

AN APPRAISAL OF THE CAPACITY OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS FOR BORDER MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The paper reviews and analyses national security challenges in relation to border governance in Nigeria, which are made more complex by poverty, lack of good governance, corruption, chronic armed conflicts, armed banditry, porous borders and transnational crimes. Border issues or boundary politics remains an integral part of the peoples, livelihood, economic activities, regional cooperation, territorial integrity and sovereignty of any nation. As such, every approach to its management and proper settlement should take all the risks and benefits of border relationships into account. Border disputes often arises from challenges of territorial allocation which are evident in terms of border claims or relevance of borderlands to neighbouring states in terms of its historical, geographical, ethnic, cultural, economic, military or strategic importance. Borderlands security and management in terms of location, interaction patterns and transitional features have in recent times created a vacuum in Nigeria's border policy and Architecture. The paper identities these problems and proffer solutions towards enhancing the capacity of Government Institutions in Border Management in Nigeria.

Keywords: Capacity, Government, Institutions, Border, Management,

Introduction

Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 has come with so many challenges and expectations (Mohammed 2019). More precisely the military regimes have caused much havoc to Nigerians' developmental capabilities more especially on the issues surrounding borderline security and national development. The expectations that democratic regimes will provide citizens with basic needs and services have, no doubt, done little, towards improving border management in the Country. With increased activity in the economic Sphere, leading to poverty, hunger inequality, and underdevelopment, the nation suffers one of its greatest moments on its management and governance of borders.

According to the 1999 constitution, Nigeria is a federal republic constituted of 36 states and the federal capital territory, Abuja. It has 744 Local Government areas. The plurality of the Nigerian state has created identity transformations nationwide, thereby creating havoc to national stability and cohesion (Jega, 2000; 2002). With an estimated 180 million people, Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa. It is also the largest oil producer, and one of the continent's major economic and military powers (Bala, S and Ouédraogo, E., 2018).

The country has more than 350 ethnic groups. Regionalism and geopolitics has made it difficult for the nation to find a common ground for development. Formerly, a British protectorate, Nigeria earned its independence in 1960 with decades of military rule. Elections in 1999 ushered in a modern era of democratically elected civilian administration, and Nigeria has since then, held six elections. While democratic norms are taking root, Nigeria's security



outlook remains precarious. The country continues to face an oil-fuelled militancy in the Niger Delta and Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast; and waves of reprisal violence, which ricochet between farmers and pastoralists and so on. All these constitute a threat to its existence as a nation.

World Economic Forum (2020) has claimed that Nigeria, given her economic, cultural and demographic nature should use its influence and power to contribute to peace in West Africa and the broader African region, especially as its stability has an inextricable impact on the peace, progress, and prosperity of the continent. In recent decades, Nigeria has contributed to the de-escalation of conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and most recently in the Gambia. Nigeria must continue along this path to live up to the title of the 'Giant of Africa', it is imperative that Nigeria move away from this seemingly perpetual cycle of conflict and instability and realizes its potential as a formidable African power (World Economic Forum, 2020).

National security is closely connected with the preservation of the borders of a state as mainly construed in terms of power to maintain a government's sovereignty within its territory as well as the avoidance of conflicts and the preservation of the lives of people in the society. National security is therefore concerned about those governmental institutions that seek to ensure the physical protection and safety of their citizens, ensuring equal access to the law and protection from abuse (Thomas and Aghedo, 2014). However, there are two sets of government systems and institutions concerned with national security.

The first component consists of the traditional instruments of national security, namely the criminal justice system than Police, Ministry of Justice, the Judiciary, the Correctional Services/Prisons; the Military and the Intelligence community). The second, and more important, relates to the nature of governance, its institutions and rules, norms and values that underpin it, as well as its efficacy. In contemporary International Relations, it is suggested that nations should focus primarily on their internal security first; followed by those of their neighbouring or contiguous sub-regions before strategically getting involved in international security concerns.

Location of boundaries in relation to political units is the function of government agencies; interaction patterns deals with relationship of the population in the respective political units across the borderlands; and the product of their relationship deals with conflict settlements and its impact on borderland culture and development. Security concerns with freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty. It is a condition of being protected and not being exposed to external aggression and internal sabotage. It affects not only the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants but national survival as a viable entity. It is only under such a secure atmosphere that a state can develop and direct its human and material resources towards positive ends.

