted in avoidable deaths or serious embarrassment and or setback to national security. Below are some cases of intra-agency conflicts that by all purposes and intents have ridiculed our security architecture.

Table 3: Some Reports of Cases of Intra-Agency Rifts in Nigeria

Serial	Date	Source	Location	Event	Reason
1.	30/7/2020	Daily Trust	Borno	Nigerian Army Confirms Soldier killed Senior Colleague, Narrate Incident.	Reason unknown
2.	28/4/2022	The Cables	Yobe	Soldier kill Self in Yobe after he was Arrested for Joining Boko Haram.	To avoid further interrogation
3.	17/11/2022	The Punch	Borno	Soldier Kills Colleague, Injure Pilot in North-East.	Reason unknown
4.	5/3/2023	This Day	Sokoto	Soldier Kills Commander, Two Others, Self in Sokoto.	Reason unknown
5.	6/3/2023	Premium Times	Sokoto	Soldier Commits Suicide After Killing Commander, Two other Colleagues.	Hot arguments
6.	13/3/2023	Saharareporters	Borno	Nigerian Army Personnel again Go Wild, kill Colleague in Borno State.	Hot arguments
7.	6/8/2023	Daily Trust	Yola	Female Soldier Guns Down Captain in Adamawa.	Disagreement
8.	17/10/2022	The Cables	Abia	Police Officer Shoots Colleague in Abia After 'Argument'.	Hot arguments
9.	24/6/2023	Saharareporters	Kaduna	Nigerian Police Inspector kills Colleague in Kaduna, Sells Rifle to Terrorists for N300,000.	Illicit business
10.	27/6/2023	The Guardian	Kaduna	Police Inspector Arrested for Attempting to Kill Colleague.	Illicit business
11.	17/5/2023	The Punch	Sokoto	EFCC Hands Over Operatives to Police for Killing Colleague.	Refusal to compromise standard.

From the Table 3 above, all the cases except one, ended in avoidable deaths of security operatives that cost the nation unquantifiable time and resources to train. It will equally cost her much more to replace them, where possible. It is not only painful to lose our security operatives in such circumstances, but such experiences convey dangerous signals to the people they serve. First, it suggests that if their security operatives die to the bullets of own colleagues in such questionable circumstances, the citizens are not safe. It further suggests that criminals can easily infiltrate their ranks, as has been the case in recent times. Furthermore, such repeated cases call to question the level of discipline, comradeship, and professionalism among these important state actors. The duo of inter and intra-agency conflicts in Nigeria have created the culture of lack or absence of synergy in our multi-track security system. Because of this development, intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing among security operatives suffer a great deal. No doubt, it is important for the leadership of these agencies to find urgent solution to this unprofessional and regrettable development.

A closer look at Table 3 equally shows that most of the intra-agency conflicts occurred at the theater of operations against insurgents across the nation. It appears there is a serious psychological problem confronting our arms-bearing security operatives, particularly at the theater of operations leading to frustration and aggression. One other factor that underlay the desire of security operatives to murder colleagues is corruption among the operatives. Shown in the Table 3 is a case of an operative who killed a colleague and sold his weapon to bandits for a financial reward of three hundred thousand Naira (N300, 000.00) only. The same can be said of another who committed suicide after he was

discovered to be an ally of Boko Haram insurgents while still active in service as a security staff. Similarly, the case of operatives who conspired to kill their colleagues for failure to compromise investigative standards is not unconnected with the virus of corruption. Corruption among arms-bearing operatives is no doubt a proof that, a people can at best evolve the kind of security system they deserve. Nigeria is generally believed by many observers including Nigerians themselves, to be one of the most corrupt and unsafe nations of the world (Odoma, 2012). If these security operatives were first Nigerians, born and acculturated in Nigeria and live among Nigerians that are generally corrupt, it will be difficult for anyone to expect them to be insulated against the virus of corruption.

(c) Unknown Gunmen

The mantras of unknown gunmen and bandits have become the greatest threat to Nigeria's national security in recent times. As the name implies, unknown gunmen refers to arms-bearing criminals that operate across the nation, but whose identity are neither known to security agents nor the government. The activities of unknown gunmen have become deadlier, and thus paint a gloomy picture of our security system because of the lack of inter and intra-agency synergy required for a robust security system. Activities of unknown gunmen have flourished uncontrollably in Nigeria as the entire security architecture has been infiltrated. For instance, there are reports of members of the civil society as well as security operatives sympathizing with insurgents in parts of the country (Maishanu, 2022; Olafusi, 2022). For obnoxious and primordial reasons, the citizens chose to align with enemies of the society and or remain economical with vital and timely information relating to activities of criminal elements in the society. The results have been widespread uncertainties, insecurity and

killings of security agents like common criminals. Table 4 below shows some destruction to national security caused by the monster of unknown gunmen and bandits across the nation.

