



## **The Implications Of Failing State For National Security: A Case Study Of Nigeria**

<sup>1</sup>Rufus Aisedion

Ph.D

Department of Political Science

Ambrose Alli University

Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria.

<sup>2</sup>Oboh Joseph

Ph.D

Department of Public Administration

### Abstract

The study has been undertaken to investigate the failing state of Nigeria arising from the general disenchantment and agitation canvassed by various ethnic groups for better living conditions to meet basic human needs. The high level of disillusionment has made Nigerian institutions responsible for system continuity and maintenance to battle for survival because of the uprising from the disenchanted individual and groups resulting in general insecurity in the country. In the study, the paper used secondary materials, theoretically and historically, analyzed by employing a public affairs management approach and frustration-aggression theoretical analysis. The findings revealed that a lack of basic human needs generates aggression, leading to upheaval and loggerheads with the government by various groups, affecting the country's political and economic fabrics, suggesting a failing state. To ensure internal stability, especially for Nigeria's heterogeneous societies, there is a need for broad public participation in the state's affairs in order to raise the level of national consciousness among Nigerian people and cultivate in them a strong sense of commitment to the survival of the country. To halt failing states, leaders must give adequate attention to basic needs and people-oriented programmes which enhance their domestic productive capacity. The ruling elite must endeavour to raise their contentment level through purposeful leadership and cost-effective national resource management.

keywords: Failing State, National Security, Nigeria

### 1.1 Introduction

Most Nigerian leaders relegate security from the broader conduct of public affairs. For many of them, security means maintaining the state's sophisticated coercive apparatus to enforce general conformity with an official position. Some Nigerian leaders believe the state's resources are there to satisfy their consumption habits and those of their close associates. They also believe that the state's security agencies should perpetuate them in office. Given the above characteristics of the Nigerian political leadership, it is not surprising that their security deployment targets are, invariably, the critics of their self-serving policies. These include opposition elements, independent media, and those they call radicals within the system. These include labour unions, student bodies and academia, and other notable groups such as the Indigenous People of Biafra

(IPOB) in the eastern part of Nigeria, Oodua's People Congress (OPC) in the west, Niger Delta Militias and other ethnic nationalities agitating for good governance. Experience has it that these critics of their self-serving government policies automatically become enemies of the state and brutalized by state security agents, whose responsibilities they define towards a single purpose—that of protecting the regime in power (Imobighe, 1998:21-22).

Government policies impoverished Nigeria's most citizens and rendered them powerless to take part in legal, political, or economic affairs. The citizens have no free access to excellent education because they have subjected the public institutions to ridicule because of the government's lack of funding, resulting in strikes. For instance, Nigerian public tertiary institutions academic staff were on strike for lack of funding for ten months which started March 2020 but they suspended the strike in January 2021. In a failing state, citizens' economic opportunities are unavailable, and they have no ability or incentive to use their talents or skills. Even in Nigeria, Fulani herdsmen constantly destroy those who have taken to farming with impunity to kill, maim, and take occupation for grazing their cattle. The poor do not have any political voice or economic power. Still, all opportunities are only within reach of the elites who have the economic strength to exploit the poor. This situation is such that financial and political institutions are not enough to create an inclusive society because they bar the bulk of the population from participation, serving as enclaves for the elite to extract every material and opportunity from the poor and irrevocably stagnated the economic growth. For society to function well, the community needs other public utility services: good roads and an affordable transport network so that they can transport goods; good social amenities so that economic activities can blossom; and adequate regulation of laws to prevent fraudulent acts (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012:91-93). The disillusionment and agitation for self-determination by various ethnic groups in Nigeria signaled it is not well. The Nigeria's institutions responsible for system continuity and maintenance are battling for survival because of the character of Nigerian leadership. Any society that is burdened by acute food shortages, population explosions, poor productivity, high illiteracy, a weak infrastructural base for even development, inadequate public utilities, and chronic unemployment have bias arrangement of development to embrace the conditions of failing state (McNamara, 1968:142). The general aim of the paper is to examine failing state, causes and empirical instances suggesting a failing state in Nigeria, national security, and the implications of a failing state for national security.

