

The State and Security-Insecurity: A Case Study of the Police and Army Killings in Nigeria

¹Ugwuozor, Samuel I., ²Ogbonna, Ikechukwu Stanley and Ubiebi, Kingsley

¹Department of Political Science, Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu.

²Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

³Department of Political Science, Delta State University, Abraka.

Email:Samuel.ugwuozor@gmail.com; Ogbonnaikechukwustan@gmail.com; Ubikings1865@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

As a security institution, the Nigerian state is primarily saddled with the responsibility of ensuring the security of the lives and property of citizens, within her territorial jurisdiction. However, the state today, grapples with rising cases of insecurity advancing to clashes between the state actors - the police, the army and other members of the security agency in direct exchange of fire with some members of the civil society. This study appropriated the theory of social contract to examine the subject matter. Methodologically, mixed method of data collection through primary and secondary sources was adopted and analysis was done in content. Findings revealed among others that the killing of security agents of the Nigerian state was consequent upon failure of the state to satisfy the conditions upon which mass compromise and mandate was given for its formation in the social contract. This article recommended inter alia, improved social welfare for the masses and implementation of the 2014 National Conference resolutions in Nigeria for an economic and political restructuring, peace and the development of the country.

Keywords: The state, Insecurity-insecurity, Police, killings, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world. The lamentation of William Butler Yeats in his poem: *The Second Coming*, which partly states "that mere anarchy is loosed upon the world," aptly describes the Nigeria's situation [1]. In fact, one can replace the word "world" to be Nigeria. Indeed, anarchy has been let loose on Nigeria. What is daily facing many states in the northern part of Nigeria, inclusive of the home of President Muhammadu Buhari, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, is insecurity such as never witnessed before in the country [2]. Insecurity that ought to have been nipped in the bud by the President, who swore to protect the citizenry not withstanding their ethnic, religious or party affiliation, has been inadvertently allowed to fester like the familiar Sahara wild wind [3,4,5,6]. Notable components of insecurity include violent attacks, kidnapping for huge ransoms, violent displacement of farmers from their farm lands and outright attacks on government and security institutions... [7,8]. The foregoing note explains the

subject of this study. If the Chief Security Officer of the country, President and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, the government and the security institutions are security-porous, the security of the masses, the masses is not guaranteed. In recent times, the spate of insecurity has been on the rise in Nigeria, especially in the past seven years. Countless number of innocent civilians helplessly loses their lives at virtually all places: roads, schools, offices, homes and even churches and mosques in Nigeria, while the Nigerian state seems rather incapacitated in the face of the security challenge. As the trend progresses, the dimension is currently diversified with strategic target at the state actors especially the police and the army. [9], observed that: The Nigerian state has experimented with various security policies to eliminate contradictions to the efforts of government to improve security in the country. In this sense, the federal, states and local governments have set up various form of security system to compliment the security efforts of the army and the

police at the frontline in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria [9].

The bordering questions necessitating investigation are: If the state as a political institution legitimized for the monopoly of the use of instruments of force and coercion, loses such monopoly in any society, what then is the essence of the state? If the security agents of the state themselves become insecure, within the civilian setting, what is the direction and future of the society? From the seeming intractable and nonstop Boko Haram killings in the North East since 2002, to the 2020 #END SARS protest, and the currently increasing insecurity throughout the South Eastern geopolitical zone of

Wherever you are looking at the nation today, there is conflict and every sign of a nation which is not at peace with itself. Whether the focus is on the National Executive Council or the National Assembly, or the political party in power, or Borno, Katsina, Enugu or the Niger Delter, there are hostilities. To worsen the disunity, the explosive question of reversing the Federal Constitution which has been forced on us with its entire arm twisting the bad fate [4].

