SECURITY CHALLENGES AND SECURITY VOTES IN NIGERIA, 2008-2013

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Abstract
Nigeria has joined the league of countries that are known to spend a good chunk of their budgetary allocation on security. As a result of these challenges, Nigerian leaders have decided to tackle them by raising her defence and security votes. Nigeria ranks 57 in the global rating on military expenditure. It occupies the seventh position in African while it is regarded as the largest spender in the West African sub-region. The ranking was based on Nigeria's military expenditure in 2009, which also made her the seventh largest spender on the African continent. The country spent $1.864 billion or N233 billion in 2009, representing 0.90 percent of the Gross Development Production (GDP). Defence is a critical sector and has enjoyed favourable consideration in funding, especially in recent years. For instance, the sector got N264 billion in 2010 and this rose to N348 billion in 2011 budget. Unlike other sectors of the economy, military expenditure in Nigeria has gone up by over 50 percent compared to other sectors in recent times. It is anybody's guess why budget allocations in key ministries and agencies especially security and defence has continued to get the lion's share in the last few years. But analysts however wager that the rising budget spending for security over the years could have been influenced by a constellation of forces. For instance, in 2008, the policy thrusts of the budget as presented by the late President Umaru Yar'Adua to the legislature on November 8, 2007, was supposedly reflected in "N444.6 billion for security and the Niger Delta." It would appear that the mega figure was aimed at political correctness and possibly intended to show new commitment heights for security and the development needs of the Niger Delta. Apparently justifying the need for the bogus budget, analysts at the time said perhaps, it was also intended to signal to the international community that Nigeria is sparing no expenditure in ensuring peaceful co-existence among the citizenry and the interest of the businesses. The paper concludes that despite rising budget allocations for defence and security in the last five years Nigerians have not received value for their money.
 Keywords: Security Votes, Insecurity, Human Needs Theory, Security Challenges and Budget

Introduction
        It is incomprehensible and disheartening to record the pervading wave of violence ravaging our country today. Of late, chilling accounts of mayhem unleashed on the people by men of the underworld, the Boko Haram Islamist sect and other agents of darkness have become a dominant issue in the media. With the cold blooded murder of over 40 students at Mubi in Adamawa state and four students of the University of Port

Harcourt in Rivers state it is incontestable that Nigeria has gradually been turned into a killing field. But who knows whose turn it will be the next moment?

Since the 1970s when the backlash of the three year old civil war induced criminal activities and sundry acts of violence, senseless killings have remained a part of the social burden of our polity . Nigeria has had its fill of robbery kingpins and minions. Bandits such as Oyenusi, Anini, Shina Rambo and others had their time visiting violence and mayhem on the psyche of Nigerians. But never has the nation witnessed violent crime in its pervasiveness, brazenness and sophistication as in the present times when a combination of socio –political and economic factors conspired to encase us in a cocoon.

Nigeria is fast degenerating into the Hobbesean state of nature where "life is short, nasty and brutish" and is "a survival of the fittest". Anarchy is closing in: law and order have lost their sting. Like in those biblical days when there was no king in Israel, everybody now appears to be doing what is right in his or her own eyes. Hoodlums, burglars, car- snatchers and hired assassins have virtually taken over the land. Most Nigerians now sleep with one eye open as those who are lucky to escape burglars are kept awake all night by booming sounds of gunshots or dins of bomb explosions by those too powerful to be controlled.

Beginning with the military era hen the pioneer Editor- in- Chief of news- watch, Dele Giwa, was assassinated via a parcel bomb on October 19, 1986 just two days after he was accused of gun running by the state, it was now clear that violent killing was supported by government. This was followed by the assassination of Mrs. Kudirat Abiola, wife of he proclaimed winner of the June 12, 1993 presidential election on July 4, 1996 in Lagos. The situation assumed a maddening dimension in December 2001 when the then Attorney General and Minister of Justice Chief James Ajibola Ige (SAN) was murdered by suspected assassins at his private residence.

Since then the phenomenon of political assassination has not only only claimed Ogbonnaya Uche , A. K. Dikibo, the Igwe couple, just to mention but a few. Two factors heighten the sense of insecurity and consummate fear in the nation. One, the security forces appear helpless to curb the trend. This shows that the internal security mechanism has broken down completely as the state no longer has the monopoly of the means of violence. Two, the involvement of very powerful individuals and men in uniform has brought an unprecedented sophistication to the vice, as their automatic weapons and mode of operation have beaten the police flat in the crime war. Whereas, the police still use SMG and other low ranging arms, most robbers now wield AK94 which the police don't have.

Hardly does a day pass without ten or twenty fives being lost either through violent robbery political assassination or killing for fun, a lot of Nigerians are killed in extra judicial manner as nothing scares these merchants of death any longer. This is because the nation has lost its soul. Up till this moment, the killing of six young men at Akpo quarters in Abuja by the police, seven years ago is still yearning for justice. In the case of the killing of the four University of Port Harcourt students at Aluu village, if it is true that a distress call was made to the state commissioner of police three hours before the boys were murdered, then the CP must be charged for negligence.

What is not happening in Nigeria is not an accident. The state has permitted this magnitude of lawlessness and condoned the hysteria for so long. We recall that a few

years   Akaluka was murdered and his head pinned with a spear by his killers who danced with it through –out the streets of Kano. His offence was that his wife used a newspaper written in Arabic to clean up the excrement of their baby. His killers accused him of desecrating the Holy Koran. Something is wrong with a country in which a tribal group can organize itself into an armed gang and begin go kill members of another tribal group and the state will look the other way. We   must begin, to hold ourselves accountable for this brazen   certainly

Certainly, it is the sole responsibility of government to protect the lives   and property of citizens. This is indeed, the primary purpose of government. A government that cannot guarantee this, to say the least, loses its essence. Nigeria is in this mess as a result of the kind of leadership in place. Even when government official   are targets of the violent attacks and some of them are kidnapped on a daily basis by hungry youth, nothing is being done to halt the trend. The federal and state government must rise to the occasion.

Being a Commander- In Chief   does not end in adorning military uniform and making speeches. All this is happening because the criminal justice system has failed. Many Nigerians are jobless and can easily be recruited by undesirable element to cause havoc in the society.

