



Research Paper

Porous Borders and Weapons Proliferations: A Threat to Nigeria's Security

¹Sunday E. N. Ebaye- Ph.D&²OkonBasseyBassey

¹ Peace and Conflict Unit, Centre for General Studies, Cross River University of Technology, Calabar Cross River State, Nigeria ² Department of Political Science, University of Calabar, Calabar.

ABSTRACT

The failure of any state to effectively protect the lives and properties of the citizens spells doom for such a State. Such protection of the State includes, both internal; in the form of curbing and surprising insurrections and rebellion, and external; in protecting the borders/territorial integrity of the state to avoid infiltration of transnational criminal networks and syndicates. As a consequence of globalization, many developing states including Nigeria, have seen their borders become weak, porous, and ill-policed, partly made possible by the many illegal entry points. The Nigerian border have been infiltrated by the inflow of small arms and lights weapons, crime syndicates, terrorists etc which have caused devastating security issues. This work is therefore aimed at analysing porous borders and weapons proliferations as a threat to Nigeria's security. Data were collected through the administration of 125 questionnaires and analyzed using simple percentage analysis and supported with the chi-square analytical methodology in order to arrive at a scientific and valid conclusion. Findings revealed that insecurity in Nigeria has greatly been influenced by the porous borders and weapons proliferations. The work therefore recommends for the implementation of strict border policing, training of border security personnel in intelligence and tracking device, and prioritizing human security.

KEY WORDS: Porous Borders, Weapons Proliferations and Security.

Received 10 Dec, 2021; Revised 23 Dec, 2021; Accepted 25 Dec, 2021 © The author(s) 2021.

Published with open access at www.questjournals.org

I. INTRODUCTION

Currently the greatest problem confronting the Nigerian state with her neighbours is border policing and security. The law enforcement agencies, particularly the Nigerian police, were created to enforce national laws within a territorially defined areas of sovereign jurisdiction, international boundaries, and borderlands. It is imperative to note that boundaries are legal limits of the area of a sovereign jurisdiction placed under severe restrictions of the police and related agencies of the state vis-a-vis the other side of the particular boundaries. Usually borders' offers asylum' to criminals, and are locators of unlawful vices (Asiwaju, 2006: 10 in Bonchuk 2014). The above constellation of forces of insecurities, confronting the Nigerian state, with the availability of small arms and light weapons has been made possible by the nation poorly policed borders. The issue of porous borders, has been a topical praxim in several security, globalization and transnational discourse. Borders remains an unchanging tenet in appreciating the sovereignty of states. The idea of sovereignty brings to the fore the need for boundaries to be made a formidable backbone to territorial integrity. However, the African States, being a colonial creation, was fixed in an armhole of balkanization by the lumping together of many nationalities not minding their cultural differences. Thus, the Nigerian state, like other former colonial enclaves inherited a poorly porous and insecure border that facilitates the movement of illicit activities. The many agents of deaths-criminals, traffickers, bunkers, armed robbers, cultist, terrorist, assassins, kidnappers, bandits, black marketers of arms have been operating and having access to weapons through the porous borders, which are guarded by security agents who most often compromised their duty.

Nigeria today is straddled in an interlocking system of various devastating and traumatizing vortex of security complexes. These issues ranges from the various ethnic, religious, resource conflict, communal clashes, arm robbery, kidnapping, cult-related violence, Niger-Delta militant, Boko Haram, herdsmen-farmers clash, bandits, with other non-conflicts issues such as food insecurity/hunger, bad roads, decayed health systems, poverty, diseases, environmental degradation, the recent Covid-19 and End Sars Violence, all truncates the security and stability of Nigeria (Akpan, 2013 in Emordi & Emordi 2014). The contemporary Nigeria has witnessed the upsurge in conflicts which small arms are the tools of usage. These conflicts escalates to a level

never expected due to the availability of small arms and light weapons, while the inability and insincerity in tackling such issues remains clear, hence a devastating threat to National security. Such weapons under the possession of irregular troops who operate with utter ignorance and disregard for international and humanitarian law, has consumed many lives, with women and children accounting for nearly 80 percent of casualties. The proliferation of weapons affect the intensity and duration of violence and encourages militancy rather than a peaceful resolution.

There is an estimated one to three million small arms in circulation in Nigeria. Majority of these small arms are unlawfully possessed, due to high and rigid protective national laws on regulating small arms possession and usage. The problem is one of demand. The security forces are importing weapons in order to meet the demands of their constitutionally assigned functions of protecting lives and properties and protection of territorial integrity-land, air and seas, surprising internal insurrections and insurgency on the one hand, while on the other hand individuals and groups are importing and purchasing small arms as a result of the inactions on the part of the security agencies (Hazen and Horner, 2001: 25 in Audu 2014). Small arms and light weapons have continued to feature prominently in organized crimes in Nigeria and used in incidences such as the ethno religious Jos crises, the Niger Delta Resource Control struggle, armed robbery, assassinations, kidnapping phenomenon and the book haram insurgency, (PANAAFSTRAG & NANSA 2010 in Audu 2014). Also to be considered in the use of small arms to perpetrate mayhem and causing insecurity are non-state actors like cultists, militias, armed gangs, and other criminals. These criminal and inhuman acts have made the country to be militarized. This militarized nature of politics combined with the prevalence of armed groups continuously engenders a violent trend. Thus the nation's militarized nature of politics combined with the prevalence of armed groups have provided an easy marriage between politics and violence (Audu, 2014). Based on the above teething problems, the study delved into unraveling the security problematic associated with porous borders that facilitate the inflow of weapons proliferations thereby causing insecurity.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Insecurity has been a major threat to the Nigerian state as the state is bedeviled by different conflictual situations ranging from communal, religious, cultism, herdsman-farmers clash, electoral violence, kidnapping, assassinations, and of resent, unknown gunmen. This complex issue of insecurity in the Nigerian context, with the resultant deaths, displaced persons, loss of properties, etc, places a big challenge to the efficacy of the Nigerian security system. Though borders remain effective tool for national security maintenance and as a line of defense against terrorism and the last line of a country's territorial integrity, the Nigerian case has been that of a porous border which has given way for the spill over and contagious effects of Boko Haram terrorism attacking neighbouring states like : Cameroun (1,690 kilometres) in the east, Niger (1,497 kilometres) in the North, Benin (773 kilometres) in the West, and Chad (87 kilometres) in the Northeast. The porosity of Nigeria's borders can be adduced to the colonial demarcations of the various states in the continent of Africa and the concomitant poor border management at Independence and post-independence by African elites. Nigerian borders are known for the limited presence of security and law enforcement officials. The few that are there to man the various borders are poorly trained, work with inadequate and obsolete equipment and sometimes poorly remunerated. Recently, the former Nigeria's minister for interior, Abba Moro, disclosed that the country has over 1,499 irregular entry points and 84 regular (legal) officially identified entry routes into Nigeria from neighbouring countries. Terrorists and smugglers take advantage of this lacuna to smuggle small arms and light weapons (SALWS) into Nigeria. As a result, over 70 percent of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa were reported to be in Nigeria, (Onuoha, 2013). In view of the above, the study ventured into unraveling the extent which porous borders aid the proliferation of weapons and how this fuels insecurity in Nigeria.

III. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The intent of this study is to establish the linkages between porous borders, weapons proliferations, and insecurity in the Nigerian state. The study also explores the issues of whether the porous borders make it possible for illegal trafficking of arms and other transnational criminal activities in Nigeria, and whether the influx of small arms and light weapons fuels insecurity of various kinds in Nigeria, exposing the failure of the Nigerian state in protecting lives and property and other core state functions.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

Hi = There exist a direct correlation between porous borders, weapons proliferations, and insecurity in Nigeria.

Ho = There is no correlation between porous borders, weapons proliferations, and insecurity in Nigeria.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF STUDY

The scope of this research work is limited to the personnel of the Nigeria customs and immigration, since they are officers who work at the borders. However, the work was hindered by the none cooperation of respondents, especially the unwillingness of most principal officers to release or disclose vital information related to this study, and also the non-return of some of the questionnaires administered in the course of this research.

IV. CONCEPTUALISATION

SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

The 1997 United Nations Panel of Government Experts see small arms and light weapons as Civilian and Military Weapons that fire a projectile with the condition that the unit or system may be carried by an individual, a small number of people, or transported by a pack animal or light vehicle. The panels' list as organized into 'small arms' and 'light weapons': small arm revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, assault rifles, sub-machine guns and light weapons – heavy machine guns, hand-held under barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-craft guns, portable anti-tanks guns, recoilless, rifles, portable launchers of anti-craft missiles system (MANPADS); and mortars of calibres of less than 100mm.

Small arms often referred to as firearms or guns, are man-portable lethal weapons of individual use that can expel or launch a shot, bullet, or projectile by action of explosive. They include both handguns (revolvers and self-loading pistols) and long guns, namely rifles, and light machine guns, as well as their parts, components, and ammunition. The International Peace Bureau informed that small arms and light weapons have unique characteristics which make them attractive for irregular warfare, terrorism and criminal activities: they are cheap, easy to handle (transport/conceal/cause heavy casualties). Stockpiles play vital role in the illegal circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons. Some warehouses holding arms or ammunition are not sufficiently secured and controlled, which makes it easy for non-state actors to divert arms from governments or private suppliers. Moreover, these storage facilities are a threat to civilians because of the risk of explosions that have the potential to cause numerous casualties, force people to leave their homes and seriously damage their environment.

SECURITY

Most times, security is seen as the total of the vital national interest of the state for which a nation is willing to resort to war, (Onuoha 2007). Security is characterized as an understanding between people, a peaceful life without war, where people are able to go about their daily business without experiencing any threat. Though security basically captures physical safety, there are other broader views of the term which applies within development community for human security. Human security covers such critical survival issues like: Safety from Chronic Threats as Hunger, Disease and Depression. Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, workplace, or communities. Such threats exist at all levels thereby affecting national development. Security can be grouped into old and new security. By old security, we mean the security structure that puts the defense-power security emphasizing the centrality of state at the heart of discourse and policy. By the new conceptualization of security, we mean the security structure that put economic welfare emphasizing the centrality of human being and being human at the heart of discourse and policy.

THEORITICAL ANALYSIS

This study adopted the failing state theory and the social contract theory in its analysis. The social contract theory; with scholars such as Thomas Hobbes(1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), Rosseau, (1712-1778), among others, postulates that the state is the result of the agreement entered into by men who originally had no governmental organization. The history of the world is thus divided into two epochs: the pre state era and post state era. In the pre state era, there was no government, and therefore, no law/authority to maintain order. Men lived, in a state of nature, with observance to natural law. On this note, men parted with their natural liberty and agreed to obey the laws prescribed by the Government. Hence the state is the human creation, the result of the contract (Appadorai, 1975).

According to Hobbes, in the state of nature men living without any common power, to control or govern them in the state of nature where life was in a condition of War; and such War, as is of everyman, against everyman- not war in the organized sense but a perpetual struggle of all against all, competition, diffidence and love of glory being the three main clauses. The life of man in such a state of nature, was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. For Hobbes, the state is created by men surrendering all their rights to the sovereign, the pacts is irrevocable.

For Locke, the state is created through the medium of a contract in which each individual agrees with every other to give up to the community the natural right of enforcing the law of reason, in order that life, liberty and property may be preserved. Locke unlike Hobbes gives the power to the community and not to government.