## 1.2 Theoretical Framework and method

The "Public affairs management approach" enunciated by Imobighe and frustration-aggression by Berkowitz and Yate formed the paper's theoretical orientation. We believe that these approaches effectively address the many issues of a failing state. The three essential elements which have a direct positive impact on internal security are "broad public participation in the affairs of the state," judicious resource allocation and proper resource management. Public participation relates to the question of equal opportunity. The nation experiences frequent instability and elements of failing states when the system lacks structure that ensures broad public participation in the affairs of the state. The point of emphasis here is that non-participation, under participation, or lack of it by the public or a section of it easily leads to alienation, the erosion of patriotism, or revolt in extreme cases suggestive of a failing state. Resource allocation is very important in the internal security calculation because of the basic problem of resource scarcity. Since no country, however well endowed, has enough resources to meet the citizens' desperate claims, it is important to adopt the most even-handed and judicious formula in the allocation of public resources to halt the features of failing states. Management is getting things done, it is the manner of directing, organizing, or using things to achieve the

desired objectives. Nigeria since independence has noticed a steady decline in the level of efficiency in management of the country's resources. Widespread corruption and other vices have aggravated the situation. All along, Nigerian leaders have failed to address the attributes that make for efficiency in the nation's management of resources. So the rising character of some Nigerian leaders' wrong approach towards material accumulation against the provision of human basic needs hurts the society culminating in a failing state (Imobighe, 2003:5-19). If the government displaces the needs of the people, then there will be a feeling of frustration, melancholy and apprehension all over the land resulting in a catastrophic blizzard as it is across Nigeria today.

Frustration-aggression theory became relevant in the study as Berkowitz and Yates (1962:59) articulate assumptions of the theory that frustration occurs if people cannot meet their cherished needs, particularly those of basic needs. It also implies and maintains that failing to address the expectations and agitation of sections of people, whether religious, ethnic, or even political, could give rise to frustration, which could manifest in aggression. The aggressive tendencies of certain groups within a country could be a visible expression of frustration, arising because of the political elites' inability to address the basic needs and expectations of the people.

## Previous researches

### 1.3 Concept of a failing state

The term a failing state means that the state has become ineffective and incapacitated and cannot enforce its laws symmetrically or provide basic goods and services to its citizens because of high criminality rates, insurgency, reckless political corruption, an impenetrable and ineffective bureaucracy, judicial subservient to the executive organ, military intervention in politics, and cultural situations in which traditional leaders wield more power than the state in issues affecting their communities. People recognise a failing country based on the conditions of infrastructure, economy and social policy (Braathen,2011:4-30) such as the North-East of Nigeria. Some scholars focused on the capacity and effectiveness of the government to determine whether a state fails (Patrick, 2007:644-662). Other features such as the Fund for Peace's Fragile States Index underline the liberal characteristics of state-institutions in order to determine its level of failure (Call,2011:303-326). Finally, other scholars focused their arguments on the legitimacy of the state (Kaplan, 2008:24). on the condition of the state (Gros, 1996:455-457), on the growth of criminal violence in the state (Rotberg, 2004:213). on the economic extractive institutions (Levitt,2012 :7), on the states' capacity to control its territory (Taylor,2013:21), Bates, refers to state failure as the "collapse of the state", where the state metamorphoses "into an apparatus of depredation" and the state effectively loses its monopoly on the means of force (Bates, 2008:1-12).

One of the social indicators of a failing state is high population concentration affecting food supply and other life-sustaining resources. This means that the pressure from a population's settlement patterns and physical settings can affect a state negatively. This includes border disputes between communities, ownership or occupancy of land (indigene-settler conflict), control of religion, and closeness to environmental hazards such as in Niger Delta region in the southern part of Nigeria. Presently Nigeria is being overwhelmed with an enormous figure of IDPs around the world compared to Yemen and tourist destinations in Iraq. There are so many grievance groups in Nigeria that are angry and are looking for ways to hurt people. As there is no

part of the, country that is spared from violence of ethnic, resource or religious colorations e.g. Boko Haram in the North-East, Niger Delta militias in the South-South, Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) in the South-East, Oodua's People Congress (OPC) in the South-West. The chronic and voluntary emigration of human flight, where both the "brain drain" of professionals and intellectuals are indices of a failed state. The economic indicators of a failing state are uneven economic development along group lines, determined by class inequality, imbalanced education, lack of jobs, and parity in others. The constant cry of relegation from all parts of Nigeria, calling for restructuring of the country, is a good example. In Delta, youths take up arms because they feel cheated and the East constantly cries out about marginalisation on the political spectrum, coupled with declining economic conditions (Nwanze, 2020:1).

