THE DYNAMICS OF TRANSNATIONAL INSECURITY AND BORDER MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

BY

OLAWAYE OLUWADAMILOLA MARTHA

IRS/2014/064

A LONG ESSAY SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, FACULTY OF ADMINISTRTION, OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY, ILE-IFE NIGERIA.

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRMENT FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.Sc.) DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

APRIL, 2019.

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this Long Essay is an authentic work carried out by Olawaye Oluwadamilola Martha, with the Matriculation Number IRS/2014/064, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Bachelor of Science in International Relations under the supervision of Dr. Sunday Omotuyi.

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Dr. Sunday Omotuyi   Date

        Supervisor

……………………………   ……………………..

Dr. Kehinde Olayode   Date

Head of Department

DEDICATION

This Long Essay is dedicated to God Almighty, my Pillar and strength who saw me through my years on this campus; Glory, honor and adoration to His name in the highest. I also dedicated this work to my sweet mother, Mrs. Kehinde Olawaye who never stopped prayer for me and supports me always and lastly to my late father Mr. Sunday Olawaye, I hope I made you proud.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the impacts of porous borders on Nigeria's security; the study also assessed the implications of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of persons and goods in West Africa for Nigeria's national security. In addition, the study further determined the best approaches that can be adopted to combat trans-border insecurity challenges.

This study adopted the use of secondary source of data which include the use of textbooks, journals, newspapers as well as internet sources. The data collected were analyzed through descriptive and normative methods of analysis so as to arrive at a conclusion.

This study revealed that the porous borders of Nigeria with her neighbor are a major factor contributing to the high level of insecurity in the region. The study also showed that the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement has been detrimental to Nigeria's national security as it encourages the influx of illegal immigrants who perpetuate various crimes in the country. The continued migration of people around Lake Chad region to Nigeria is not unconnected to the shrinking of the Lake Chad which serves as a source of livelihood for people in the region.

This study enjoined the government of Nigeria to invest heavily in effective counter terrorism as all its previous efforts have yielded little or no efforts. It is also important for the government to prioritize the social and economic wellbeing of its citizens so as to effectively address the underlying socio-economic problems that give rise to crime and terrorist activities in Nigeria and Lake Chad region.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In spite of the benefits nation-states and peoples have enjoyed from globalization, the fallouts created has brought about unpleasant security challenges. Globalization has, arguably, led to transnational insecurity and porous borders which affect the Nigerian economy and human capital development. (Akinyemi, 2013)**.** The Globalization process which calls for open borders or no barriers at all is one of the negative parts which have brought about contrabands, criminals and illegal immigrants problems for nations of the World. This has further aided the growth of unlawful businesses across borders which have an adverse effect on socio-economic development and security of lives and property. Terrorist network have also taken advantage of the instruments of globalization to emerge and threaten state sovereignty and its preservation (Folarin & Oviasogie 2014). Nigeria as a country is not exempted from this growing phenomenon and this therefore calls for the increasing need to secure and protect the borders.

Nigeria has international boundaries spanning 4047km of land and 853km (453 nautical miles) of maritime were created after the partitioning of African continent in 1885. (Temisan 2015) Nigeria is surrounded Cameroon (1,960km) in the east, Niger (1,497km) in the north, Benin (773km) in the west and Chad (87km) in the northeast and most of these border areas are either mountainous or in the jungle. Irrespective of their geographical nature, a common feature of the nation's border is its porosity (Onuoha 2013). The border problem Nigeria faces today can be traced down to its colonial history, however this porosity has become severe as a result of the succeeding governments to properly administer these borders.

Border management involves the measures taken by a country to regulate and monitor its borders. It shows a country's physical demonstration of territorial sovereignty. Border management regulates the entry and exit of people, animals and goods across a country's border and is aimed at fighting terrorism and the movement of criminals across the borders (USLegal). Some of the agencies responsible for the management of borders in Nigeria are The Nigeria Customs Services, The Nigeria Immigration Services, The Department of State Security, The Nigeria Border Police, The Military Reece 243 and 193, The Port Health, NDLEA, NAFDAC and the Nigeria Police border patrol (Ekeghe, ThisDay Newspaper,2018) These agencies are saddled with the responsibilities of facilitating the smooth movements of people, goods and services along Nigeria's borders without compromising Nigeria security and national interest.

However, research has shown that even with the existence of border management agencies, Nigeria still faces transnational insecurity problems which include the Herdsmen killings, Boko Haram attacks and robberies along borders and its neighboring towns. These Herdsmen who engage in random movement of cattle due to changes in climate patterns have also posed a security threat to national security. In Nigeria, the livestock provided by the herdsmen provide a bulk of beef consumption in the country. Between 2016 and 2018, over 3,641 persons were reportedly killed in Benue by suspected armed herdsmen (Okogba;Vanguard News Nigeria, 2018)The ability of these herdsmen to migrate freely from several parts of West Africa into Nigeria without restriction further points out to the porous nature of the Nigeria border.

