

Full Length Research

The Foreign Policy Implications of Nigeria's Security Crisis: 2010-2019.

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Nigeria is a regional power in Africa and West Africa sub-region, has robust foreign policy and security objective principles since her independence (though all these are changing with the dynamics of international politics). It has pursued Afrocentric and global agenda for peace, security and collective wellbeing of all sovereign states and respect human race with the observance of human rights and rule of law. The foreign and security policies of any given nation deal with the general issues of the coordination and management of many threats to vital core values and general context as national interest and security policies are imperative in municipal and international relations. Over the years, insecurity occasioned by terrorism, insurgency, communal violence, piracy, banditry, kidnapping, human trafficking and cross borders crimes have become topical issues that have threaten the sovereignty and corporate existence of Nigeria. All these related security challenges have multiplying and snowballing implications on the foreign policy of Nigeria by labelling and targeting it as failed state, fragile political system, hostile environment, hide-out for terrorists, unfriendly country where foreign investors cannot invest and unstable country. The further implications for its foreign policy are that the Nigeria's regional global image has been grossly affected as its commitment to regional and global campaign for peace and collective security against terrorism, insurgency and criminality toward collective efforts on security challenges are highly doubtful and sceptical of purpose and clarity. The paper posits to provide possible solutions such as curtailing and managing the consequences of violence, and dialogue strategies aimed at eliminating small arms and light weapons, broad dimensions of intervention of good governance, security and diplomacy application, food, health, job and environmental security should be provided and sustained within the country thoroughly. The paper makes use of secondary source to elicit data for the study, while it adopts concentric circles theory and relative deprivation theory as its theoretical framework to midwife the study.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Immediate Neighbour, National Interest, Security framework, Threats Perception.

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INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has been considered and regarded as a major regional power in Africa and this makes it relevant at the international level amongst sovereign countries. However, the internal security crisis has affected its

status as a major contributor of peace keeping operations in the African continent and the rest of the world. The irony of the scenario is that Nigeria now find herself relying on the support of other African states including smaller ones like Chad, Niger and by extension Cameroon to fight insurgency and terrorism (Ogunnubi,

Onapaju and Isike, 2016:446). It is as such, argued that Nigeria's relatively powerful regional and global positions effectively precluded coercive international intervention and is doing so, reduced external pressure on it to act more decisively to counter the security threats to human, national and regional levels of insecurity (Mickler, Muhammed & Mainangwa, 2019:272)

The post-civil war Nigerian sub-regional policy was majorly meant to integrate the economies of the 15 countries in the West Africa through the framework of Economic community of west African states (ECOWAS) as part of its good neighbourliness agenda. However it persistent positive engagement with other African countries whether francophone or anglophone as well as the current myriad security crisis confronting Nigeria has shown that Nigeria possesses no credible threats to France's interests in the sub-region (Omotuyi & Omotuyi, 2020:14; Rasaq, 2016:23), while the unending conflicts in Africa have posed challenges to Nigeria's security policy makers in the recent past as conflict mitigation and resolution have adopted a governance dimension and preoccupation due to the rise in security crisis to individuals, society, state regional and global level (Alli, 2010:72).

According to Bassey (1992) that:

Nigeria's defence policy posture toward the contiguous state in the 1960s, the drastic alteration in the perceived threat to Nigeria's security -largely a function of the traumatic civil war experiences which shattered the naive optimism of the immediate post-independence era -resulted in the incorporation of these territories into Nigeria's vision of systemic security...judging from the current direction of its defence policy planning, it may be valid to assert that Nigeria's national security is considered the best enhanced if these countries are kept free from intervention by any other power be it African or extra-continental (Bassey, 1992:221).

Again, the survival of a state as a viable entity depend largely on developing an effective grand strategy that directs the main elements of power towards the attainment of set objectives which include economy, technology, population, ideology, foreign policy and security as diplomacy fosters peaceful co-existence amongst states (Oladeji, 2012:403). The foreign policy which any country adopts is a reflection of her domestic

policy. The internal security situation is one of the components of the domestic policy as well as which some aspects of the current internal security challenges especially towards determining if those that have had foreign policy consequences (Azazi, 2012:118).

The intractable and historical problems of national security arising from geographical propinquity and the divergent foreign and security policies of the contiguous states pose profound challenges with temporarily responses of successive Nigerian governments have been inadequate to cope with. It is a fact of the contemporary International system that a state's capacity of coercive or non-coercive influence depends on its particular power generated in an interaction between unequal actors resides in relation. It results from asymmetries in the capabilities and needs of the actors involved. Essentially, inequality lies in the superior actor both being able to resort to provide negative sanctions while at the same time being in a position to neutralise whatever damage might result from the weak actor's countervailing strategies (Bassey, 1992: 229).