The above observation of [6] clearly shows a country with a basic constitutional error, resulting in extant historic centrifugal forces, ubiquitous within her territory and population. The offshoot of the above situation is the currently advancing insecurity not only the insecurity of the armless civilians, but the insecurity and vulnerability of the country's armed forces at large. The questions become: Who owns the monopoly of the use of instruments of force and coercion in Nigeria and what is the reality of the internal sovereignty of the Nigerian state? What is the perception of the masses about the police and other state actors in the security system of the country; and what is the place of constitutionalism in the Nigerian polity? Examining the above worries, one begins to interrogate the character of the Nigerian state vis-à-vis, the economy, and the principles of federal character, equity, justice and social contract with the respondents. [9], rightly noted that *government exists for the welfare of the respondents under the social contract principle*. This principle specifies the roles of the parties in the contract that birthed the emergence of the state in history, and the principle of an orderly and peaceful society. The social contract specifies the principles for equity and economic

Ugwuzor *et al*
Nigeria, with the Independent Respondents of Biafra (IPOB) and the Oodua nation in Yoruba relentlessly clamouring for secession and sovereignty, one thing has remained the common observation: the Nigerian state is in a constant face-off with the civil society. In the heated confrontation, the both opposing camps: the state on the one hand, and the civil society on the other hand, each prove formidably fortified with competing brands of fire arms. The consequent effect of this is the competing number of deaths between the both warring camps.

In his analysis of the state of the country, [10] exclaimed that:

management for the sustenance of peace and tranquillity in the political society. In the context of the Nigerian society, a screening enquiry into the deteriorated security system in the country, with the lens of the social contract, could reveal where the gap lies (the state or the respondents) in terms of responsiveness to stated and specific rules, in the terms and principle of the social contract. When each of the parties play by the rules and principles of the social contract, there is orderliness and complementarity, as the state's responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of the respondents, is appreciated with civic responsibility as a matter of duty. With this, the state enjoys legitimacy and solidarity based on mass mandate. At this point, democracy becomes, not a political idea introduced from a distance, but a political practice that the respondents delight to express willingly. When the reverse is the case, the society becomes chaotic consequent upon that existing social contractual gap premised on political failure and state's negligence to, and deviation from the principles of the social contract. The masses begin to withdraw those rights to govern and defend themselves, already surrendered to the state in the social contract. The danger of this is increased nsecurity

charged against the government. Even the security agents of the state become intercepted and opposed by the

respondents. This is the picture of the current security reality in Nigeria; hence the state and security-insecurity.

Conceptual Clarification

The following concepts: the state, Security-insecurity, Polices and policing, killings, are explained as follows. The state is one central concept in socio-political discourses. This is consequent upon its social endowment with power and the decisive position it occupies as the basis in creating influence on other institutions and social structures, thereby deciding who gets what, when and how and socio-political fate of man in the political society. In the words of [6], the state is *a creature of the basis and the most decisive element of the superstructure of the society*. The state is the political power institution of the society. The paradox: Security-insecurity, which is the focal variable of this study, indicates the current security reality in Nigeria in which the security agents are almost as insecure as the civilian masses. The reality is a situation in which the masses have a perception of the state as suppressive instrument that denies them access to basic material survival. Hence, institutions and agents of the state such as the army, the police, and the entire members of the armed forces are seen as agents of mass suppression. Hence, the respondents oppose the status quo in various armed guises, giving rise to bloody attacks and counter reprisal oppositions between the state and the masses. The premise of security-insecurity in Nigeria is political or state failure. The police and policing are two

concepts that need to be well understood. The former is a body of officials and agents of the executive arm of government and the armed forces, charged with the responsibility of enforcing the law, maintaining public order and safety, detecting and preventing crimes and criminal activities, and ensuring that suspects are prosecuted in the law courts, while the latter is the process of executing the activities of the former. [8] explaining the police and policing, noted that: Policing is a set of activities or processes aimed at preserving a social order or control which can be performed by a wide range of groups and processes. The defence of our individual freedom demands the hand of the police officer. It is the police officer's burden to indulge in fear reduction, social crisis management, safety of key and vulnerable points.... [10]. In Nigeria, the foregoing features and functions of the police and indeed the armed forces in general, seem to be carried out in contradiction to the law and in direct exhibition of mass suppression, as against the duty of maintaining public order and safety. This is the basis of the mass call for police reforms expressed in the 2020 #ENDSARS in Nigeria. With the high rate of poverty and hardship in Nigeria, and the constant infliction of lawlessness on the masses from the security agents, the masses seem to perceive the police with enmity.