The Boko Haram insurgency began in 2009, when the jihadist group started an armed rebellion against the government of Nigeria. The activities of this insurgence group called Boko Haram has posed a major security threat to the internal security of Nigeria. Some of their attacks

include; a suicide bombing attack on the United Nations building, Abuja, on 26 August 2011. (Onuoha 2013) On the 15 April 2014, abduction of about 276 female students from a college in Chibok in Borno State and in May 2014, a total of two bombs in the city of Jos, Plateau State were detonated resulting in the death of at least 118 people and the injury of more than 56 others. The most recent attack of this insurgent group is the offensive launched by the Barnawi's ISWAP in January 2019, attacking several Nigerian military bases, including those at Magumeri and Gajiram. Insurgents have also overran and destroyed the refugee town of Rann near the border to Cameroon hereby displacing its inhabitants (Joscelyn &Weiss 2019)

In view of the fact that transnational insecurity cuts across national boundaries and threatens the security of nations and states and even slows down economic development. Despite the fact that the amount budgeted for defense in Nigeria surpass that of education and health, management and security of Nigeria still remains poor and ineffective.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The deteriorating state of Nigeria's national security has captured the attention of everyone both home and abroad. Different security issues have affected every sector of the country. Furthermore, the porous nature of the borders have caused serious of security issues which has slowed down meaningful development of the nation, since there is no nation that can develop through a persistent uprising. Transnational insecurity coupled with crimes and ineffective border management is a serious problem facing the Nigerian government. Transnational insecurity impedes social progress and leads to waste of human and material resources. However, it is believed that the nature of the Nigerian borders and the poor ineffective border management further aggravates the transnational insecurity. 4

This research work intends to examine the link between transnational insecurity and border management in Nigeria as the government seems incapable of handling the various threats posed by the porosity of borders.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

i. To what extent has Nigeria's porous borders facilitated security challenges in the country?

ii. How has ECOWAS' protocol on free movement of persons had implications for Nigeria's national security?

iii. In what ways can insecurity in the country be meaningfully addressed?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

i. To examine the impacts of porous borders on Nigeria's security

ii. To assess the implications of ECOWAS' protocol on free movement in West Africa for Nigeria's national security

iii. To determine the best approaches on how trans-border insecurity challenges can be combatted

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The research will focus on the issues of management of Nigeria border and transnational security challenges associated with it. Some of them include smuggling, terrorist activities and trafficking (in arms and weapons, drugs, human and goods). The study will analyze the management of Nigeria border and also examine the implications and effects of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement in West Africa for Nigeria's national security. This study will further examine the efforts of the Nigerian government in the current Lake Chad region situation and is 5

effects of national security. The conclusions drawn from this research are gotten from the available sources of information which will be referenced adequately.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is significant in that it helps us to understand how porous borders and poor border management has been detrimental to Nigeria socio-economic growth and development. The study is also important as it tries to examine the various efforts of the Nigerian government in combatting the various crisis associated with porous borders such as illegal migration, drug trafficking, herdsmen killings, drug smuggling etc. There is also the need to assess the role of Nigeria in the current situation in the Lake Chad region.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is basically qualitative and as such data for the study are obtained from secondary sources which include textbooks, journals, newspapers, publications, magazines as well as internet sources. This methodology adopted for this study intends to investigate issues raised in an attempt to satisfying the objectives of the study.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Security: Security to every government is paramount most especially at its borders, this is to reduce or avoid any form of attack from external forces. The concept of security to every state is primarily concerned with military capability to prevent aggression (Akinyemi 2013).

Security to states is largely connected with its borders and involves protective measures to combat any activities that can endanger the lives and properties of its citizens as well as jeopardizing its national integrity. 6

National Security: The concept of national security cuts across many disciplines which covers military protection, surveillance, protection of national values and human rights. According to Romm (1993), a nation is said to secure when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war and is able, if challenged to maintain them by war. It is also said to be the absence of anything that can be a threat to a state's acquired values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. Implicitly, national security is the ability of a nation to preserve its internal values from external threats (Romm, 1993)

Insecurity: According to Oxford dictionary, insecurity is the state of being open to danger or threat. It is also said to mean a situation of lack of protection. For the purpose of this study, Insecurity is seen as a threat to human life, states, religious beliefs, properties and institutions among others. Achumba, Ighomeroho and Akpor- Robaro (2013) identified two major sources of insecurity; the remote factors and Immediate and proximate factors. The remote factors include lack of institutional capacity which leads to government failure, material inequality and unfairness, ethno- religious conflicts, conflict of perceptions between the public and government, weak security system, loss of socio-cultural and communal value system. On the other hand, immediate and proximate factors include: porous borders, unemployment/poverty, rural/urban drift, terrorism etc.

Border Management: This is the collaborative effort between a country and its neighbors to control and regulate the inflow of people and goods across its borders/boundaries. This is commonly defined as the government functions of immigration and customs to secure its borders. Border management also includes the maintenance of boundary points that mark the physical limits of the country's territory. Border management cannot be done unilaterally and is most effective when done regionally (Osimen, Goddy et al 2017). 7

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

With the advent of globalization, several areas of the African continent face violence in various forms related to the proliferation of transnational threats that have implication for national security and development in the West Africa sub-region and mostly in Nigeria. The globalization process which calls for the tearing down of traditional borders through advancement in technology and the transformation of international relations cannot be overlooked. This chapter seeks to examine the problem and its impacts on national security and development. Various reasons have been advanced for this phenomenon by different scholars with reasons being common to all.

Transnational insecurity refers to a situation of security unrest that cuts across borders of countries. They arise as a result of poor or ineffective management of border and sometimes hostile relations between neighboring countries. This however has an adverse effect on the national security of the countries involved and affects national development.

Osiemen, Goddy U et al (2017), traces the problem of border management to the inter-colonial borders between British and French territories that was set up in 1889 and this made the demarcation between these countries unclear due to the inexistence of natural boundaries. These border regions were traditionally used as transport and trade routes and which today are very difficult to control and monitor by migration and customs authorities. Globalization has also further compounded the issues of security crisis in Africa, Nigeria inclusive as it calls for the tearing down of traditional borders. The problem of trans-border crimes is one of the most 10

challenging problems facing Nigeria today and the activities of the terrorist group called Boko Haram which have been on the rise, speculations have risen that the groups may have found their way through the porous borders.