Put differently ,blood has been literally, flowing in the streets of Abuja, Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna, Damaturu ,Okene, Taraba, Suleja and Maiduguri. Lives have been lost and property, worth millions, destroyed. Apparently, there is no end in sight for this ugly development. No Nigerian is insulated from bomb explosion. Churches, mosques and corporate offices, schools, are not spared.

In Lagos, former Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Alani Akinrinade, urged the government to find a solution, warning that Nigeria was about being assailed by urban guerilla. Across the country, the fear of Boko Haram sect has become the beginning of wisdom.

The violence unleashed by Boko Haram has been perfectly complemented by armed robbery, kidnappings and ritual killings across the six geo-political zones. Ethnic clashes and kidnapping are also rife. In Jos, capital of plateau state, mass burial of victims of ethnic conflict led to more blood-letting on the spot. Now, members of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) are rejecting postings to troubled spots with justification. On daily basis, there are cries of despondency and government appears to be helpless.

Can the federal government restore security? What is responsible for all the sporadic bombings? Why has Jos remained a troubled spot? These are puzzles that seem to have no answers.

As a result of these challenges, Nigerian leaders have decided to tackle them by rasing her defence and security votes.   Nigeria ranks 57 in the global rating on military expenditure. It occupies the seventh position in African while it is regarded as the largest spender in the West African sub-region.

The ranking was based on Nigeria's military expenditure in 2009, which also made her the seventh largest spender on the African continent. The country spent $1.864 billion or N233 billion in 2009, representing 0.90 percent of the Gross Development Production (GDP). Defence is a critical sector and has enjoyed favourable consideration in funding, especially in recent years. For instance, the sector got N264 billion in 2010 and this rose to N348 billion in 2011 budget.

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It also enjoyed incentives because most of its goods are imported. These imports are exempt from import duties, Value Added Tax (VAT). Under the Common External Tariff 2008 to 2012 (CET). Defence funding in Nigeria is superior to many sectors and in most African countries, especially in line with security responsibilities.

Giving fresh insight on the budget allocations for security and defence, Mr. Bright Okogu, Director-General, Budget Office, a quasi-governmental agency under the presidency, noted that within ECOWAS, Nigeria's defence spending is the largest.

"It is five times greater that the spending of Cote d'Ivoire and almost 15 times the size of Ghana's spending"(Oladesu,2012:43).

Allocation to the key government ministries and agencies under security and defence got the lion's share of the 2012 budget when compared to 2011 and 2010 shows that from 2010 through to 2012, Nigeria would just spent around $84 billion, of which $16 billon would be for security. The table below shows the Security Votes in Nigeria between 2008-2013:

Budget Allocations for Security/Defence from 2008-2012
2008: N 444.6 billion (Umar Yar'Adua)
2009: N 233 billion (Umar Yar'Adua)
2010: N 264 (Umar Yar'Adua)
2011: N 348 billion (Goodluck Jonathan)
2012: N 921.91 billion (Goodluck Jonathan)
2013:N1.055 trillion (Goodluck Jonathan)

The essence of this paper is to examine the role an increase in defence budget will help in checkmating security challenges in Nigeria since 2008. To achieve this objective, section 1 of the paper contextualizes security. The next section explores this linkage and need between security and budgetary allocations by using Need Theory as a framework analysis. The third part uses data generated from content analysis to discuss this linkage. The fourth segment examines the recommendations and concludes the paper.

Clarification of Concept :Security

Security generally is a crosscutting, and multi-dimensional concept which has, over the last century, been the subject of great debate. However, long before that, the history of mankind was interspersed by the frenzied search for the best way of ensuring the security of people, their property, their territories, their states and their institute among others. In all places and countries, security has been considered as a "first order value" worth preserving. The foreign withstanding, there is no consensus about or agreed general definition of security. This is not surprising because as a social phenomenon, it is always the case which hardly lends itself to common understanding because it is often approached from different perspectives.

Some security experts argued that the concept of security ha s always been associated with the safety and survival of the state and its citizens from harm or destruction or from dangerous threats. For some other, security measures the absence of treats to acquire values in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attached. Thus a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war (Maulaye, 2006: 17-18). Those conceptions generally hold that the state is the only institution on which primary responsibility and power for the safety of its territory and its people reposes (Zabadi, 2005:3). Therefore for some others, security consists of a functional and interdependent body of supervisory services and institutions.

Security is also a situation wherein a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration. Both security and peace are together. The concept of "national security" is often misunderstood (Wolfer, 1962) and elusive (Carey, 2000). It is a strange phenomenon, a subjective "felling", and therefore relational and relatives, rather than an objective "thing" than can be seen and handled. You cannot touch security – you can only feel secure. If security is something that can only be felt, it must be security from something (a threat of one sort or another). For the state, the most obvious threat is that posed by another state (a threat of invasion of control by another power leading to loss of independence). This is in a manifest in a military threat, or very significantly, in the perception of a threat. This offers an explanation of the fact that in the era of the cold war Great Britain did not feel threatened by the Russia.

National security defined in terms of national survival is an illusion. It is an illusion because it is an erroneous perception of the African reality. It is used by the milling elite as a fine transparent concept for deluding the populace into thinking that government policies in this regard represent actions designed actually to protect them from hunger, disease, injustice, and violation of human dignity and life. Thus, in Nigeria the concept 'national security has given rise to two dangerous doctrines of illusionism and militarism which is self-defeating. However, scholars are yet to agree on the definition of the term "national security". This is not surprising because, the phenomenon of security is hardly precise. Yet two fundamental perspectives have emerged in the attempt to defend national security. One perspective focuses on strategic definition and the other, on the non-strategic definition by laying emphasis on socio-economic factors. The strategic –"realist" perspective conceptualizes national security in terms of self-defense by amassing arms to deter aggression. This perspective sees conflict between

men and states as being endemic. To a great or lesser degree, therefore, the international political system can be seen as anarchic, power and the struggle for power and the control of resources is central to this manner of thinking. In this environment, states will only be constrained by pacts, audiences, treaties and tenets of international law that they see as being in their own interests. Security in this context concentrates in the military, military values, strategies and capabilities and the survival of the state.