Table 4: Some Reported Attacks on Security Operatives by Unknown Gunmen in Nigeria

Serial	Location	Attack	Date	Casualties
1.	Katsina State	Bandits ambush Nigerian Soldiers in Katsina, kill 16	19/7/2020	16 Soldiers kills, 28 others wounded.
2.	River State	Police Officers, other security officials Killed in Deadly Attacks in Rivers	25/4/2021	8 Operatives lost their lives
3.	Zamfara State	Bandits Shoot down Nigerian Air Force jet-Official	19/7/2021	No Casualty
4.	Imo State	Gunmen Kill Officer in Imo, set police facility ablaze.	23/11/2021	Scores were killed amidst general confusion in the area.
5.	Zamfara State	Bandits kill seven Policemen, set patrol Vehicle ablaze in Zamfara	10/11/2021	7 Police Officers lost their lives.
6.	Kaduna State	Gunmen Attack Kaduna Airport, Kill Official	26/3/2022	1 Official killed.
7.	Kaduna State	11 Soldiers Killed as Gunmen attack Military Base in Kaduna	6/4/2022	11 Soldiers killed.
8.	Imo State	Gunmen Kill, Behead two Soldiers in Imo	2/5/2022	3 Soldiers killed.
9.	Ondo State	Owo Attack: How Gunmen Attacked Ondo Church, Fled – Witnesses	12/6/2022	40 worshipers killed.
10.	Ondo State	Gunmen Attack Ondo Police Station, Kill Police Inspector.	25/7/2022	Confusion and apprehension with the death of an officer.
11.	FCT	Terrorists Attack Presidential Guards in Abuja, Kill Eight Soldiers.	26/7/2022	8 Army officers killed.
12.	Nationwide	Insecurity: Armed Persons kill 65 Nigerian Police Officers, 85 Soldiers in First half of 2022	31/7/2022	Scores of security operatives killed.
13.	Enugu State	Gunmen kill Five Security Operatives along Enugu/Abakaliki Highway.	30/1/2023	Five Security Operatives killed.
14.	Anambra State	Gunmen kill two Security Operatives, Set Ablaze Nigerian Police Station in Anambra.	4/2/2023	At least 2 Operatives lost their lives.
15.	Niger State	Bandits Kill 13 Soldiers in Niger State, Military Loses Helicopter in Operation.	13/8/2023	No fewer than 13 Officers lost their Lives.
16.	FCT	Gunmen Open Fire on Buses, abduct Passengers on Abuja – Lokoja road.	4/9/2023	Many held captive.
17.	Delta State	Gunmen Ambushed Officers of the Nigerian Army	14/3/2024	16 Officers Murdered.
18.	Delta State	Gunmen Ambushed Officers of the Nigeria Police Force	23/3/2024	6 Officers killed, 6 others missing.

Source: *Premium Times* 19/7/2020, 25/4/2021; 23/11/2021; 26/3/2022, 12/6/2022, 27/7/2022; 31/7/2022, *Tribune* 10/11/2021, *Daily Trust* 4/9/2023, *Vanguard* 25/7/2022, *Saharareporters* 4/2/2023, *This Day* 9/8/2023, *Punch* 15/3/2024; 23/3/2024

As shown in Table 4, except for only one of the incidents, all the attacks of unknown gunmen on security agents in Nigeria have resulted in painful loss of lives and materials of the state security personnel. Furthermore, a closer look at the Table will also reveal that the attacks are widespread as no geo-political zone is insulated, not even the Federal Capital City that houses the Headquarters of these agencies is spared. The attackers appear to be formidable, organized, and well equipped to frustrate formal state actors. This no doubt, raises fundamental concerns. For instance, one of the attributes of the state is that it enjoys the monopoly of legitimate use of naked force to ensure compliance of citizens and institutions within it (Giddens,2009). This sole prerogative of the state is to a large extent threatened by the uncontrolled activities of unknown gunmen and bandits within the geographical boundary of the Nigeria state. The threat to application of coercive apparatus has drifted the most populous state of the continent of Africa to the fringe of a fragile state (Akinyetun, Ebonine &Ambrose, 2023).

The loss of confidence among the civil populace in the security architecture of the nation is equally of serious concern to the nation and her citizens. The greatest resource to any security is the civil society for which it works. If the society has high regards for its security agents, it will go all out to provide the necessary supports through divulging of timely and voluntary intelligence of security importance to appropriate agencies. Where citizens are economical with information, the operatives are bound to fail, as no security agency succeeds outside this support (Odoma, 2014). Where security operatives are daily attacked, killed and appear overpowered by criminally minded non-state actors in the manner witnessed in Nigeria in recent times, the major cause is loss of confidence

they suffer from civil society. A good security should necessarily be the pride to the citizens, dreaded by the enemies of the state and respected by its allies. This does not appear to be the case in Nigeria of the 21st the century.

Similarly, widespread attacks on security operatives by unknown gunmen and bandits have debilitating impacts on the psyche and morale of security operatives. Of late, the ignoble achievements of unknown gunmen across the nation as reported in some national dailies such as bringing down military Jet and Helicopter, ambushment and killing of operatives across the nation appear to have heightened the onslaught of the terrorists and dampened the morale of the troops across the nation. This has however, led to several regrettable attitudes of our security agents. For example, in probable despair, a good number of our security agents have deserted services, murdered their colleagues, and committed suicides at several theaters of operation across the nation (Ayitogo, 2021; Anwar, 2023; Babangida, 2023). The nation is speedily drifting to the brink of anarchy except urgent steps are taken to quickly nib the situation in the bud by securing our security architecture.