Trans-border crimes contribute to the destabilization of political and economic activities in the ECOWAS sub region. Nigeria over the years has initiated measures to check firearm proliferation; the Firearms Act of 1959 (amended) is an example of this. Osimen, Goddy U et al identified the influence of globalization in tearing down borders and the existence of underlying factors which need to be addressed sufficiently and also the need to reinforce adequate man power needed to police the borders. However they failed to point out the ways to create a balance between the existing socio-political imbalances in the country. Also there is the need to ensure effective responses from the regional securities set and ensure the full participation and compliance of neighboring states to see that transnational crimes are effectively combatted. In this light, various international, regional and sub-regional legislation on the different crimes categories needs to be revisited and measures put in place to ensure their effective implementation.

Temisan (2015) in his article titled "Management of Nigeria Borders" states that in the world today the rate of criminal and terrorist activities have increased in scale especially since the end of Cold War and in the wake of globalization. Ultimately security of borders and its management constitute a major factor in dealing with national security challenges in a country. The USA for instance took cognizance of the need for effective management of security at its borders after the 9/11 terrorist attack and also fenced and equipped its border with Mexico with modern surveillance equipment to prevent free and illegal movement across the border. All these were aimed at ensuring national security through effective border security and management.

Nigeria just like other nations of the world is faced with the problem of transnational insecurity issues and to this end the government has to take the issue of security as it primary objectives. Transnational crimes like trafficking, money laundering, illegal migration, terrorist activities pose a serious threat to the national security and this also constitute a threat to global security. They also affect the socio-economic development and ruin the image of the country as Nigeria is daily embarrassed on account of financial scams and other transnational crimes (Adelugba and Ujomu 2008).

Temisan (2015) in his work further identified the multi- ethnic and cultural nature of Nigeria and the weak judicial institutions as well as politicization of security matters occasioned by interferences from politicians that have continued to force these security departments to compromise on their statutory functions to the detriment of effective national security management. Also the prolonged delays to respond to threat indicators create aversion and engenders adverse public image of these security forces. As a result of this, the public are always reluctant to divulge critical security information to them to the detriment of effective management of borders and national security matters. Even though the government of Nigeria has come up with National Boundary Commission as an additional body to work hand in hand with the Nigerian Immigration Service and Nigerian Immigration Service, the problem of transnational insecurity still persists. Despite the recommendations made some of which include; first the government should think beyond the traditional approach to be able to meet with the future challenges especially in the era of globalization which requires collective responsibility, Temisan failed to outline extensively the type of approach to be adopted. He also failed to state in details how to deal with the issue of limited policies on border security and how to redefine 12

the roles of the various agencies involved in border management taking into consideration global best practices and current security challenges at the borders.

Akinyemi (2013) examined the implications of globalization on national security and recommends a paradigm shift from the traditional approaches to combat the new security challenges that accompany globalization. Akinyemi also identifies the loopholes in the border management system in Nigeria which ranges from inadequate man power to corruption on the part of the security personnel and also the poorly patterned borders which are results of artificial creation of colonialism and also the inability of the succeeding leaders to properly manage them. She recommended adequate training and retraining of the security personnel in charge of border management to ensure effective border security and the proper discharge of their duties. She also recommended the need to incorporate a functional and effective legal framework that will see to the prompt punishment of corrupt security operatives. Akinyemi had a different position as to the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People, Goods and Services which was established by ECOWAS Member States in 1979, she assumes that;

"This protocol allows for the movement of criminals to move across the border and also engage in cross border activities under the pretext of this protocol, posing a threat to the internal security of lives and property in the country, as the infractions at the border calls for enforcement of reforms of the border control system" (Akinyemi, 2013).

Louise Shelly in her work, *border issues: transnational crime and terrorism* (1995) explains that, countries are not always fully capable to fully protect their borders. The problems of insufficient financial resources, inadequate training, low pay and corruption, mean that effective border security is a reality only in very few regions of the world. Even the affluent states like Japan and Australia, whose island status isolates them from some problems of cross-13

border crime and terrorism, are not immune from them. The work further expresses how lengthy and poorly defined borders are difficult to guard and manage thereby exposing the borders.

In Ezeanyika (2012) work, Towards Understanding Africa"s International Criminal Organization as an Emerging Industry in a Globalizing World, various crimes perpetrated across the borders in West Africa are discussed. To them, child trafficking, drugs and fraud are major crimes perpetrated across the borders. The work further gave a break down as to the history of the emergence of border crimes in West Africa and Nigeria and posits that;

Organized crime in West Africa in its contemporary form is generally perceived to have emerged in the 1970s, coincidental with the oil boom of that era, delinking of dollar from gold, high inflation and the rapid spread of debt in the developing world. However, various events could be traced back to decades earlier, such as in the ancient times when the region was characterized by traditions of long-distance commerce or in the activities of European criminal gangs who launched inter-continental crime from bases in West Africa in colonial times (Ezeanyika & Ubah, 2012)

Cross Border Crimes in West African Sub Region: Implication for Nigeria"s National Security and External Relations by Dr. Okeke Vincent Onyekwelu Sunday, Dr. Orji & Richard Okechukwu (2014) lays emphasis on the distribution and movement of SALW (Small and Light Weapons) across both countries" borders. Research shows that these light weapons are easily hidden from the law enforcing agencies and smuggled easily without being detected. The authors for example stated that out of the 640 million small arms circulating globally, it is estimated that 100 million are found in Africa, about 30 million in sub-Saharan Africa and 8 million in West Africa alone. The proliferation and use of Small and Light Weapons in ethno-religious clashes and armed robbery have killed more than 10,000 Nigerians, an average of 1000 people per year 14

since 1999 (Onyekwelu, 2014). This shows the negative effect that porous borders have on the relationship that exists between countries.

Constanze Blum in the work titled *Cross-Border flows between Nigeria and Benin: What are the Challenges for (Human) Security?* Pointed out how the geographical location of both countries aids trans-border crimes. It was seen that, the Berlin Conference demarcation of Africa divided both countries along linguistic line. It was noted that the homogeneity of the border zone is crucial for the extraordinary cross-border dynamics (Blum, 2014). Blum further stated that transnational organized crimes were not prominent till recent times. This development occurred in line with an increased commitment towards free movement of persons and goods in the ECOWAS region that is designed to stimulate growth and stability in the region.