The issue of security has taken center stage in the contemporary world, across the regions and states directly or indirectly threatening the populace which affect the domestic and International status of states. These security crisis issues are premised on clear comprehension of the dynamic of internal and global security challenges of which Nigeria is not an exception (Ani & Onyebukwa, 2016:3; Epron, 2019:144). The presence of insecurity in any environment constitutes threats to life and properties, hinders business activities and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which repress and reduce socio-economic development of a nation. In Nigeria, there has been increasing wave of insecurity crisis in recent times which have threaten the corporate existence of the country as one geographical entity (Owetan & Urhie, 2014:60), while the common cause of these threats centre on the strategic perspective which see the emergence of terrorism and its related threats as logical extension of the failure of governance (Oche, 2013:285). Nigeria is considered a key power in Africa, not only because of its size, but because of its political and economic roles on the continent, however, it has faces serious social economic and security challenges, some of which pose threats to state and regional stability (Blanchard & Husted, 2019:3) as Post-colonial Nigeria has been engulf with series of communal conflicts that have been threatening the country's collective existence and national security (Fadeyi & Muhammed 2019:1).

Related Issues on the Foreign Policy Implications on Nigeria's Security Crisis

Terrorism and Insurgency: Terrorism has posed great threat, not just to life, property, human rights, dignity and democratic values, but to the very fabric and existence of Nigeria's as it has attacked both civilian and Military targets with huge causalities and losses. (Akubo & Okolo, 2019:4).

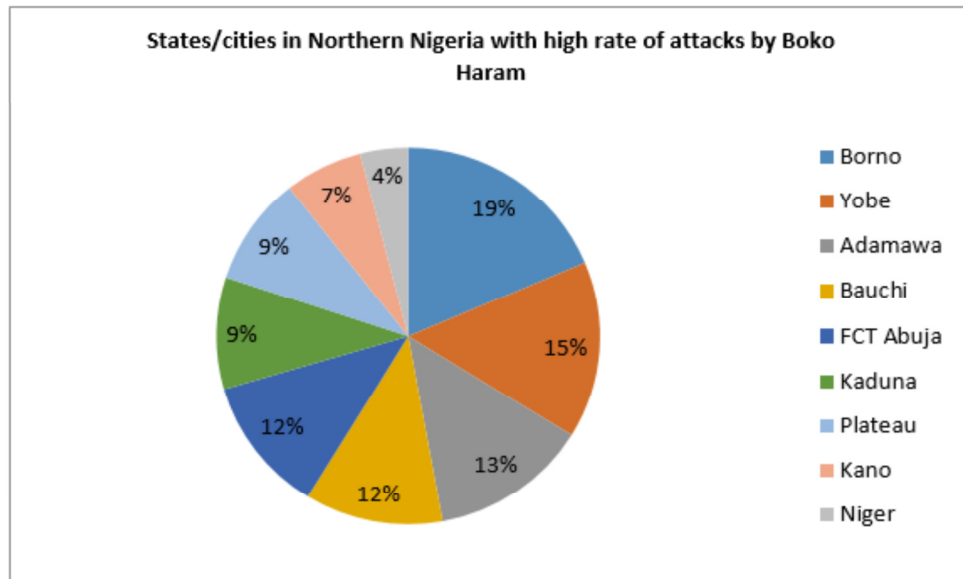


Figure 1: States/Cities in Northern Nigeria with high rate of attacks by Boko Haram
 Source: Nwagboso, 2018:25