(d) Activities of Some Unscrupulous Individuals in Nigeria

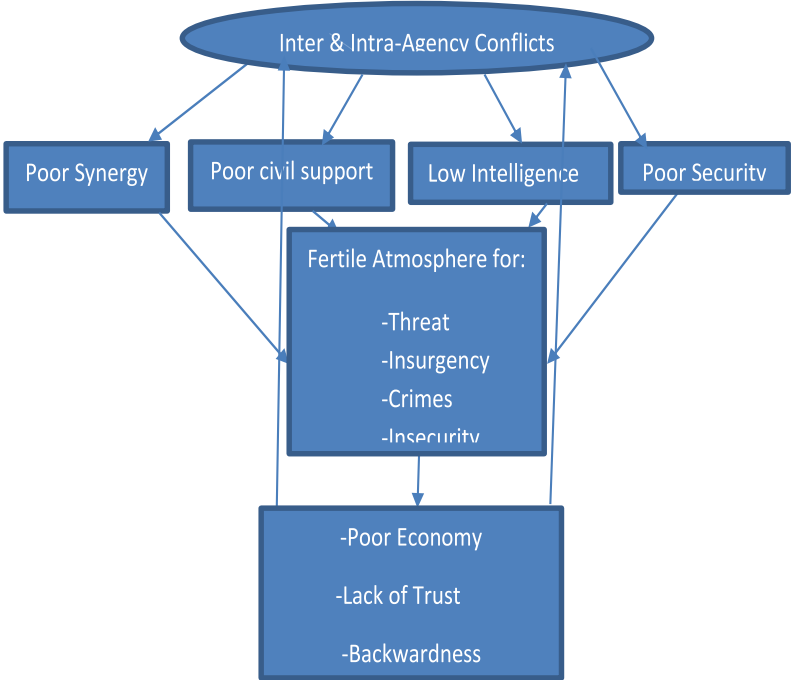
The conspiracy and ignoble roles of some individuals that are exhibiting deviant behaviors account in part for why the security system can hardly secure the operatives, Nigeria, and her citizens. The media space is in the recent past dotted by activities of some citizens, who for primordial sectional reasons chose to fraternize with enemies of the nation. This has aggravated cases of security threats across the nation. For instance, traditional rulers who are believed to be the custodians of our hallowed

cultures and common patrimony have been accused of teaming-up with unknown gunmen, bandits, and terrorists against the law-abiding citizens across the nation. All efforts of government to secure the society by security operatives have been frustrated by these unscrupulous individuals, leading to deaths of operatives as well as civilian population (Ashaolu, 2021; Maishanu, 2022; Jimoh, 2022). It appears like these unpatriotic Nigerians have suffered from blocked opportunities and or aspirations, having hopped for improved conditions that appear slim because of the problem of weakened common morality of Nigerian state (Ritzer, 1996). This condition is exacerbated by the fact that the Federal government has failed to do enough to neither deal decisively with security threats across the nation nor bring such unscrupulous persons to justice.

Furthermore, the government for instance claimed it had uncovered personalities who sponsor terror and insurgency in Nigeria, yet, none has been arrested or prosecuted (Erezi, 2022). In the same vein, some highly placed individuals had taken photographs with bandits and publicly defended terrorists in the open, yet, government and security operatives claimed they don't know the hideouts of the miscreants (Altine, 2021). A total of eleven (11) traditional rulers were deposed by the Zamfara State government for their involvement/complicity in banditry attacks in the State (Maishanu, 2022), yet, none has been prosecuted in court. In the same vein, a traditional ruler and a Local Government Chairman were accused of involvement in banditry activities in Kogi State. These personalities were only suspended and or queried by the State Governor. They were however not prosecuted in any court of the land (Jimoh, 2022). There is little doubt that the government has not shown enough willpower

to deal decisively with cases of insecurity in the country. This explains the lucrative nature of violent crimes across the nation in recent times (Odoma & Akor, 2019).

Figure 1: Conceptual Frame Depicting Nigeria's Security Challenges and Implications



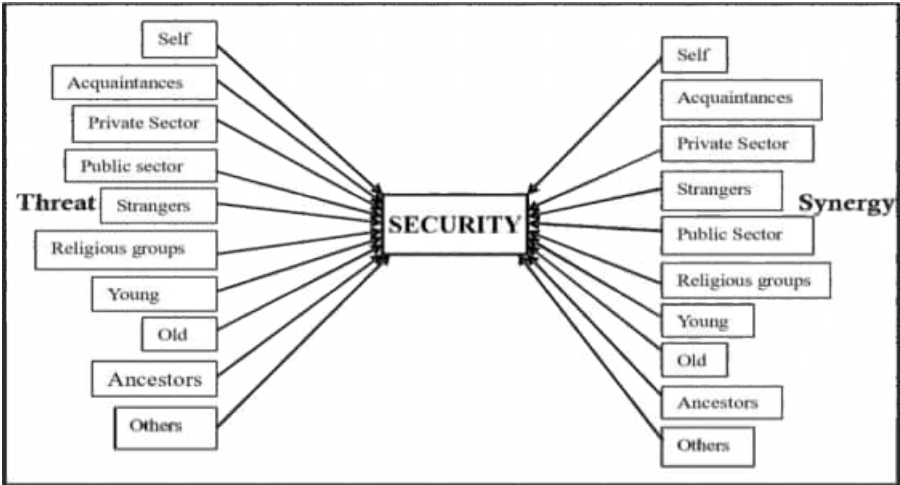
As indicated in Figure 1 above, protracted cases of unhealthy rivalries between social control agencies in the country has in itself exacerbated the insecurity of the national security system. The protracted feuds among security operatives have triggered lack of synergy among the operatives. By extension, the civil society that is the most powerful resource to any security system across the globe, has not benefited the security agencies in Nigeria because they have lost their support due to lack of integrity. Consequently, the security agencies appear to have suffered from low