The contract, it maybe stressed, is also not general, but limited and specific; for the natural right of enforcing the law of reason alone is given up; the natural rights of life, liberty and property reserved to those individuals' limits the just power of the community. Also, Locke emphasized that the community is supreme; but its supreme power is latent, as it does not come into play so long as government is acting in accordance to the trust and contracts that binds the people and the officials; but when in actions acts in contradictions to the pact, the power of the community manifest itself in its rights to replace that government by another. Locke's theory thus reveals the theory of constitutional or limited government.

For Rosseau, man is essentially good and sympathetic: the state of the nature is a period of idyllic happiness, men being free and equal. Soon, however with the introduction of private property and the growth of numbers, quarrel arises and man is compelled to give up his natural freedom. He is eager to find a means of association which protects with the whole common force the person and property of each associateremains as free as before the problem is addressed through a contract and the creation of civil society. According to Rosseau, the act at which the government is established is twofold, consisting first of the passing of law by the sovereign to the effect in that there shall be government, and secondly of an act in execution of this law by which the governors are appointed.(Appadorai,1975). The input and utility of the above theories, to the study brings to the fore that the Nigerian state just like other states in the world, has the sole responsibility of not just maintaining law and order but protects the lives and property, ensure the safety of its citizens, and enhance their welfare through the adequate provision of means of sustainability. The protection of the state also covers the borders (air, land and sea). The issue of weapons proliferations and other transnational organized crimes like: human and drug trafficking, smuggling, piracy, terrorism etc, have to do with the borders of Nations. However when there exist an incidence of prevalence and unabated occurrence of such transnational crimes, mostly relating to insecurity that even the state cannot curb, it means there is a failure of governance in its responsibility.

The Nigerian situation, where the authorities battle to sterm the tides of insecurity driven by insurgency attacks and kidnappings. The recovery of the economy with 200 million people will be slow, with growth seen at 1.5% in 2021, after last year's 1.9% contraction according to the international monetary fund. Output will only recover to pre-pandemic levels in 2022 (Olurounbi, 2021).This clearly demonstrates the insecurity level ofthe Nigerian state.

Again, the study also adopted the failing state theory. The first approach towards examining failing state was given by William Zartman (1995) and Robert Rotberg (2004). They see the state as a service provider and therefore postulate that a state is considered collapsed when the basic functions of the state are no longer performed. In other words, a state is said to be collapsed when it is no longer able to provide the services for which it exists. Both Zartman and Rotberg gave distinctions between variety of services that states may provide, ranging from Security to the rule, the protection of property, the right to Political participation, provision of infrastructure and social services such as health and education. These services form the bulk of hierarchy. Rotberg argues the provision of security is the most fundamental services states provide, in the sense that security is a condition for the provision of all other services.

INSECURITY IN NIGERIA AS A CONSEQUENCE OF POROUS BORDERS AND WEAPONS PROLIFERATIONS.

According to Adeola (2021)there are more than 1 billion small arms in circulation globally. Out of these arms, 87.5 percent or 875 million of it are in civilian possession, which law enforcement agencies around the world, account for a smaller two percent of the total. The Small Arms Survey of 2018 also posited that, small arms in circulation in Nigeria, in the hands of civilian non-state actors is estimated at 6,145,000, while the armed forces and law enforcement collectively account for 586,000 fire arms. Such indiscriminate possession of arms by rogue agents will be a threat to peace and security both nationally and internationally. Worthy of note also is the existence of locally manufactured arms, which are normally fabricated in small-scale factories, without legal permits, which contributes to a large percentage of arms in circulation in Northern Nigeria (especially in North Central Nigeria).

In the South-Eastern zone, the trade in small arms prevails in major markets such as Ariaria market in Aba, and Onitsha in Anambra states. In the Niger Delta states, the proliferation of small arms has had an impact on violent agitations by the various armed groups in the area demanding for greater control of the resources of the region. Southern Nigeria has an existing local arms manufacturing sector and there is also significant importation/smuggling from international sources. Illegal weapons production sites also exist in Calabar and Enugu. This has negatively compounded Nigeria's internal security and international standing as Nigeria is now designated the third most impacted nation by terrorism (Adeola 2021). He further informed that, the conflict in Nigeria, particularly that of Herders in North Central, have gained momentum due to the availability of small arms which flow into Nigeria from at least 21 countries including Isreal, Poland, Brazil, Iran, USA, Czech Republic, Algeria and Egypt. These herders, who are nomads migrating from the Sahel region due to climate

change, in search of pasture to feed their flock, leading to competition over scarce resources – land and water. The herders-farmers clash is a perfect example of small arms and light weapons usage, (Adeola, 2021)