Other criteria for measurement Nigeria's failing state include: devaluation of the nation's currency and economic sabotage, which include drug trafficking, smuggling, and capital flight; and failure of the state to pay salaries of government employees, which is currently a practice in Nigeria. The political indicator is the criminalization of de-legitimization of the state, which is shown by corruption, voracious ruling elites with stiff opposition to transparent economic and political representations. This also comprises any loss of popular confidence in national institutions and processes.

Corruption all over the place in the country was highly noticeable during COVID-19 pandemic lockdown palliative food items individuals and corporate bodies donated hoarded under lock and key in various states' warehouses without distributing them. Until the masses took to self-help during "END SARS" demonstration broke into the warehouses and carted away food items including pharmaceutical products. The progressive deterioration of public services, including failure to protect citizens from terrorist acts such as kidnapping, rape, arson, violence perpetrated by Fulani herdsmen and inadequate essential services, such as health, education, sanitation, public transportation and power, is a vivid indicator of Nigeria being a failing state. There are repugnant human rights abuses, police brutality, indiscriminate killings, detentions without trial of people tagged as enemies of the state because they speak to correct the evil in society (Nwanze, 2020:1).

In addition, Torres and Anderson (2006:23) averred that, the procedure of state establishment and integration of most African states, for instance, pervaded with disputes, fierceness and doubts. Stating that the characteristics of the doubts were the lack of ability of these states to create impregnable institutions to accommodate disputes of state development like infrastructure, building human content through education, providing gainful employment for teaming school leavers, effective agency to incorporate and manage the prevalence of ethnic groups in the state. Nigeria, for instance, admits almost three hundred ethnic groups, Omoregie, Itakpe, and Agazuma (2019:57) advanced, that since Nigeria has with it many ethnic groups and amenable to experiencing disputes arising from group interactions where some groups struggle for unhealthy dominance and others ferociously ventilate fear of marginalization. Saying that the consequences of the above scenario can generate apprehension in the state and the helplessness of the system to create institutions or agencies to extinguish and nip the tendrils of upheaval in the bud can endanger the weak nature of such state and consequently pose a threat to national security.

An ideal state is one which is able to maintain peace and order not only by using the apparatus of the security agencies of the state but also the ability to provide the basic human needs that are dispersed. It will minimize unhealthy rivalries among various ethnic groups in Nigeria; it will bring to the lowest ebb and all the factors brewing failing states to strict control. The state is an important entity based on it; the people surrendered their rights for their protection and well-

being and to have an enabling environment that is devoured of Hobbsian state of nature where life is nasty, brutish, and short. But in Nigeria today, it is relatively hazy to identify the state's in the political, social, and economic life of the average person except those of the elite class who see the resources of the state only for the committee of their exploitative bourgeoisie. The features of a state include population without which the state cannot exist, territory with a definite limit to its size, government with sovereignty which gives life and meaning to its people, recognized internally and externally, with people who share the same culture. This implies a state that cannot give life and meaning to its people is a failing state as it is in Nigeria where Boko Haram has constantly taken occupation and seizure of large territory in the North-East, Fulani herdsmen are killing sacking farmers from their homeland to take occupation of the farmers' land and crops to graze their cattle, kidnappers and banditry everywhere is a signal of failing state. From the above discourse, states fail when it has stopped providing any basic public services, systems leading to the outbreak of air-borne diseases. Mass unemployment is reaching unprecedented levels. Political leaders are using violence to eliminate their opponents or co-opting them. When executive economic institutions do not create the incentives needed for people to save, invest and innovate but concentrate power and wealth in the hands of those controlling the nation. A country that is marred by violations of civil liberties, extrajudicial executions, and violence against civilians (Abhulinmen-Iyaho, 2018:122-125).