morale and the attendant poor security delivery to the nation. The aforementioned developments in the polity have necessarily resulted in threats to lives and property, insurgency, crime and insecurity across the nation. It is therefore, not surprising that, the Nigerian economy has in the recent past performed poorly amidst lack of trust and retrogression. This confirms the dictum that in the absence of security, everything desired by man in society becomes secondary (Odoma, 2014).

The Reality of Insecurity in Nigeria

Just as there is an avalanche of causes and or initiators of threat to a people's security in society, so are the possible solutions. This position is founded on a scientific dictum popularly cited thus: “Action and reaction are equal and opposite” (Physics Classroom, 1996). As noted earlier, insecurity in Nigeria is placed at the doorsteps of the trio of government, security operatives, and civil collaboration/conspiracy. It naturally will follow the same factors that caused insecurity in society to breed the achievement of relative security in Nigeria. As shown in Figure 2 below, it will require concerted efforts and change in attitude or approaches of the leadership, security agents, and the led in society. It will equally involve invoking physical and spiritual resources available to them, for a people to enjoy meaningful relief from the onslaught of deviants, miscreants and insecurity.

Figure 2: A Framework suitable for Sustainable Security: Adapted from Odoma (2014).



Whether for individuals or the larger society, the foundation of security is the same and it is a function of cultivation of the right attitude by a people. Without first developing the right attitude, whatever resources that are sunk into providing security hardly produce meaningful results. It has been argued that the right attitude to security is developing a feeling of insecurity all the time, even when one feel secured among people considered to be intimate to harm them. When some persons are seen as potential threats and others are not, it means one is yet to start thinking security and it makes it elusive. This is because, people who pose greater threats to our security are likely to be people we probably will not expect or suspect to cause harm to us because of the intimate relationship they maintain with us(Odoma, 2014).All they need to behave otherwise is vested interests. When there is vested interest in relationships, even siblings, spouse and or parents can become mischievous. Succinctly, Odoma (2014) argue thus:

.....if such persons (friends and close relations) decide to cause harm, there may not be any clue to arrest them, as they are not likely to be suspected, not even by their victims. This is because they are likely not to be seen as people with the potential to harm. Moreover, if they choose to harm, going by the closeness to their victims, they are not likely to miss target since they know the right time and the right weapon to strike with and possibly return as early sympathizers. Such enemies are often the most dangerous (Odoma, 2014: 19-20).

Generally, it is believed that security is misperceived in Nigeria of the 21st century. Until the term is perceived in the right sense of the word, it remains elusive even when it is generally sought after. When rightly perceived, security provision becomes everybody's willful business. It necessarily begins with the perception of individuals and consciousness of danger at all times and then graduates to personal efforts to curtail them, as well as corporate actions at overcoming them. This makes the stakeholders (security provider and the society) to show genuine commitment to the provision and maintenance of security (Odoma, 2010). Having grasped the basis of security, it is equally important for a people to know that the same forces that threaten security are critical in the design and management of sustainable security system. This brings to the fore the relevance of Figure 2. The same forces that incubate threat to security are needed in reverse order to tame same and provide virile security. Undermining any of them equals to failure to achieve the security goals. They can however be grouped into the role of government, activities of security operatives, and civil collaborations with criminals.

We shall discuss them accordingly.

The Role of Government

A people's government can make or mar the security of the society that it is originally meant to superintend over. The government is a tool with which the state administers its citizens. Where this vital organ of the society is at its best as expected in modern times, the society is said to be at social equilibrium. If the government is alive to its responsibilities, the society will be at peace, citizens will feel secure and go about their lawful businesses unmolested, while life then becomes predictable (Nwolise, 2005). The reverse is however, the case where government fails in its responsibilities to the masses. Where the government is faced with legitimacy problems or is unable to assert its right to the monopoly use of legitimate force to command compliance, the society becomes chaotic and unsafe for its citizens to go about their legitimate businesses. This appears to be the case with Nigeria of 21st century. In Nigeria, the government has not been able to do enough to check the excesses of deviants and miscreants in the recent past. This has made the management of the current security challenges very difficult.