If security is focused on the survival of the state, then logically security has first call of the resources of the state. It is very noticeable that the first act of newly independent states is to create an armed force and that even in the poorest of states the military are well equipped and enjoy a high status in society. In this situation, to have a problem or issue labeled a "security issue" ensures that there is a flow of resources to solve the perceived threat or problem. Astute politicians, therefore, begin to promote essentially non-security issues as being matters of high security significance (Carey, 2000:57). According to Rourke and Boyer (2003:249):

> From 1948 through 2002, for example, the world states spent about 1,300 times as much on their national military budgets (about $ 38 trillion) as on UN peacekeeping operations (about $29 billion). It just may be, then, the first secretary-general of the United Nations, Trygue lie was onto something when he suggested, "wars occur because people prepare for conflict, rather than for peace.

The responsibility of the state to provide security for itself and its citizens allows the state to impose all manner of draconian measures on society (e.g. Conscription, Official Secret Acts). In defending the state, the state itself assures major power itself, including the possibility of reorganizing socio-economic fabrics if society, as happened in both the First and Second world wars. In time of overt conflict, the whole of domestic society and politics are dominated by the single issue of security. The military is the agency of the state designed to protect the people, its territory and their most cherished values from external attack. The military is, therefore, created and organized in such a way to provide this protection. Soldiers are trained to kill and be killed in pursuit of the national interest. In the absence of external enemies, the Soldiers have turned their deadly skills against their compatriots. As Nnoli (2006:10) posits:

One of the problems with these re-conceptualizations of national security is that they have not also re-conceptualized the military to conform to the new forms of security. Instead, the concept of peacekeeping is merely accreted to the orthodox concept of military. In Africa, this is not useful. The military, under the control of political leaders, still kill the people before a peacekeeping force is sent in from outside the country. Democracy has remained elusive. Vested interested in the present concept of the military on the part of both the military and the government, and the major powers whose national interests are significantly external in nature and who influence what concept prevail in the world community, have ensured that no fundamental changes have been advocated in the nature and functions of the military. Rigid and old thinking on the nature and functions of the military has produced the same effect.

In general, Braithwaite (1988:9) quoting the encyclopedia of the social sciences defines national security as "ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat". Also, Lipmann defines it by stating that "a nation has security when it does not

have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war". Morgenthau (1948) posits that national security and national interests are inter-related; where the former are seen in terms of power and therefore are the essence of politics. Imobigbe (1981) refers to it as the defense and survival of the state. The danger of looking at national security from this narrow angle according to Nweke (1988:1-2) is three-fold: First is the tendency to equate "defense" with "security" and to bestow undue responsibilities to the military as if the armed forces alone are the guardians of national security. This tendency in turn creates in the minds of the armed forces that it is only through them that security, stability and progress can be achieved. Second, national security has been used by civilian statesmen as political rhetoric 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, 1986:23).

Late President Yar' Adua told a joint session of the National Assembly before which we placed the 2008 Appropriation Bill:

> We intend to enhance the capacity and preparedness of our security services. We have therefore, proposed a total allocation of N444 billion (about 20%) for the military and the police. We are providing our security services with all requisite force enablers and multipliers, including arms and ammunitions, improved information and telecommunication equipment and facilities, riot control equipment, training and retraining and sundry logistics support (Oluwasegun and Anofi, 2007:2).

The most serious danger is the tendency to equate national security with the security of the state. The state in a capitalist state like Nigeria is an instrument for the preservation of capitalist socio-economic formation, which protects the interests of a privileged class vis-à-vis the rest of us (Ake 1984, 302). Dyke (1966), concludes as follows: There is no doubt that national security embodies the sovereignty of the state, the inviolability of its territorial boundaries, and the right to individual and collective self-defense against internal and external threats. But the state is secure only when the aggregate of people organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy. The non-strategic thesis thinks anew about security from armed aggression in the light of humankind's failed effort to find it. This is because the strategic path has not brought us to a consistently secure place, it is only prudent to consider alternative, less – or avelled paths to security. These possible thesis including limiting or even abandoning our weapons altogether, creating international security force and standards of pacifism. According to Nnoli (2006:VII):

> … a new concept of national security follows with a congruent new form of the military. National interest in Africa is defined as the creation and promotion of democracy, which goes beyond elections to policymaking and implementation through dialogue, reconciliation and consensus building. In order to defend this national security, the military must be organized along the lines of the principles of peacekeeping. It must be a military that

> is driven by the desire to emphasize early warning of violent conflict, separating the conflicting parties, reconciliation of these parties, the mediation of their disputes, and solution of their post-conflict relations and problems….

According to Al-Mashat (1985:14), national security is more than territorial defense and should focus on "the physical, social and psychological quality of life of a society and its members, both in the domestic setting and within the larger regional and global system", Braithwaite (1988:9) adds: "it is submitted, therefore, that in the final analysis, the domestic, socio-economic and political environment of a sovereign state is the all-important and critical factor in national security considerations. Put succinctly, national security is positively correlated with the increase in the distributive capability and genuine democratization of a given state". That is, "the tranquility and well-being of a society are pre-conditions for security" (Al-Mashat, 1985:XI). By well-being, I mean, the ability of the democratic state to provide its public with social, economic, and political conditions conducive to happiness and relative prosperity, which are some of the basic elements of national security. It is clear today that, the concentration of national security question on its strategic-military perspective alone breeds tension and resentment, leading to violent conflicts and civil wars and military coups, counter coups and state sponsored terrorism all over Africa.

Consequent upon the above theses in the definition of national security, there is a contention between national security and individual freedom. Therefore the problem of national security, its definition or analysis is fundamentally, about, how much of individual freedom should be sacrificed for national security and how much power is required to maintain the proper balance between order and fundamental human rights and civil liberties. In order words, in Africa, the conceptualization of national security in terms of external attack is largely irrelevant. It must be viewed from the point of view of democracy, how to create and consolidate democracy in Africa. In fact, there is general acceptance that national security must go beyond the narrow focus on external attack and the use of military to defeat it. Hence, one hears of human security, global security, environmental security and various other forms of security, which require other than the military to attain.