In other words, for a nation to be secure, territorial integrity of the state, its sovereignty, its population, its culture, and its economic prosperity should be deemed safe from destruction or major damage. As with all public goods, national security can never be achieved absolutely and what is taken to be satisfactory in terms of national security is always relative. The challenges of cross-border activities particularly in the areas of exploration and benefits of mineral and natural resources, migration, border control and closure, access to and utility of energy resource and infrastructures through dam construction and diversion of water within the sub-region, crime issues and illicit transnational trade across the porous borders,



unrestricted frontiers and smuggling which is harmful to the economy; the rise and threats of emerging separatists, militia and terrorist groups and its implication for national security suffice.

The presence of security and law enforcement officials, where they are present, are poorly equipped, paid, trained and sometimes compromised or recruited to do the bid of the insurgents. Hence, Nigeria's porous borders are infamous. Failure of the ill-equipped, corrupt and unorganized state controlled agencies like the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Nigerian Customs Service (NCS), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Nigeria Intelligence Agency (NIA), the Department of State Security Service (DSS) and other interrelated and independent bodies involved in the process of protecting the nation's seaports (harbours), the border posts and border bi-national links within their areas of jurisdiction and in cooperation with Government of neighbouring states leaves much to be desired.

The paper attempts to fill in the gaps in terms of challenges in the Capacity of Government Institutions in Nigeria's Border management.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

According to Jiddere (2013), security is viewed as conventional or purely a military issue concerning a nation's ability to protect its internal values from external threats; and ranging from socio-economic development, national cohesion, political stability and domestic value consideration. Elaborating further, (Imobighe, 1983: in Jiddere, 2013) posits that security has to do with freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty. It is a condition of being protected and not being exposed to external aggression and internal sabotage. It affects not only the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants but national survival as a viable entity.

It is only under a secure atmosphere that a state can develop and direct its human and material resources towards positive ends. The former US secretary of defence, Robert McNamara, (1967: 4 in Jiddere, 2013) claimed that security issues lies not only on weapon or manpower problems or on readiness of military to confront any capability but rather vital national interests. National security is normally considered as "the absence of threat to major values" (Nye, 2005: 222–3 in Wyllie, 2008). In other words, for a nation to be secure, the territorial integrity of the state, its sovereignty, its population, its culture, and its economic prosperity should be deemed safe from destruction or major damage.

As with all public goods, national security can never be achieved absolutely and what is taken to be satisfactory in terms of national security is always relative. Distrust and suspicion between states has been an unchanging characteristic of international society, based on the principle that any single state's perception of security is most often at the cost of other states' insecurity, which, in turn, perpetrates a vicious circle of national security and anxiety (Mingst, 1999: 166 in Wyllie, 2008). Security is an ambiguous and flexible concept, open to wide interpretation subject to a distinct psychological dimension (feeling safe from attack is a crucial element of security even when objective realities could suggest great vulnerability).

Consequently, it will always be difficult for states to qualify and articulate their levels of security. States normally consider the capabilities and the intentions of a possible rival when making a threat assessment and usually find it prudent to attach more weight to capabilities that can inflict severe damage. Additionally, good intentions and good interstate relations can create safer states. However, the variables contributing to national security are the military



capabilities; Economic and technological base; Legitimate political system; Homogeneous population; Strong allies; Sea or undefended borders with friendly states; Free trade; Cultural similarity with contiguous states; and a stable domestic social and welfare system.

Security, however, is not a framed set of objectives and inflexible strategies but a condition. To be effective, national or collective security policy must be allowed to be dynamic. Just as power is a relative concept, and meaningless unless related to countervailing power, so is security. Perceptions of security differ depending on the threat, to which it is related, and the constantly changing levels and severity of threat posed by other states and non-state actors. In the international system, nothing is immutable and as the nature of challenges change, so do capabilities and allies. States may use a variety of policies to seek security, not all of which are military in nature.

If insecurity results from access to foreign raw materials, then stockpiling reserves, the use of substitutes, conservation and diversifying suppliers could be a more cost-effective way of improving security than deploying a military expeditionary force to a potentially hostile and distant environment. If a state is deemed relatively weak, diplomatic arrangements with likeminded states should be pursued. Wyllie, (2008) further elaborates that national security is an amorphous and elastic concept. Emphasizing military element of national security rather than the socio-economic aspects like putting the cart before the horse, because economic capacity is a very crucial foundation upon which the whole notion of national security is predicted (Buzan, 1992 in Wyllie, 2008). Thus, national security should emphasize socio-economic and political interests.

