Military Security Issues (MSIs) and the Challenge of Internal Security Operations (ISOPs) in Nigeria

John Moses Maikomo^{1*} Julius Ngomba²

1.School of International Relations/Research School for Southeast Asian Studies, Xiamen University, Fujian,

P.R. China

2.Department of Political Science and International Relations, Taraba State University, Jalingo

Abstract

The Nigerian state over time have witnessed an increasing novel security issues that make the calls for military involvement on existing and emerging non-traditional security issues through Internal Security Operations (ISOPs) inevitable as these issues continues to metamorphosed revealing their high level belligerencies continually.In view of the aforementioned issues and many others, this paper adopts the empirical qualitative method to underscores Nigeria's military security issues (MSIs) and the challenge of internal security operations (ISOPs) in establishing a clear understanding of existing military security issues, causes, challenges and implications of military involvement in internal security operations (ISOPs). The overarching theme of our findings would be that the Nigeria's peculiar historical experience and security reality is that which has compelled military involvement in ISOPs and these issues fall within the theoretic spectacle of non-traditional security issues unlike the developed countries where their military security issues are still within the scope of traditional security issues. Also, the increasing novel security issues are dis-enabling militarism in many third world countries but the political, economic, socio-cultural, human and environmental cost of not involving the military into ISOPs is disastrous to national security and proper functioning of such countries experiencing hydra like security issues. This paper concludes that the fluid and ever changing nature of contemporary security issues especially with the increasing intra-state violence and the dwindling of inter-state violence, we will be witnessing continued and increasing military involvement in ISOPs inevitably in many countries and the need for professionalism in such military involvement cannot be overemphasized.

Keywords: Issues, Internal Security, Military Security Issues (MSIs), Internal Security operations (ISOPs), Nigeria.

1. Introduction/background

The security experience and realities of many third world countries are often ignored or at most designate to the back burner in the discus of security studies in international relations, downplaying the role these security experiences and realities play on issues like global terrorism, migration crisis, human trafficking, child soldering, money laundering, small arms and light weapon proliferations, violent crime, cyber-crime etc. on the global outlook.

Nigeria has been on the world stage since 1960, and holds a strategic and important place on the continent of Africa and the global community at large, a major diplomatic force and player in the world of politics (Ahmed, 2013; Gambari, 2008). However, Nigeria's security issues have taken several dimensions inimical to the security and continued survival of the Nigerian state as a sovereign nation (Katsina, 2008).

According to Yu (2008:1) the categorization of security issues in international politics places military security issues (MSIs) within the international security theory of traditional security issues. The condition of military security climate in Nigeria thus far seems to be a departure from that matrix of military security categorisation in international politics. This is because external threats from neighbouring countries are never a source of concern to the Nigerian state; its major military threats are internal. Unlike the developed countries where its military security issues are still within the scope of traditional security issues, it is a different case scenario in many third world countries and Nigeria in particular as bulk of its past, existing and emerging military security issues are internal and they fall within the theoretic spectacle of non-traditional security issues.

The security challenges witnessed in Nigeria so far have proven, from their magnitude, shown conversely that the Nigerian Police and other Para-military establishments cannot tackle them as it is evidential by the huge cost that the Nigerian state have incurred. It is a fact that experiences from developing and under-developed countries shows that stiff competition over issues of power, legitimacy and resource control can threaten internal security and throw the entire nation into a chaotic state e.g. the case of Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leon, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Columbia, and many others. Therefore, the need for military participation in internal security operations leaves much to be desired.

This move of involving the military into ISOPs however is not without challenges of its own as the military are not known primarily and particularly trained for ISOPs unlike the Civil Security Authorities. As a result, the military consistently engage in acts which are not considered civil in many fronts. Therefore, institutions (like the military) should inject people oriented programmes and policies in pursuing its goals amd objectives so as to

optimize its image and enhance symmetrical understanding (Moses, Akpan, and Presly, 2013).

A cursory examination of the topic evidently indicates that there is no better time to dwell on the security challenges facing today given the internal security challenges confronting Nigeria presently. The rising spate of higher level of aggression against the Nigerian state in the recent times testifies to this. Undoubtedly, defence takes a huge part of Nigeria's budget. This fact is substantiated by some Nigerian academicians (see, Imobighe, 1987; Omede, 2001; Omitoogun, 2003; Dike, 2010 Omede, 2012, Moses and Ngomba, 2017) who all came to the agreement that there has been a systematic rise in the amount allocated to defence from 1960 to recent years.

It is a surprised how little Nigerian MSIs from the perspective of ISOPs are talked about in academic literature despite the countless of domestic security issues faced by the Nigerian military from independence till date, an online search on or related to our research interest indicates that nothing much has been done in the area of military security issues (MSIs) in Nigerian especially from the perspective of internal security operations (ISOP). More so, MSIs in third world countries has not received the needed extensive application in the mainstream of military and security studies.

Therefore, the problem for this study is to expand and deepen the knowledge and understanding of some of the MSIs facing not just the Nigeria state but other third-world countries (sharing related security threats) and the challenge of military involvement ISOPs. We intend to achieve this through identifying MSIs in Nigeria, the challenges of military involvement in ISOPs, consequences and finding sustainable ways of forestalling these security threats through best practice and professionalism during such involvement.

1.1 Conceptual clarification of Key concepts

Internal Security:

Internal security is defined here as the process of maintaining domestic security of a given state, in this cases the Nigerian state. It is the safety efforts against threatening national security issues.

Internal Security Operations (ISOPs):

Internal security operations (ISOPs) in this study is defined as any designed activities to contain internal threats as an effort to preserve law and order in a state, and are executed by internal security agents e.g. the police force, immigration service, customs service, Department of state security service and other domestic security apparatus. **Military:**

Military here is seen as a strategic defence instrument used against internal or external threats to national security by the state, in other words the armed forces of a country.