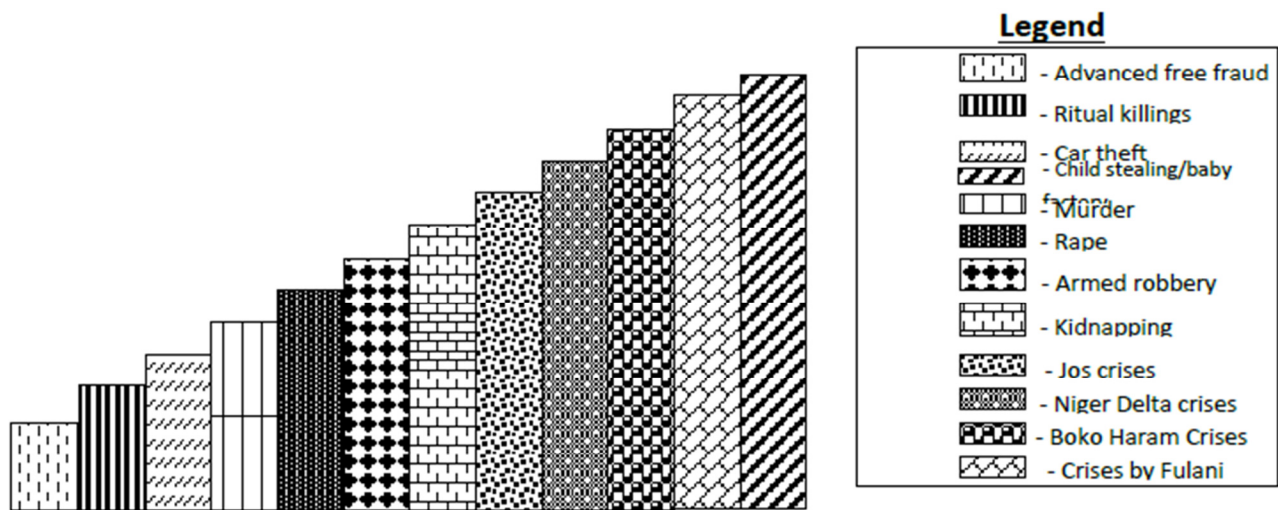


Figure 2: Presentation of Minor and Major Internal Security Problems in Nigeria.
 Source: Nwagboso, 2018: 26

Banditry: The menace of armed robbers and bandits has constituted one of the most serious problems confronting the Nigerian state. Their nefarious activities have made life extremely miserable for civilian and security operatives as they are continually harassed, intimidated brutalised, maimed and often killed during encounter with the bandits. (Bobbo, 2011:24).

Kidnapping: It is a serious crime and the potential for transforming into other felonious crimes such as physical violence, financial victimisation and murder. It is the act of seizing and detaining or carry away a person’s by unlawful forces or by fraud and often with a demand for ransom. As such, it is a security lacuna for the nation (Ibrahim & Mukhtar, 2017:139).

Human and Weapons Trafficking: These have become parts of the commonest transnational crimes. Human beings are being taken abroad for whatever reasons and are subjected to many crimes like prostitutions with its attendant damaging effect on the image of Nigeria. Also, small arms and light weapons have been profitable and very serious in the light of proliferation of armoury with its own danger (Imohe, 2010:243).

Piracy: The heightened risk of piracy attacks in the Gulf of Guinea has put the progress in Nigeria's security shipping sector on hold with the would-be investors (Nightingale, 2019:2). It is plundering, hijacking and detention of ship in national and international waters for ransom or for stealing to resell products within the ships and for economic, military and political reasons. It is illegal or unregulated fishing displacement (Staff, 2018:6).

Communal Violence (Farmers and Herdsmen): The crisis between Farmers and Herdsmen are just too alarming with huge casualties on both sides due to animals stray into farms which cause damages to crops. Properties, and death have been recorded as a result of the shrinking grazing lands leading to frequent farmers/grazers conflicts. Excessive drought which affects forest cover will pose problems for fuel, wood supply as climate change induced factor as well (Ugwuanyi, 2010:95; Ahmadu, 2011:46).

Table 1: States in the Northern Nigeria mostly affected by Herdsmen-farmers crises

S/N	State	Geographical zone
	Benue	North-Central
	Kaduna	North-Central
	Adamawa	North-East
	Yobe	North-East
	Taraba	North-East
	Borno	North-East
	Zamfara	North-West
	Nassarawa	North-Central
	Jigawa	North-West

Source: Nwagboso, 2018: 27

Causes of Security Crisis in Nigeria as they affect Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The country is in the grip of various destructive forces that are coalescing to give it failed state status which is a manifestation of deep-rooted and structurally entrenched crisis of development that creates the environment for emergence of conditions of poverty, Unemployment and inequality in the nation. These have led to frustration-alienation, social discomfort that spat violence and insecurity (Katsina, 2012:107). Nigeria is ravaged by underdevelopment, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, lack of basic social amenities, corruption, increased cost of living, high population growth and incapacity of government to deal effectively with non-state actors/groups. These have instigated grievances against the political system and have created breeding ground for security crisis (Olawajaju, Folarin & Folarin, 2017:49) and the issue of Human rights (Okpokpo, 2000:2). Other causes are the manipulation of religion for political and selfish means. Many religious crises have political and economic undertone. There is the general fear, apprehension and insecurity among citizens with issues of little or insignificance, but magnify by social trauma to events. Also, is the disconnect between the government and the governed over misinformation, misrule, mistrust and miscarriage of the rule of engagements (Sheriff, 2016:11) and transnational security threats with far reaching consequences due to porous borders (Obi, 2008:3).