In as much as the government of Nigeria wants to protect its borders from illegal entry or the rise of transnational threat in the country, it is important to develop a form of regional security mechanism which calls for collective responsibility in order to combat the problem of transnational insecurity and crime.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is The Regional Complex Theory. The regional security complex theory has been theorized by Buzan and Woever (2003) in their book titled "Regions and Powers: the structure of International Security" the central theme of this theory is that threats move more easily over small spaces than long ones. Therefore the response to any form of threats must be done commonly through a security complex (Buzan and Woever 2003).

This theory states that in a geographical area where states are closely bounded, the security of one state largely depends on the security of others. This means that when one state has trouble with its security, there is a high probability that all states nearby become insecure too. One example is the Boko Haram crisis which started as a Nigerian internal security problem, but gradually it became a regional threat after it spread its activities and atrocities from its base to border countries such as Cameroon, Niger and Chad. The response of these states in 2015 to this situation was as a result of their geographical proximity, as Buzan and Woever (2013) state: *"if the situation of a state has negative effects on its neighbors, there must be a common agreement upon actions to take"*. The regional security complex theory therefore deals with how to transform threats from national security to regional security. It emphasizes the security interdependence between states within the same geographical contiguity characterized by common, coordinated and effective actions against a common threat. Atangana (2018) in his work identifies the new collective action by states directly touched by the Boko Haram crisis earlier in 2015 and later within the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) as an example of what Buzan and Woever call „ sub complex- security". The MNJTF is a combined multinational formation, comprising units mostly military from Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. it has its headquarters in N"Djamena and is mandated to bring an end to the Boko Haram Insurgency. The Lake Chad Basin Commission is also another sub region entity established to manage common territorial interests and issues between Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria in the Lake Chad Basin. This commission set up is also saddled with the responsibility of adopting policies that would help to combat any form of security threats to the Lake Chad Basin.

This theory explains the ongoing situation in the region because it effectively points out how geographical proximity prompts states to adopt a common response against the Boko Haram

Insurgency. Additionally, asides from the concept of collective response to issues, the concept of leadership in a situation of regional security corporation is very important, as Lemke (2002) states that presence of a regional power in that region to take up the leadership role increases the chances of peace existing in such region. For him, the presence of a leader is a factor of peace through its material capabilities, its capacity to take action when there is a threat and its capability to constitute a coalition with others to achieve a goal. An example of this is the leadership role taken by Chad in the region when the military of Nigeria became inefficient and incapable of solving its own security problem (Hussein 2012). The first aim of the leadership in the region is to guide and conduct political and diplomatic influence and bring a group of states to achieve common goal (Nolte 2010; Destradi 2010). Second, is to lead and coordinate common actions (Destradi 2010). These common actions however have to be inside regional institutions with the support of all members.

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CHAPTER THREE

POROUS BORDERS AND NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

3.1 POROUS BORDERS AND TRANSNATIONAL CRIMES IN THE LAKE CHAD REGION

The porosity of Nigerian borders has made it possible for unwarranted influx of migrants from neighboring states to enter the country illegally from such countries as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin (Adeola & Oluyemi 2012). Achumba et al. (2013) also observed that the porous frontiers of the country, where individual movements are largely untracked have contributed to the level of insecurity in Nigeria. Therefore, as a result of the porous borders there is an unchecked inflow of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country which has aided militancy and criminality in Nigeria (Hazen and Horner, 2007). A lot of transnational crimes such as human trafficking, money laundering, drug trafficking, arms smuggling or trafficking of weapons, cross-border terrorism, illegal oil bunkering, illicit trafficking in diamonds, corruption and business fraud have become prominent in the West African region (Ering 2011).

Nigeria shares international land border with Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon totaling about 4745sq.km and out of the 1978 entry points in the country, only 84 are approved and 1894 illegal routes lies around the country (Osimen et al 2017). The ill management of these border points has actively been exploited by terrorist group like Boko Haram which is currently the most active terrorist organization in Nigeria.

Transnational crimes are no longer an isolated issue of criminality in a single country, but a transnational problem affecting the global system. They are crimes that by their nature involve border crossing as an essential part of criminal activity and represent a number of illegal and 20

notorious activities carried out by individuals and groups across national and international borders, either for financial or economic benefit and also political cum religious considerations. Transnational crimes in Nigeria became more pronounced in the 1980s and by 1990s Nigeria was counted amongst the top ranking global syndicates (Bayard, JF et al 1999). Contemporary transnational crimes take advantage of globalization, trade liberation and exploding new technologies to perpetuate diverse crimes for purpose of perpetuating violence for political means (Stigall 2013).

One prominent security challenge in the Lake Chad region is the Boko Haram insurgency. Boko Haram (western education is a sin) is the ascribed name of an Islamist group founded in 2002 and has plagued Nigeria and its neighbors in the Lake Chad Basin (LCB) ever since (Agbiboa 2017). In 2014, the group overtook the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) to become 'the most deadly terrorist group in the world' per number of annual attack (Global Terrorism Index, 2015). The activities of this terrorist group is said to be most active in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and Kano states. The group is known to have exploited the Nigeria borders to import arms ammunitions, explosive materials and monies with which they perpetuate acts of terrorism against Nigerians and its neighboring countries (Temisan 2013)

In 2014, Boko Haram became the center of attention of all media eyes when it abducted over 200 school girls in the town of Chibok, Borno State sparking the now defunct 'bring-back-our-girls' international campaign. In 2015, Boko Haram announced its affiliation to ISIL, changing its official name from Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad) to the Islamic State's West African Province (Agbiboa 2017). This indicated an extension of their activities across the borders of Nigeria to other parts of West Africa. The group's violent campaign has also continued to extract 21

a heavy toll on lives and properties: thousands of people have lost their lives; millions remain internally displaced and vast lands of Nigeria's Northeast lies in ruins.