The main intellectual challenge to the accepted view of security came well before the formal end of the cold war. Buzan (1993) was a clear intellectual challenge but more subtly it exposed the limits of the strategic-military-traditional new of security and extended the debate about the nature of security. He added to the military aspects of security, the political, economic, societal and ecological aspects. In another respect he did not broaden, concentrating on the state as the main agency which can deliver security, although in doing so it was a necessary to work at what was happening within states and also at the systematic level. On this basis those military matters which had once dominated security studies were best thought of as only one part, which Buzan (1987) assigned to strategic studies (Freedman, 2003:258). Freedman (1998:53) view is that:

> Once anything that generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life in some respect becomes labeled as a "security problem" the field risks losing all focus. Such an agenda as potentially rich, and is certainly inclusive, but it can also be off-puttingly vague.

> Inappropriate conclusions are likely to be reached of issues that are quite different in kind are squeezed into an unsuitable conceptual framework geared to military threats. The notion of economic security thus encourages a confrontational approach to trace policy, while that of "environmental security" has often served more to confuse than to clarify by encouraging a search for adversaries.

Waever (1995) captures this sort of problem through this helpful notion of "securitization", which addresses the interesting question as to why some issues rather than others are considered to be problems of security. His point is that when issues are assigned this status they acquire extra significance, which can legitimize the mobilization of resources and the adoption of urgent and extra ordinary measures. He therefore, along with Buzan (1993), that the key question is what issues become "securitized" and how this takes place, and under what conditions can be "de-securitized". Each of the political, economical, societal and ecological aspects identified 'earlier by Buzan (1993) can then be considered in these terms. This provides a basis for explaining why the issue of "environmental security", for example, has emerged but also why it is important to challenge this designation (Freedman, 2003:758-9).

Freedman (2003:760) concludes: Nor does a focus on force require neglect of the economic, social and political dimensions. These all shape security environments, helps defend what is to be defended and the factors which might generate threats. To make sense of Iraqi's occupation of Kuwait in 1990 the importance of indebtedness and declining oil price must be understood. Oil helps explain – in part- Russia's effort to hold on to Chechnya. Environmental abuse, the drug trade and people trafficking can all aggravate tension between states and create powerful grievances in a population. Violence in the Balkans has been influenced at every turn by cultural factors. The restriction comes in resisting attempts to distinguish security issues in these dimensions separate from those connected to armed force. It is unlikely that a conceptual framework devised with armed force in mind will suit these other dimensions, and if separate frameworks are required then there can be one. However, contemporary definition of security, especially since   the fall of the Berlin wall goes beyond the traditional context. It embraces new domains as varied as individual security, collective security and social, political, economic, legal, judicial, financial, food, health, environmental ad other aspects of security. It has even added a philosophical dimension, as Baron Montesquieu says: "security is tranquility of mind stemming from each one's idea of his personal safety" (cited in Moulaye, 2006:19)

However, as Nweke (1988:1-2) and Jega (2007:192), have correctly and differently observed, the above and similar conceptualization of security is clearly defensive and outdated as it gives too much significance to the role of the military in defining national security, while it under-rates a concern with internal security situation and other non-military concerns, such as peaceful co-existence and development that are fundamental. It is for these reasons that new school of thought arose on the concept of national security. This new school of thought tend to define national security to include not just military defence of territory but also internal stability, socio-economic development, protection of life, property and economic resources of the country by constituted authorities, using security bodies. It is in line with this current thinking that McNamara (1968:149) wrote that:

> In a modernizing society, security means development.
> Security is not military force though it may involve it,
> security is not military hardware, though it may include it.
> Security is development and without development, there
> can be no security… the security of any nation lies not
> solely or even primarily in its military capacity; but equally
> in developing relatively stable patterns of economic and
> political growth.

Adamu has equally observed that security goes beyond the military factor. According to him:

> Whether national or regional, security transcends the
> definitive rubric of military alert or valour. It extends to the
> interlocking realms of economic self-reliance, cohesion,
> and political stability (Adamu, 1990)

From the foregoing, it is now obvious that the concept of national security does not just mean security from external or internal attacks. It is not just a military or police affair that can be handled by arms and ammunition. It goes beyond all these touching even on how governments govern; how media reports are affected: on whether citizens have food to eat or not; on whether soldiers, policemen, teachers, and civil servants are paid (good) salaries or not. And on how government conducts its relations with other countries (Idowu, 1999:129). In broad terms, Jega (2007:194), has itemized the meaning of national security as consisting of the following concerns: protection and defence of the country's territorial integrity, promotion of peaceful coexistence in the polity, containing/eliminating threats to internal security, ensuring systemic stability and bringing about sustainable and equitable socio-harmony; peaceful culture; nurturing civility, promoting good governance, transparency and structural reforms amenable to democratization. Indeed, the need for this broader and holistic approach seems to have been recognized by the authors of the Reviewed Draft National Policy (RDNDP) when they defined national security as:

> An all encompassing condition in which citizens can live in
> freedom, peace and safety; participate fully in the process
> of governance, enjoy the protection of fundamental rights;
> have access to resources and necessities of life; and inhabit
> an environment which is conducive to their health and well
> being. Although total security is rarely possible, even for
> the most powerful nations, Nigerians deserve a strong
> nation with her fundamental values intact and her
> institutions and people secure (cited in Jega, 2007:194).

Theoretical Perspective

This work will adopt the human Needs Theory as its theoretical framework. Although the human needs theory is most often employed in analyzing the causes of and solutions to social conflicts, it is our candid view that the proposition emanating from the human Needs theory will be of practical help in understanding the causes of insecurity in Nigeria and consequently help in adopting the right strategies towards enhancing national security in the country. The assumption of the human needs theory is that all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfill, and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later, thereby leading to conflict (Rosati et al, 1990). It is clearly obvious that the basic assumptions of the Human Needs Theory are similar to that of frustration-aggression and relative deprivation theories. Some scholars who have written on human needs theory are Rosait et al (1990), Burton (1990), Azar (1994), Gur (1970), Max-Neef (1991), Faleti (2005), among others.

Overtime, human needs theorists have identified some of these needs the deprivation of which causes conflict. Abraham, Maslow identified physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization needs (Maslow, 1970). Abraham H. Maslow, a psychologist (1970:35). Approached the whole question of human motivation in work situation with the development of widely acclaimed theory of human needs which he classified hieratically into five stages in a definite order of priority. Under his arrangement, the more basic needs or wants which have the greatest potency must have to be gratified in an individual before he would strive to meet the higher needs. Maslow's classification of the basic needs goes thus:

i.   Physiological need
ii.   Safety or security need
iii.   Social need
iv.   Self-esteem need
v.   Self-actualization need.