Jonathan (2014) claimed that insurgencies escalate in Nigeria because of her economic advantage and social life. Across the nation and in its relationships with her border nations particularly Chad, Niger and Cameroon, Nigeria is saddled with regional economic security. This create additional burden (security and financial) for the nation. To him, that coerces Nigeria to accept the principle of joint border patrols and cooperation. This can be actualised through the mandate of the Multinational Task Force with de-radicalisation programmes and the promotion of opportunities for dialogue and collaboration with critical stakeholders from the region.

In his analysis, Babatola et al. (2015) studied the challenges in Nigeria's international borderlines and its implications for national security at the cross-borderlines. To him the layers of frontier and cross-border activities of Nigeria and her Neighbours since independence in 1960 has been bedevilled by controversies and worrisome security challenges that sparked diplomatic rows and near-war experiences. The challenge facing Nigeria includes international terrorism that is aided by religious extremism, insurgencies, and piracies, porosity of borderlines and cross-border security challenges and crime. Indeed, the existence of porous borders and cross-border and frontier activities in Nigeria has aided crimes and security challenges across Nigerian borders for long without specific solutions.

The challenges of political authorities and security apparatuses in addressing the implications of cross-border activities at Nigeria's frontier are threats to her existence as a nation. Border security and boundary questions and its implication for Nigeria's security and territorial integrity are of great concern. Political and diplomatic steps are highly required to resolve border questions between Nigeria and her neighbours in order to foster regional integration and economic cooperation with intervention strategies. Border conflicts and incursions from neighbouring States towards stemming the rise of insurgents and continued



influx of illegal migrants from neighbouring countries need to be addressed institutionally by various agents concerned.

Records available to the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) revealed that there are over 1,400 illegal routes into Nigeria – 1,316 more than the approved number of border control posts (Babatola, 2015). The 84 approved border controls cover 4,047km, the total length of Nigeria's land border. Ogun and Adamawa states, for example, have 83 and 80 illegal posts respectively. The activities of smuggling and tax evasion in cross-border movements across Nigeria-Niger border provides the transitional features of border economic activities, interaction patterns in the border regions and flouting of international laws and conventions on border crossing to the detriment of the national interest and security.

Prince et al (2014) examined the failure of the intelligence services to contain the recurring security breaches. Such as the spate of bombings, which has once more brought to limelight the need for a Sovereign National Conference? To him there is no doubt, that the major challenge of Nigeria's national security is the containment of diverse manifestations of violence spearheaded by various unknown groups. The major group in contemporary Nigeria that has stretched the resources, expertise, patience and even the competence of Nigeria's security apparatuses to the limit, both individually and collectively. In this new conception, human development is considered as central (Hettne, 2010; Booth, 2007 in Prince et al., 2014)). Thus, we see in this shift, a new and broader conception in which security entails the capacity of a state to defend itself from external threats with all the necessary means at its disposal, and internal threats through overall socio-economic well-being of its citizenry.

Within this context, Buzan (1991) argued that the, straitjacket militaristic approach to National security issues dominated the discourse of underdevelopment concept (in Prince, et. al., 2014). For him, human security includes political, economic, social and environmental threats including those that are militaristic. Thus, he illustrated a tripartite concept analysis of security based on the international system, state and individual levels but submitted that sovereign states should remain the most effective security provider.

The second approach is a postmodernist or pluralist view that seeks to displace the state as a major provider of security but rather places greater emphasis on non-state actors. Advocates of this approach tend to argue that the concept of security goes beyond a military determination of threats. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-states but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and nongovernmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category.

Morgenthau (1948) posits that national security and national interests are inter-related; where the former is seen in terms of power and therefore is the essence of politics (in Prince, et. al., 2014). Imobigbe (1981) refers to it as the defence and survival of the state, thus the danger of looking at national security from this angle. Thus, national security issues and challenges in Nigeria was narrowed to equate "defence" with "security" and to bestow undue responsibilities to the military as if the armed forces alone are the guardians of national security; and used by civilian statesmen as political rhetoric's or slogan for rallying the citizens in the face of perceived internal or external threats to the governments in power and for bolstering their local influence and political base (Adebayo, 1986 in Prince et al., 2014)).