Security:

Security refers to efforts or measures constructed to ensure safety against threatening security challenges. The agenda of security here is with regards to military security issues through the involvement in internal security operations.

Issue:

Issue(s) here represents any reference with threating potentials against ensuring the presence of peace and security. Therefore, the citing of any development as an issue outside others in this paper is a way of asserting its political securitization by the Nigerian state.

Military security

Military security is simply defined here as the use of the armed forces (military) in ensuring relative or factual **absence** of existential threat to national security.

Military security issues (MSIs)

Military security issue here is defined as **presence** of any threat or development with a potentially negative outcome on the armed forces ability in ensuring peace and national security of a country.

1.2 Objective

The objectives of this paper were:

- 1. To identify and evaluate the distinctiveness of military security issues (MSIs) facing the Nigerian state.
- 2. To underscore military involvement in internal security operations (ISOPs) in Nigeria with the aim of understanding its nature, scope, setbacks, and other matters arising.
- 3. To investigate the strategic implications of MSIs and ISOPs on the Nigerian state and proffer civil oriented solutions.

1.3 Significance

- 1. Discussing MSIs from the perspective of ISOPs enable us to unpack and explain their internal destructive phenomenon as limits to militarism in particular and security in general across many thirdworld countries.
- 2. Choosing Nigeria as a case study is to argue how security experience and realities differs from one state or region to another and that's a precursor to changing the existing narratives about military security

www.iiste.org

issues in international relations.

- 3. This study will not only contribute new knowledge on MSIs in third-world countries but will also broaden the knowledge on ISOPs and hopefully encourage further research work as it holds potentials of conceiving solutions to other thematic problems.
- 4. The position canvassed in this study will no doubt serve as a useful security literature for security watchers and analyst, political leaders, policy makers and the general public who may be searching or researching information on the topics of our discussions.

1.4 Methodology

This paper adopts empirical qualitative method to shoulder the task of exploring in details Military Security Issues (MSIs) in Nigeria through the lens of internal security operations (ISOPs) to give a clear understanding of its peculiarity.

1.4.1 Data sources

Primary source: the study gathered its primary information through unstructured interviews with respondents who (are vast in practical and in-depth knowledge) were drowned through targeted sampling. The respondents were identified from military professionals, Police, Para-military establishment, civil security experts, and political office holders, members of the judiciary, legislative members.

It is important to note here that due to sensitivity about context and participants expectations we are not revealing our respondents as they are not permitted by their relevant bodies to speak on their behalf or to give out such information, they only spoke in anonymity. Therefore, they require the full protection of their identities and privacy. The analytical presentation follows thematic model of themes and sub-themes selected to highlight the trajectories of MSIs and ISOPs in Nigeria.

Secondary source: critical analysis of archival data from libraries, archives, Newspapers, books, Journals, workshop papers, publications from government and non-governmental organizations and private collections which includes documents, photographs, audio and video recordings, personal experience. The data used in this study are check and double checked in other to lend validity and reliability of the available information leading to conclusion.

2. Discussions

2.1 Mapping the Contours of MSIs in Nigeria: From 1960-2018

Nigeria has witnessed deep seated divisions, social and political instability and re-occurring conflicts (Lewis, 2011). This section presents past, burning, and emerging security issues serving as a cause or basis for military involvement in ISOPs in the Nigerian state.

1. Electoral violence:

This study defines electoral violence as any act capable of frustrating, intimidating, harming, damaging or destruction of lives and properties as a result of an input or outcome of an electoral process.

The cases of electoral violence in Nigeria either pre or post electoral violence is argued to do with the orientation of Nigerian politicians, fragile judicial and political institutions, poverty, corruption, political illiteracy, Zero-sum game, lack of legislative autonomy to INEC, miscarriage of justice, buying of votes, campaign rhetoric's lease with ethnic and religious themes etc. (Lawrence, 2015; Dode and Edet, 2015; Ugiagbe, 2010; Ikpe, 2004; Duru, 2002).

Many commentators asserts that the first post-independence election in 1964 and 1965 which were characterized by widespread violence among other factors paved the way for military take over later in 1966 (Obakhedo, 2011).

2. Ethno-religious violence:

Extrapolating from some of the available relevant literatures and public commentary and discussions on ethnoreligious crisis, some of the causes are: small arms and light weapon proliferations, population explosion and growing ethnic and religious mistrust, the shrinking of the economy, the effects of climate change, herdsmen resistance to modernization of livestock production, ecological scarcity, porous border, and so on (Moses and Ngomba, 2017; Alimba, 2014; Edward, 2014; Geoge, 2014; John, 2014; Atelhe and Chukwuma, 2014; Sunday, 2011; Tyubee, 2006; Blench, 2004; James, 2000; Ingawa, Ega and Erhabor, 1999, Iro, 1994).

Herdsmen/farmers violence is another serious security issue for the Nigerian military, the accusation of attacks by Fulani herders on farmers and their farm produce continues to swell in recent time.

3. Niger-Delta militancy:

From 2000, the activities of Niger-delta militants led to a loss of about 40 per cent of total production of 2.2 million barrels as of Mid-2003. Political and economic instability have become pervasive and corrosive making the region business hostile (Oduniyi, 2003; Nzeshi, 2002). Owed to Niger-delta militant activities, an estimated 30,000 barrels of oil are stolen daily. It is reported that Nigeria has lost about \$100 billion to oil theft between 2003 and 2008, and at least 50% percent of the stolen oil and funds were exchanged for arms and ammunitions

(Asumi, 2009).