The arrangement was put diagrammatically thus:

Physiological Need

 These primary needs include: food and thirst, sleep, health, body needs, exercise, water and the rest. The next higher needs would motivate man if and only when these primary ones are met. A person who lacks these basic necessities of life would probably devote all his energies towards providing them in order to eke out existence. Hs is not meanwhile interested in status, prestige, or making his ideas known to others. He cannot afford the luxury of engaging in ego-enhancing activities. Following the hierarchy of needs theory, the next urgent needs would occupy the individual's attention. In short, the satisfaction of low level needs leads to a struggle or urge to achieve the next higher one and so on, until one reaches the self actualization level.

Safety or Security Need

If the physiological needs are relatively well gratified, a new set of need that would emerge are roughly categorized as the safety needs. These needs include emotional

safety, protection, comfort and peace, assurance of long-term economic well-being. It includes other elements like various health and welfare programmes, for example, sick pay, workers' insurance scheme (medial, unemployment, disability, old age etc.) for the risk or hazards involved in the work situation, pension plan etc. any average person in our society generally prefers a safe, orderly, predictable, lawful, organized society which he can count on, and in which unexpected, unimaginable, chaotic or other dangerous things do not happen. As a pre-requisite, this efforts him a conducive atmosphere to plan and hope for stability.

Social Need

If both physiological and safety needs are fairly well gratified, there will emerge the social needs covering affiliation or love, affection and belongingness, acceptance group membership and group participation. In an organization these social needs are mainly achieved through membership in the informal social system of a workers' union, association or group within the formal organizational structure.

Self Esteem Needs

  These relates to the need or desire for a stable, firmly based usually high evaluation of oneself, for self respect or self-esteem. These esteem needs are classified into two subsidiary sets: the first set cover the desire for strength, the feeling of self esteem or self-respect for having identity, for achievement, adequacy, for mastery and competence or briefly the desire for having one's work recognized as accomplished or done out of personnel what they are potentially talented individually or fitted for. For instance, a typist must type, a musician must make music, a lecturer must teach, an artist must paint, a poet must write, and ideal mother must eventually rear children with good training and discipline, an athlete much run and jump victoriously, a painter produce pictures and designs etc. all the above are natural conditions that make them comfortable, confident and at peace with themselves. A man must be true to his own nature. This is the need for self-realization.

It is connected with the continued search for opportunities for personnel growth and development or the aspiration for training and feeling of worthwhile self-accomplishment. Thus, there is the overall tendency for the man to become actualized in what he is potentially fitted for. However, it is at this level of need satisfaction that individual differences are greatest. The clear emergence of these needs usually rest upon some prior satisfaction of the physiological, safety, social and esteem needs. Just as the tree needs sunshine and water for food, so do people require these needs hierarchically.

Self-actualizing people are dependent for their own development, continued growth on their own potentialities and later resources rather than or other people, or in general, or intrinsic satisfaction. This "self –dependent" gives some measure of a stability and confidence in the face of hard   k nocks, blows, deprivation, frustration and the like. These people can maintain a relative serenity in the midst of circumstances that would drive other people to suicide. They have also been described as "self-contained". Self-actualizing people are always problem solving and task achievement oriented. As Maslow (1970:46) put it, the always reflect to see the gap between what has been done and what is left to be done or be achieved.

John Burton lists response, stimulation, security, recognition, distributive justice, meaning, need to appear rational and develop rationality, need for sense of control and the need for role defence. He refers to some needs as basic and these include food, shelter, sex, reproduction, etc. (Burton, 1979:72). Edward Azar names some basic needs like security, distinctive identify social recognition of identity and effective participation in the process that shape such identities (Azar, 1994). For Stephen Faleti, basic human needs comprise physical, physiological, social and spiritual needs. According to him, to provide access to one (e.g. food) and deny or hinder access to another (e.g., freedom of worship) will amount to denial and could make people to resort to violence in an effort to protect these needs (Faleti, 2005:51-52). According to Faleti (2005:52), Burton identified a link between frustration which forces humans into acts of aggression and the need on the part of such individuals to satisfy their basic needs. According to him, individuals cannot be taught to accept practices that destroy their identity and other goals that are attached to their needs and because of this, they are forced to react against the factors, groups and institutions that they see as being responsible for threatening such needs. This is similar to the argument of Gurr's (1970:24) relative deprivation thesis that, "the greater the discrepancy, however marginal, between what is sought and what seem attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result.

No doubt, human needs for existence, survival, security, protection, affection, participation, creativity, understanding and identity are irrepressible and are shared by all people irrespective of social status. No matter how a society or system tries to frustrate or suppress these needs, it will either fail or cause far more damage on the long run. Just like Gurr's thesis on relative deprivation, Max-Neef (cited in Faleti, 2005:52) believes that the tension between deprivation and potential are main issues addressed by the human needs theory because when important needs are not sufficiently satisfied, economic and political problems will continue to grow. Nnoli (2006:9), probably had the human needs theory in mind when he argued that "political exclusion, economic marginalization and social discrimination threaten the security of citizens to such an extent that they regard the state as the primary threat to their survival. In desperation, the victimized citizens take the laws into their own hands as a means of safeguarding their fundamental values from the threat of unacceptable government policies".

From the foregoing analysis, it is obvious that the human needs theory is very relevant in our efforts to understand and explain the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. The theory surely links the numerous problems and causes of insecurity in the country to a cause. This is why the paper attributes the high level of insecurity (as exemplified in political violence, killings and assassinations, ethnic, communal and religious conflicts, Niger-Delta crisis, kidnapping, armed robbery, etc.) in the country to the frustration experience by some of its deprived citizens who accordingly resort to violence and aggression in an effort to satisfy their needs. More than this, the proposition and insights gained from the theory will be of great help in our efforts to propose strategies towards addressing security challenges security budgets have failed to address in the country.