In addressing the challenges to the survival of democracy and national security issues in Nigeria, it is pertinent to consider security issues and problems that have affected or are capable of affecting the attitude, confidence and cooperation of all groups and segments that make up the Nigerian federation. It is also necessary to explore the gaps and gray areas in the national constitution that are responsible for various problems and crises and how these gaps can be addressed. Some of the major security problems currently confronting the nation have been identified to include political and electioneering conflicts, socio-economic agitations, ethno-religious crises, ethnic militias, boundary disputes, cultism, criminality and organized crimes (Prince, et. al., 2014). However, these problems, individually or collectively constitute threats to the peace, security and development of the country. Invariably, they have implications for the continuity and survival of the nation's nascent democracy. Accordingly, there is the challenge to rethink and improve on policy and institutional means of dealing with security concerns arising in the country.

Furthermore, Thomas and Aghedo (2014) advanced that the resurgence of high profile crimes within the polity and the ineffective response by the national security apparatus have reignited the debate on the need to decentralize the police and allied security organizations in Nigeria. They critically examined the operational structure and implications of national security management in Nigeria using the theoretical framework of concentric circle. They argued that the extant centralized and reactionary security system in the country embodies dysfunctional systemic implications that perpetuate violent insecurity. In tune with the concentric circles postulations, they identified the individuals as the centrepiece from where the household, community, the local government area, the state and the federation evolve and revolve as security circles. It posited that security concerns are in circles and actors within each circle are better attuned to concentrate and manage the security challenge therein. Accordingly, it underscored the need for decentralization of the police and other state-owned agencies of internal security management in order to mitigate the upsurge in crime and violence including those emanating from armed robbers, political assassins, ransom kidnappers, oil thieves, and insurgents among others.

Scholars have adopted the concentric circles analogy in explaining various developments and relations among nations in the international system, arguing that the world is divided into states, each of which has its clearly defined territory and borders. However, Hullse (2006) argued that one can conceive of boundaries not only as clear cut borderlines but also as a frontier and as a more ambiguous 'in-between' space (in Thomas and Aghedo, 2014). Here, differentiation is understood to be more like a continuum than a binary opposition. From this perspective, the other security community is different in degree or size rather than in kind. These frontiers are large zones of transition and overlap in multiple ways (Thomas and Aghedo, 2014). The statutory responsibility of national security in Nigeria is vested in the Executive President. As noted by Fayemi and Olonisakin (2008:245), Nigeria's security sector comprises the following:

- i. The armed forces (Army, Air force and Navy of approximately 77,000 personnel);
- ii. The Nigerian Police Force (of about 360,000 men and women increased in 1999 from the initial size of 120,000);
- iii. Paramilitary bodies including Customs and Exercise, the Immigration service, Intelligence services –including Military Intelligence and the State Security Services; etc.



Nigeria and Government Institutions

The concept of Government Institutions must be located where it rightly belongs by attaching to it a broader meaning that emphasizes not only on development in the military or defence sense; but on also political, economic and social development of the society, which encompasses good governance and nation building as well. Development is thus a central concept in our understanding of border management. There is, in fact, a dialectical relationship between the concept of development (which depicts both quantitative and qualitative improvements in the conditions of existence of a nation and its nationals) and national security. This includes improvement in the political, economic and social conditions which according to (Mou, 2018), exists where the state security apparatuses are operating independent of the dominant elites or classes in that society. National Security policy and its apparatuses are more rational and objective in carrying out state policy implementation and security policies that concern/cater for all its citizens. Security information management therefore, is easier since public interest and national security tend to become similar (Mou, 2018).

Regulating migration flows and containing border disputes remain central to border security agencies across the world (Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd). The reality, however, is that controlling access to territories and citizens is difficult in the globalised security context, as technology has enabled the increased flow of goods, people and ideas across national boundaries, while global inter-connectedness has increased interactions between people around the world whether for work, sport or entertainment. The paradox lies, therefore, in the increased relevance of the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) agency with regard to securing the nation's borders despite the fact that their position is being challenged by transnational security actors and vulnerabilities as well as numerous inherent weaknesses from within the agency itself (Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd). Thus, in order to counter threats both from within and outside a state border, new patterns of security interaction are required. It is on this basis the study not only intends at identifying the major challenges militating against border security in the NCS but also, to proffer solutions through insightful suggestions and recommendations.