According to Tonye and Okoro (2018), behind the large and uncontrollable influx of small arms in Nigeria, lies the problem of porous borders in Nigeria. The country shares borders with some neighboring states, thus: Western Nigeria is bordered by Benin, (773 kilometers), Niger in (1,497 kilometres), Cameroun in the South east (1,690 kilometres) and Chad in the Northeast (87 kilometres). It also has a distance of 853 kilometres of coastline, (Onuoha, 2013; Suleman, 2014 in Adetorise and Raymond 2018). Despite the massive nature of the Nigeria's land borders there exist only 84 legal as against 1,497 illegal entry units into Nigeria, (Okoro, 2014; Suleiman 2014 in Adetorite and Raymond 2018). With such large number of identified illegal entry points, the territorial integrity and survival of the Nigerian state is perturbed mainly by porous borders on the Northern axis of the country bordering Chad and Niger Republics. In the past crime syndicates and non state actors such as Boko Haram (BH) and Al Qaida related terrorist groups in Northern Mali, Algeria and beyond have exploited some of these illegal entry points to indoctrinate, recruit, train, coalesce and to provide refuge for their members, (Zenn 2013; Comolli 2015; Cold-Ravnkilde&Plambech 2015 in Adetoristse and Raymond 2018). Despite the mounting of security guards to protect Nigerian borders, arms smugglers in their bid to boycott security search at border frontiers, have devised means such as using specially constructed chambers in conventional vehicles stuffing arms in bags of grains, kegs of palm oil, cartons of goods inside overloaded heavy trucks. Given the huge size of the goods packed in such vehicles very little or no scrutiny is carried out by security forces around borders. In some cases specially crafted skin or thatched bags attached to camels, donkeys and cows have also been used to hide weapons specifically with the assistance of trans-border nomadic pastoralists whose flock has been transformed into vehicles for transporting illegal arms into Nigeria (Musa, 2013; Onuoha, 2013: 5; in Adetoritse and Raymond 2018). Arms smugglers have not relented in devising strategies to beat security search. They most times use female, mostly moslem girls who are dressed with hijab and burka (hijab is the head covering and burka is the long garment won mostly by a female Islamic faithful often loose and made of non-see-through textiles) as objects of weapons smuggling. Unfortunately, this has made female smugglers to have leeway and freedom of crossing borders without being thoroughly checked as it is a taboo in Moslem tradition to search a female moslem wearing such. A world bank study conducted on the volume of small arms concluded that on the average, an estimated 750-billion-naira (USD 5 billion) worth of goods are smuggled into the country through the borders of the Republic of Benin and Nigeria annually, (Raballand&Mjekiqi, 2010 in Adetoritse and Raymond 2018). In the same tone, a study carried out by British Research Institute Chatham House on the level of unrecorded trade between Nigeria and her African counterparts also revealed that over 70 percent of virtually all trade between Nigeria and its African neighbours goes unrecorded, (Melly& Hoffman, 2015 in Adetoritse and Raymond 2018). More recently the commander of the United States military's special operations in Africa, Brigadier General Donald Boduc, also confirmed that a significant number of various kinds of weapons alleged to have been sent by the dreaded Islamic states (IS) terrorist group in Lybia to the Nigerian based Boko Haram insurgents in the Lake Chad region, were intercepted by security agents in Chad, (Dearden, 2016 in Adetorise and Raymond 2018)

The myriad of insecurity challenges in Nigeria is devastating, unbearable and wrecking havoc in the polity of the Nation. These constellation of insecurity challenges have centered around issues such as the Niger Delta crisis over oil, ethnic, religious and communal conflicts. The introduction of the Sharia law in January 2000 by the then governor of Zamfara state- Ahmed Yerima, which other Northern Islamic states, ten in number in 2004 chosed to adopt Sharia law, the plateau state crisis, which between 2001 and November 2003, saw 23 attacks launched on Plateau villages with several lives lost, electoral violence, kidnappings, youth restiveness, agitations for restructuring or secession, insurgency, herdsman attacks, banditry, etc. (Uka, 2005; Maduagwu 2005; Efemini 2005; Toye 2005; Aja 2021; Egobueze and Ojirika 2017).

The resultant effects in such conflicts and tenets of insecurity is wantom loss of lives, properties, displacement, hunger, deep seated hatred, mutual distrust and fear, which are inimical to development peace, security and overall National stability. The Nation's fledging democracy ran into many troubling and boiling waters which has made many reputable international agencies on governance index to rate it among poor, weak, failing states. This is so as all these forces of insecurity are a fall of governance pathologies and failure with many gloomy credentials of corruption, poor social services, inability to maintain and live up to the expected social contract theory. Thus the views of Akpan (2015) buttress the issue clearly, "What is Characteristics of many African leaders is that they do not play according to democratic tenants. They also lack the conscience of taking into consideration citizens' welfare and good governance, hardly promote development, with autocratic pattern which include ruthlessness, selfishness, wickedness, love for power and crave to be flattered". The same issue goes to the manner in which the Nigerian society is continuously bedeviled with all manner of transnational crimes such as human and drugs trafficking, smuggling, piracy etc. Much of such crimes are as a result of poverty, hunger, unemployment, etc. arising from the inability of the Nigerian state to provide the basic

necessities for the unemployed, some who are graduates. The running of illegal guns, black marketing, are most times to secure means of living illegally since the legal way is not possible, hence the resultant insecurity.

According to Ojakorotu and Okeke-Uzodike (2006), small arms inflow into several African states, remains one threatening experience on daily basis since the 1990s. The abrupt upsurge in the flow of small arms and light weapons in international arena is basically a by-product of the cold war during which the major powers blindly supported belligerents in developing countries in Africa and elsewhere. Also, in line with this, the dysfunctionalities of state structures in countries that comprised the former soviet blocks as well as the course of globalization accelerate the supply rate of small arms and light weapons in conflict zones. This becomes more troubling as major conflicts all over the globe, have been fought with both small arms and light weapons. The Niger Delta conflict became a serious combustion and deadly National deadlock that saw a high level of the use of small arms and light weapons. This prompted the Nigerian government to inaugurate a national committee on the proliferation and illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons in the year 2000.