One of the biggest threats to the Nigerian economy and resources is Niger-Delta militancy. Hundredths of lives are loose annually in bloody encounters between militants, communities, and the Nigerian arm forces as well as communal and ethnic conflicts. With the oil being the number one national income the Nigerian military cannot continue to sit on the fence while its national resources bleed to death.

4. Boko haram insurgency:

A new data from the Global Terrorism Index 2017, places Nigeria as one of the most impacted counties by terrorism, taking the number three spot (3) with a Global Terrorism Index score of 9.009, behind Afghanistan scoring 9.441 and Iraq scoring 10 (Global Terrorism Index 2017).

The extent to which Nigeria has suffered greatly from the menace of terrorism cannot be adequately measured as many of such experiences will never come to light. Boko haram insurgency can be argued to be the most challenging military security issue in Nigeria and it is no joke at this juncture to point out that the challenges of boko haram insurgency is threatening the Nigerian society on all fronts.

These growing military task force activities in containing Boko-haram insurgency leads to an increase in military spending and National security budget which was witnessed around 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, and 2015, 2016 and 2017 respectively (Muriana, 2014, Moses and Ngomba, 2017). One of the implications is on the account which has it that about 20 per cent of Nigeria's territory was in total control of Boko-haram by December 2014 (John, 2015).

5. SALW proliferations:

The appearance of new conflicts and the reappearance of old conflicts between and among communities and other major violent crisis scenario in Nigeria has been the key factor fingered by many studies occurring as a result of revenge, grievances, greed, and revolt in either offence or defence pretext. The core of the matter is that every violent conflict today is enabled by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (Moses and Ngomba, 2017).

In summary, small arms and light weapons proliferation has fuelled and supported insurgency, militancy, ethnoreligious crisis, and many other nefarious activities in across the Nigerian state leading to high level loss of lives and properties. More so, it has bastardised security perception, suffocates the flow of foreign direct investment, and punctured the impression of ease of doing business.

6. Political Corruption:

According to Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013), corruption is been described as cancer militating against Nigeria's development, because corruption deeply threatens the very existence of the Nigerian society.

The military found themselves on the corridor of power in Nigeria either as an attempt, direct response to, or to rescue the Nigerian state from the shackles or bondage of corruption. Despite the perceived 'puritanical nature of the military', most of the military regimes were accused of mismanagement of resources and also guilty of high level corruption and sharp practices.

Therefore, the correlation between military leadership and political corruption in Nigeria comes a long way. Corruption creates room for vicious circle of poverty, low economic activities, high unemployment, implementation lag, social unrest, military take overs, violent and non-violent crime and so much more(Michael, 2012).

7. Military Coups:

Between the period '1966-1999' the Nigeria state is submerged in a series of coup de tats that has become a norm in Nigeria's corridor of power and that in itself is a huge challenge the military institution had to contend with (Gbor, 2004).

A look at the Nigeria's political development, Omede (2012:296) put forward that in the period 1960 to 2010 the Nigerian military ruled for twenty years that's about 50 per cent of that period, which was characterised by oil boom and an all-time high economy. According to Eminue (2006), the Nigerian military displayed a high level corruption, nepotism and tribalism that subsequently led to a high frequency of military intervention into political position in most cases through coups.

8. Nigerian Civil War (Biafra war)/ Call for succession

The Nigerian civil war is one of the goriest and acrimonious wars in post-colonial Africa and the aftermath effect can still be felt in our present day Nigeria. It is worrying, that the underlying issues that caused the civil war in the first place are still not addressed by the Nigerian government. While, the return and increasing calls for secession from some quarters today, is as a result of feeling of marginalization and unequal distribution of national infrastructure by the federal government whom they feel does not represent their interest (Tayo, 2017; Atofarati, 1992).

With the bitter experience of 1967-1970 civil war that resulted in killing of 3 million people and many more displaced internally and otherwise, the Nigerian military are leaving no stone un-turn in the South Eastern region where there is a growing call for the independence of the Republic of Biafra by two popular secessionist groups the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra

operating in the South east Nigeria.

9. Miscellaneous issues: kidnapping, robbery, organize crime, riots, emergencies etc.

The Nigerian state over time has become chaotic scenes with violence due to institutional failure, and daunting crisis in the country that has become endemic and the outcome has been barbaric, as the spate of violent crimes in various parts of the country including kidnapping, armed robbery, assassination, organised crime, extra judicial killings, rival cult clashes, maining, and other anti-social behaviours that has put the capacity of the Nigerian Federal Government under intense pressure.

The situation is generating popular anger and frustration that is increasingly finding expressions in crimes and insecurity leading to the state losing its legitimacy of force application. The civil security organization lacks the needed enablement's leading to their inability to tackle the menace of monumental criminal activities of sorts. In most cases such development ends up spiralling out of control of the Nigerian police and other sister security outfits, thus leaving no option except for military intervention as a last resort as such realities continues to discourage foreign and domestic investment.

2.2. Military involvement in ISOPs in Nigeria (from 1960 to early 2018)

As we earlier mentioned, a country's experience and realities will go a long way in influencing the usage of its security apparatus. Below are some of the noticeable military involvements in ISOPs in Nigeria, and for the purpose of clarity, understanding and analysis the timeline is divided into two:

2.2.1 ISOPS in 20th Century:

Some of the popular military involvement in ISOPs in the 20th century includes; implementation of emergency rule in Western region in 1962, western region election crisis 1965-1966, the quelling the Biafran rebellion which lasted from 1967 to 1970, suppressing student's riots in popularly known as Ali must go in 1979, joint military police anti robbery patrols in 1979, management of Ogumpa Flood disaster of Ibadan in 1981, 1983 Maitasine religious crisis in Kano, Bauchi, Gongola, Kaduna, , quashing the anti-SAP riots of 1989.

