

**T.C.**  
**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY**  
**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**GLOBALIZATION AND THE CHALLENGES OF 3RD WORLD  
COUNTRIES: A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIAN SECURITY  
CHALLENGES.**

**M.A. THESIS**

**YUSUF SAHEED ADEGBOYEGA**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR: Asst. Prof. Dr. Özüm Sezin Uzun.**

**OCTOBER, 2015.**

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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## **FOREWORD**

My utmost dedication goes to God Almighty that made this work become a success. In addition, I must state that when I started this work, I knew fully well that a researched work carried out under an astute scholar and expert academician will be subjected to thorough scrutiny. So when the work started, I knew I was for sure, up for a task, and 'thou behold', I was drilled until I almost fade out of my intellectual box, but at the completion, I feel so honoured to have this work done directly under the supervision of Assist. Prof. Dr. Özüm Sezin Uzun who did not only drilled me by editing my work critically for correction over time, but also encouraged and supported me to the end.

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Finally I am dedicating this thesis work to my parted sister Olayide Kafilat YUSUF. In her parted soul alone, I have always drawn the maximum strength to trugged on with life and I pledge to keep this going until I immortalize her name to my satisfaction. I might have left some people out in this dedication page, but in my heart, I hold you all in high esteem. Above all, I take full responsibilities for all errors in this work.

**October 2015**

**YUSUF SAHEED ADEGBOYEGA**

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## LIST OF ABBRIVATIONS

<b>ACOTA</b>	Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (U.S.)
<b>AFRICOM</b>	U.S. Africa Command
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>BH</b>	Boko Haram
<b>APSA</b>	African Peace and Security Architecture
<b>ASF</b>	African Standby Force
<b>CAP</b>	Common Agricultural Policy
<b>CEWS</b>	Continental Early-Warning System
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Direct Investment
<b>IYC</b>	Ijaw Youth Council
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>IR</b>	International relations
<b>ISIS</b>	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
<b>LN</b>	League of Nations
<b>MDG</b>	Millennium Developmental Goal
<b>MEND</b>	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
<b>NNSA</b>	Nigeria National Security Agency
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NPC</b>	Northern People's Congress
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>PSC</b>	Peace and Security Council of the African Union
<b>RMA</b>	Revolution in Military Affairs
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>US</b>	United States
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children Fund
<b>WMD</b>	Weapon of Mass Destructions

## KÜRESELLEŞME VE 3. DÜNYA ÜLKELERİ SORUNLAR: NİJERYALI GÜVENLİK SORUNLARIYLA İLGİLİ ÖRNEK OLAYI.

### ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın temeli, küreselleşme ve Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinin karşılaştığı zorluklar arasındaki bağı, Nijerya'nın güvenliğine odaklanarak incelemektir. 20. Yüzyıl itibariyle yoğunlaşan küresel dönüşüm, cihatçıların, El-Kaide'nin, IŞİD'in, El-Şabab ve Boko Haram gibi aşırı dincilerin toplumsal ve kültürel liderlik için mücadele ettiği bir süreç olarak bilinmektedir. El-Kaide'nin, 11 Eylül 2001 yılında ABD'de Dünya Ticaret Merkezine, aynı yıllarda İngiltere, İspanya ve Avrupa'nın diğer bölgelerinde benzer terör saldırıları olmuştur. Böylelikle küresel anlamda terörizmle ilgili farkındalık artmıştır. 2001 yılından bu tezin yazılmasına kadarki süreçte, Irak'ta, Suriye'de ve Nijerya dahil Afrika'nın birçok yerinde yerel toplumlar arasında etnik çatışmalar meydana gelmektedir. Tüm bu gelişmeler, dünya çapında uluslararası güvenlik zorluklarının yayılmasını doğurmaktadır. Afrika kıtasında, örneğin Nijerya'da, Nijer Delta milisleri ve Boko Haram, siyasal sistem ve dini inançları hakkındaki öncelikleriyle ulusal birlik ve bütünlüğe tehdit oluşturmaktadır. Tüm bunlar, yerel bölgedeki güvenlik sorunlarıyla ilgili olup, küresel güvenlik sorunlarını da beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu çalışmada, küreselleşme süreci ve Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinin güvenlik sorunları arasındaki bağlantı dikkate alınarak açıklayıcı bir analiz yapılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Nijerya, Nijer Delta Milisleri, Boko Haram, Küreselleşme, Aşırı Dincilik, Güvenlik zorluklar, Nijerya.