Literature Review

This section of our study will examine relevant literature in the areas of insecurity in Nigeria, and the killings of members of security agents. The

literature review will therefore be premised on the following thematic arrangement.

Insecurity of Security Agents in Nigeria

At various time and places in Nigeria, insecurity of security agents has been on the rise. Hence, the police and other law enforcement agents have been victims of insecurity in the effort to enforce security. [3] has observed that Nigeria has lost not less than 2,287 respondents between July and September 2021 in violent attacks from Boko Haram, militia herdsmen,

abduction gangs clashes and armed bandits. In a breakdown analysis, [5] further stated that of the above figure, 176 of security respondent of the Customs, Department of State Services, (DSS), Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Police and the military lost their lives within the period. [7], studying the effect of insecurity of security agents and its

effects on Nigeria's economic prospect, rightly pointed out under-equipment of and poor technological advancement among others, as the bases of the insecurity of security agents in the country. They also posited that state armed officers' insecurity has been of worrisome effects on the economy. [7], however, lacked data precision on the effect of insecurity of the security agents or the economy of Nigeria. Various media reports have shown the rising spate of insecurity posed against the security agents in Nigeria. [8] reporting an attack by gunmen at police stations in Rivers State, noted that seven police officers were killed by unknown gunmen. The gunmen according to the report attacked the officers at a check point and killed some of the officers on duty. Same day, the armed men proceeded to a police station for further attacks. [4], has observed the security situation in Rivers State. According to him, unknown gunmen waged an attack to the police in the State and at various locations and killed no fewer than seven police officers. [9], showed the attack on the police in Anambra State. According to him, the incident occurred at Ajali Police Station in Orumba North Local Government with over seven gunmen who invaded the area and killed five officers and set the station ablaze. Similarly, [4] narrated the insecurity of police officers in Enugu State. He observed that in an attack on a police checkpoint in the state, six officers were killed, their hilux operation vehicle burnt, while their AK 47 guns were taken by the attackers. According to [3] at Ezeiweka in Onitsha, Anambra State, some gunmen in another attack on the police in the area, set ablaze the vehicle of the force men and killed two police officers. The gunmen were said to have been angered by the manner in which the police collected money from motorists at the police checkpoint. [4], has posited that targeted attacks on the security operatives precisely the officers has continued in some parts of the country as 16 police officers have been killed. [4], noted that the sixteen officers

Theoretical Framework

For a good understanding of the current security status of Nigeria, in which the state itself is in security crisis as the

were killed in attacks on four different police stations in both South-east and South-south regions of Nigeria. The rising rate of security-insecurity in Nigeria, took another dimension with the recent attack successfully directed to the Nigerian army. [5], in another report, noted that the security architecture of the country was compromised early August 24, by unknown gunmen who gained access into the Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA), precisely the residential area within the academy at Afaka in Kaduna State. Two of the men of the Nigerian Army were killed. While many sustained gunshot injuries, the unknown gunmen abducted a senior officer of the academy. From the forgoing literature exploration, it is can seen the rate of insecurity not just in the general society, but specifically within the security system of Nigeria. This is irrespective of the effort of government at all levels especially the federal and states governments. As the situation worsens, there is fear and uncertainty of what the future holds, all over the country. One therefore wonders the degree of capacity of the two opposing camps (the state and insecurity agents), and in the words of , the *tensile strength*, that is *the maximum force of tension to which a material can respond without breaking*. According to [7] *capacity may be understood as the ability to contain or accommodate, or the amount which can be contained or accommodated*. Hence, with the face-off between the Nigerian state and the agents of insecurity, and the progress the later is making in spite the relentless efforts of the state to contain insecurity in Nigeria, one lacks assurance of whether the Nigerian state still has the capacity, and the tensile strength or maximum force of tension to *contain* and *respond* to the rising spate of insecurity in Nigeria. With the successful attack of the security officers of the Nigerian army within the highly fortified environment of the NDA, the porous vulnerability of the Nigerian security system is further highlighted.