#### 1.4 Causes and empirical instances of a failing state (Nigeria)

One element of the contradictions underpinning Nigeria's failing state is the marginalisation of youth that influences youth restiveness in Nigeria's Niger Delta region. The impact of elite politics and the oil political economy characterised by the impoverishment and neglect results in the violent conflict in the region. The disagreement, securitisation, tension and fragile peace in the region culminated in the emergence of several anti-state and anti-oil-company mobilisation groups. Examples of these groups are: The Egbesu Boys, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Martyrs Brigade and the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) are examples of the militant groups in the region, consequent upon the harsh responses by the Nigerian state, responses which have only steered violence in more dangerous directions rather than furthering the prospects for a peaceful negotiation of conflict (Arowosegbe, 2009:575). Since then, we have observed many other coordinated attacks in Delta oil-rich regions such as hostage-taking, burning of strategic oil installations, pipe-line sabotage and other criminal activities. The unresolved national issues like group marginalization, revenue allocation, politicization of religion, dominance of Northern ethnic groups and corruption manifested in the emergence of separatist groups demanding for self-determination and political freedom such as the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the South-East of Nigeria (Abada; Omeh; Okoye, 2020:9). Apart from IPOB, there are other separatist agitations in virtually every area of the country. The agitations underscore the fact that the foundation for Nigeria's nationhood remains on shaky ground. Among the Yoruba, for instance, echoes of separatism come in different forms, from a direct call for Oduduwa Republic to those championing a Sovereign National Conference to decide if the federating units of the country still want to continue to live together (Jidefor,2017:1).

The weak institutions and inability of the security agencies to maintain law and order resulted in impunity of Fulani herdsmen killings, and displacement of people to destitute in the internally displaced camps, cattle rustling, kidnapping of innocent people for ransom. Religious conflict in Nigeria started in 1953. In 1966, the Igbo massacre in the North that followed the counter-coup of the same year. This was a major issue in the Biafran secession and the resulting civil war. In the 1970s and early 1980s, there was a major Islamic violence led by Maitatsine (Mohammed

Marwa) and his followers, Yan Tatsine which resulted in several thousand deaths. Since democracy in Nigeria in 1999, Sharia came into existence as a main body of civil and criminal law in Muslim-majority and in some parts of Muslim-plurality states, when then Zamfara State governor Ahmad Rufai Sani started the advocacy for the institution of Sharia at the state level.. The Nigerian Federal Government upheld the demands of this section of this sect in 12 states in 1999 (Jonah, and Igboeroteonwu, 2014:23).

Boko Haram came into existence around 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State state and the largest city in Northeast Nigeria. At first, the main demand was regime change in Nigeria as they believe democratic and secular rule contradicts Shariah (Johns,2008:56). In July 2009, Boko Haram violence in Bauchi and other northern states left hundreds of Nigerian security agencies and civilians dead. The year after, attacks in the Northeast and other parts of the country, including bombings, mass shootings, and executions, rose, which forced the president to declare an emergency in the states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa on May 2013 (Dunn, 2018:1). After years of fighting, insurgents seized and sacked inhabitants in sizeable areas of north-eastern Nigeria. The violence heightened dramatically in 2014, with 10,849 deaths, while Boko Haram drastically expanded its territories to raze downtowns and villages and capture several key military bases in restive northeast Nigeria. The militants, in their expansionist movement, seized over two dozen towns in northeast Nigeria and also control all three of Borno's borders with Niger, Chad and Cameroon. More 20,000 people from Baga and surrounding villages are in a camp in Maiduguri with some 560 villagers stranded on an island on Lake Chad without food (France 24 2015). This is a clear sign Nigeria has lost control of part of its territory to Boko Haram, signifying the well-established presence of a failing state in Nigeria.

To instill hope and confidence in Nigerians, on 31 August 2016, Major General Lucky Irabor made it known that the insurgents had only taken over a few villages and towns near Lake Chad and in Sambisa forest. stated that we expect the military to recapture the last strongholds of the group within the week. But Boko Haram relentless efforts have included attacking and completely burning villages such as Bulaburin and Kofa villages and burning half the Dalori IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) camp (Aljazeera.com,2018:1). The threat to security in the country is such that even the ruling elites are equal targets of terrorist attacks. For instance, suspected herdsmen attacked Benue Governor Samuel Ortom and his convoy Saturday the 20th 2021, forcing him to trek 1km to safety. On account of this, the Governor called on Nigerians with good conscience to save the country from drifting into anarchy and lawlessness. He lamented why an ethnic group should use its militia armies to wreak havoc on perceived enemies. Kidnapping and abduction are equally instruments of Boko Haram, for instance, the abduction of Chibok girls and most recently the Zamfara kidnapping (or Jangebe kidnapping) where 279 students aged between 10 and 17 abducted from the Government Girls Science Secondary School, a boarding school in Jangebe), in Zamfara State, Nigeria, on 26 February 2021(Makurdi,2021). According to Campbell (2020:1) massacre in northern Nigeria also involved cattle rustling and the Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA), a Boko Haram faction with links to the Islamic State. The sad situation in Nigeria is alarming because it's the most populous country and most diverse with over 400 ethnic groups, this causes the country to be affected by several conflicts because of the overlapping ethnic, religious, political and resource struggle in the Niger Delta, Christian-Muslim divides in the middle of the country (Toole, Waldman, 1997:18).