The military has also involved in the following ISOPs in the late 20th century; maintenance of law and order during the June 12 protest of 1993, crushing the Zangon-Kataf violence of 1992, containing ethno-religious violence in some parts of Plateau state, the Ogoni uprising of 1993-1994, joint Police-Military Security Task Force that were popular in many states (, 1993, 1998, 1999.), the 1999 Odi crisis, ife-Modakeke crisis of 1999, Niger Delta crisis, etc. (for a broader analysis and chronological presentation of military involvement in ISOPs within this period see Gbor, 2004, Beegeagle's Blog, 2011; Okoli, A. C., and Orinya, S., 2013; Omede, 2012). **2.2.2 ISOPS in 21st Century:**

It is no longer an open secret that the 20th century presents yet a tougher security challenge for the Nigerian security institutions especially the military.

Some of the ISOPs spear heded by the military include: operation 'Lafiya Dole', operation 'Crack down', operation 'Gama Aiki', operation 'Safe Corridor', Operation 'Deep Punch I' Operation 'Deep Punch II', etc. are all geared towards tackling the menace of boko haram insurgency in the North eastern region of Nigeria.

While operation 'Pulo Shield', operation 'Delta Safe', operation 'Crocodile Smile', operation 'Tsera Teku', are to checkmate illegal activities of Niger-Delta militants with the aim of protecting critical economic infrastructures within Niger-Delta.

Others include: Operation 'Safe Haven', operation 'Sharan Daji', operation 'Harbin Kunama', operation 'Awase', operation 'Iron Fence', operation 'Mesa', operation 'Safe Conducts', operation 'Quick Response Squad', operation 'Python dance I', operation 'Python dance II', operation 'Ayem Akpatuma', operation 'Karamin Goro', and few others are designed to squash the menace of violent criminal activities, electoral violence, herder/farmer crisis, and other anti-state activities.

Comparing the two above timeline, it is clear to see that the 21st century security issues are indeed a tough one for the Nigerian military as those operations has spread across the existing six geo-political regions of the country. Also, military operations in the 21st century seem to be more organised and precise in mandate as reflects in their code names.

2.3. Challenges of military involvement in ISOPs in Nigeria

Some of these problems are as follows:

1. Unsustainable salaries and underfunding

There has been indication of underfunding of many internal security operations in Nigeria. The meagre salary paid to soldiers in most cases end up leaving them in debt as their monthly salary cannot sustain the rising cost of food and services, and the growing large family. There is a need to use money as incentives to boost the morale of military personnel engaged in ISOPs.

Buttressing this fact is the current Nigerian Chief of Army Staff Lt. Gen Tukur Buratai when he lamented while appearing before the Senate Committee on Army matters that poor funding of military operations being carried out virtually in all the states of the federation has not only negatively affected the success of the on-going

operations but has extended the military's core constitutional roles and have impacted significantly on the Army's human and material resources (The Punch Newspapers, 2018).

2. Equipment and logistics

One of the re-occurring challenges in most operations especially in Niger-delta and North-east regions is the lack of sufficient equipment and logistics. In many cases military personal are out run or ambushed by militants or insurgents during such operations. This brings the need for a reliable and efficient communication support to meet today's requirement of effective ISOPs.

3. Corruption

Corruption and other sharp practices in the military system is reveal in some unfortunate cases where wounded soldiers are left to treat and fend for themselves despite the availability of funds budgeted for such situations as corruption and criminal negligence denied many foot soldiers their operation allowance as when due.

On the operational front, military personnel do complain of poor food quality despite high money drafted to cover their feeding. A good example is the Operation 'Lafiya Dole' where soldiers complained about the quality of food been served to them despite the huge amount of money appropriated for that purpose every year. Many soldiers in such operations chose to suffer in silence as they are afraid of the consequences of speaking out (The Cable, 2014).

4. Manpower

The multitudes of MSIs in Nigeria have brought to bare the existing manpower challenges in the Nigerian military especially in the fight against insurgency in the north-eastern part of the country as many units were over-run by the insurgents in multiple cases (Epiphany, 2013).

This situation can be corrected if postings and integration of units to be involved in ISOPs are concluded on time to serve as standby units.

5. Language Barrier

Nigeria is a heterogeneous society being the most populous country in Africa with more than 520 languages. Sometimes the use of interpreters from host communities might not work well for the interest of justice and fairness to the different clashing parties involve. On that not there is a need for military personnel to be encourage to learn languages spoken in conflict ridden hot zones.

6. Training and orientation

Internal security operations only require restraint and the use of minimum force which is in contrast to traditional training and orientation of soldiers in conventional warfare.

In other words, the deployment of military personnel's with such aforementioned training background into ISOPs is no doubt a sharp contrast to what is require in the military knowledge of things, and is like putting a square peg in a round hole which will not fit in properly. This explains the degree of manhandling of civilians in the traditional thinking of military trainings.

Therefore, it is expected that ISOPs training and orientation should be part of recruitment process or a particular wing should be channelled for ISOPs specialization.

7. Mandate, strategy and tactics

The challenge here is that some of mandates are unrealistic, vague and unclear even to the military personnel carrying such operations, this explains many contradictions encountered during a number of operations leading to changing or replacing certain operations.

While on strategy and tactics, the challenge is born out the reality that the Nigerian military are traditionally equipped with conventional warfare strategy and tactics not usually applicable to most of the security issues faced by the Nigerian army. This calls for the very need to adopt mandate, strategy and tactics that are ISOPs compactable.