A lot has happened in the past few years that suggests that the government has not done enough to stem the tide of insecurity in the land. Lethal security threats such as terrorism, kidnapping, cattle rustling, banditry, thuggery to mention but a few, appear to have become defining characteristics which by extension has given the nation a derogatory name of one of the most unsafe and dangerous nations on the continent of Africa (Odoma, 2012). For instance, students and in some cases parents, have been abducted from their schools in Chibok, Greenfield University,

Bethel Baptist School, Kagara Government Secondary School, Federal Government College Yauri, Abuja-Kaduna Train attack and abduction, to mention only a few (Ayitogo, 2022). In the same vein, farmers have been abducted and killed on their farms, and travelers abducted in broad daylight across the nation on public roads. Furthermore, bandits boldly demanded and got ransom from citizens at will, while at other times they subjected citizens to tributes (Babangida, 2022). In what appears to be the height of ruthlessness of these enemies of the nation, a military Jet and Helicopter were reportedly forced down by terrorists in Nigeria with security operatives killed like common criminals (Ayitogo, 2021; Dipo, Nwezeh and Aborishade, 2023).

In the midst of all these, the same bandits openly met and took photographs with some highly placed personalities in the country, yet neither the government nor security agents agreed to know the locations of the bandits (TVC News, 2021). Year-in year-out, Nigerians have lived in fear, misery and uncertainty. No doubt, it appears that these non-state actors have become more formidable and stronger than the formal security agents who sometimes are killed in the most gruesome manner on a regular basis (Ukpong, 2021). No doubt, the government need to do more as its claims to the legitimate use of force is being challenged by non-state actors. The government is therefore one of the major incubators of threats and insecurity because of its obvious failure to perform its functional prerequisites to the society. Insecurity has continued unabated because culprits and or perpetrators of heinous crimes are rarely arrested and prosecuted. Where they are arrested, there is no certainty that they will face justice and be punished when found culpable (Jimoh, 2022; Maishanu, 2022; Erezi, 2022). The purpose of punishment in society is

not necessarily to destroy citizens. Punishments for offences are meant to correct, reform, and serve as deterrence to prospective offenders as well as a channel for possible restitution (Odoma, 2014). Since most of these criminals have always evaded arrest, prosecution, and punishment but rather made fortunes out of crimes, no doubt the floodgate of crime and insecurity is widely open in Nigeria to whoever chooses to commit them.

The government has to do more in the area of care and welfare of security agencies in and out of their duty locations. The security forces have consistently clashed only when on unauthorized/illegal duties where they seek to deal with poverty. Scholars have averred that when these officers are on officially approved joint security duties or where they share mutual interests they don't clash (Odoma, 2014c). This therefore suggests that it is in the bid to meet ends that they clash based on vested interests. Security agents should be well catered for, so that they can remain focused on their constitutional responsibilities to the nation and her citizens. It is only when this is done that we can objectively praise or condemn them for their delivery.

Activities of Security operatives

Activities of formal social control agencies in Nigeria in the past two to three decades have negatively impacted our security as a people. The foremost formal agencies such as the Nigeria Police Force and the Armed Forces were created by the state to ensure that the society is free from all forms of threats and insecurity from domestic and territorial borders (Odoma, 2011). Furthermore, these functions are unambiguously entrenched in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended and other relevant Acts establishing these formal agencies. The

creation of more security operatives such as the Nigeria Immigration Services (NIS), Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Nigeria Custom Services (NCS) etc is to reduce the scope of responsibilities of the agencies for the purpose of effective service delivery (Abolurin, 2011). It does not in any way suggest superiority or otherwise of any of them. All that is expected of these state agencies is to collaborate with each other to checkmate abuses and violations in the overall interest of the citizenry.

Surprisingly, the experiences in the recent past have more often than not, exposed the nation to latent and regrettable outcomes. There have been cases of unhealthy rivalries between virtually all these security operatives over flimsy reasons such as whose right it is to keep custody of an accused person or who is best suited to investigate a particular crime (Omoigui, 2005; Abolurin, 2011; Odoma and Aderinto, 2013; The Cables, 2023). The implication of this development is that the nation suffers double tragedy as a result of these unhealthy or cutthroat rivalries that often turn violent. First, at the time of all these clashes, the primary mission of providing security to the nation is often abandoned in pursuit of survival. The operatives are at this time overtaken by the fear of reprisal attacks. The obsession of possible reprisal attack removes from them the boldness to remain at duty posts. Criminals at this point take advantage of their absence to unleash mayhem on defenseless citizens. Secondly, lives (of security agencies and innocent citizens) and properties are destroyed on a large scale (Odoma, 2011). While properties so destroyed can be replaced with time, the same cannot be said of lives lost in the processes. In the midst of this, the nation is often engulfed in reconstruction and

replacement of resources (men and materials) so destroyed in the needless skirmishes. Table 1 shows the enormity and frequency of such conflicts in the past decades. At such times, security agencies hardly share intelligence of security importance that could help curtail threats and insecurity as expected. When parts of the nation are left unguarded and citizens are left at the mercy of criminals, these operatives prefer to attend to vested interests and sectional glory rather than national interests. There is no better way to generate insecurity than this.