## 1.5 What is national security

Security in a fairly broad sense reflects the escape from, or expel of, threat from the physical existence of the State, and also to its ability to protect the generality of its citizenry and provide a congenial environment for their development and enhancement of their general well-being. Therefore, apart from the physical survival of the country's territorial integrity, security has a positive impact on the conditions of life of the individuals within the state and provides them with the right atmosphere for their self-actualisation. The concern for security is a basic pre-occupation of every nation and indeed, of every human person or community. This is because security affects not only the satisfaction of human needs but also the fundamental issue of survival of the human person or nation. It is only under a secure atmosphere that individuals within the state can engage in productive activities to meet their needs. Similarly, it is under a secure atmosphere that the state can mobilize its human and material resources for meaningful development. Therefore, any country that is interested in development should predicate security not on the government, nor on a particular class or group but on everybody. A sound security policy must minister to the needs of the generality of the people, the ordinary men, and women, in the society, then such efforts become all-inclusive and truly national because it will take care of everybody, both the government and the governed, both the high and the low, with the rich and the poor. So security, as used in this paper, is the people-oriented security system that takes a different focus from the conventional approach. We must base it on what we call human security and take on all those elements that minister to the needs of human beings ( Imobighe, 1998:1-11).

In the same way, security encompasses peoples' safety from any hunger, diseases and repression from individuals and the state. It equally includes protection from harmful disruptions of one's daily life. However, the concept of security has extended to include economic, environmental, food, health, personal, community and political security, including the protection of women and minorities (Holmes,2015:20). In this paper, Makinda's definition of security as "the preservation of the norms, rules, institutions and values of society, principles and structures associated with society, including its people, are to be protected from military and non-military threats (Makinda,1998:281-292).With the advocacy of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), human security elements assume a broader dimension, for they go beyond military protection and engage threats to human dignity. The all-embracing definition of security calls for a wide range of security areas: the creation of employment, actions against natural disasters and pollution, physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, and child labour. Others include measures against inter-ethnic, religious, identity tensions, political repression and human rights abuses (United Nations Office, 2009:10). Based on the corollary above, they predicate the major cause of a failing state on the failure of the state to provide basic human needs for its citizens, resulting in frustration ventilated by aggressive actions against those responsible for their impoverishment. The contribution to existing knowledge of the paper is to popularise the assumption that a failing state occurs when the state cannot provide its citizens with basic human needs. It is the deprivation and disenchantment that emanated from want that often culminated in violence against the state.

## 1.6. The implications of a failing state for national security.

A state is formidable if it has absolute sovereign power over the territory and the population within, has functioning governance structures that provide public goods, and monopolises legitimate challenges to authority (Chan 2013:395). Jackson (2013: 164) argues that the state strength rest upon: "infrastructural capacity", the state's institutional capacity to deliver

services." Goldstone (2008:285) suggests state stability requires effectiveness, which reflects the state's capability to carry out these aforementioned functions; and legitimacy, reflecting the extent to which the actions of the state are "just" or "reasonable" within this Westphalian framework. Whilst some may internationally recognize these demonstrable attributes of statehood, they frequently violate traditional principles under the aegis of other norms, including humanitarian intervention, democratic promotion, economic security, and international security (Krasner 2001:17).