2.4. Criticism on military behaviour and handling of ISOPs

It is totally unfair to the Nigerian army not to commend on the good conducts of the majority of its service men during internal operations; indeed they have done behaved well in many internal interventions. With that being said, it is also unfair not to put forward some of the criticisms arising from the behaviour and handling of ISOPs by the military in other identified and reported cases:

1. Degrading treatment of citizens and slow or late response to distress call

It is quite familiar to see some military personnel dishing out uncivilized punishment from whipping, frog jumping, pinning their heads, kneeling for long hours or any sort of degrading punishment anytime civilians are found wanting in default of any make-shift rules by military during ISOPs. While in some cases, attacks, killings and kidnapping will go on for several hours without any military intervention e.g. the mubi attack in Adamawa State. better still the popular and viral case of 'Chibok girls' in April 2014 in Borno State, and the recent 110 school that were missing from Government Science and Technical Secondary school at in Yobe state after the all-girls school was attacked by Boko haram insurgents (Sahara Reporters, 2018).

www.iiste.org

2. Arbitrary arrest, excessive use of force, and extra judicial killings

Arbitrary arrest and the use of excessive force in whatever pretext is not in the lexicons of human rights and it is totally against the precepts of human rights protection.

The military and other security services engaged in internal operations perpetrated extra-judicial killings, and engaged in torture, rape, arbitrary arrest, and excessive use of force and destruction of properties (allAfrica magazine, 2016). The following popular events are all pointers buttressing these accusations: the indiscriminate firing of villagers at Gbeji in Zaki-biam local area of Benue stat in (October 22, 2001), the "The Ogoni Nine" which follows the arrest and sentencing to death the nine ogoni activists. An attack carried out on November 20, 1999 by the Nigeria military on the predominantly Ijaw village of Odi popularly known as "Odi Massacre" in Bayelsa State. In effect scores of unarmed civilians, including women and children, were arrested and killed (Robert, 2012; Okoli and Orinya, 2012; Epiphany, 2013, Idowu and Aregbesola, 2013). There have also been several reports on extra judicial killings by the military in Nigeria from many quarters during ISOPs (Sahara Reporters, 2018).

3. Implications of MSIs and ISOPs in Nigeria

Taking stock of MSI and ISOPs implications is crucial in understanding its co-relation to the quest of national development in Nigerian. Both MSIs and ISOPs no doubt have huge impact on the Nigerian state given the phenomenal degree of action and reaction they creates.

3.1 Political implications:

- 1. It is imperative to note here that from the political security standpoint, the continuous large scale participation of the military in ISOPs may signal decaying civil and political institutions.
- 2. The territorial sovereignty of the Nigerian state has come under serious scrutiny by the overwhelming MSI; Boko Haram insurgency in particular has made some parts of the north-east region ungovernable as they declared it to be part of the Islamic state at a particular time.
- 3. Politically also, military involvement in ISOPs indicates political will of the Nigerian state to nip in the bud security issues that impedes the normal functioning of its institutions and daily activities of its citizens.

3.2 Economic implications:

- 1. MSI leads to economic instability and erosion of economic gains and effort. Some of our research findings are pointers that both MSIs and ISOPs are costly and have been draining national resources and a clog to the wheels of inclusive development drive.
- 2. On the business front, the existing military security issues continues to ridicule and discourage the prospects of having Nigeria as being the most preferred investment destination in Africa, through the corrosion of investors' confidence in the security of their investments.
- 3. On the other hand, military involvement in internal security operation is in the right side especially in the face boko haram and Niger-delta militancy which could have bled the economic resources and the country to its total collapse.

3.3 Social/Cultural implications:

- 1. Some of the MSI intentionally target existing public good like schools, health care facilities, cultural heritage, worship centres, monuments and life style, community institutions etc. and also affects the ability to provide, maintain or improve other public good like housing, power supply, road expansion, water supply etc.
- 2. MSIs creates new menace in surrounding communities as victims who find themselves in such communities face challenges of social cohesion, culture and traditions which also may leads to violent reactions between host communities and displaced persons.

3.4 Human implications:

- 1. Being internally displaced persons puts such victims at a disadvantage as their life savings and properties are destroyed or lost forever. Furthermore, IDPs with educational background, entrepreneurial ideas and innovations that can stimulate national economy becomes rather a burden to the government thereby perpetuating the circle of poverty.
- 2. The colossal loss accrued from MSIs issues cannot be measured satisfactorily, as some of the victims are psychologically damaged for the rest of their lives.

3.5 Environmental implications:

1. It is estimated that illegal activities especially pipeline vandals has spilled 1.5 million tons of crude oil

in Niger-Delta within the span of 50 years. This was disclosed by the Delta Committee Against Vandalism of Oil and Gas Facilities (Ebenezer, 2018).

2. Destruction of lives and activities in the Lake Chad basin due to terror related activities by boko haram insurgents.

3.6 Military implication

Military's involvement in internal security operations comes along with its cost and benefits to the Nigerian military personnel:

- 1. The military involvement in ISOPs no doubt has led to a high loss of its personnel engaging in some of such operations e.g. the Boko haram insurgency. Giving to the number of lives loss by the Nigerian military it is safe to say that the Nigerian military is at war with domestic threats.
- 2. On the other hand, in the absence of external threats, the deployment of military personnel in ISOPs helps them in getting familiar with modern weapons as such operations become a proxy for not only testing newly acquired military hardware but training and generating practical experiences. In other words, ISOPs has help in keeping warm the military fabric in active mode over the years.