security system of the country is infiltrated and heavily opposed by various groups, and agents in the

country, the social contract theory needs to be understood. This study utilizes the social contract theory as propounded by Thomas Hobbs. The importance is that it will aid our understanding of the basis of the high rate of insecurity of security agents in Nigeria. Thomas Hobbs, an English socio-political philosopher of the 17th century, saw a state of man's existence in a society in which man had absolute power to his will and lived without any form of subordination or subjection or a sense of superior authority. Man lived in an unorganized and disorderly society, in other words, a state of nature. Hence, one man's muscular superiority over another man was both a benefit and an opportunity to take advantage of. Human life was therefore uncertain, *solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short*. For man to be free from this ugly style of existence, man therefore agreed to surrender his raw power and self-will and be subject to a superior authority under which his right and dignity can be

guaranteed and protected. This would however be on the condition that the constituted authority would on its own part protect the economic, political and general interest of man. In the event of state failure to perform by the compromise in the contract, revolution looms as man would seek to regain his power to protect his interest as against the constituted authority or the state. Adapting from this theory to the subject of this study, the security-insecurity of the Nigerian state, and indeed the general insecurity prevalent in Nigeria, is premised on the failure of the state and its government to fulfil to the masses the agreements reached in the social contract. Therefore, due to state failure to provide employment to the teeming youths, affordable social amenities and schemes that bridge the wide gulf of social and economic inequality, the poor in their individual and group formations, rise up against a system that rather dehumanizes them.

Data presentation

The table below shows the data drawn from the primary source with questionnaire instrument.

Table 1: Value of Male Respondents Gender Distribution

Male	Freq.	Percentage
	20	20
Total	20	20

Source: Authors' computation

Table 2: Value of Female Respondents Gender Distribution

Female	Freq.	Percentage
	3	300
Total	3	300

Source: Authors' computation

Table 3: value of respondents' Age Limit

Age limit	Freq.	Percentage
18-25	1	4.3
25-30	0	0
30-35	2	8.6
35-40	7	30.4
40 up	13	56.5
Total	23	99.8

Source: Authors' computation

Table 4: Value of Respondents' Views on Security-insecurity in Nigeria

S/N	Item statement	Freq. Strongly Agree	% Strongly Agree	Freq. Agree	% Agree	Freq. Disagree	% Disagree	Freq. strongly disagree	% Strongly Disagree
1	There are cases of	20	15.1	3	2.5	0	0	0	0

	insecurity in Nigeria.								
2	Security-insecurity is on the increase all over Nigeria	15	11.3	7	5.9	0	0	0	0
3	Police officials are more affected in the security-insecurity in Nigeria than the army officials.	16	12.1	6	5.0	0	0	0	0
4	Security officials are under-equipped to fight general insecurity of life and property in Nigeria.	5	3.7	9	7.6	7	9.4	1	3.3
5	Security-insecurity is perpetrated along ethnic line.	17	12.8	5	5.9	1	1.3	0	3.3
6	Security-insecurity is perpetrated along religious line.	6	4.5	13	11.0	3	4.0	0	0
7	Security-insecurity is perpetrated along political line.	4	3.0	13	11.0	4	5.4	2	0
8	Religion, politics and ethnicity are the causes of security-insecurity	4	3.0	12	11.0	4	5.4	2	6.6