Contextualizing causes of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition
Many reasons have been adduced for the state of insecurity ravaging the country. Some of them paled into conjectures. But there is no evidence that government has got any lead as well. There is a monotony of assurances of normalcy from the Inspector

General of Police (IGP) Mohammed Abubakar and Chief of Defence Staff Air Vice Marshall Olu Petinrin. To their consternation, the suicide bombers seem to have dwarfed security agents. There have been rumours that the north is aggrieved that the presidency has stayed too long in the south, contrary to agreement. Recently, former Security Adviser Gen. Partrick Aziza attributed the security problem to the Peoples Democratic Party's (PDP) zoning arrangement, which was jettisoned during the last presidential election. His remark caused a stir. Few weeks after, he was shoved aside.

Others have argued that is part of a clandestine plan by the 'butchers of Nigeria' to wipe out non-natives and adherents of other faiths. Taking exception to this, foremost commentator, Mallam Mohammed Haruna corrected the erroneous impression that the Boko Haram sect was waging a religious war against Christians alone, adding that Muslims are more casualties. He said the violence unleashed by the group has created strains on the economy of Northern Nigeria, emphasizing that Boko Haram is a threat to all Nigeria. He lamented that the media has been subjective in their reports of the conflict, complaining that reports were laced with anti-northern sentiments. Haruna also pointed out that the fear of Boko Haram has made governments to violate the rights of some Nigerians under the guise that they are suspects. The affected citizens, he said, are languishing in jail.

The chairman of Nigerian Guild of Editors, Mr. Gbenga Adefaye, urged reporters to avoid labeling and sentiments. If these are avoided, he counseled, misinformation would be avoided and tension reduced to the bearest minimum(Oladesun,2012:43).

An expert, Col. Gabriel Ajayi, who reflected on the security challenges facing the country at a recent birthday lecture in honour of Wole Soyinka in Lagos, berated the lip service being paid to security projections were limited to securing those in power, while the citizens are left in the wilderness of hope and despair. He posited that:

> We had that example in Governor Glover and his eight-man soldier. Since colonial masters came and destroyed the tribes, there has been a disconnect between native security and modern security. The security then was to sustain colonial masters in power, using indigenes as soldiers(Oladesun,2012:43).

He added that since then, Nigeria has failed to develop a security system to sustain its socio-economic and political development. Ajayi, who covered the Agbekoya uprising as a reporter in 1969, lamented that, under the indigenous rulers, security was also tackled with aloofness and treated as a no-go area. Even, Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa deliberately ignored warnings that a coup was about to depose or kill him. According to Ajayi:

> Military came and put up security system for tenure survival. It was the climax of 'Glover Syndrome' of using the people to keep the people under bondage", he stressed. Ajayi could not properly dissect the dreadful sect, Boko Haram. But he acknowledged that the insurgencey resembled a campaign of unidentified people who cannot be properly traced; a people who treat every where as no man's land. The retired soldier compared deaths resulting from Boko Haram activities to the ones attributed to the carnage on bad roads, resulting from what he called siege on the people by government. (Oladesun, 2012:43)

Adefaye was of the view that conflicts have multi-dimensional causes. He said since Nigerians endorsed democracy in 1999, threats to popular rule should be averted.

The media executive urged government to tap from past experiences in dealing with insecurity.

An Analyses of Security Challenges and Rising Security Votes in Nigeria, 2008-2013

President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria has proposed N4.74 trillion budget, representing 6% increase over 2011 budget, to the Joint session of the National Assembly. The budget is premised on a benchmark oil price ofUS$70/barrel.Presenting the budget on Tuesday, President Jonathan said the share of recurrent expenditure in the 2012 Budget proposal is 72%, and 74.4% in 2011. He also disclosed that Capital expenditure has an allocation of N1.32 trillion representing   a 15% increase over the amount approved in the 2011 Budget ,adding that the "the emphasis is on the completion of critical infrastructure projects." Allocations to key ministries and government agencies are as follows: Security - N921.91 billion; Power -N161.42 billion; Works - N180.8 billion;Also, Education [excluding Universal Basic Education Commission,Petroleum Technology Development Trust Fund (PTDF) & Education TrustFund] - N400.15 billion; Health - N282.77 billion; and Agriculture & Rural Development - N78.98 billion. Others are: Water Resources - N39 billion; Petroleum Resources – N59.66 billion;

Others are Aviation - N49.23 billion; Transport - N54.83 billion; Lands &Housing - N26.49 billion; Science & Technology - N30.84 billion; Niger Delta -AfricanN59.72 billion; Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA) - N45.57 Communications Technology - N18.31 billion.

The Federal Government is to spend a total of N1.055 trillion next year on security, according to the details of the 2013 budget, representing an increase of N135 billion over what was appropriated for the sector this year.

A breakdown of the budget, presented to the National Assembly by President Jonathan on Wednesday, showed that the security agencies combined will gulp more than one-fifths of theN4.92 trillion budget. *Daily Trust* reported that the security sector has retained the top position on the budget chart with Defence and Police alone getting a total of N668.56 billion, according to the National Assembly. New details contained in the full budget documents made available to *Daily Trust* shows that the total security vote shot up to N1.055 trillion when figures from all the security agencies are added up .These are Defence, N349 billion; Police formations, N311.1 billion; Police Affairs, N8.5 billion; Interior, N156.1 billion; and Office of the National Security Adviser, N116.4 billion.

The total represents an addition of N135 billion over the N920 billion budgeted for 2012.Billions for security gadgets A further breakdown of the security budget shows that the Defence Headquarters is to spend N150 million on travelling and training. Nigerian Army is allocated N128.1 billion, N5.1 billion of it is for overheads, N116.2 billion for personnel and N6.7 billion capital costs. Nigerian Navy has total allocation of N71.4 billion out of which N13 billion is for capital expenditure, N51.9 personnel, N6.8 billion for overheads and N58.4 billion for recurrent expenditure.

The Airforce will spend N68.762 billion next year and N54.7 billion of it is for personnel cost, N6.9 billion for overheads, and N7.1 billion will go for capital expenditure. The Nigerian Army will spend N510 million on motor vehicle maintenance, N887.7 million office and residential quarters maintenance and a total of N2.1 billion on training and travels. N1 billion is allocated for procurement of various types of

ammunition for the army while production of armoured personnel carriers will cost N350million.