Boko Haram draws most of its members from a diverse a diverse group of people, including migrants from the Lake Chad Basin member states, disaffected youths, jobless graduates, politicians and street children (Umar 2011). Nigeria shares a number of important religious and socio-economic characteristics with its neighbors. Consider the case of Nigeria and Niger Republic where Boko Haram has been active in recent years. For example, both countries belong to the Sahelian cultural belt just south of the Sahara, running from Senegal to Somalia –a zone in which Islam has exercised significant influence over a thousand years. Second, the two states are also united by the prevalence of the Hausa language. And thirdly, both states have high levels of poverty and depressed socio-economic indicators. (Agbiboa 2017)

According to Mustapha (2014), since the early nineteen century, religious and political ideas, religious groups, economic actors and political forces have moved back and forth across the porous boundary between both regions. In the process, events in one region have tended to have ramifications for developments in the other (Mustapha 2014). Also given the historical rise and flow of people and ideas in the Lake Chad Basin, it is no surprise that the Boko Haram crisis has become increasingly regionalized. After all, Borno State – Boko Haram's birthplace and stronghold – shares borders with Cameroon, Chad and Niger with long established economice, religious and ethnic affinities across porous boundaries. The connections facilitate smuggling of weapons, recruitment of fighters and personnel inflow between Boko Haram in Nigeria and their Hausa, Kanuri and Muslim relations in Niger, Chad and Cameroon (Comolli, 2015). For instance, Cameroon's long and porous far northern border with Nigeria is often used by Boko Haram to steal food and money and transport them to Nigeria. The fact that some people with the 22

same language and descendants are found on both sides of the border makes it extremely difficult to identify strangers, thereby increasing the likelihoods of local collaboration (Kindzecka 2016). A contributing factor in the successful spread of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Lake Chad region is the seismic shrinking of the transnational Lake in the Chad Basin, formerly the largest lake in the world. Surrounded by Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria, the lake serves as a vital source of livelihood for roughly 30 million people, many who are fishermen, farmers and livestock rearers. However, due to climatic variability and population pressure over recent decade, the lake is now around 90 percent less than its original size which has drastically affected fishing livelihoods and irrigation farming (Agbiboa 2017). This factor has led to loss in source of livelihood for inhabitant surrounding the lake thereby making them easy as recruits for the Boko Haram group and the porosity of borders makes it easy for them to move from one region to the other unnoticed.

3.1 IMPLICATION OF POROUS BORDERS FOR NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

Porous borders have continued to enhance the insecurity in Nigeria where individual movements are largely untracked. The porosity of Nigeria's borders has serious security implications for the country. Nigeria in recent times has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity as a result or the porous nature of its borders and poor border management; and this has made national security threat to be a major issue for the government and prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security (Achumba et al 2013). Given the porous borders as well as the weak security system, weapons come easily into Nigeria from other countries. Small and Light 23

Weapons proliferation and the availability of these weapons have enabled militant groups and criminals groups to have access to arms (Hazan and Horner, 2007). Nigeria is estimated to host over 70% of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa (Edeko, 2011). Free flow of arms into Nigeria generally has contributed both to the increase in the number of violent conflicts in the country and also to their intensity.

The porosity of the Nigerian borders has made it possible for unwarranted influx of migrants from neighboring countries such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin (Adeola and Oluyemi, 2012). Nigeria's buoyant economy makes it attractive to its neighbors and other West African migrants especially from the less developed countries. These migrants which are mostly young men are some of the perpetrators of crime in the country. Media reports have implicated some migrants from neighboring West African countries in civil disturbance, urban and rural violence, theft, armed robbery and general insecurity of lives and property. For example, all the land and sea borders in Nigeria were closed few days to the 2015 national elections to prevent inflow of illegal immigrants who might want to participate in the elections (Adetula, 2015). Also, the harsh conditions of weather in the Sahara leading to drought in Niger, Chad and northern Cameroon made Nigeria the ideal destination of the migrants; this has affected the economic development of the country.

Nigeria has been put in a precarious state as a result of its porous borders because it has encouraged the continuous smuggling of goods such as rice, frozen foods, vegetable oil, vehicles etc. and this is because Nigeria's large market which easily attracts smugglers and illicit traders. Even though the importation of these goods through unapproved land borders has been banned, they still continue to find their way into Nigeria. This implication of this is that the government of Nigeria keeps losing huge revenue meant to be collected as duty from such goods. This is 24

adversely affecting the economy and local industries are dying because of the porous borders as almost everything comes in including drugs, clothing and so on (Independent Newspaper, 2018). Most of the terrorist atrocities carried out in the country have been linked to foreigners from neighboring countries who found their way in through the porous border. These foreigners work hand in hand with the insurgents are killing and maiming Nigerians and destroying both private livelihoods and the national economy. Chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Turkur Brutai in 2018 said that 60 percent of the Boko Haram members terrorizing the North-east are foreigners. Burutai's conclusions were based on intelligence reports and confessions of captured and repentant insurgents, which were found to be mostly foreigners (ThisDay Newspaper, 2018). These terrorist activities, which have resulted in the killing of thousands of Nigeria since the outbreak of the insurgency in 2009, have mainly occurred in areas within the north-east states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe that share borders with Nigeria's West African neighbors such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger. They have taken place largely on the fringes of the Sambisa forest and the Lake Chad Basin, which are the epicenter of the Boko Haram insurgency. This highlights the fact that most of the terror attacks Nigeria has witnessed are cross-border raid by guerrillas who hit targets and escapes to bases outside the country.