Furthermore, some of other causes include ethnicity and primordial differences, no synergy between national security system and democratic rule, weak security structures lack of maximisation of the security budget, poor nature and scope of economic development, the struggle (agitation) and politics for resource and land control, pervasive material inequalities and issue of government, good governance transparency and accountability (Aina, 2020:4). Weak judiciary system, high influx of arms, human trafficking, criminality and the surge of drugs abuse (Ibenegbu, 2017:2). The challenges of globalisation and information communication technology have brought to the fore as new threats have transcend national and international borders (Oladeji, 2012:407; Egbefo & Salihu, 2014:184).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study adopted concentric circles theory and Relative deprivation theory to analyse the study. The concentric circles model adopted in 1984 as a framework which established the fundamental role of the domestic environment in the evolution and development of a nation's foreign policy. The domestic being the innermost circle of Nigerian foreign policy, also has other critical elements which include security, ethnic, economics and political challenges as the domestic environment poses limitations to the realisation of the nation's effectiveness in foreign affairs. The innermost circle indicates Nigeria's own security, independence and prosperity are centred on its immediate neighbour. Benin, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger while the second circle revolves around Nigeria with West Africans countries at large in regional development, the third circle focuses on continental Africa, on issues of peace, development, human rights, democratisation, good governance, integration, while the fourth circle involves or relates with international organisations in the world on bilateral and multilateral matters (Omotere, 2011:8; Adelusi, 2013:5; Adejumobi, 2016:12; Fayomi, Chiidozie & Ajayi, 2015:189; Nuamah 2013:26; Blanchard & Husted, 2019:7; Alli, 2010:224; Arowolo, 2008:116).

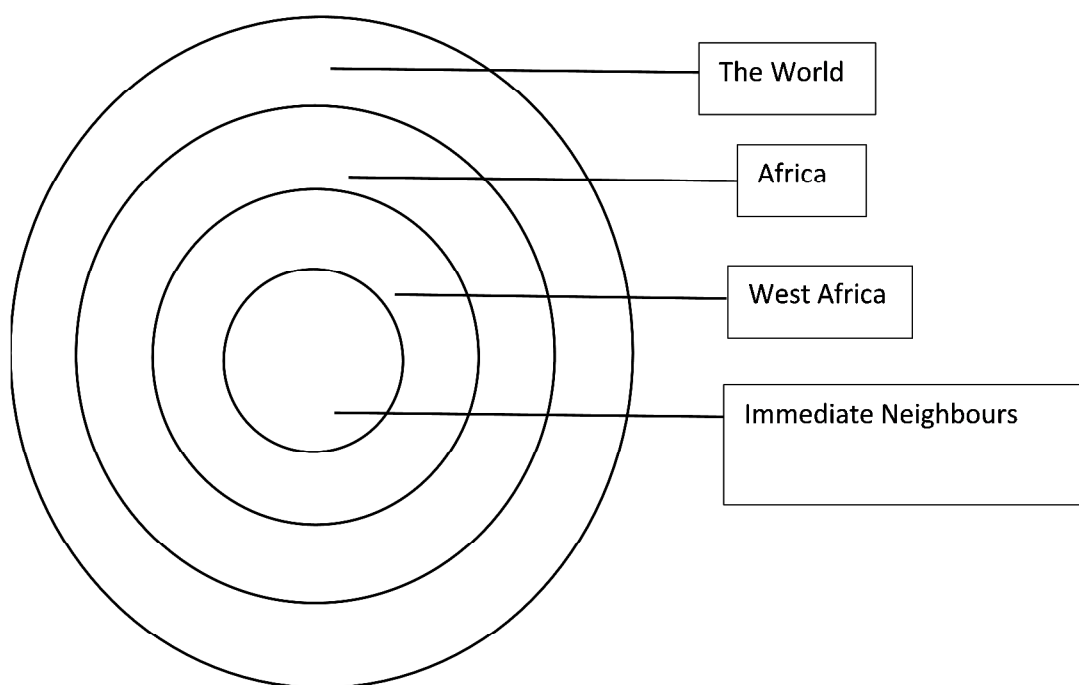


Figure 3

Source: Arowolo, 2008:116.