	in Nigeria.								
9	Government is strong in the war against insecurity.	8	6.0	12	10.1	3	4.0	0	0
10	Government still has much to do in the war against insecurity in Nigeria.	2	1.5	5	5.9	11	14.8	5	16
11	Security officials are well equipped to fight general insecurity of life and property in Nigeria.	13	9.8	9	5.9	0	0	1	3.3
12	Army officials are more affected in the security-insecurity in Nigeria than the Police officials.	1	0.7	2	1.6	10	13.5	10	33.3
13	Government is winning the insecurity war against the enemies of peace.	5	3.7	6	5.9	5	6.7	2	6.6
14	Government is overwhelmed by the insecurity in Nigeria.	1	0.7	3	2.5	11	14.8	6	20
15	There is failure of government in Nigeria, hence, rising	3	2.2	3	2.5	14	18.9	2	6.6

	security-insecurity								
16	Security officials are under-equipped to fight general insecurity of life and property in Nigeria.	12	9.0	9	5.0	1	1.3	0	0
Total		132	99.1%	118	99.3	74	99.5	30	48.5%

Source: Authors' computation

Security-insecurity in Nigeria: Data Analysis

Table 5: Some cases of security-insecurity in Nigeria

Period	Case	Number dead	Number kidnapped	Number wounded
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Abia State	8	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed and 5 Police stations burnt in Anambra State	15	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Eboyi State, 10 Police stations burnt in Eboyi State	5	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Edo State	7	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Cross River State	11	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Akwa Ibom State	9	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Delta State	12	-	-
Dec.2020-Mar.2021	Police killed in Abia State, 10 police stations attacked	11	-	-
Feb.24,2021	Police station in Osisioma Abia State attacked, arms stolen	1	-	-
Feb.24,2021	Omoba Police station Abia State attacked, arms stolen	1	-	-
August 24, 2021	Gunmen attack on the NDA	2	1	Many
January-March, 2021	Attack and killing of security agents	67	-	-
July-Sept. 2021	Police, Customs, army, DSS, and NSCDC killed	176	-	-
Sept. 19 th 2021	Police killed in Anambra State	3	-	-
Oct. 1 st , 2021	Police killed in Anambra State	6	-	-
Oct. 1 st , 2021	Army killed in Anambra State	1	-	-
Oct. 9 th , 2021	Police attack in Enugu	-	-	1
Nov. 4 th , 2021	Police killed in Anambra State	6	-	-

Source: Authors' compilation

Data Analysis and Discussion of the Findings

The study focused on the armed forces - the army and especially the police as target population; and sampled the opinions of the force officials of varying

age brackets as can be seen in the table one above. Hence one respondent, representing 4.3% of the total respondents was within the age limit of

(18-25). Two respondents with 8.6% of the total respondents were at the age of (25-30). Seven respondents, representing 30.4% of the total respondents were at the age of (35-40); while thirteen force officers representing 56.5% of the total respondents of twenty-three, were at the age limits of (40 and above). This shows that respondents were responsible adults. The study also sampled the view of the respondents on the subject matter, using questionnaires with comments and questions to which the respondents reacted. Reacting to the comment that there are cases of insecurity in Nigeria, 20 respondents representing 15.1 % of all the total respondents strongly agreed to the reality of security-insecurity in Nigeria; while none disagreed. Research question two accessed the views of the respondents on the rate of security-insecurity in Nigeria. Fifteen respondents showing 11.3% of total respondents were strongly in the affirmative that there is increased security-insecurity all over Nigeria, while seven respondents representing 5.9% simply agreed. The larger percentage of the respondents gives credence to the increase of security-insecurity in the country. The paper also accessed the views of the respondents on the security agents that are worst-hit in the insecurity danger in Nigeria. Sixteen respondents, showing 12.1% of the respondents strongly noted that Police officials are more affected in the security-insecurity in Nigeria than their army counterpart. Six respondents simply agreed, while none disagreed. Furthermore, the paper, surveyed the views of the respondents on the equipment of force officers in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria. 5 respondents representing 3.7% of the respondents agreed strongly, while 7.6% of 6 respondents agreed that Security officials are under-equipped to fight general insecurity of life and property in Nigeria. However, 9.4% of total respondents disagreed. Survey question numbers five, six and seven sought to know the ethnic, religious and political directions of security-insecurity in Nigeria. Six respondents representing 4.5% strongly agreed that security-