Border security has attracted profound attention in many countries. In the United States of America, it is pursued in order to stop illicit smuggling of goods that are prohibited and deemed illegal from entering the United States (Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd). The European Union also offers a positive indication of how improved border related trade controls can contribute to both security and economic development. Nigeria has border management challenges, which are made more complex by poverty, lack of good governance, corruption, chronic armed conflict, armed banditry, porous border security and transnational crimes. Comparing the indicators from local neighbourhoods, analysts can anticipate crime trends and agencies can take preventive measures to intervene or mitigate the impact of those crimes. It is important to note that the nature and existence of border may likely impede crime prevention, investigation and detection among law enforcement agencies.

The NCS whose statutory function includes, but not limited to the collection of revenue and accounting for same, anti-smuggling operations, security functions and generating statistics for planning and budgetary purposes; combating illegal commercial activities and trade in illicit goods e.g. import of fake and substandard goods, combating infraction on intellectual property rights (IPR), combating illegitimate international trade in endangered species, combating illegal trade in arms and ammunitions, combating money laundering,



combating trade in illicit drugs, combating illegal trade in cultural artefacts, combating importation of pornographic materials and combating importation of toxic/hazardous substances (Webb Fontaine, 2018; in Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd)).

Also, added to this function of the NCS is the lead Agency role the Service is expected to play in all matters relating to importation, exportation and fiscal policies guidelines of government, thus making the Nigeria Custom Service a lead Agency in the Implementation of the Nigerian Trade Hub (Adams, 2012; Mintah, 2015 in Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd). However, the NCS may not be able to effectively carry out these enormous responsibilities if the inherent challenges besetting their border management operations remained too obscure to be adequately addressed.

This situation is especially notable considering the porosity of the Nigerian border and a major aspect of their work, which is collection of revenue from import and export duties. The NCS is saddled with a role which is constantly sabotaged by smugglers hence the need to have credible security mechanisms for preventing smuggling and directly increasing Nigeria's non-oil revenue. Important issues related to NCS role in borders include a reliable relevant source of information, inter agency cooperation and adequately manned security system that is sustainable (Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd). These aforementioned conditions seem to have culminated into the growth of extensive and complicated drug trafficking and human trafficking networks and large-scale arms trade.

The issue of porosity of Nigeria's borders spanning a total land mass of 923, 768 square kilometres has remained a source of concern over the years. The porous borders contributed and continued to encourage cross-border crimes, terrorist attacks, drug trafficking, illegal trade such as smuggling of contraband goods like shoes, frozen poultry products, duty on cars and foreign parboiled rice (Olomu, Oladimeji, & Adewumi, nd). This situation has also promoted the unrestrained influx of illegal migrants and cross border criminality through her Francophone neighbours, which seemed to be posing serious challenges for Law Enforcement Agencies to contend with the situation.

Nigeria shares 773 kilometres boundary with Benin Republic; 1,690 Kilometres with the Republic of Cameroun; 1, 497 Kilometres with Niger Republic; 85 Kilometres with Chad Republic Equatorial Guinea at the Gulf of Guinea. Events at these border regions are crucial and fundamental in defining the nation's quest for security and socio-economic, cum political development. Recent events of increasing wave of insurgencies have further heightened anxiety about the efficacy of law enforcement across the country's borders. As it stands today, no Nigerian border can be described as truly water tight as the less than eighteen thousand (18,000) workforces of the Nigerian Customs Services, an Agency statutorily charged with responsibilities of anti – smuggling, revenue generation and security functions along Nigeria's land, air and sea borders are having challenges in effective policing of borders. Nigeria has poorly patterned borders and the lack of adequate personnel to properly man the border has had negative effect on the border management of its national frontiers.

Within a short spate of eight months (precisely January 22, 2017, May 23, 2017, September, 11, 2017 and September 21, 2017) a total of 2, 671 pump action rifles illegally imported into the country were intercepted by the Nigerian Customs Service, alongside other seizures with a total value of N12.7billion. With government officials accepting that about 1, 479 illegal routes exist in Nigeria presupposing all manner of illegalities in the forms of illegal migration, drug trafficking, movement of contraband goods and its attendant implication exist



at our national frontiers. Security agencies rely on both formal and informal information networks that could be converted to Intelligence report to boost their operations.