In the view of Hazen and Horner (2007), the government of Nigeria is confronted with numerous challenges in tackling the problem of small arms and light weapons proliferation and armed violence. Some of these challenges are self-imposed and reinforced through greed-based behavior. Others are the result of poor institutional capacity and complexities of addressing widespread crime and the general situation as occurred in the Niger Delta. In the same wavelength, Okafor (2020) is of the view that the many security disturbances in the form of violence, kidnappings, robberies, mass killings and socio-economic troubles in Nigeria, is associated with the availability and usage of small arms and light weapons. One of the means of bringing arms into Nigeria is the Ports and seas, mostly the Gulf of Guinea state via boats. In January 2017, 661 pump action rifles were seized at the Apapa port and in May and September of 2017, 440 and 1,100 rifles were seized from the ports respectively. Arms imported into Nigeria are transported to their intended locations through tricky means as well as disguises. Weapons are usually hidden and transported in Lorries carrying items from Burkina Faso, rice sacks from Benin Republic as well as between second hand clothes, called "Okirika". In fact, some supplies of locally made weapons within the country confirmed the possibility to deliver weapons anywhere in Nigeria disguising with bags of garri (locally made staple food from cassava). The Nigerian customs seizure data between 1999 and 2006, revealed the enormity of illegal weapons inflow in Nigeria to be heavy in Southern Nigeria with the following states being most notable; Lagos, Port Harcourt, Seme, Badagry, Ijebu-ode, Sagamu, Idoroko, Lekki-Ajah beach, Osun, Oyo and Owerri as main distribution points. Other places in Nigeria includes Jos, Illorin, Makurdi, Bukari Takum as well as other locations around Nigeria-Chad border. The impacts of small arms and light weapons on security of Nigeria, has been revealed by the council on foreign relations (CRF) thus: over 35,000 people have been killed by Boko Haram since 2011. The International crisis Group (ICG) declared that, the Fulani militants/herdsmen have become more deadly than Boko Haram in 2018 with death rate surpassing nearly half their record in 2012. A study of data sets between 2006 and 2015 revealed that there were 2363 cult-related deaths across 28 states in Nigeria, while Rivers accounted for the most deaths at 765 deaths which was 32 percent of the total number while Lagos followed with 323 deaths, (Okafor 2021).

According to Agbedo (2021), the state of insecurity that has consumed the lives of Nigerian citizens cannot be solved, if the nation does not tackle the issue of illegal circulation of firearms. The Nigerian police force recently disclosed they intercepted about 75% live ammunition meant for General-purpose machine gun (GPM) in Ebonyi state of Nigeria. In March 2017 research report titled, the "Human cost of controlled Arms in Africa", Oxfam had estimated that Nigeria had two million small and light arms in hands of non-state actors. In October 2020, an African focused geopolitical research firm SBM intelligence, also raised the alarm that the proliferation of small Arms and ammunition was driving the increasing rate of violence in Nigeria. In the report tagged, "Small arms, mass atrocities and migration in Nigeria", the firm noted that, "the number of small arms in circulation in Nigeria, in the hands of civilian non-state actors is estimated at 6,145,000 while the armed forces and law enforcement collectively account for 586,600 fire arms". Abubakar, who spoke during a dialogue session of the committee with stake holders in Abuja, lamented the state of affairs in the country, acknowledged that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons has heighten insecurity and led to over 80,000 deaths and close to three million internally displaced persons (IDPs) across the country. As part of the measures to curtail the proliferation of illicit arms in the country, President Muhammadu Buhari on Monday 26th of April inaugurated the National center for the control of small arms and light weapons (NCCSALW) and appointed Maj. Gen. A. M. Dikko (rtd) as it's pioneer coordinator. The agency which is domiciled in the office of the National Security adviser, replaced the defunct Presidential Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons and would serve as the institutional framework for policy guidance, research and monitoring of all aspects of SALW in Nigeria. Decrying of the route which these arms enters the country, Agbedo opines that the country has over 4,000 kilometers of land and sea borders, most of which are contagious in nature. These borders cannot be "manually" policed as we tend to. Ours are borders that must be virtually manned and monitored by using sophisticated tracking devices like geo-surveillance options (Agbedo 2021.) The recent rise in many centrifugal forces of secession like the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), others in the Middle belt, the recent attack at

Owerri, the recent killings of police personnel, weapons seizure etc. helps proliferate weapons. The Fulani herdsmen onslaught too that manifested in the taking over of many communities in the Middle Belt and South-west is attributed to their possession of small arms. These arms proliferate into Nigeria, through Turkey, Russia, Ukraine and Brazil. The insurgency in the Northeast has received weapons from Libya, Mali, Sahelian arms trade, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad etc. At the peak of militancy in the Niger Delta (2006-2008), stolen crude oil was battered for arms. The issue of corrupt government officials, porous land and littoral borders, arms pilling by politicians and incapacity of Nigeria's intelligence agencies to detect and interrupt arms smuggling into the country worsen the issue of insecurity emanating from unlawful; possession of arms. (Agbedo, 2021).

V. METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

METHOD AND SOURCE OF DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected through the administration of structured questionnaires to 125 officers of the Nigeria Customs and the Immigration service. However, only 75 respondents returned their questionnaires. The choice of selecting the respondents was guided by the judgment that they are knowledgeable due to their years in service and willing to be interviewed on the subject matter under investigation.