insecurity is perpetrated along religious line. 13 respondents representing 11.0% of total respondents simply agreed that security-insecurity is perpetrated along ethnic line. Six respondents representing 4.5% of total respondents firmly agreed to the religious direction of security-insecurity. Three respondents, representing 4.0% of total respondents disagreed. Four respondents representing 3.0% of the respondents strongly agreed that security-insecurity is perpetrated along political line. Thirteen respondents showing 11.0% the respondents simply agreed to the political direction of security-insecurity. Four respondents showing 5.4% of the respondents disagreed. Research question eight assessed the views of security officials on the notion that religion, politics and ethnicity are the causes of security-insecurity in Nigeria. To this, four respondents, representing 3.0% strongly agreed, while twelve respondents representing 11.0% of total respondents simply agreed. Similarly, four respondents representing 5.4% of the respondents disagreed, while two respondents showing 6.6% of total respondents strongly disagreed that to the notion that religion, politics and ethnicity are the causes of security-insecurity in Nigeria. Survey question number nine, sought the views of the respondents on the efficacy of government in warring against insecurity in Nigeria. Eight opinions, representing 6.0% of the respondents strongly affirmed that government is strong in the war against insecurity. Twelve opinions, representing 10.1% of the total respondents simply agreed, while three respondents representing 4.0% of the respondents disagreed. Survey question number ten presented respondents with the notion that government still has much to do in the war against insecurity in Nigeria. Two opinions representing 1.5% of total respondents firmly agreed. Five opinions, representing 5.9% of total respondents simply agreed. However, eleven respondents representing 14.8% of total respondents simply disagreed, while five opinions representing 16% of total respondents strongly disagreed. Question number eleven noted that

security officials are well equipped to fight general insecurity of life and property in Nigeria, and got the reactions of the respondents as follows: thirteen respondents representing 9.8% of total respondents strongly agreed. Nine respondents representing 5.9% of simply agreed, while one respondent representing 3.3% of total respondents strongly disagreed.

Again, the views of the respondents was sought for in the research question twelve, with the statement that the army are more affected in the security-insecurity in Nigeria than the police officials. One view, representing 0.7% of total respondents strongly agreed. Two respondents representing 1.6% simply agreed. Ten respondents representing 13.5% of the respondents disagreed, while ten opinions representing 33.3% of the respondents strongly disagreed. Question thirteen is a statement that government is winning the insecurity war against the enemies of peace. To this, five respondents representing 3.7% of the respondents firmly agreed, six with 5.9% of respondents, simply agreed. Five respondents at 6.7% of total the respondents simply disagreed, while two respondents representing 6.6% of the total respondents disagreed. Survey questions fourteen and fifteen, sought to know if government is overwhelmed or not by insecurity in Nigeria; and if government has failed, hence, rising security-insecurity in the country. One respondent, representing 0.7% of the respondents firmly agreed that government is overwhelmed by rising cases of insecurity in Nigeria. Three respondents, representing 2.5% of total respondents simply agreed. However,

Causes of security-insecurity in Nigeria

In the course of the study, we gathered from our respondents in the field study the causes of security-insecurity in Nigeria to among other reasons include:

- Political struggle political failure and high rate of unemployment
- Poor governance, marginalization and poor infrastructure
- Geocentricism, inadequate electoral policies, tribalism and ethnicity.