Beside the security hazards caused by inter-agency feud, is the threat to national security caused by intra-agency clashes particularly among the arms-bearing operatives in Nigeria. Table 2 present cases of operatives of the same service who committed murder and suicide. Each time such cases occurred, there was always tension, apprehension, and the feeling of insecurity in the society, as the safety of ordinary citizen is not guaranteed. This development has always heightened the feeling of insecurity, not only among the citizens but equally among security operatives themselves. Because of this and many other reasons, security agencies have reportedly displayed acts of indiscipline on duty and or absconded from their duty posts at various theatres of operations across the nation, thereby enlarging the unguarded space across the nation (Adepegba, 2021). Unprofessional security practices such as illegal duties, superiority struggles, and poor spirit of comradeship have been held responsible for inter-agency skirmishes in the past (Odoma, 2011), while indiscipline and corruption among the operatives are the bane of intra-agency feud (Saharareporter, 2023; The Punch, 2023). Security agencies need to tame these excesses and unprofessional practices so that they can remain focused and team-up with relevant agencies to execute

the onerous task of security provision to the society. The earlier they are able to do this, the better and easier it will be for them to command the respect and cooperation of the civil population.

Civil Collaborations with Criminals

If those who aid and abet crimes are not better than criminals then, civil collaborators are not only criminals but are themselves catalysts to criminal activities that have in the last few years threatened the peace, unity and the much cherished cohesion of a culturally plural Nigeria. No doubt, when the civil populace conspires with social deviants and enemies of the society to exhibit their traits, it is a clear manifestation of misperception of the concept of security by citizens. This is because although, the immediate impacts of such collaborations may not be felt by collaborators, they cannot guarantee what will happen next. If there is vested interest or a switch in interest, the erstwhile collaborators can end-up as targets and victims of the criminals they once supported. Regrettably, there have been cases of civil collaborators with criminal gangs and criminogenic minded individuals, not only to unleash mayhem on the society, but also to conceal plans and identities of criminals from security operatives. The act has further endangered the lives of security agents across the nation and has also made government's efforts to fail at sundry times (Asaolu, 2021).

For instance, a total of eleven (11) traditional rulers who ordinarily should be the custodians of a people's morals, cultures and values were unceremoniously removed from office for being allies of bandits that daily terrorized their domains in Zamfara State (Maishanu, 2022). They were making fortunes from the looting and maiming of the communities

they were coronated as revered royal fathers to superintend. In the same vein, another traditional ruler and a Local Government Chairman who were sympathizers of bandits were removed and or queried by the Kogi State government (Jimoh, 2022).

Furthermore, there is the possibility of many of such leaders in different leadership positions who although are sympathizers of bandits, terrorists, kidnapers, etc, not yet detected across the nation. There is also the possibility of involuntary collaborators of criminals in the land. This category of collaborators could have vital information about the activities of these criminals, but because of tribal, age-grade, cultural, religious and regional affinities, they may not avail government agencies the needed intelligence that could help nip the crimes in the bud. There is yet another category of involuntary collaborators of criminals who will not divulge information to policing agencies because of the alleged police inability to always protect them as informants. This situation has often exposed communities to various degrees of insecurity that we ordinarily could handle. Certainly, the entire population of Nigerian citizens, whether civilians, operatives and government generates insecurity in a way. When we see crimes being committed and we look away, we condone them, only to turn around to blame government and security operatives. When as security agents we collect gratifications and look away or set criminals free, we encourage crimes. If the government fails to be decisive in handling criminal matters, it aids crimes. Therefore, it takes the same groups that voluntarily or involuntarily support insecurity to embark on attitudinal change and begin to work against insecurity in the land. Then solution will naturally come.

Implications for National Development

No doubt, there have been repeated attacks on the nation's formal agencies of social control by unidentified persons and sometimes from within and between the agencies themselves, which have culminated in needless destructions particularly of the lives of the operatives across the nation in the recent past (Odoma, 2011a). This needless and gruesome experiences have grave implications for national development. The implications can be grouped into:

(a) Dented National Image

Following Nigeria's foreign policy since her political independence in 1960, which is centered on the freedom and wellbeing of all African nations under the claws of colonial domination, Nigeria became known as 'Big Brother' as well as 'Geo-strategic Player and Geo-political Pivot' in African development (Kolapo, 2006). This position has over the years placed Nigeria as a catalyst to African development. She has for instance, been at the forefront of Peacekeeping at regional and sub-regional levels to keep faith with her African centered foreign policy (Odoma, 2011b; 2012). As such, whatever affects her will equally affect her neighbours. Where her national security suffers from the form of threat as noticed across the geo-political zones in the 21st century, her continental image built over the years will doubtless suffer setback.

(b) Scare Investors

The central aim of any investor (domestic and foreign) going into business is profit making. Profit in business is assured in a predictable economy. No matter the level of motivation by the government, investors will only want to invest in the economy of any nation wherein the security

of their investments and personnel are guaranteed. War torn societies have always performed poorly in their economy, because the economic climate has been unpredictable. One of the first things Nigeria's presidents have always done in the past two decades is to tour nations of the world with the aim of persuading them to invest in the resource studded Nigerian economy. The painful result is that, not many investors from those nations have heeded the overture because of the unpredictability of our economy arising from widespread activities of bandits, insurgents and attacks on security operatives.