4. STRATEGIC TAKEAWAYS (FINDINGS)

This study has produced some interesting results from our analysis with huge implications across boards, some of which includes:

- 1. MSIs in Nigeria have pushed the military role well outside its primary role from traditional to nontraditional boundaries. Thus, it is safe to say that most of the military security issues in some third world countries are intra-state not inter-state.
- 2. One of the missing links in managing MSIs in Nigeria is effective intelligence gathering and strategic surveillance. The need to crack down for instance on the financiers or sponsors, arms and logistics supply routes of insurgents, Niger delta militants, etc. can only be achieved through effective intelligence gathering and strategic surveillance which at the moment seems to be very weak.
- 3. The culture of violence during election periods in Nigeria is one of the longest and atavist security issues the military have to contend with since independence to this day. Electoral violence in Nigeria is also a huge factor militating against massive women participation in electoral activities as most women prefer to stay away having the impression that it is a manly affair thereby, increasing gender inequality on the corridor of political representation.
- 4. It is worthy of note here that previous and existing military security issues in Nigeria would have for a long time drag the country into a perfect image of a failed state from every shape, size or angle of the argument, but the gains made from successive military involvement in ISOPs have help greatly in keeping the country from a negative to positive manageable state of peace.
- 5. The longevity and tenacity of some MSIs in Nigeria highlights long regime of under-funding, under resourcing and high level systemic corruption. The Nigerian military over time also, have displayed the qualities of being reactionary, conservative, and reformist in some of the successive coups.
- 6. The results indicate that both military security issues and military involvement in internal security operations are not linear, as security situation do improve and decline all the time.
- 7. Constant exposure of the military in containing multiple domestic security issues coupled with other independent variables like low or zero civil institutional resolve ability in many third world countries explains why such countries were and are still prone to military internal interference, take over, or coup d' tat. The regular involvement of the military in ISOPs gives the military a perception of a failed political leadership, thus the unnecessary take overs or counter coups with the mind-set of doing it better.
- 8. Boko haram insurgency is the most impactful MSI in Nigeria since the Nigerian civil war.

5. Future military security risks in Nigeria

Some of the future military security risks in Nigeria that will continue to pull the military into ISOPs in the years to come include the following.

- 1. Terrorism
- 2. Militancy
- 3. Ethno-religious violence especially herder/farmer clashes
- 4. Organized violent crime
- 5. Electoral violence

In addressing some of the existing and emerging MSIs in Nigeria, the Federal Government of Nigeria needs to have a brand new national political orientation, a pragmatic shift from the existing Voters or Based Governance (which is anti-inclusive) to Issues Based Governance (which is not only smart and sustainable) in

the face of growing novel security issues and dwindling of political ambition to fix such issues.

6. Summary

This study started by establishing the technical aspect of the paper. From introduction, conceptual clarifications, objectives, significance to methodology.

The next part focuses on major discussions on our study through the reviewing of thematic and relevant literatures on the themes of our study.

The paper presented in Part three the implications of MSIs and ISOPs from political, economic, sociocultural, human, environmental and military point of view.

In Part four the results of our analysis with huge effects across boards were presented. The study in Part five made some future forecast on MSIs in Nigeria and the most benefiting approach to contain them.

Part six summarizes the entire work, while Part seven conclude and Part eight finally made some strategic recommendation on how to forestall MSIs through ISOPs sustainably.

7. Conclusion

In spite of the fact that the Nigerian military is one of the most consistent subsector of the Nigerian Federal structure, it is worthy of note that the Nigerian military institution is stain with factious consequence of corruption in the military, parochial loyalty and allegiance or politics of ethnic and regional affiliations especially in the period covering 1966 to 1999. It can also be argued that lack of professionalism as displayed by some military personnel constitute a major threat to the Nigerian security. Such poor conducts outside the military barracks especially during internal security operations creates resentment within and among such communities that further complicates the resolve capability of the Nigerian military.

The increasing roles taken by the military in internal security operations have been criticized by people who are of the opinion that the military are not trained to manage internal operations like other civil authorities such as the police. However it must be said that the involvement of the military in internal operations, operates on a double effects; it has had its advantages notwithstanding the negativity associated with it.

The Nigerian military security experience is antithetical to the military understanding of things in security studies and that has compelled the Nigerian military in the absence of external aggression to drift from its key constitutional responsibilities to involving in internal security issues containment through ISOPs. The alarming increase in military involvement in ISOPs especially in the 21st century Nigeria, is a clarion call that the military security reality in some third world countries should no longer be overlooked theoretically in the studies of International relations and calls for a rethink on the categorization of security issues in international security studies with cognizance to the north and south dichotomy.

At the individual and state level of analysis military involvement in ISOPs seems to be a necessity but on regional and international level of analysis it may not yield positive security perception and a positive image of a country once known as the giant of Africa.

8. STRATEGIC RECOMMENDATIONS

For the Nigerian state and its military to increase its clout in containing existing and emerging security issues, and to ensure professionalism, best practice or enlighten military engagement in ISOPs the following policy options needs to be considered.

- 1. One of the challenges of military involvement in internal security operations in Nigeria is the inability of the military to deploy modern techniques and technologies and this should not be allowed to continue especially in this tech-driven era of human development. We recommend investment in smart research and development that will enable the use of 'technological mix' during strategic and complicated operations.
- 2. For a hitch free military involvement in ISOPs the military should ensure the use of public relations (PR) activities like effective media relations, community social responsibility programmes etc. to the general public before, during and after every internal security operation. This will enhance public understanding; reduce civil mistrust, reduce unnecessary panicking, and help in building positive image perception of the military after such operations.
- 3. As a matter of policy it is important for the military personnel drafted for such intervention to possess at least the ability to speak the languages of the host communities in Nigeria. When language communication is used as a security management tool, it will not only remove unnecessary misunderstanding during internal security operations but it will build trust from both sides and ensure compliance by such communities.
- 4. It is necessary for a domestic legislation which will regulate the operations of the military during internal operations. The Rules of Engagement of the military should be given a legal status and hence be stopped to be operating as mere guidelines. The Nigerian military as a matter of policy should

established a new wing suitable for conducting ISOPs through purposeful training and indoctrination of personnel from recruitment, selection, organization, training, leadership management and practical execution.