However, in the situation where borders are porous, the need to go beyond the formal information networks and interrogate same alongside the informal information networks, towards securing the borders, becomes imperative. Also, with the increasing need to improve upon non — oil revenue, the Nigerian Custom Service that is also saddled with the responsibilities of revenue generation has been brought under pressure. This situation is made critical with the recessive economic growth that Nigeria is experiencing. Hence, the Nigerian government prefers to spend their way out of recession thereby putting pressure on revenue generating government agencies to generate more money into the coffers of the Federal government. The mission that has been partly handed to the Nigeria Custom Service may not be easily actualized considering the fact that the porosity of the Nigerian border contributes in no small measure to the loss of revenue.

Challenges in Nigerian Border Governance

Smuggling of Migrants (SoM) and Trafficking in Persons (TiP) remain topical due to Nigeria being a source, destination and transit country of such acts. Young women and girls are mainly trafficked to Europe and other destinations, and there is growing evidence of the involvement of Nigerian criminal networks. In an UNODC organized workshop on "Enhancing Inter-Agency Cooperation in Border Management to Address Smuggling of Migrants", held in Calabar, Cross River State, ways to improve and consolidate the existing synergy among operatives were discussed to enhance their performance according to national objectives.

In the meeting participants recommended the use of environmental friendly measures, such as installation of CCTV, acquisition of light aircrafts and drones for area surveillance; and provision of modern communication gadgets, such as satellite phone, auto-gate, light scanning machines, remote sensing devices, hand-held parcel scanner, itemizing machine, and gun boats for effective marine patrol at the nation's maritime borders. Another important aim of the discussions was to disseminate the necessary knowledge of Nigeria's migration and labour migration policies, to participants and other relevant stakeholders, which will serve as guiding principles for agencies entrusted with migration management in the country (UNODC, 2020). It has been observed that irregular migrants communicate through social media and, thus, the need for security agencies to leverage on the opportunity presented by social media as a veritable instrument of intelligence gathering on TiP and SoM. Additionally, the idea for a harmonised database that would serve the needs of all security agencies in Nigeria was highlighted.

Also of interest is the unexpected nature of the announcement in Nigeria border closure gave traders and communities little time to prepare for the economic shock that followed, as, Nigeria – which shares boundaries with Benin, Niger and Cameroon – closed all of its land borders in a bid to tackle smuggling (Unah, 2019). Moreover, Nigeria's unilateral action comes two months after it reluctantly signed the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which aims to remove barriers to trade and promote the free flow of goods, services and people across the continent. According to Unah (2019), the border closure is inconsistent with Nigeria's multilateral commitments, including ECOWAS and others, and is a major disruption to Nigeria and the entire region, this as action will surely frustrate the momentum of removing trade barriers in the region and across Africa.



According to Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) (2019), Nigeria has outlined several initiatives on migration, including a National Migration Policy (NMP), strategies on labour migration and Diaspora matters, and a coordinating framework to reform migration governance. However, in order to have a significant impact, the policy frameworks need full implementation. When it comes to migration, the Nigerian government is active on policy development but less so on putting it into effect. This tendency is exemplified by a proactive interest in Diaspora migration, which is a much more reactive approach toward irregular migration and trafficking.

In May 2015, Nigeria adopted a NMP. Subsequently, a Migration Governance Framework (MGF) was also developed as the implementation framework for the policy with support from the Swiss government and partial funding by the 10th European Development Fund (NIS, 2019). The MGF has four levels of coordination, namely a ministerial committee, a technical working group, thematic groups, and state and non-state actors. The technical working group makes recommendations to the ministerial committee for approval. Five thematic groups cover the following topics: Diaspora matters; migration data; forced migration, and assisted voluntary return and reintegration; labour migration; and border management. Each thematic group is made up of several government ministries, international organizations, and in some cases nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

The final level of coordination includes state and non-state actors with migration desk officers. The MGF play a key role as the first implementation step of the NMP. It further elaborates on the different migration trends identified in the policy and shows the coordination and governance of these trends. The thematic groups focus on these migration trends, for which specific policies are developed and put into practice under the coordination of a lead government agency. For instance, the NMP 2014, and the draft National Policy on Diaspora Matters (NPDM) are considered sectoral policies.