(c) Retarded Growth

For the larger part of the regime of ex-President Muhammadu Buhari and the President Tinubu's regime that succeeded him, Nigerian economy has nosedived into recession two times (Britannica, 2016). The reason for recession is not farfetched, both of them have not succeeded in fulfilling their campaign promises of dealing with insecurity across the nation. Consequently, several businesses folded and or relocated to neighbouring nations with relative peaceful economic climate. The protests by Labour Unions and Civil Society Organizations in Nigeria of late can only depict retrogressive or retarded economic growth (Adeyemi, 2024).

(d) Erosion of Respect for Security Operative

Security operatives were first citizens recruited from the society to secure it and its properties. They can only function if they enjoy the respect of the generality of the population. It is the respect the citizens have for the operatives that dovetails into possible synergy that the operatives need to succeed. Frequent attacks on security operatives is indicative of hatred and lack of respect by the citizens. It is expected that the operatives are a

pride to the society they serve, respected by allies and feared by enemies of the nation. These do not happen when the present onslaught is sustained by unknown assailants.

(e) A Monumental Loss

Whenever an operative dies, it is a monumental loss to the nation. What it cost a people to recruit, train and retrain a security operative from the point of entry to the point he is able to provide security is unquantifiable. Having trained such a person and deployed to where he is expected to discharge his primary responsibilities, only to be killed at his prime, means more than his demise to the society. Where possible, it takes a lot of time to replace such person. In the same vein, where hundreds of such persons are killed in the most gruesome manner as experienced in Nigeria today, it certainly takes a long time to replace them as much as it is very expensive to do so. In some cases, such losses are irreplaceable and psychologically depressive and demoralizing.

Conclusion

Mr. Vice Chancellor and my esteemed audience, it is no longer news that Nigeria is currently facing a lot of security challenges like other nations of the world. What is rather news is that, it appears that Nigeria's security system is not able to match-up with the capacity and onslaught of non-state actors that terrorize and threaten the length and breadth of the nation at will, without the state security operatives showing the commensurate or better ability to control the excesses of non-state actors most of the time as experienced across the nation. No doubt, the nation's security appears threatened and insecure on a regular basis, to the extent that scholars have

argued that the nation at the moment is at the brink of a fragile and or failed state (Akinyetun, Ebonine & Ambrose, 2023). This is underscored by the fact that national security operatives such as the Armed Forces and the Police and other policing agencies have suffered serious casualties and loses that can only be envisaged of an army involved in conventional war with another country. Nigeria is not at war with another country but only contending with insurgents and insurrections from within. For the national armed forces and other formal security agencies to suffer huge casualties such as losing Helicopter, Fighter Jet, Armored Tanks, Patrol Vehicles and personnel to bandits and unknown gunmen as if they are in conventional warfare, only suggests that, Nigeria national security needs to be secured (Akinpelu, 2020; Alabi, 2022; Ayitogo, 2021; Ayitogo, 2022; Dipo, Nwezeh, & Aborishade, 2023). It is only then that it can function to secure the citizenry and their investments across the nation. This is because they cannot probably give what they don't enjoy.

It is my humble submission that the sorry state of Nigeria's security is no doubt, a function of misperception of the social virtue of security by the generality of the Nigerian population. Until now, there has been a wrong belief that security is a project to be provided by only the government and to be enjoyed by the citizens. There is equally erroneous belief that the persons that can be of security threat to us as a people are strangers and foreigners, but not known and familiar faces to us (Odoma, 2014). When a people accept and sustain this kind of belief as it appears to be with majority of Nigerians today, security will no doubt, be elusive as it has been and may continue to be, except there is a drastic change in attitude of the generality of Nigerian citizens (Odoma, 2018). The change in attitude as a veritable antidote to the present state of insecurity in Nigeria, must be

comprehensive, covering all the stakeholders in the provision of security. These includes the government, citizens, and security operatives. The stakeholders must be willing to give their all to achieve the much cherished security. The reason for this is that, the same stakeholders can be responsible and have so far been responsible in one way or the other for the current state of insecurity in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the government as the arrowhead of security must however champion and be seen at all times to have firm grip and command of all the groups within the borders of the nation. It must be ready at all times to deploy and exercise its right of the sole prerogative of use of force to ensure compliance of all, no matter how highly placed (Giddens, 2009). Sociologists perceive the society as a system that is akin to a biological organism possessing many parts (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). Although all the parts exist independently and perform distinctive roles to sustain the society that house all the institutions, the political institution (government) always stands tall among the other institutions. The systemic status of the state and the power of political institution (government) is buttressed by the assertion of an American political scholar, Harold Lasswell, who defined politics as being basically concerned with who gets **What, When, and How** (Lasswell, 1936). If the government (the product of politics) cannot be firm about who gets what, when, and how in Nigeria, then the future of our nationhood is indeed bleak.