The Nigerian State and the Struggle for Internal Sovereignty

Currently, the Nigerian state is in sovereignty crisis. Though the country

eleven respondents representing 14.8% of the total respondents simply disagreed, while six respondents representing 20% of the respondents strongly disagreed. The higher number of general disagreeing respondents (seventeen) of the total respondents shows that the government currently is not winning in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria; hence, rising cases of insecurity in the country. To the item number fifteen, three respondents representing 2.2% of the respondents strongly agreed; while three representing 2.5% simply agreed. Fourteen respondents representing 18.9% of the respondents disagreed, while two opinions representing 6.6% of total respondents strongly disagreed that there is failure of government in Nigeria, hence, rising security-insecurity. In all, six respondents representing 4.5% affirmed to the item fifteen; while sixteen at the percentage of 25.5% of the total respondents disagreed. Item number sixteen in the questionnaire, sought the views of the respondents on the degree of fortification of the security officials to fight general insecurity Nigeria. Twelve respondents representing 9.0% of the respondents strongly agreed. Nine respondents showing 5.0% of the respondents simply agreed. One respondent, representing 1.3% of the respondents simply disagreed. In all, twenty-one opinions representing 10.4% of the respondents affirmed that security officials are under-equipped to fight general insecurity of life and property in Nigeria; while only one respondent, representing 1.0% of the respondentsdisagreed.

- Porous borders, poor legal system and political inference in legal processes.
- Poor training and equipment of the police
- Corruption, excess zeal for material acquisition and financial mismanagement in both the police and the army

in the international community may be accorded its rightful place as a

sovereign territory in the international law, the state, consequent upon the social contractual gap it has created as seen above, does not domestically enjoy the absolute power to run its government without any form of internal opposition. Hence, the state struggles to exist at home as a unified monolithic entity and national centripetal power; in an environment characterised with a multiplicity of centrifugal forces highly charged and in a constant opposition to a state and government founded on a faulty 1999 constitutional basis, with parallel and irreconcilable ethno-political and socio-cultural configurations since 1914. Expressions of this are the activities of the IPOB in the East, commanding influences and orders that the Nigerian state cannot contain, the Oodua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in the West and the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) in the North. These institutions and ethnic structures especially the IPOB, in their various voices, clamour for economic and political justice with separatist agitations. [8], examining the state of the country, aptly pointed out that: It is regrettable that the Federal Republic is in this ugly situation. The *old* solidarities of the Afenifere and the Arewa Consultative Forum have broken down. No ethnic groups speak with one voice. Political caucuses, pressure groups, different militias, and professional organizations claim independence of opinions... [9]. With the currently ugly situation and state of the country, there is rising tension. The patient masses, whose rights, privileges and entitlements have been both withheld and denied are becoming

increasingly conscientized and aware. When the political class in a bid to win elections surround themselves with thugs drawn from the impoverished masses and fortified with ammunitions of varying capacities, to rig elections, the polity becomes characterised with widespread of arms unauthorized and possessed by non-state individuals and agents across the federation. The three major ethnic formations and the Niger Delta, in Nigeria have respective historic bitterness against the Nigerian State. [10] observed that: The neglect of the Niger Delta, the pauperization of the Talakawa in the north, the continuing massacre and suppression of the Igbo respondents of the east long after the civil war, the Yoruba isolation from the federal power, the June 12th injustice, and other defects in the Nigerian power structure, are the kind of matters, the typical issues, which in the western world would be debated and settled in the legislature, the media, the judiciary, the political parties, academic journals etc [6]. In the context of Nigeria, the state lacks political objectivity to address these issues and build a viable polity, due to ethnic and religious bases on which the institutions of government are founded. The above neglect as noted by [8] is the root of the socio-political disorder and security problems of Nigeria. The implication is that the poor, the used-and-dumped thugs reorganize themselves with the post-election arms and ammunition in their possession and constitute fiery attacks and opposition to government, sovereignty of the state, the polity and the society at large, hence, security-insecurity.

METHODOLOGY

Mixed methodology combining primary data generated with questionnaire instrument, and documentary method, which enhances access to secondly

sources such as, books, journal articles, internet sources and newspapers is utilized here, was adopted. Data from these sources were analyzed in content.