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

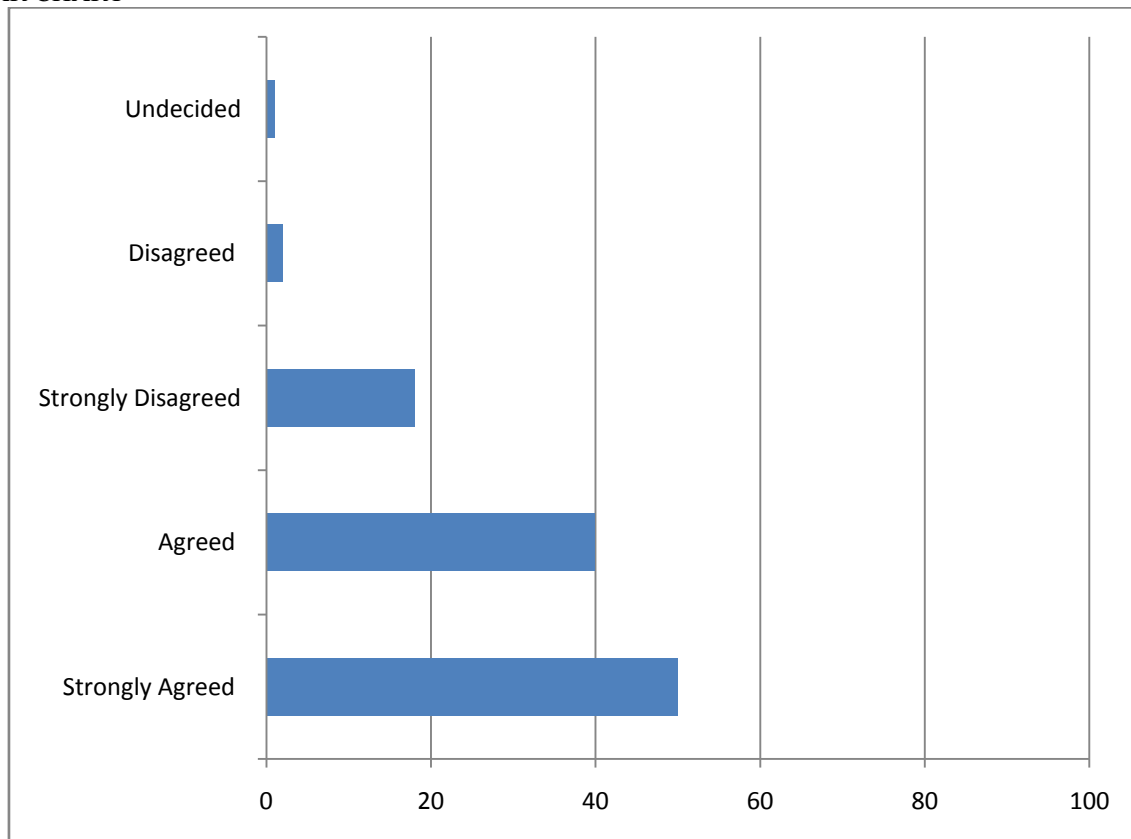
The data collected were analyzed using simple percentage and represented through bar charts. This was also supported with the chi-square analytical methodology in order to arrive at a scientific and valid conclusion.

ANSWERING OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Table 1: Insecurity in Nigeria is basically a consequence of the porous borders and the proliferations of weapons
SIMPLE % =100

Variables	Responses	Percentages
Strongly Agreed	35	46%
Agreed	25	33.3%
Strongly Disagreed	10	13.3%
Disagreed	3	4%
Undecided	2	2.7%
Total	75	100

BAR CHART=



The tables above show the respondents' perception on porous borders, weapons proliferations, and insecurity in Nigeria, where 35(46.7%) respondents strongly agreed, 25(33.3%) respondents agreed, 10(13.3%) respondents strongly disagreed, 3(4%) respondents disagreed, 2(27%) respondents undecided.

Adopting the chi-square scientific methodology, with the formula as follows:

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum (fo - fe)^2}{fe}$$

where:

x^2 = chi-square

fo = Observed frequency

fe = Expected

Fo	fe	Fo-fe	(fo-fe) ²	(fo-fe) ² Fe
35	15	20	400	26.67
25	15	10	100	6.67
10	15	-5	25	1.67
3	15	-12	144	9.6
2	15	-13	169	11.27
75	15			55.88

$$x^2 = \frac{\sum (fo - fe)^2}{fe}$$

$$x_c^2 = 55.88$$

To calculate degree of freedom

$$df = n-1$$

$$ddf = 5-1$$

$$df = 4$$

At df 4 at 0.05 (5%) level of significance

$$X^2_4 \text{ at } 0.05$$

$$X^2_1 = 9.485$$

Therefore, $X^2_1 = 9.485$

Chi-square calculated $X_c^2 = 55.88$ and chi-square tabulated ($X^2_1 = 9.488$).

When $X_c^2 > X^2_1$, Accept H_1 and Reject H_0 .

While when $X_c^2 < X^2_1$, Accept H_0 and Reject H_1

From the above calculation $X_c^2 = 55.88$ while $X^2_1 = 9.488$.

Therefore, since the chi-square calculated value is greater than the chi-square tabulated value, we reject the null hypotheses accept the alternate hypothesis which states that there exist a direct correlation/relationship between porous borders, weapons proliferations, and insecurity in the Nigeria.

Findings from the above show that the failing state and incidents of trans border crimes and insecurity in Nigeria arises as the state fails in its constitutional role of providing the needed security, which covers not only internal security arrangements, but border security, inability to provide political freedoms, civil rights, criminal and civil justice, personal safety, and collective security in an efficient manner breeds certain security challenges and exposes state failure. Such failure spur the flourishing of organized trans-border crimes, by raising the level of violence, which lead to demand for security from the bewildered masses. Failed states are characterized by high levels of crime and violence, rampant corruption, inability of the rulers to exercise sovereignty without brutal force, absence of consent among the governed, an out-trophied, public opinion and a pervasive atmosphere of uncertainty and instability, foreign intervention in internal crisis. In the same vein, Ochoa (2012) is of the view that transnational crime that breeds insecurity has recently received international attention. Such crime which includes drug and human trafficking, to smuggling, piracy and money laundering, also affects strong states. The situation is more chronic in most developing states that are weak and failing, who are vulnerable to the dynamics of transnational organized crimes that breed all manner of insecurities.

The failure of the Nigerian government to effectively police its borders adversely affects domestic and international economic activities and also poses threats to national sovereignty and security of the country. Nonetheless, the problem associated with poverty, illiteracy and corruption in the country should be the first place to commence any interrogation and diagnosing the problems associated with border crimes in Nigeria. Taking a critical look at the Northern part of Nigeria, which is high in the issues of porous borders, illegal entrants and smuggling, the problem of illiteracy, poverty and unemployment is alarming. The combination of these factors will readily explain why the region has worst cases of border-related crimes, such as Boko Haram insurgency. This becomes worrisome as there have been authentic source proving the connectivity between Boko Haram and ISIS, as the latter unabatedly supports the former- Boko Haram with weapons. Factors responsible for the engagement of citizens, mostly youths into all sort of illicit activities of trans-border crime