Finally, the formal agencies of social control in Nigeria must step-up their 'game'. The noise about 'unknown gunmen' appears needless. It only suggests the failure of government and its agencies to come to term with

modern management of threats and insecurity. For instance, an American citizen (Philip Walton) was abducted and held by bandits in a forest in Sokoto State in 2020. For this single citizen, the American government funded the flight of well-kitted security operatives that located the camp of bandits in Nigeria, neutralized them and rescued their citizen unhurt (Ejikeme, 2020). Several students have been abducted across Nigeria in the past five years, yet, the government and its security agencies did not seem to know their locations and so cannot rescue them till date. To exalt the hide-out and personality of bandits and terrorists as 'unknown' is to accept the inadequacy of the state and its security operatives. Perhaps, the Nigerian state has to acknowledge its inadequacy, while it ensures further training and retraining for its security operatives to be in tune with modern security realities.

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Mr. Vice Chancellor, distinguished guests, how I wish I have the commensurate ability or Angelic tongues to appreciate the Almighty God who framed and designed every details about my existence before it came to be. In my obvious inadequacy, I can only say thank you God for keeping me alive and provided for me at different stages of my development and to have made this remarkable day of my life a huge success. By His grace, I have today joined the list of distinguished class of Professors who have had the privilege of delivering inaugural lectures in this high rising University.

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sacrifices to procure for me what yourselves did not have. I cannot thank you enough for giving me life and within your limited resources sustained that life. My prayer for both of you in death is that you rest in perfect peace. Amen.

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Mr. Vice Chancellor, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I can't thank you enough for your patience and attention. May the Lord bless you and grant you journey mercies as you return to your various destinations in Jesus name.

Thank you.

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The Bio Data of Professor Samuel Unenwojo Odoh Odoma

Professor Samuel Unenwojo Odoh Odoma was born on February 2, 1969 into the family of late Deacon Joseph Onuh Odoh and Mrs. Salome Etumabo Odoh of Obagwu in Ofu Local Government Area of Kogi State. He had his early primary education at the LGED Primary School Obagwu between 1972 and 1977. He later attended Saint Peter's College, Idah,

between 1977 and 1982. Professor Samuel Odoma also attended the defunct School of Basic Studies (SBS) Makurdi, between 1986 to 1988 for his IJMB A 'level program; this earned him a direct entry admission into the premier University of Ibadan for a Bachelor of Science degree in Sociology in 1995. He completed his bachelor degree program in 1999 with Second Class Honours, Lower Division. Before his admission into bachelor degree program at the University of Ibadan, Professor Samuel had enlisted into the Nigerian Army as a member of 33 Regular Recruit Intake in 1991. His set was the first recruitment after the creation of Kogi State. It was while he served in the Army that he actualized his dream of pursuing a bachelor degree program.

Professor Samuel Odoma returned to the University of Ibadan in 2001 for a Master of Science degree program in Sociology, but had to defer the program for a year to attend to military operation in Sierra Leone between 2001 and 2002. On return to the country in 2002, he resumed the University for the completion of the Master's program, which he achieved in 2004. Having made the Ph.D grade of 62.4, he was advised by the university to proceed straight to his doctoral degree program. Professor Odoma grabbed this rare opportunity and enrolled for his doctoral program in 2004, but had to defer the offer for another one year to enable him travel to Liberia on a peacekeeping operation. He resumed the program on return and graduated in 2011

Professor Samuel started his teaching career at the university level in 2009 as an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Bowen University, Iwo, Osun State. He was promoted to the grade of Lecturer II in 2011 and Lecturer I in 2013. He relocated to the Kogi State University,

Anyigba where he was promoted to the rank of a Senior Lecturer in 2016. Professor Odoma suffered a little setback in career as then Kogi State governor, Alhaji Yahaya Bello wrongly terminated his appointment along with 120 other colleagues in 2017 for participating in industrial action organized by the Academic Staff Union of the University (ASUU). He therefore, relocated to the Bingham University, Karu in 2018. He was promoted an Associate Professor in 2019. Professor Odoma Samuel was promoted to the rank of a full Professor in October 2022. His main areas of teaching and research are Criminology and Deviant Behaviours and Military Sociology.

Professor Odoma Samuel held many administrative and academic positions within the University system. They include:

- The Examination Officer, Department of Sociology, Bowen University, Iwo.
- Security Adviser to the Vice Chancellor, Kogi State University, Anyigba.
- Chairman Examination Malpractice Committee, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kogi State University, Anyigba.
- Head, Department of Sociology, Kogi State University, Anyigba.
- Head, Department of Sociology, Bingham University, Karu.
- External Moderator, Criminology and Security Studies, Salem University, Lokoja.
- Visiting Professor, Nile University of Nigeria, Abuja.
- Co-ordinator PGD Crowd Control and Management.

In the area of Community Service, Professor Samuel Odoma is a member of Senate Committee on security, a member, Bingham University Ethic Committee, was Chairman Electoral Committee of Students Representative Council Elections, a Patron to Bingham University Boys

Brigade, and member University Search Committee for appointment of new Vice Chancellor in 2023.

Professor Samuel Unenwuojo Odoh Odoma is a member of reputable professional associations including: Nigeria Anthropological and Sociological Association (NASA), Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP), Nigeria Society for Criminology (NSC), Fellow Social Science Research Council (FSSRC) Massachusetts USA.

Professor Samuel Odoh Odoma is happily married to Mrs. Esther Unekwuwojo Odoma Akowe and the union is blessed with the ever hopeful children.