5. Finally, there should be an elaborate and civil oriented National military security strategy that is forward looking and at the same time capable of contributing to national, regional and global peace and security based on constructive and cooperative approach.

REFERENCES

- Abimbola, J. O. and Adesote, A. S. (2012). "Political parties and the quest for good governance in Nigeria", In: Edo, V. O. and Salami, F. K. (Eds). Issues and Trends in Nigeria's Development, Ibadan: John Asher Publishers.
- Adesote, A. S. and Abimbola, J. O. (2014). Electoral violence and the survival of Democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Historical Perspective. Canadian Social Science, 3(10), pp. 140-148
- Ahmed, M. S. (2013). Nigeria's Participation in peacekeeping operations. A Thesis presented in partial completion of the requirements of The Certificate-of-Training in United Nations Peace Support Operations, Peace Operations Training Institute[®]. Available
- Alimba, N. C. (2014). "Probing the dynamic of communal conflict in Northern Nigeria", African Research Review, Vol. 8 (1) Serial No. 32.
- Asuni, J. B. (2009). "Blood Oil in the Niger-Delta", United State Institute of Peace, Special Report 229. August 2009.
- Atofarati, A. (1992). The Nigerian Civil War; Causes, Strategies and Lessons learnt. US Marine Command and Staff College, 1991/1992.
- allAfrica Stories (2016). Nigeria: U.S. Report Accuses Police, Army of Unbridled Bribery, Brutality, Extra Judicial Killings. Available: http://allafrica.com/stories/201604150791.html (February 11, 2018)
- Beegeagle's Blog (2011). Chronicle of Nigeria Military Engagement: 1959-2011. Available:

http://www.beegeagles.com/2011/08/26/chronicle-of-nigerian-military-engagements-1959-2011. (January 10, 2017)

- Biobakun, K. (2008). PSOs in general, the Analysis of participating armies. A paper delivered at Social and Defence Forum Presentation Day, (2008) p.9.
- Blench, R. (2004). Natural resources conflicts in North-Central Nigeria: A handbook and case studies. Mallam Dendo Ltd.
- Chukwuma, A. O. and Atelhe, G. A. (2014). Nomads against natives: A political ecology of herder/famer conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria. American International Journal of contemporary Research, Volume 4. No. 2
- Dike, P. (2010). Nigeria and the Quest for an Enduring Security Mechanism. A Paper on National Security. Presented at the Royal United Service Institute, London, March 26th, 2010
- Duru, E. J. C. (2002). The Electoral Process and Democracy in Nigeria. Calabar: BAAJ International
- Edward, O. O. (2014). Conflicts between Fulani herder and farmers in Central and Southern Nigeria: Discourse on proposed establishment of grazing routes and reserves. International Journal of Arts and Humanities, Balier Dar, Ethiopia, AFRREVIJAH Vol. 3 (1)
- Elomba (2010). Jos Massacre Highlights Failure. A Nigerian Perspective on World Affairs-March14th 2010, Jos. Available: http://www.elomba.com- (July 18, 2017)

Epiphany, A. (2013). Military in Internal Security Operations: Challenges and Prospects. A Paper Presented at the Nigerian Bar Association 53rd Annual Conference 28th August, 2013, TINAPA CALABAR, NIGERIA

Eminue, O. (2006). Military in Politics. Soul Publishers, Akwa Ibom

- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). The 1999 Republican Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Federal Government Press.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2006). National Defence Policy. Federal Ministry of Defence, Abuja, Nigeria
- Gambari, I. A. (2008). From Balewa to Obasanjo: The theory and practice of Nigeria's foreign policy. In: Adebajo, A. and Mustapha, A. R. (Eds), Gullivers troubles: Nigeria's Foreign Policy after the Cold War, South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal press.
- Gbor, J. T. (2004). Military history of Nigeria from colonial era to the present. Longman, Ikeja, Lagos.
- George, A. G. (2014). Ethnic and Religious Identities Shaping Contestation for Land base Resources: The Tiv Tarmers and Pastoralist Conflicts in Central Nigeria. Paper presented at the First Annual International Conference on Ethnic and Religious Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding (October 1, 2014, New York City).
- Idowu, J., and Aregbesola, M.O. (2013). Internal Security Operations and Human Rights Abuses in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges. Conference Paper, September, 2013.
- Ikpe, U. B. (2004). Attitudes of politicians to electoral process in Nigeria. A paper presented at a workshop on

sustainable democracy in Nigeria, July 12.