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**ABSTRACT**

The crux of the matter in this study piece is to examine the nexus between Globalization and the Challenges of 3rd world Countries focusing on Nigerian security challenges as a case study. Since the twentieth century, intensifying global transformations have being recognized as a condition that has breed struggle for society leadership and cultural leadership which has led to spread of religious extremism of the jihadist, Al-Qaeda, Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram Islamic sect movements to name a few. In the United States, there was the Al-Qaeda terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 and similar attacks in Britain, Spain and other parts of Europe within the same period of time which have made the act of terrorism to be having a global awareness. Since 2001 till the period of this work, there has being various form of sectarian clashes across local societies, namely in Iraq, Syria and various parts in Africa, including Nigeria. All connected to the spread of international security challenge around the globe. In Nigeria, the Niger Delta Militants and the Boko Haram have been threatening Nigerian national unity with their own preferences in political system and religious believes, but now all are sharing into thesame ideology of embarking on national and global security threats. In this study, the nexus between the globalization process and the security challenges of Third World Countries will be examined through an explanatory analysis.

**Keywords:** Nigeria, Niger Delta Militants, Boko Haram, Globalization, Religious Extremism, Security.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Human being by nature have over the years being preoccupied with the quest for more knowledge and search for safety beyond its immediate environment circumstances and in the cause of achieving the desire for safety, a lot of tasks need to be passed through. To some, the search for safety is about survival and survival is a "game of war" that needs to be fight over, while for some the fight for survival is unique to individual being and for some the war is general for all human in order to achieve the desired safety around the globe since we live in a global world. Therefore in sourcing for safety, it will be maintained that, it takes man's individuality, nation-state and international system to be rest assured of the expected. In reference to this while trying to understand the factors that can be responsible for war and that which could be threats to human safety amidst integration of the sources for safety, Baylis maintained on three images he considered as challenges to human security which are '( Man, State and International system)'(Baylis, 2011). So with these and following the transformation order around the globe, state survival within the international system will be the focus of concern in this thesis as we live in a globalized world where cause of war in a particular local state can have an influence on the future survival of another state in a global circle.

Then based on these, the need to understand international system, the global politics and how a nation's security issue can tend to influence the security issue of another country around the global environment will remain the essential point of focus in this thesis study. So to start with, act of violence must be understand to be a security issue which has always been an issue of survival limited to individual state in the past in which the act of violent among inhabitant of individual state has always been restricted to such state until the incident of Gulf War and September 11/2001 in particular which occurred and served as eye opener to the global society. This is because war of survival was noted to have taking a new dimension as the incident of the war threats was observed to have gotten a link of connection among various groups of violent organizations from different background who got teamed up to

carry out the international act of violent that draw global attention to research into history in order to understand some form of differences among individual nation whose citizen where later acknowledge to have embark on the international act of the violent attack in quest for survival and quest for safety in an offensive manner. And while drawing reference in order to confirm the reasons that could have been behind such act of global security threats. Oyeniyi's position has been acknowledged in which he stated that:

*"the journeys of independence in most countries of Africa were also strewn with one act of terrorism after the other"(Oyeniyi, 2010).*

By this, it can be said that act of terrorism is not a new phenomenon as the international act of violence attack was popularised, as the above assertion tried to clarify that the independent of most 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations were freedom rooted in group acts of violence that can be termed terrorism which was carried out in defensive effort to revolt against hindrance to self-governance or quest to secure sovereignty from super power which was used to be on a diplomatic form of revolution by groups trying to secure ethnical leadership, regional leadership among others. But after independent of most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations, violent groups were understood to have taken a new twist of attack on international direction most especially after the incident of September 11, 2001 which calls for global awareness on threats to global system.