has been the failing state of Nigeria and the government inability to provide means of sustainable and utilized its monopoly over the coercive instrument of violence. This is evident as the country's records on illiteracy, poverty, poor governance, corruption ethnic violence, drug trafficking and the movement of weapons is high. The issue of trans-border crime goes unabated despite the presence of security operatives like Nigerian custom, immigration, National Drug and Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and the police. Most of the border security agents in Nigeria are corrupt, as they most times aid criminal conducts across borders for financial incentives. The above clearly buttresses the fact that, the failure of the Nigerian government to manage its borders affects domestic and international economic activities and also poses threats to National sovereignty and security. Hence, tackling trans-border issue, should begin with addressing poverty and illiteracy. The issue of poverty arising from the government failure to provide adequate means of economic advancement, coupled with high rate of unemployment lead citizens to engage in trafficking and other forms of illicit economic activities. For instance in Nigeria's South-Eastern border with Cameroon, is prone to illicit activities like child trafficking, smuggling of children via sea to places like Gabon, Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea, from where they are shipped to European countries to work as prostitutes or slave. According to reports, some of these victims end up having some of their vital organs like kidneys, being illegally harvested. Northern borders are also used in the trafficking of young women through North Africa to Europe, where they work as prostitutes as well. In the same vein Duke, Agbaji and Bassey (2017), opined that the responsibility of any government remains that of pursuing and maintaining the security and wellbeing of its citizens and its territory against internal insurrections and external aggressions. However since her independence from Britain on October 1st 1960, the Nigerian State has been fraught with plethora of political and socio-economic challenges as well as violent conflicts. This has threatened the development, peace and security of the Nation.

While some have juxtaposed the failing state of Nigeria and issue of porous borders, arms proliferation and insecurity by first analyzing Max Webbers controversial political theory. The theory that postulates that a country should maintain a monopoly on the legitimate use of the physical force within its borders; has the capacity to effectively deliver goods and services to its population; providing adequate security to its population under the threat of armed groups and finally the state should perform its functions that a larger portion of the country, if not all embrace its legitimacy. But if larger portion of the population rejects such government on grounds of maladministration, underdevelopment, poverty, tribal sentiments, and dearth of social services, decay and in infrastructures, high unemployment rate, crime and insecurity going unabated, fear and trauma, etc there is bound to be legitimacy crisis. Also considering the aspect of human security on the one hand, while considering the fact that the state's prime function is to eliminate domestic threats to or attacks upon citizens, to prevent crimes and to enable citizens to resolve their disputes with the state and with their fellow inhabitants without recourse to arms or other forms of physical violence. But a situation where for years mostly, the Nigerian case beginning of democracy in 1999 till date insecurity issues like the attack of herdsmen against villagers while asleep to kill, steal and destroy with gunfire, hence there is a failure on the part of the state. Elemunor (2021).

Others have decried that Nigeria is at the risk of becoming a failed state, citing many instances like the February 26 2021 abduction of 317 girls from government Girls Secondary School in Jangebe in Zamfara state, a police officer killed in the attack. Many of the country's land borders, mostly in the North is bereft of effective control and policing. In an interview with Aljazeera, Abba Maro, Nigeria's minister for interior confirmed about 1500 illegal trafficking routes that the government was aware of compared to 84 legal routes. These illegal entry points produce economic losses and they are also exploited by groups like Boko Haram to smuggle weapons. The seaports are not much better.

VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research was set to investigate, the extent which the borders of Nigerian state is porous and allow for the inflow of weapons. Such inflow of weapons has been a major source of insecurity in the country. The many security threats emanating from the activities of criminal groups, arm robbers, assassins, kidnapers, herdsmen, terrorists, bandits and unknown gun-men, to the many ethnic religious and Niger-Delta militias etc. have seen the usage of small arms and light weapons. Many instances abound where criminal gangs like terrorists and militias engage the Nigerian military and security personnel in pitch-battles to the point the Nigerian military and security finds it difficult to repress or defeat such battles. It has surfaced in the Boko Haram against the Nigerian state, unknown gunmen invading police stations, carting away weapons of the Nigerian military at their bases.

The issue of porous borders, is not unconnected to the colonial balkanization, mostly in the 1854/85 Berlin Conference in Germany under the supervision of the then German Chancellor Ottor Von Bismirk. The colonial borders were demarcated inappropriately without following international standards, without considering the many diversities of the African populace. After independence the African leaders inherited such borders, and also failed to do their work effectively in protecting such borders. Worst is the corrupt border security personnel

who man such borders, coupled with the many illegal entry routes such illegal entry routes have not been given adequate attention till date.

The Nigerian state, like all other states have the constitutional role of protecting the lives and property of its citizens, protects the territorial integrity against external aggression and suppress internal insurrection. This social contract that binds the government and the people, further implies that state, in Webberian sense, should provide the necessary means of sustainability in the form of social amenities – road, electricity, education, employment, pension welfare, food etc. The monopoly of the coercive instrument of violence to curb any military threat of various kind remains the core fundamentals of statehood. But the Nigerian situation like many other third world states have shown the studies inability to effectively have monopoly over the coercive instrument of violence. Cases abound where criminal gangs, crime syndicates and transnational non-state actors now possess ammunitions that most times challenge the nation's military cum security apparatus. Sometimes these criminal elements possess weapons more sophisticated and invade the domain/base of military and security personnel to cart away weapons. This shows the level of ineffectiveness and failure of the Nigerian state in their social contract of protecting lives and properties, losing it grips over the monopoly of instrument of violence. Recent herdsmen killings, attacks from unknown gunmen against security formations, mostly in the South-East flank of the state remains a clear case of the state ineptitude.

The study therefore recommends an effective border policing that prioritizes National interest, considering the patriotic valour of sacrosanctly protecting the country's National interest. This demands that the agencies involved should carry out their National services without selfish and inordinate ambitions.