The Navy is proposing N10 billion to purchase ships, N1.973 billion on defence equipment and another N1.3 billion on training and travels; N90million on generators. For the Air Force, N1.5 billion will be spent on travels and training, while rehabilitation and repairs of defence equipment got N3.7 billion. The Defence missions has a total of N10.3 billion out of which N539.6 million will go for purchase of secured communication equipment for the missions. The National Security Adviser's office has N1.034 billion as security votes, satellite communication in the FCT will cost N6.782 billion, data signal centre N9.8 billion, iridium/communication platform also in the FCT N2 billion, motorized direction finder 12 4X4 jeeps N178 million, cyber securityN142 million and presidential communication network got N1.3 million.

Counter terrorism equipment will cost N3 billion The Police will spend N165 million on 3 armoured toyota landcruiser vehicles and armoured hilux for GSM tracking, N310 million is for patrol vehicles, special operational vehicles got N340 million, N455 million is for bullet vests and ballistic helmets. Also, explosive disposals will gulp N250 million, dogs and handling equipment N50 million, operational vehicles for mobile police N150 million, mounted troops accessories N50 million, automated finger print identification system N70 million, forensic equipment and provision of DNA test and crime scene laboratories.

According to the President, security has to take the lion's share because of "the threat of Boko Haram, Niger Delta militants and increasing spate of insecurity and wanton destruction of lives and property by criminal which are on the rise".
Ordinarily, security is the primary responsibility of government. What remains to be seen is how a sector's appropriation that accounts for more than those of twelve ministries combined would ensure public safety and stop the country's drift towards the Hobbesian Age, where life is nasty, brutish and short.

The insecurity of lives and property in 2011 has been unprecedented; the nation witnessed bomb explosions and unwarranted deaths. Despite the huge budget set aside for the rehabilitation of the Niger Delta militants, the problem could not be said to have been solved. What with the protest by some aggrieved militants last week? Soldiers, Joint Task Forces and the police continue to stalk people on the streets on a daily basis, making the country look like a state under siege. Provincial militia groups keep mutating while national cohesion recedes faster than the gunshots from the creeks .But we are worried that the huge investment being made on security pales into insignificance as basic infrastructure becomes a pipe dream and growth becomes an unattainable desire.
Security is a desideratum for achieving the developmental goals of Nigeria, therefore more support should be provided for the police, defence and other counter-terrorism outfits.

The 2013 budget initially earmarked N348.92bn for Defence and N319.65bn for the Police. These amounts are lower than last year's combine provision of about N921bn, despite the security challenges that the country is faced with. The police provision should have been higher for three reasons. First, the security situation has deteriorated in recent years, and the police command appears to be ill-equipped in fighting on multiple fronts. The crime wave has increased immeasurably. To underscore this point, the 2011 National Crime and Safety survey report by The CLEEN Foundation, shows that the percentage of

people fearful of becoming victims of crime has increased from 72% in 2011 to 75% in 2012. Robbery has increased from 11% in 2010 to 17% in 2012. Demand for bribe according to the Foundation had increased from 20 per cent in2011 to 24 per cent in 2012, while kidnapping and wanton bloodshed tendencies (as manifested in Mubi, Allu recently) have risen tremendously. Most worrisome is that the survey revealed that only about 2 out of 10 crimes are reported to the police-a key indicator of the people's lack of trust in the police force. The mistrust in the police has resulted in some citizens in society resorting to self-help and vigilantism. The country does not need a crystal ball to know the implications if this is allowed to continue .Secondly, the rise of Boko Haram terrorist group has posed a key challenge to Nigeria's security. Over the past two years, they appear to have increased their capability. A sign of their growth, and increasingly daring nature was the bombing of the police headquarters in Abuja and many police stations in the country.

To worsen the situation, the group seems emboldened by the slow response of the police to their new level of intensity. The CLEEN Report indicated that (54%) were dissatisfied with the performance of police in the fight against terrorism. Thirdly , the call for state police has become deafening. This agitation was triggered by the perceived lack of capability of the present police apparatus in dealing with modern day security needs. In truth, the performance of the police has been hampered by years of under funding, poor welfare situation, low morale and inadequate training. Daily reports of low performance and lack of interest in the job abound.

Recommendations

Recently, governors were at a crossroads. Although it is the north that is primarily under siege, southern governors could not turn their eyes away from the plight of their kinsmen who reside in these troubled spots. The Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF) proposed some measures. Taking a global look at the socio-economic and political realities that may underlie insecurity, it suggested a sort of 'Marshall Plan' to tackle the scourge of poverty and squalor ravaging the land. Some governors also reiterated their clamour for state police. Ekiti State Governor Kayode Fayemi, who spoke briefly with reporters in Abuja, said that state police was long overdue. He highlighted the numerous assistants given to state police commands by governors, including donation of vehicles, uniforms, housing, guns, and even, bullets. He said it is illogical that the state governors, who are chief security officers, have no control over the police.

However, security is a means to an end and not the end in itself. The president and his security advisers need to retool and re-strategise to surmount the challenges that are at once new and over-arching. Recently, Nigeria's parlous security has made her a country of interest. The negative attention it has attracted, we believe, makes the provision for the 2012 security vote justifiable on face value. But the security response mechanism has been largely unsavoury.The anticipated tension and emotion that would trail the removal of oil subsidy, as well as the planned increase in the costs of social amenities may open up more security challenges in the coming year.

Thus, security apparatuses may need more than the annual ritual of fiscal appropriation to mitigate all those things that are distasteful to Nigeria. Unemployment, human capital deficit, technological epilepsy and inadequate power supply need to be tackled. The government has relegated to the background the duty of inspiring hope in the productive and industrial sectors. It is not enough to make huge financial allocations

for security without providing sufficient safety nets to dissuade people from going into crime and criminality. It is worse if the government is peopled by kleptocrats and unimaginative politicians whose only stock in trade is to deceive people with rhetoric. We insist that sense of justice, love of nation and sincerity of purpose will perform quicker magic than monetary incentives that would only end up in the purses of senior police and security officials, who the voluptuous appropriation benefits every year.

However, this opportunity for deep reforms must not be missed; the budget must be well utilised, so it can still gain some mileage in boosting the operations of the Nigeria Police. The priority should be to spend the funds on the most important aspects of policing-such   welfare of the rank and file of the police, training and retraining, ammunitions and equipment. The training programmes should not be opportunity for jamboree or changing of uniform. It should be tailored to the present needs especially intelligence gathering, counter terrorism and general strengthening of operations. &The real test of the budget allocated to the Nigeria Police, lies in terms of implementation.