3.3 NIGERIA'S RESPONSE TO TRANSNATIONAL CRIMES

Security is a condition of freedom from danger and risk of threats that transcends threat to include other forms of threat (Adetula 2015). Threats to national or regional security are often assessed in terms of the extent of risk they constitute to the pursuit of national or regional interests. The security situation of a country is a function of its ability to anticipate, prevent, manage and effectively respond to threats. In this sense the threat, the threat is the basis for any 25

security concern. The fundamental concern of national security is the protection and extension of national values against existing and potential adversaries (Ukpabi 1987)

Nigeria plays a major role as a regional power and continues to impact the entire West African sub region. However, Nigeria is faced with serious security challenges that are complicated by transnational threats associated with organized crimes and the activities of the Jihadist movement (Boko Haram). Threats to security linked to illegal migrants, smugglers, drug traffickers, human traffickers etc. in West Africa has attracted considerable attention on the part of the Nigerian government to curb them. Nigeria's security interest covers all the strategic factors that affect the country's developmental effort, political and social stability, trade and economic development, relations with other countries etc. This section talks about Nigeria's response to transnational crimes both at the national and regional level over the years.

On 7 May 1999, Nigeria inaugurated a National Committee on the proliferation and illicit trafficking in Small Arms and Light Weapons. The focus of this committee is the illegal cross-border arms trade, violent crime and armed conflict in the country. At the inauguration of the committee, the President reportedly identified the connection between the proliferation of small arms and the breakdown of law and order in the country and its sub region (Obi, 2008). The President also expressed same thoughts in his address at the 61st session of the United Nations General Assembly, where he also noted that Nigeria had deposited the instrument of ratification of the Firearms Protocol to the Convention on Transnational Organized Crime (Onuorah 2006).

Legislative measures have also taken by the National Assembly of Nigeria in response to transnational crimes and the activities of the Jihadist movement. Several relevant Acts have been passed and can be found on the National Assembly website. Some of them include Anti- 26

Terrorism Act, Anti- Piracy Act, Money laundering and terrorism financing (prohibition) Act etc. In order to ameliorate the incidence of transnational crime, the federal government of Nigeria embarked on criminalization of terrorism by passing the Anti-terrorism Act in 2011, enhancement of surveillance as well as investigation of criminal related offences, heightening of physical security measures around the country aimed at deterring or disrupting potential attack, strengthening of security agencies through the provision of security facilities and the development and broadcast of security tips in mass media (Azazi, 2011).

In 2003, Nigeria established the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), with the framework of the Trafficking in persons (prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act (Obi, 2008). Military measure which are the most visible response by the Nigerian government to transnational crimes include deployment of joint task force and special forces to northeast Nigeria, advanced weapons procurement; training of military personnel in counter terrorism operations and recently, rescue of over 700 persons mostly women and girls from Sambisa Forest (Adetula, 2015). Budgetary implications of these military measures have been significant too. For instance, defense and security took almost 25% of Nigeria's 2014 budget; in addition a supplementary budget of 1 billion dollars was approved to support the fight against Boko Haram in the Northeast region.

At the sub regional level, Nigeria has cooperated with its neighboring states especially in the Lake Chad region to combat the transnational threat and insecurity issues that plague them. The Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) started as a Nigerian force in 1994 to checkmate banditry activities and to facilitate free movement along its porous borders (Sagir, 2015). However, in 1998 the goals of the task force expanded to include involvement in shared cross-27

border security issues in Niger and Chad with its headquarters in Baga, Borno State. As at that time, Cameroon was excluded from this joint task force because of the existing tension with Nigeria over territorial disputes in the Bakassi Peninsula. However, this task force was weak and lazy and it was restricted to just few patrols and it had no tangible gain (Agbiboa 2017). From 2013, pressure grew to review the multinational force as an anti-Boko Haram force because of the worsening regional security situation in the Lake Chad Basin. In March 2014, in Yaounde, Cameroon, the Lake Chad Basin Countries (Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger) restructured the Multinational Joint Task Force to focus on defeating the Boko Haram insurgency and to ensure peace and security in the Lake Chad Basin in order to guarantee the free movement of goods and persons and economic and social development (Agbiboa 2017)

Nigeria has influenced aspects of the ECOWAS Initial Plan of Action against Trafficking in Persons and signed the UN Protocol on Human Trafficking. This was in addition to the ongoing activities of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), THE Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) that are also involved in intra-regional cooperation aimed at curbing transnational crime (Obi 2008).

Generally, in relation to responding to transnational threats, Nigeria has adopted national legal and institutional frameworks, regional (ECOWAS) Declarations and Protocol and signed International Conventions, particularly those by the United Nations. It has also cooperated with ECOWAS, bilaterally with neighboring states and strategic partners as well as multilateral agencies, regional agencies and donors in addressing these threats. However, it has produced only limited results in relation to emerging transnational threats. This is said to be caused by 28

problems within Nigeria itself and the issues of weak political will, limited capabilities and the problem of border management. 29

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CHAPTER FOUR
ECOWAS' PROTOCOL ON FREE MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPACTS FOR NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

4.1 IMPACTS OF ECOWAS PROTOCOL ON NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods and the Right to Establish was adopted in 1979. It derives its legitimacy and constitutional strength from Article 27 in the ECOWAS Treaty and it relates to free movement of persons, goods, capital, Rights of Residence and Establishments and was approved by the ECOWASS Heads of States and Government in Dakar on May 29, 1979 (Udeoji, 2013). The protocol was designed to aid the free movement of persons, goods and services across the international boundaries of ECOWAS member states without visa and also established to ensure accelerated regional development through economic integration and remove every obstacle to trade movements of citizens of member states.