Also, technological breakthrough in the form of forensic and tracking devices should be available to enable the agencies involved in border policing work effectively. This will also demand effective training of such personnel in mastering of technologies meant for tracking

Again, motivation and procurement of adequate logistics such as sophisticated ammunitions, training, financial motivations should be given adequate attention.

The effective leadership in the Presidency, lawmakers, military and security agencies, ministry and parastatalsetc that would not consider ethnic, religious, parochial sentiments in dealing with culprits who engages in all manner of transnational crimes will also cushion these anomalies.

The work concludes that the internal security arrangements should be formidable and consolidated. This demands effective training/ recruiting based on federal character, National interest and willingness to serve. Thus energetic, vibrant, intelligent and patriotic individual should be recruited. Their financial emoluments should be reasonable and commensurate to the risk. There should be adequate motivation for all security agencies and personnel.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Adeola, A. C (2021) "Effect of Small Arms, Light Weapons Proliferation on National Security" in the Nation. [Thenationonline.net](http://thenationonline.net)
- [2]. Adetoritse, T. D and Raymond, O. E (2018) Border Porosity, Small Arms Proliferation and the C
- [3]. Agbedo, O. (2021) "Insecurity: How Nigeria Can Curb Inflow of Illicit Arms. The Saturday Magazine of 8 May, 2021.
- [4]. Aja E. F (2021) Security Challenges as a Manifestations of Identity Politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. International Political Science Association,
- [5]. Akpan , A. (2013). "Worsening unemployment crisis worries Sanusi" The Guardian, Tuesday, September 3
- [6]. Akpan, F (2015) "Leadership Pathology, Political Process and Democratic Experience in Africa" in Bassey, C. O and Agbor, U. Public Policy and Politics in Nigeria: A Critical Discourse Concepts Publications, Lagos, Nigeria.
- [7]. Appatorai A. (1975) Substance of Politics. Oxford University Press.
- [8]. Asiwaju, A. (2006) Cross Border Crimes: Prospects and Challenges of Community Policing in Ogun State" African University Institute, Border Studies Series No. 1
- [9]. Audu, B. J (2014) Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Nigeria: Implications on National Security" in Tangban O. E etal (ed) Nigerian Defence and Security: Essays in Commemoration of the Nigerian Defence Academy Golden Jubilee Nigerian Defence Academy Kaduna
- [10]. Bonchuk, M. O (2014) Managing Cross-Borders Security Challenges in Nigeria: From Mono-centricism to Poly-centricism" in Tangban O.E. etal (ed) Nigerian Defence Security.
- [11]. Dearden, L. (2016) Isis increasing cooperation with Boko Haram-the world's most horrific terrorist group-independent. 21 April available from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/Africa/isis-increasing-cooperation-with-Boko-Haram-the-worlds-most-horrific-terrorist-group-a6994881-html>[Accessed 10 April 2017]
- [12]. Duke, O. and Bassey, B. O (2021) Enthroning the Tenets of Accountability and Transparency in Defense Spending: The Security Votes Brouhala and The Recklessness of State Governors in Nigeria. Journal of International Relations, Security and Economic Studies (JIRSES), Vol. No. 2
- [13]. Efemini, A. (2005) "Peace Security and Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria" in Ikonne, C. Williams, O. I and Nwagbara, E. N (ed)
- [14]. Egibueze, A and Ojrika C. (2017) Electoral Violence in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Implications for Political Instability. Journal of Scientific Research and Reports Vol. 13 No 2: Pp 1-11
- [15]. Eluemunor, T. (2021) " Nigeria: The Signs of State Failure" In the Vanguard News of June 2021
- [16]. Emordi, A. E and Enumen, J. O. (2012) "Nigeria at 50, 1960-2010: The Challenge of Independence. "Confluence Journal of Jurisprudence and International law. Vol 4. NVI

- [17]. Emordi, E. C. and Emordi A. E. (2014) "The State and The Security Challenge in Contemporary Nigeria" in Tangban, O. E (Osakwe, C. C. C Okemigi, S. O and Ayamasaowei, H. E (ed) Nigerian Defence and Security Essays in Commemoration of the Nigerian Defence Academy Golden Jubilee Nigerian Defence Academy Kaduna
- [18]. Hazen, J. M, and Horner J. (2007) Small Arms Armed Violence and Insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in Perspective Home Library Document.
- [19]. Maduagwu, M. O (2005) "Religious and National Security: The Challenges for Nigeria in the 21st Century"
- [20]. Nwachukwu, (2021) "Nigeria: A Failing State Teetering on the Brink". The Punch News 19 May 2021.
- [21]. Ojakorotu, V. and Okeke-Uzodike, U. (2006) Oil, Arms Proliferation and Conflict in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. The Accord.
- [22]. Okafor, T. (2021) Illicit Arms Movement: The Root of Nigeria's Security Crisis" in the Business Pay March 7 2021.
- [23]. Olurounbi R. (2021) Nigeria unemployment rate rises to 33%, second highest on Global list shows the failure and incapacitating if the state to further the social contract
- [24]. Onuoha, F. (2013). Porous Borders and Bulb Haram Arms Smuggling Operations in Nigeria, Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report
- [25]. Rostow, N. (2015). "Why Borders Matter?" The Foreign Policy Research Institute.
- [26]. Rotberg, R (2004). when states fail: Causes and Consequences. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- [27]. Stightz, J. (2001). Globalization and its Discontents. Penguin Books. London
- [28]. Tonye, A. (2005) "The Plateau Crisis and The Challenges of Peace-Building" in Ikonne, C. Williams, O. I and Nwagbara, E. N(ed)
- [29]. Uka E. M. (2005) "Ethnic, Religious and Communal Conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for Security" in Ikonne C., Williams, O. I and Nwagbara, E. N. (ed) Security, Social Services and Sustainable Development in Nigeria. University of PortHarcourt Press.
- [30]. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- [31]. Zartman, W. (1995). Collapsed states: the Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority Boulder. Lynne Reinner.