The Mandate of the National Boundary Commission on Border Management in Nigeria

The NBC (Establishment) Act (2006) is an Act to repeal the National Boundary Commission, Act, Cap. 238, L.F.N., 1990 and among other things, to establish a new NBC charged with more powers and functions; and for related matters. The function of the Commission includes to:

- intervene, and deal with any boundary dispute that may arise between Nigeria and any of her neighbours with a view to settling the dispute;
- intervene, determine and deal with any boundary dispute that may arise among States, Local Government areas or communities in the Federation with a view to settling the disputes;
- define, and delimitate boundaries between States, Local Government Areas or communities in the Federation and between Nigeria and her neighbours in accordance with delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;
- monitor trans-border relations between Nigeria and her neighbours with a view to detecting areas of tension and possible conflict;
- promote trans-border co-operation and border region development;
- encourage negotiated settlement of border disputes in preference to litigation;



- facilitate equitable utilisation of shared border resources of land, water, games, forest resources, etc.;
- co-ordinate all activities on international boundaries;
- formulate policies and programmes on internal and international boundaries including land and maritime;
- liaise with other international boundary related bodies;
- advise the Federal Government on matters affecting Nigeria's border with any neighbouring country;
- consider recommendations from the technical committees or any other committee set up by the Commission and advise the Federal Government on such recommendations;
- take all necessary steps towards the implementation of resolutions on internal boundary disputes;
- disseminate information to educate the general public on the functions of the Commission under this Act;
- organise, run, operate, conduct and participate in such training courses, lectures, seminars, conferences, symposia and similar study groups which may enhance the activities of the Commission or the efficiency of any of its officers and employees;
- carry out such duties related to boundary and border matters as the President may, from time to time, direct; and
- do such other things as may be considered by the Commission to be necessary, desirable, expedient, supplementary or incidental to the performance of the functions or the exercise of the powers conferred on the Commission under this Act (NBC (Establishment) Act, 2006).

The Commission also has established Functions of the Internal and International Boundary Technical Committees. The Functions of the Internal Boundary Technical Committee includes to:

- deal with any internal boundary dispute with the view to settling the dispute;
- define and delimit internal boundaries in accordance with the delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;
- proffer solutions to any internal boundary problem;
- promote the development and effective management of internal boundaries; and
- make recommendations to the President through the Commission on boundary and border issues between States, Local Governments and communities where necessary.

The establishment and composition of the International Boundary Technical Committee has functions that shall deal with matters affecting Nigeria on its borders with neighbouring countries including land and maritime. The functions include to;

- participate, as may be required, in the delimitation of international boundaries in accordance with the delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;
- proffer solutions to any international boundary problems;



• promote trans-border co-operation and border region development; and make appropriate recommendations to the Commission on the effective boundaries and borderlands (NBC (Establishment) Act, 2006).

The State and Federal Capital Territory Boundary Committees shall each deal with inter- and intra-Local Government boundary disputes within the State and the Federal Capital Territory;

- define and delimit inter- and intra-Local Government Area or Area Council Boundaries in accordance with the delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;
- liaise with the Zonal Liaison Officer of the Commission in the State and the Federal Capital Territory;
- identify and intervene in areas of potential disputes in the State and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja; hold meetings, at least once in every quarter, to ensure maintenance of peace and order in the border areas;
- liaise with the State Boundary Committees of neighbouring States with the view of taking joint measures that shall promote good intercommunity relationship;
- arrange with other State Boundary Committees for joint utilisation of shared resources and facilities along their common borders;
- encourage and promote joint inter-community development ventures among border dwellers;
- encourage and support peace organs within the State and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja as the case may be, for the purpose of promoting peace and harmony between communities involved in boundary disputes;
- monitor the activities of Local Government Boundary Committees within the State and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja as the case may be, and deal with disputes which cannot be settled by the Local Government Boundary Committees;
- evolve measures for joint utilisation of amenities along Local Government boundaries within the State and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja as the case may be;
- encourage negotiated settlement of boundary disputes in preference to litigation; and
- carry out awareness and enlightenment campaigns among the people in the State and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja as the case may be, on the essence of boundaries in order to foster peace and harmony among the people living along boundary lines (NBC (Establishment) Act, 2006).