From an analytical perspective, state failure occurs when the fundamental functions of the state are no longer performed. Alternatively, Rotberg (2003:1) theorizes that states fail because of internal violence, that they can no longer deliver positive public goods to their inhabitants. State failure takes place from deprivation and suffering brought about by violent political conflict, and the failure of governance structures to provide public goods. We can see the idea of a failing state from a human-security perspective, the referent objects to be secured are the nation-state's local population. For example, the Nigerian citizens went into "END SARS mass protest, destroyed government property and killing of police officers to challenge the ineffectiveness and legitimacy of the governance structures because public goods or protection were not being provided for the nation's citizens. Nigeria's north-eastern zone has both productive and non-productive populations depleted with property destroyed disproportionately by Boko Haram insurgency, leading to the paralyses of both the economic and political spheres of the country. The attacks and seizure of villages and towns in the North-East have also destabilized the cohesive and co-existence of families and friends, leaving them with no other option than to take refuge in refugee camps as internally displaced people (IDP). The Nigerian failing state is further deepened following the security risks of communicable disease and hunger occasioned by poor living conditions of the people. The inadequacy of state institutions to provide basic human needs has become a constant threat, whereby groups with significant coercive and infrastructural capacity now launch a legitimate challenge against the Nigerian authority (Jackson 2013:165). In response, state institutions now mobilize state security agents to secure the governing regime (Bates 2008: 2). This further provokes resistance and challenges to the regime. Regime of a failing state like Nigeria is susceptible to external challenges, as she lacks the courage to maintain external sovereignty, as more powerful actors intervene in their domestic affairs such as integrating Boko Haram with the Islamic West African Province (ISWAP) to further unleash attacks on Nigerians.

The Niger Delta militias' activities has seriously undermined Nigerian daily crude oil production and adversely affected foreign transactions, which deepen dilapidation in the economy. The activities of the Niger Delta militants have seriously affected Nigeria's economy. Babatunde Fashola, works and housing minister, said in Thisday newspaper that from 23rd August 2016, power dropped from 5074mw in February 2016 to 2000mw because of militants attack on forcado sub-sea pipeline power generator. This drastic drop in power supply has negatively affected power distribution throughout the states of the federation and had a negative impact on the industries due to increased operational overhead cost from powering of the industrial plants with diesel. Hostage taken by the militants negatively affects investment, economic growth and the living standards of the people. Political instability negatively affects a nation's national income. When investors and individuals in society notice serious threats to investment and savings, they will sell off their assets and buy assets in other politically secure societies. The reported refusal of most expatriates to be posted to river-side fields but onshore where we have more money spent on the provision of security, this has the implication of increasing overhead costs by the firms. Nigerians unemployment figure rose to 22.45million, as job loss hits 710,693



in the first year of Buhari's administration (Vanguard, March 22, 2016; Punch Feb. 12, 2006 cited by Ikechukwu and Marshall, 2017:31).

IPOB has remained disenchanted with the activities of the Nigerian government and took to agitations in defiance of government even when the group has being announced as a terrorist group to push for self-determination by employing the help of the international community by its leader Kanu Nnamdi, having affected Nigeria's political stability (Chukwudi, Gberebie, Ugochukwu, and David (2019: 634-635). Similarly, Ibeanu, Orji and Iwuamadi (2016:29) submitted that "as separatist agitation becomes greater, it could increase the risk of inter-ethnic disaffection, destabilise Nigeria's fledgeling democracy and further deepen the crisis of confidence among government and ethnic groups across the country." In support of the above assertion, "the emergence of ethnic militias such as Oodua's Peoples Congress (OPC), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Areas People's Forum (APF) have created a new ethnic conflict in the country" (Olurode and Anifowose, 2004: 162). This serves as clear evidence that there is a continuous sprouting of agitating groups, which does not do any good to the stability of Nigeria.

### 1.7. Conclusion and recommendations.

We know that the problem of Nigeria is not that of lack of resources, but of corruption and hence the high cost of governance because of greediness of the leaders. Corruption has become a culture of life in Nigeria, the case is worrisome in educational institutions. Corruption is the anchor for all other problems bedeviling Nigeria as a nation. Insecurity, unemployment, kidnapping, poverty, divorce, hunger and deprivation, injustice and other problems corruption is breeding in Nigeria. To solve the failing state of Nigeria, there must be efficient and proper management of societal resources if we are to eliminate socio-economic hardship and inequalities within the system leading to a failing state. To ensure internal stability, especially for Nigeria's heterogeneous societies, it is imperative that broad public participation in the state's affairs is necessary to raise the level of national consciousness among Nigerian people and to cultivate in them a strong sense of commitment to the survival of the country. To halt the appearance of failing states, leaders must give adequate attention to basic needs and people-oriented programmes and those projects which enhance their domestic productive capacity. The ruling elite must endeavour to raise their level of contentment through purposeful leadership and a cost-effective management of national resources.

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