Since the enactment of this Protocol, the member states abolished visa and other country requirements for citizens travelling to a sister country. This means that a citizen of ECOWAS member state who possesses a valid travelling documents and international health certificate can spend a period not exceeding 90 days in another state. Notwithstanding the protocol, a member state can decide to deny entry of any immigrant considered to be a threat or inadmissible into its territory (Agyei &Clottey, 2017). However, this protocol on free movement has become a thorn in the flesh of the Nigerian government as it has now become a subject of abuse most especially by criminals and terrorists from neighboring countries; thereby posing a threat to Nigeria's national security. 32

The absence of visa requirement before entering the country makes it hard to keep adequate records of persons crossing the borders. This implies that individuals who come in just anybody can enter the country as long as they claim to be citizens of member states. Consequently, individuals who come into Nigeria to carry out act of terrorism find it easy to sneak out of the country and evade justice since proper records of their movements were not kept in the first place (Temisan, 2013). Adams (2102) points out that although the intents of the Protocol is for positive purpose, the unintended consequence of a borderless nation leads to unwanted circumstance which are detrimental to national security.

This protocol allows for the movement of criminals across the border and also engages in cross-border activities under the guise of this protocol (Akinyemi, 2013). The borders of Nigeria have become a free passage for people without any form of identity as the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement has been abused to mean entry without valid documents. This causes a serious threat to the internal security of lives and property in the country and these violations of the border calls for immediate reforms of the border management system. The influx of terrorist through the borders and their activities in the country has contributed to the recent security challenges in Nigeria. All these tend to endanger the socio-economic development of the country as well as the political stability.

The borders of Nigeria which are not clearly defined become more prone to danger as a result of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement which has been constantly abused by foreigners. Records have shown that criminal lords and terrorists who engage in smuggling of arms, ammunitions and hard drugs into Nigeria have been able to do this by taking advantage of the porous borders and the ECOWAS Protocol. According to Temisan (2013), The Nigeria Customs Service seized a total of 91 automatic weapons and 411,471 ammunitions that were 33

destined for use by criminal elements in the country between 1999 and 2008. The circulation of small arms is widespread and the country has limited capacities to exercise control over the issue in the entirety of its territory. The trade of illegal Small and Light Weapons in the country has fuelled ethnic clashes and brought about unrest in the Niger Delta and Northern region (UNDP, 2016). Between 1999 and 2003, there were over 30 communal clashes, sectarian violence and ethno-religious conflict with each claiming hundreds of lives and properties and internal displacement of women and children. Also, the proliferation and use of Small and Light Weapons in ethno-religious clashes and armed robbery have killed more than 10,000 Nigerians, an average of 1000 per year since 1999 (Okeke, 2014)

Nigeria is also in the throes of bloody upheavals orchestrated by herdsmen, which authorities equally say are mainly foreigners. President Buhari stated that the killer herdsmen, who have wreaked havoc on many communities across the country, are not Nigerians but foreigners who come from Libya (This Day News, 2017). These foreigners come into Nigeria to cause a breach of the peace of the nation. Some Nigerian agriculturalist complained about the constant abuse of the treaty, owing to the porous nature of the borders and this has contributed to some of the challenges facing the country. This treaty is a contributory factor to the rising cases of insecurity of lives and property, smuggling of agricultural produces, farmers-herdsmen crisis and transference of some disease both for man and animals in the region. The smuggling of agricultural products, particularly grains have continued to hinder the Federal Government's plans to ensure attainment of self-sufficiency in the production of rice and other produce (The Nation Reports, 2018). This situation hinders economic development which leads to chaos and insecurity in the country. 34

The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement therefore constitutes a major challenge and further increased the issues of porous border and acts of terrorism in Nigeria which affect the nation's national security.

4.2 EFFORTS OF NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO COMBAT TRANS-BORDER INSECURITY CHALLENGES

Nigeria in recent times has witnessed and unprecedented level of insecurity challenges. This has made national security threat to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security. These trans-border challenges such as smuggling of illegal weapons and contraband goods, armed robbery, illegal oil bunkering, kidnapping etc. have the national on the international scene and brought about disgrace.

Nigeria has taken some hard and soft measures to stem the undue exploitation of the ECOWAS Protocol. Among these measures was the closure of her borders with the Republic of Benin to get the latter to agree to some terms which include; establishment of joint patrol team before re-opening (Garuba, 2010). Law enforcement measures efforts have us been adopted to combat trans-border insecurity challenges and they include; improvement of the customs and immigration services in relation to transnational crimes, training of officers in the face of new threats such as terrorism, improved intelligence gathering and analysis and its effect on prevention if any, improvement of community policing through cooperation with the vigilante services in northeast Nigeria, arrests and persecution of criminals supporting Boko Haram (Adetula, 2015).

Military moves have also adopted to combat these transnational crimes and this seems to be the most visible effort of the Nigerian. The deployment of joint task force and Special Forces 35

to the northeast Nigeria and also working handing in hand with countries in the Lake Chad Region through the establishment of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) are part of the conscious efforts of the Nigerian government to combat the insecurity challenges it's faced with.

4.3 MULTINATIONAL JOINT TASK FORCE (MNJTF) AND COUNTER- TERRORISM IN THE CHAD BASIN.

The ability of the Boko Haram insurgent group to attack the neighboring states of Nigeria in the Lake Chad Region has become a case of serious concern to the West and Central African sub-region generally. In realization of the dangers which the Boko Haram insurgent posed to the African Continent, the African Union acting under the clause of collective security as ratified by the United Nations Charter of 1945, authorized the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) to fight the Boko Haram Insurgents collectively through the Lake Chad Basin Commission's states, comprising Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin Republic in 2014 (Oputu and Lilley, 2015). The MNJTF established in 2015 is a reincarnation of the Joint Operation that was established in 1988. This joint operation was made up of soldiers from Chad, Niger and Nigeria to ensure security within their common borders and enhance international cooperation. However, the joint operation failed because it was not effective in carrying out its mandate, hence the establishment of the MNJTF in 2014. The establishment of the MNJTF is to create a platform for African-led multilateral securitization and counter-terrorism measures against the Boko Haram to focus solely on security dialogue, bringing together the regional defense chiefs to coordinate regional counter-terrorism measures against the Boko Haram sect. 36

The activities of the MNJTF includes conducting military maneuvers to prevent the expansion of the group's invasions, carrying out patrols, averting all transfers of weapons or logistics to the group from different sources, actively searching for and freeing all abductees, including the girls kidnapped from Chibok in 2014 and continually carrying out psychological actions to encourage defection within the Boko Haram ranks (Musa, 2015). In order to validate the mandate of the MNJTF and the nature of the activities to be carried out, the African Union Security Council authorized the deployment of 7500 military and non-military staffs for the first year of its establishment.