A Local Government Boundary Committee shall deal with inter community boundary disputes; liaise with and keep the State or the Federal Capital Territory Boundary Committee, as the case may be, informed of all boundary problems within the Local Government Area or Area Council; and in furtherance,

• hold meetings, at least once quarterly, to identify areas of potential boundary disputes and alert the State or the Federal Capital Territory Boundary Committee, as the case may be;



- liaise with neighbouring Local Government Areas towards evolving joint programmes that shall promote peace and harmony among border dwellers; encourage negotiated settlement of boundary disputes in preference to litigation; and
- carry out awareness and enlightenment campaigns with the view of fostering peaceful relationship with neighbouring communities (NBC (Establishment) Act, 2006).

Summary and Conclusions

It is difficult for nations to survive in the absence of effective border management. Apart from protection of lives and properties, citizens need to be provided with means of protecting their territorial boundaries in formal and organised ways. Nigerian's independence and the return of democratic rule in 1999 to date is a daunting task on the levels of Government institution and Border management.

The paper has examined institutional border management and mandated roles of National Boundary Commission, It thereof suggested for their compatible relationship as a precursor to border management. Thus, government institutions are closely connected with the preservation of the borders of a state as mainly construed in terms of the power to maintain a government's sovereignty within its territory as well as the avoidance of conflicts and the preservation of the lives of people in the society. National security is therefore concerned about those governmental institutions that seek to ensure the physical protection and safety of citizens, ensuring equal access to the law and protection from abuse.

Security concerns with freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty. It is a condition of being protected and not being exposed to external aggression and internal sabotage. It affects not only the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants but national survival as a viable entity. It is only under secure atmosphere that a state can develop and direct its human and material resources towards positive ends. In other words, for nation to be secure, territorial integrity of the state, its sovereignty, its population, its culture, and its economic prosperity should be deemed safe from destruction or major damage. As with all public goods, national security can never be achieved absolutely and what is taken to be satisfactory in terms of national security is always relative.

The challenges of cross-border activities particularly in the areas of exploration and benefits of mineral and natural resources, migration, border control and closure, access to and utility of energy resource and infrastructures through dam construction and diversion of water within the sub-region, crime issues and illicit transnational trade across the porous borders, unrestricted frontiers and smuggling which is harmful to the economy; the rise and threats of emerging separatists, militia and terrorist groups and its implication for national security most be checked and resolved at all times.

Hence, Nigeria's porous borders are infamous. Failure of the ill-equipped, corrupt and unorganized state controlled agencies like the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Nigerian Customs service (NCS), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Nigeria Intelligence Agency (NIA), the Department of State Security Service (DSS) and other interrelated independent bodies involved in the process of protecting the nation's seaports (harbours), border posts and border bi-national links within their areas of jurisdiction and in cooperation with Government of neighbouring states leaves



much to be desired. The perceived mandate of National Boundary Commission (NBC) have dealt with local and international border security, but implementations constraints and lack of political will has stultified the implementation of the mandate.

Recommendations

Based on the findings from summary and conclusion and from reviewed investigation the paper makes the following recommendations:

- 1. The national institutions for border management have broad roles and responsibilities and should be restructured to meet its new expectations in the present dispensation.
- 2. There should be flexible reforms that can ensure successful operations of border security at national, state and local government levels
- 3. Relevant institutional agencies on border management such as the National Boundary Commission of Nigeria should play a leading role at the national, state and local government levels.
- 4. The legal framework on border laws should be harmonized with the laws of the federation and of other states to give rise to a national law on domestic and international border laws.
- 5. Border States such as Katsina, Borno, Lagos, Ogun, Adamawa, Cross-River Taraba, Yobe, Jigawa etc should attract greater commitments from the Federal Government in addressing the menace of border security and governance. Implications for the nation's quest for better management of our boundaries and application of early warning systems should be applied as such.
- 6. The introduction of various security agencies such as the civil defence, vigilantes, NGOs and other stakeholders should be sustained. They should be adequately equipped to discharge constitutional and other responsibilities assigned on border security governance at all levels.
- 7. Surveillance exercises through joint patrol teams and task force in collaboration with the private security and relevant stakeholders can go a long way in curbing border security and governance;
- 8. Sustained roles of the National Boundary Commission can in line with border policies and laws at local and international levels are streamed-lined to broader national security guidelines in ensuring border security governance in Nigeria.

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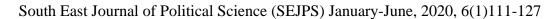
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