The utility of the theory to the study is that Nigeria's domestic environment shapes her relations with other nations, and her inter-African affairs has always been constrained more by domestic contradictions than by external factors (Alli, 2010:225)

Relative Deprivation Theory was propounded by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939), Davies (1962) and others. The theory is traceable to the historical background of crisis (conflicts), agitations and rise of individuals and groups against the national government of countries. It stems from the failure of governments to address critical challenges to

development in some parts of the countries which may be responsible for the internal rebellion by armed groups against states involved (Eme, Nwachukwu & Olise, 2017:26). It is based on the concept that people may feel deprived of some desirable benefits relative to their own past (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984:306). The linkage of the theory to the study rests on the fact that security crisis challenges or threat within Nigeria have undermined her foreign policy relations with the outside world. It is seen as that Nigeria could not manage her domestic affair properly and as such stands to be ineffective and incapacitated to conduct foreign relations with other

states (Eme, Nwachukwu & Olise,2017:28), while the defects in the theories reflect that domestic environment is a great determinant of the consequences of outside politics which sometimes misguide and narrow-minded by the external observers as objectives reasoning is underrated. The smoke screen and ugly incidents of security crisis and lapses from any part of the country can trigger wider effects on the general overall relations with her neighbours and the rest of the world sequel to the fast effects of globalisation and contagious tendency to cause disruption, emulation, limitations and collateral damages by criminals and terrorists if not nib in the bud.

ASSOCIATED CASES OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF NIGERIA'S SECURITY CRISIS

Rosenau's linkage theory works on the study here. It states the needs in which national and international systems functions in such way as to continuously reinforce each other as it is used to explain the intricacies in international relations. Rosenau's thrust of linkage theory includes:

- Independent governments and the international system reinforce one another;
- The processes and structure of domestic politics are not independent of international occurrences;
- Ruling elites tend to redirect the concern of the public towards real or imagined external threats in a bid to reduce focus on internal challenges; and
- Active participation in international relations is dependent on the state's ability to establish an effective cadre of officials capable of successfully managing their nation's foreign relations (Ujara & Ibieta, 2019:46)

Based on the above propositions, the followings make up the implications of foreign policy of Nigeria's security crisis:

Image crisis or Image dilemma

- Nigeria loses her respect and relevance in the international scene. Her image has been badly damaged occasioned by security crisis as it is unable to resolve internal crisis within her reach. Other areas affected within this parlance are citizens and economic diplomatic damages imposed on the Nigeria's state while Nigerians in diaspora are not left out in the embarrassment suffered by the country. (Ujara & Ibieta, 2019:46)

2019:51; Boma, Terfa & Tsegay,2015:8). A huge of Nigerian citizens as a result of security crisis are now refugees across West Africa (Ogunnubi et al 2017:447). The further implication stems from the welfare of Nigerian diaspora in foreign countries as their experiences/ordeals are horrible (Adewunmi, 2016:12)

- The politics of weapon sales to Nigeria by America, Britain, France and Russia call for concern as one withholds selling sophisticated weaponry to Nigeria, others give stringent conditions unable for such sales if at all. Furthermore, the big powers have refused to provide logistics and intelligence assistance to Nigeria in order to resolve her security crisis. France's reluctance tendency to fight along the line of Nigeria has made the French speaking neighbours to Nigeria difficult as some terrorists made their border hideouts which from there they launch attack on Nigerian territories as a counter implications that Nigeria is an exporter of terrorism and its kinds (Omotuyi & Omotuyi, 2020:14; Musa & Ajibade, 2018:4)
- Foreign investment /Direct Foreign investments are not forthcoming as the international community; Non-Government organisations and international actors are weary to invest or borrow Nigeria due to the security crisis. War, crisis and fear are not friends to investors and borrowers. The investment rate has declined over the year as a result of security concern. More so, it has affected the economic development status as heavy budget meant for infrastructural and social development are diverted to security sector for combating terrorism and the likes (Obi,2015:13)
- The security crisis has a great impact on the neighbouring countries since most of them depends on Nigeria's economy and in the advent of such, which has advert effect on economic development in Nigeria, will automatically switch or bounce back to the dependant states. Agan, bandits and terrorists have intermingled with Nigeria refugees at the borders to cause further murder, robbery and use such hideout for guerrilla warfare attacks (Musa & Ajibade, 2018:4)
- Nigeria has been relentless in its distribution of financial help to the needy nation across African and the Carribeans in the recent past. But now, due to the security crisis, Nigeria has lost its regional power status to south Africa or Egypt which makes her chances to be permanent member of the United Nations Security Council seems unlikely sequel to all these factors (Musa & Ajibade, 2018:6).
- Tourism – Foreign tourists to notable places in

Nigeria have been reduced drastically as their security of stay permit could not be guaranteed. It is a known fact that huge revenue gotten from tourism in any country's Gross domestic product (GDP). This has diminished the international reputation of the country and has created the impression of a weak government and does not have the capacity to maintain internal security (Akinterinwa, 2012: 24).