Policemen and women play a critical role in society, they must be supported so they can function well. Nigerians are fed-up with a low performing police force. There is an opportunity to correct some of the anomalies affecting Nigeria's police; it must be seized now. Social budgeting to tackle poverty, poor education & health issues and bad leadership were precursors to any crisis must be addressed. The solution, therefore, is good leadership. Other solution is the marriage of native security and modern security to meet the needs of contemporary times. We need military operation to go with psychological operations, whereby, as we are employing force, we are also promoting the welfare of people by providing roads, hospitals, employment and other services.

Another solution is the liberalization of the security system which is also long overdue. The rigidity of the current system is counter-productive. We need state police.

The suggestion tallied with the advice given by a lawyer, Mr. Kola Awodein (SAN). At a previous lecture on true federalism and restructuring of the polity in Lagos, he said Nigeria should copy the policing methods of federal countries which are tailored towards community policing based on the police knowledge and understanding of the peculiar security needs of the local areas   (Oladesun,2012:43).

A journalist, Patrick Opoze, who aligned with this view, urged the government to uplift the current standard of policing. "Policemen lack manpower, training and equipment and this should not be so"(Eme &Anyadike,2012).

Also, there is the need for a one year compulsory military training for graduates, and the convocation a Sovereign National Conference (SNG), and unless we have it, we cannot stand in brotherhood.

In fact, some security experts contend that the ethnic nationalities expected to send representatives to the conference can assist in stemming bombings. Former Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) Brig-General Ibrahim Sabo (rtd) urged the federal government to seek their support in the arduous task of restoring national security. The retired General declared that insecurity and all forms of insurgency have their roots in the neglect of the legitimate yearnings and expectations of the government of the day. According to Sabo:

> Insurgency and militancy and other forms of uprisings or
> group protests against constituted authorities occur most of
> the time because peaceful and genuine aspirations of groups

of people are disregarded over long periods. Armed rebellion does not occur over night anywhere in the world. Resort to violence is often times after peaceful protests and requests have been ignored for unjustifiably long periods (Oladesun,2012:43).

Speaking at a lecture title: "Roadmap to National peace and Sustainable Democracy" , organized by the Coalition of Ethnic Nationalities of Nigeria (CENN), Sabo, who was represented by Col. Olu Majoyegbe (rtd), recalled that militancy in the Niger Delta was nipped in the bud, following the strategic intervention of the late President Umaru Yar'adua's administration. He lamented that the culture of respecting the views of ethnic blocs and groups propagating legitimate causes, have not been sustained in the country. He maintained that :the best groups to articulate such group demands are those today derisively referred to as ethnic nationalities", adding that "government ought to as a matter of policy engage genuine ethnic national groups as effective partners in the arduous task of nation-building(Oladesun,2012;43).

Sabo said, if this is done, the emergence of militants, insurgents and separatists would become unlikely with the high level of equity and justice such a policy would engender. Government working in synergy with ethnic nationality groups will create such an atmosphere of fairness, equity and common destiny that would eliminate armed opposition to government, thus eliminating the security challenges, which may tear the nation apart in the future. Oodua peoples Congress (OPC) leader Dr. Fredrick Fashehun, lamented that Boko Haram sect has unleashed terror on too many people. He urged the sect to thread the path of reason.

Conclusion

After decades of dictatorships, Nigeria saw its Fourth Republic democratically elected President takes office in 1999. Today, the country's nascent democracy is being tested by rampant crime, a disaffected public, and an unprecedented campaign of terror. In the south, civil unrest threatens safety and stability. To the east, gangs who kidnap expatriates for ransom lie in wait on the roads, in bars, and in town centers. And to the north, the Islamic terrorist group Boko Haram is growing in both organization and brutality. The group has issued brazen challenges to the government and the ultimatum "leave or die" to Christians and those living in the northern region but belonging to ethnic or religious groups from the south. Confidence that the government can protect the people is at an all-time low. The security situation there is very fluid right now. For the last two years, Nigeria was categorized as the 14th worst state out of 177 countries ranked by multiple factors in the Fund for Peace (FFP) Failed State Index. "The 2011 elections exacerbated north-south religious and ethnic tensions, leaving the state vulnerable to further internal conflict," notes a 2011 FFP country profile for Nigeria. Violence between the Christian and Muslim communities is not new. It has in the past resulted in the death and displacement of thousands in the Middle Belt region of Jos,Abuja Benue and Kogi. But it is currently more widespread with the resurgence of Boko Haram the number one threat to stability in Nigeria right now. According to the BBC, "Boko Haram promotes a version of Islam which makes it 'haram,' or forbidden, for Muslims to take part in any political or social activity associated with Western

society. Recently, the group has resurged, staging more wide scale and sophisticated attacks. One of the ways by which government has responded to these threats is to increase budgetary allocations to defence and security personnel. For instance, the 2013 budget earmarked N348.92bn for Defence and N319.65bn for the police. These amounts are lower than 2012 combine provision of about N921bn, despite the security challenges that the country is faced with.

The police provision should have been higher fro three reason s. first, the security situation has deteriorated in recent years, and the police command and appear to be ill-equipped in fighting on multiple fronts. The crime wave has increased immeasurably. To underscore this point, the 2011 national crime and safety survey report by the CLEEN foundation, shows that the percentage of people fearful of becoming victims of crime has increased from 72% in 2011 to 75% in 2012 . Robbery has increased from 11% in 2010 to 17% in 2012. Demand for bribe according to the foundation had increased from 20 per cent in 2011 to 24 per cent in 12, while kidnapping and wanton blood- shed tendencies (as manifested in Mubi, Allu and Arepo recently) have risen tremendously. Most worrisome is that the survey revealed that only about 2 out of 10 crimes are reported to the police- a key indictor of the people 's lack of trust in the police force. The mistrust in the police has resulted in some citizens in society resorting to self –help and vigilantism. The country does not need a crystal ball to know the implications if these are allowed to continue. Secondly, the rise of Boko Haram terrorist group has posed a key challenge to Nigeria's security. Over the past two years, they appear to have increased their capability. A sign of their growth, and increasingly darling nature was the bombing of the police headquarters in Abuja and many police stations in the country.

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