CONCLUSION

The paper, with a paradoxical variable: *security-insecurity*, examined insecurity in Nigeria, with specific focus on the army and the police at the front warring against insecurity in Nigeria. By the term security-insecurity, we mean the attacks and the danger of killings that these security agents suffer in Nigeria. Relevant literatures were reviewed to

access extant information on the subject matter. Data was gathered through mixed methodology, combining primary and secondary sources of data, drawn with questionnaires administered to a sample of twenty army and police officers in Nigeria. Adopting Thomas Hobbs' view of social contract as our theoretical framework of analyses, the

www.idosr.org

study observed that high rate of insecurity in Nigeria advanced to the security agents is consequent upon state failure to fulfil its own role in the social contract. The gap of responsibility failure created by the state, has given rise to an angered populace who in their penury take up arms against state

Ugwuozor *et al* agents in the expression of helpless exasperation. The paper recommended improved social welfare for the masses and implementation of the 2014 National Conference resolutions in Nigeria for an economic and political restructuring, peace and the development of the country.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the course of the study, the paper made the following findings: The army, the police and other security agencies in Nigeria are highly insecure. The Nigerian populace are increasingly aware of political injustice and corruption prevalent in the Nigeria. The Nigerian state lacks internal sovereignty and has a porous security system. The currently rising rate of insecurity in Nigeria is premised on state failure, leading to high rate of unemployment and poverty in the country. The masses in Nigeria,

now perceive the state agents and security officers with enmity, consequent upon political corruption and unfulfilled political campaign promises. There is a widespread proliferation and unauthorized possession of arms and ammunitions across different ethnic nationalities of Nigeria. The Nigerian state is currently in a very delicate moment that must be carefully handled with different ethnic formations, otherwise, revolution looms.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is in the light of the above findings, that the study hereby recommends as follows:

- Improved social welfare and provision of financial grants to aid the poor populace and enable small businesses to grow.
- Implementation of the 2014 National Conference resolutions in Nigeria for an

economic and political restructuring, peace and the development of the country.

- Referendum to determine the way forward in the country.
- Institutional strengthening for improve security, responsibility and responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of the respondents.

REFERENCES

1. Ayitogo, N. (2021). 16 police officers killed in Nigeria last week. Retrieved from: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/460408-16-police-officers-killed-in-nigeria-last-last-week.html>
2. Chime, U.O (2021). *Empowered to serve. 60th Birthday Anniversary: Reverend Ugochukwu Obiora Chime: fnis, fniob.* (Brochure)
3. Ede, R. (2021) Six cops feared killed as hoodlums attack police checkpoint in Enugu. Retrieved from <https://www.punchng.com/breaking-six-cops-feared-killed-as-hoodlums-attack-police-checkpoint-in-enugu/?amp>
4. Iheamnchor, D (2021, May 8) Seven policemen feared killed as unknown gunmen invade Rivers. *Vanguard*. Retrieved from: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/05/updated-seven-policemen-feared-killed-as-unknown-gunmen-invade-rivers/>
5. Nwaiwu, C. (2021,) Gunmen set police station ablaze, kill 5 officers in Anambra. *Vanguard*. Retrieved from: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/09/gunmen-set-anambra-station-ablaze-kill-5-officers/amp/>
6. Obi, I. (2006) The state of the nation: the challenge to Ndi Igbo. A paper adopted by Ime Obi at Umuahia on Saturday, 29th Aprils, 2021
7. Ojukwu, E.C.S. (2016) *Discovering the police:...an excursion into police respondentality, powers, performances, and prudence.* (2nd

www.idosr.org

- ed.). Craft Books Limited, 6A, Polytechnic Road, Sango, Ibadan, Box, 22084, University of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria.
8. Okezie, B. (2021, September 23). Shaky internal security (1). *Daily Sun*
 9. Ugwuozor, I. & Ogbonna, I.S (2021) The state and challenge of migratory insecurity: A focus on herder-farmer crisis in Nigeria: 2015-2021. Proceeding of the year 2021 International Conference of the Department of Political Science of the University of Nigeria.
 10. Ugwuozor, I. (2020) *Reflections on democracy and good governance: selected speeches of His Excellency Rt. Hon. Dr. Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi, Gov. Enugu State*. Mekanand Publications, a division of Mekanand Ventures Limited, 10 Amesi Street, Abakpa Nike, Enugu.