- International Media Disposition: The attitude of International Media Stations and Houses have been reporting Nigeria negatively as a result of the security crisis. This has portrayed the country as no go area, no fly zone etc. These erroneous impressions created international psychological warfare on Nigeria and as the images or news of developing countries as presented to the world audience are usually that of failure, disorder and unstable (Adeniyi, 2012: 355) Sports diplomacy as instrument of foreign policy has been negative to Nigeria. Major hosting of sports events in Nigeria is no longer realisable due to security concern of the athletes' safety. This as well has implications on the sport sector of the economy which should have been a great unifying tool for the purpose of nationalism (DG, NSM, 2012:390).
- Commerce and Trade: Bilateral and Multilateral trade and commerce have suffered significantly as foreign countries reduce their trading business with Nigeria. Trade barriers are not remove, tariffs are high and the policy thrust of Nigeria's trade strategies are not sustainable due to negative disposition of the outside world as it affects the realisation of the objective vision 20:2020, which however, foreign policy, should have been woven around national commercial interest and Nigeria's integration into global market but interrupted by the security crisis in the country (Mohammed, 2012:223).

Solution to Foreign Policy Implications of Nigeria's Security Crisis

With the attendant implications on Nigeria's foreign policy, the solutions are from within majorly while little is to be observed from external trend of International politics. The following can be noted as possible solutions:

- Foster development indices in a way of creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure for business operations and industrial growth, to provide gainful employment, functional and useful education and quality health delivery care for the people.
- To establish the strong determinable political will to end terrorism/insurgency and other security crisis factors by the government and for the governed, to have the passion in solving them.
- To end campaign for ethnic cleavages and primordial interests among the constituent's nations that make up Nigeria.
- Stop or block the linkage of saboteurs in both the military and civilian circles dealing with security matters.
- To redefine our national and security policies both for domestic and International politics.
- Civil orientation of Nigeria citizens on the implications of rebellious activities against their own country with the correctional measures put in place like food, state, environmental and job security to her teeming youths.
- Government to tackle social crimes by addressing corruption, materialism, thuggery, political and religious violence.
- Mediation intervention dialogue are indices to good security platform.
- Involvement of private sectors in security intervention should be paramount.
- Restructuring and true federalism with attendant to resource control be observed.
- Provision for early warning signals for the prevention of conflict and crisis across the country.
- Prevention and the management of the consequences of violence and the use of dialogue system to confrontation style. Confidence building and peace building.
- Prevention and the elimination of small arms and light weapons to unauthorised persons and routine assessment of their uses.
- The application of good governance, rule of law and sound judicial system.
- At the external front, preventive diplomacy, citizen diplomacy and good image laundering of the nation amongst international community.
- Exchange of intelligence information and robust procurement of modern and sophisticated weaponry to deter security breakers.
- Adequate surveillance and proper security checks in Nigeria's porous borders with her immediate neighbours.
- Signing and observance of international treaties and conventions on international security managing protocols in collective peace and security of all nations.
- To partner with cross-border communities and security forces in the management of Nigerian borders.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATION

A nation's security should be citizen centred based with the sole objective of solving the necessary needs of her people for food, shelter and clothing with the changing dynamics of reality of life. It should be seeking to protect and promote the social wellbeing and political/economic security crisis and her citizenry. It aims at the comprehensive meaning of security, security crisis and her collective ownership to the nation, as a shared value to her citizenry and finally their attendant consequences if neglected as it is linked to a more secured country to her immediate neighbour, the region, the continent and the entire world. Security has been paramount to the survival of Nigeria, and as such, it requires more strength, energy and will to sustain it as the Government should review the national security policy, stringent penalties for violent crimes, National Assembly to enact law that will address the citizenship issues/debates that will ensure that residency rather than origin of where one comes from must be basis of citizenship and the Government must establish ranches facilities to reduce the fiasco between farmers, herdsman and cattle rearers.

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