Also, four sectors were created based on the mandate of the MNJTF and they were defined as follows; Sector One with the command based in Mora (Cameroon), Sector Two, located in the town of Boga-Sola (Chad), Sector Three, located in Baga (Nigeria) and Sector Four based in the town of Diffa in southeast Niger (Idris Ibrahim and Sawab, 2014). The MNJTF has done much since its establishment in its fight against terrorism and Boko Haram. Between February and May 2016, a large number of Boko Haram fighters were eliminated in Mora Sector and the operation was also able to seize a huge amount of the group's weapons, freed captives, hostages and demolished some of the group's training sites (Musa, 2015). One significant act by the joint task force was from June 2016 to November 2016 around Lake Chad and Borno State known as *Operation Gama Aiki* which literally means *Operation finish the job.* The four Sectors were actively involved in a simultaneous and cooperative military action to eliminate the sects (International Crisis Group, 2014).

The MNJTF since its establishment to a large extent has been able to combat the common threats to national security posed by the Islamic fundamentalist group. However, despite the gains by the regional force (MNJTF), Boko Haram attacks have continued unabated and the 37

group has expanded its attacks on Nigeria and its neighbors. The insurgents have strengthened its capacity by shifting its attacks from head-on battles over territory to ambushes and multi-pronged attacks such as suicide bombings. (Albert, 2015). According to Daily Trust Report 2016, on the 15 June 2015, two suicide bombings by the Boko Haram in N'Djamena killed thirty-four people and injured more than injured 100 after the establishment of the joint task force. 38

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CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENTDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

From the discussion so far, it can be seen that globalization and the nature of colonial boundaries created during the colonial era contributed largely to the porous nature of Nigeria's borders. The poor border management system in the country also allows for the infiltration of Trans border crimes into Nigeria. Studies from different scholars also show that the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons has been continually abused by criminals in the West African sub-region and this has led to a situation of insecurity in the region.

The implication of trans-border crimes for Nigeria security has prompted the government to adopt several policies to combat these crimes. Some of them include the Anti-Terrorism Act, deployment of Special Forces to northeast Nigeria, advanced weapons procurement, training of military personnel in counter terrorism operations etc. The nature of trans-border crimes in the Lake Chad region also prompted the establishment of a Multinational Joint Task Force in 2014 to combat the activities of the Boko Haram sect.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The porosity of Nigerian border and poor border management has contributed to the increasing rate of trans-border crimes in the country and this has a negative effect on the nation's security. The effects of globalization which calls for unhindered borders and the abuse of the ECOWAS Protocol of free movement have also compounded the issues of insecurity in the West African sub-region and this has caused the spread of many criminal activities such as 41

kidnapping, smuggling of drugs, contrabands, internet fraud, terrorism etc. The activities of the Jihadist Movement (Boko Haram) in the Lake Chad region has also increased, thereby causing a situation of transnational insecurity in the region.

The Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) since its establishment in 2014 has been able to counter the activities of the Boko Haram sect on several occasions. The joint military force in order to checkmate the activities of the sect have deployed MNJTF troops to the Lake Chad Region and have succeeded on several cases in repelling their attacks.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Trans-border crimes are major issues every nation of the world is faced with since the advent of globalization in the 21st century. In order to effectively combat the issue of transnational insecurity, there is need for the promulgation of a comprehensive policy on border security and border management. This is important to address the problem of limited policy on border security in Nigeria. These policies would help to redefine the roles of the various government agencies involved in border security and border management taking into consideration global best practices and current security challenges at the borders.

It is also important for the government to invest heavily in counter terrorism by its training security personnel and *educating* the public on matters of security. This should be accompanied with the introduction of electronic gadgets such as metal detectors, security walk-through troughs, CCTV cameras, convex mirrors and atom detectors. Core intelligence agencies such as State Security Services (SSS), The National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) should be encouraged to work together for success. Those at the border control points such as the Customs should tighten 42

the noose on the importation of illegal proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs), explosives and other offensive weapons. Similarly, the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) should mount a formidable campaign against the influx of illegal immigrants and effectively monitor the international borders.

Confronting transnational crimes is not only about patrolling borders but also providing alternative economic opportunities for the most vulnerable sections of the populace by addressing the underlying socio-economic conditions that give rise to crime, poverty, environmental degradation and social exclusion. The fight against transnational crimes cannot be won through militaristic law enforcement approaches alone. Criminal activities in the Lake Chad region are rooted in an economic structure that is dysfunctional, unproductive and incapable of providing required employment, services and goods and a political structure that is unable to guarantee democratic participation, social welfare services and infrastructure, public security, personal safety and the rule of law. These factors undermine the capability and legitimacy of the government and aggravate contentious politics, political violence, social fragmentations and struggle for the capture of the state by various groups including criminal groups. There is therefore the need to adopt evidence led multi-sectorial approach combining proactive preventive social, economic and political measure with reactive law enforcement measures in order to combat transnational crimes and insecurity in the Lake Chad Region.

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