- Imobighe, T. A. (Ed.) (1987). Nigeria Defence and Security: Issues and Options for Policy in Nigeria. Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies. Kuru, Jos.
- Ingawa, S. A., Ega, L. A. and Erhabor, P. O. (1999). Farmer-Pastoralist conflict in core states of the National Fadama Project. FACU, Abuja
- Iro, I. (1991). The Fulani herding system. Washington African Development Foundation. Available: www.gamji.com (January 12, 2016)
- James, I. (2000). The settle phenomenon in the Middle Belt and the problem of national integration in Nigeria. Midland Press Ltd. Jos
- Joab-Peterside, S. (2007). On the Militarization of Nigeria's Niger Delta: The Genesis of Ethnic Militia in Rivers State. Working Paper No. 21 12: 3 & 4 October. Port Harcourt: Centre for Advance Social Science (CASS).
- John, E. (2014). The Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria: Questions, Challenges, Allegations. Available: www.elnathanjohn.blogspot (September 25, 2017)
- John, P. (2015). Religion and Conflict in Nigeria: Countdown to the 2015 elections. United State Institute of Peace, Special Report.
- Katsina, A. M. (2008). A Critical Analysis of the Nigeria's Defence Policy in the Fourth Republic 1999-2007. A Thesis submitted as part of the necessary requirements for the award of Msc. (Degree) in Defence and Strategic Studies. Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA), Kaduna, 2008
- Lawrence, I. E. (2015). Electoral violence and Democratization process in Nigeria: A reference of 2011 and 2015 General Elections. Acta Universitatis Danubius Administration, Volume 7, No. 1, pp. 43-53
- Lewis, P. (2006). The dysfunctional state of Nigeria. In: Birdsall, N. (Eds) Short of the Goal: US policy and poorly performing states, Brookings Institute press.
- Mahdi, A. A., Nazariah, B. O., and Muhammmad, B. M. (2017). Internal Security Challenges and the Dilemma of Troop's Contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations: The Nigeria's Experience. International Journal of Management Research & Review (IJMRR), April 2017. Vol. 7, Issue 4. Article No-2/398-417
- Michael, M. O. (2012). Political Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A social-economic analysis. Journal of Nigeria Studies, Vol 1, Number 2, Fall 2012.
- Moses, J. M and Nogomba, J. L. (2017). Small arms and light weapons proliferation in the early 21st century: The Nigerian case. International Journal of Development and Sustainability, Vol. 6 No. 11, pp. 1638-1652.
- Moses, J. M., Akpan, I. and Presly, O. O. (2013). Enhancing Corporate Reputation Through A Deconstruction of Issues and Crises Roles. IISTE, New Media and Mass Communication, Volume 16, 2013.
- Muraina, A. I. (2011). Changing roles of the Nigerian armed forces and funding implications. Gold press limited, Ibadan.
- Nzeshi, O (2002). Ten oil workers kidnapped in Bayelsa. Thisday Newspaper, vol 56 No21 Thursday, 4th April, Lagos
- Obakhedo, N. O. (2011) .Curbing Electoral Violence in Nigeria: The Imperative of Political education. African Research Review. Volume 5(5), No. 22, October 2011, pp. 99-110
- Odili, Paul (2007). MEND: Between Criminality and Kid Gloves. Vanguard (Lagos). 29 January.
- Oduniyi, M. (2003) Crude oil theft: Bunker get more daring, at: www.legal/oil.com/news.asp (October 28, 2016)
- Okeke, V. O., Oji. & Richard, O. (2014). Cross Boarder Crimes in West African Sub-Region: Implications for Nigeria's National Security and External Relations. Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science, Volume 14. Issue 3, Version 1.0 Year 2014: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
- Okoli, A. C., Orinya, S. (2013). Evaluating the Strategic Efficacy of Military Involvement in Internal Security Operations (ISOPs) in Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 9, Issue 6 (Mar. Apr. 2013), p. 21-23*
- Omede, A. J. (2012). The Nigerian Military: Analysing fifty years of defence and internal military and fifty years of internal security operations in Nigeria (1960-2010). J Soc Sci, 33(3): 293-303(2012).
- Omede, A. J. (2004). Enhancing the domestic structure of the Nigerian Army towards Peace Support Operations. In: Gbor, J. W. (Ed.) (2004) The Nigerian Army in Global Security. Lagos: Megavons (West-Africa), p.304-308.
- Omitoogun, W. (2003). Military Expenditure Data in Africa: A Survey of Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda. SIPRI Research Report No. 17. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Premium Times Newspaper (2013). Borno Governor says over 100 people killed in Baga, Orders Distribution of Relief Materials. Available: http://www.premiumtimes.ng.com/news/130894-borno-governor-says-over-100-people-killed-in-Baga-orders-distribution-of-relief-materials.html. (November 21, 2017)
- Radio Nigeria Ibadan (2013). Nigerian Army advocates centralized system for JTF operations. Available: http://www.radionigeriaibadan.com/nigerian-army-advocates-centralized-system-for-jtf-operations (September 26, 2016.)
- Robert O.D. (2012). Nigeria Security Forces and the Management of Internal Conflict in the Niger Delta:

Challenges of Human Security and Development. *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, 2012, p.410-411.

- Sahara Reporter (2018). 94 School Girls are Missing After Boko Haram Attacked All-Girls School In Nigeria's Northeast. Available: http://saharareporters.com/2018/02/20/94-school-girls-are-missing-after-boko-haram-attacked-all-girls-school-nigerias-northeast (February 20, 2018)
- Sahara reporters (2018). Amnesty International: 340 Detainees Starved To death In Maiduguri Military Detention Facility in 2017. Available: http://saharareporters.com/2018/02/22/amnesty-international-340-detainees-starved-death-maiduguri-military-detention-facility (February 22, 2018)
- Sunday, E. (2011). The Proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa: A case study of the Niger-Delta. Sacha Journal of Environmental Studies, Volume 1. No. 2
- Tayo, S. (2017). Nigeria: Calls for Biafran Independence Return to South East Nigeria. London: Chatham House. November
- The Cable (2014). Soldier writes Buhari: We borrow money from civilians to feed. Available: https://www.thecable.ng/soldier-writes-buhari-borrow-money-civilians-feed/amp

(May 15, 2017)

- Tyubee, B. T. (2006). Influence of extreme climate on common disputes and violence in Tiv Area of Benue State. In Timothy T. Gyuse and Oga Ajene (Eds) Conflicts in Benue Vally, Makurdi, Benue State University Press.
- Ugiagbe, T. U. (2010). Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Implications for security, peace and development. Available: http://www.monitor.upeace.org/archive.cfm. (December 22, 2016)
- Yu, Xiaofeng (2008). Non-Traditional Security and China. In Wang Yizhou (ed.) Transformation of Foreign Affairs and International Relations in China 1978-2008, (Chapter VII), Beijing: *China Social Sciences Press*.