This is because the successful security threats to a stronger nation like the United State has resulted into different directions of violent and security threats from weaker nations as local groups that were mostly saddled with creating local violent have all gotten ideas which was tapped into for posing more stronger security threats with the use of technological weapons and suicide bombing similar to the once employed in carrying out the 2001 terrorist attack. All in the name of causing violent act that can easily claim tens of thousands life's at a goal in quest to gain public attention through chosen asymmetric means. Example of these groups mounting such security threats across nations are the Niger Delta Militant groups in Nigeria, Boko Haram (BH) terrorist groups also in Nigeria, the Toureg groups in Mali, the Al shabbab in Somalia among others and all connecting into becoming a movement targeting strategic global environment in expectation to infiltrate global security.

Global security challenge based on these among other reasons has turned out to be a contending discuss which has resulted into an on-going research in the field of international studies in order to know whether conflict or violent as a security issue can be transcended or mitigated. This has however generated differences of response opinion between the Realist, liberalist thinkers and critical theory scholars. The views maintained by those thinkers have being perceived to be both pessimistic and optimistic but all in hope for understanding how best to sustain a peaceful global society. In the view of liberalist most especially among thinkers of post first world war as explained by Baylis globalization was believed to be important for putting global society in a greater order, while in the view of Realist thinkers after Second World War, violent terrorism were believed to be a perennial future of interstate relations with violent acts stretching back through human history, and by the end of the cold war, the debate about the global security has already taken another twist as power Blocs already sets division of world order unconsciously. (Baylis et al, 2011).

Based on these, the end of the intense ideological differences between the East and West blocs can be said to be a major turning point in international history and an avenue that has brought in new dimension to international peace in which global security threat becomes a thing of the past, and also another avenue in which new value of relationship has emerged in encouraging cooperation among nations. Though this view has being perceived as the one that only maintain the optimistic view of the Liberalist as the Realist scholars even though agreed to the fact that the changes is visible with the new world order after curtailing the ideological differences between the East and the West bloc, but yet supporting arguments by realist have showed that these changes were perceived as temporal one. All these are discussed which will be narrated in the subsequent chapters.

At this point therefore, it will be important we have a brief understanding of globalization and security concepts before going into deep explanations in the subsequent chapters. The concept of security as it will be agreed by many scholars is a long concern to humanity, but since the twentieth century, it has being recognized as a major feature in international relations due to increasing waves of the process of globalization that have led to scientific and technological advancement which has tend to connect everyone within short time without having to be physically connected. A process which has being of benefit towards sustaining security around

the globe and also that which has being of disadvantage as its divergence benefits of connecting from distance apart is being manipulated upon among groups within global society. A condition that has also become an issue of concern which has called for urgent approach towards the short coming in the process of globalization most especially as the tools associated with global integration tend to become of importance in mounting global insecurity. For instance, the ways in which communication tools of the internet is being employed lately by violent and criminal groups mobilizing on its platform as Modern Avenue for connecting and strategizing on violent tactics across distance.

By these, the concept of security will be agreed with many scholars who have defined it as a contested form, as some expression has promoted the importance of the science and technological advancement as best tools to subdue security threat within the global world since it possible to quickly figure out the significance of science and technology by instantly getting connected to the global world to source for safety when the need arise. On another view, some believed the scientific and technological advancement could be harmful to human when misuse or misapplied like its being used by violent groups who hide under it to connect and mobilize groups with similar ideology to perpetrate destructive act harmful enough to global peace. For example, the groups of anonymous cyber hackers that invade global privacy across the internet platform with deliberate intent of threatening human security.

With these therefore, the term security in reference to the study from a global perspective has being understood as a quest for freedom from threats and a condition whereby a state and the global society can maintain an independent and functional integrity without the state being scared of interference or challenge by global force, and if challenge, such a nation state can be up to the task of securing its fundamental values without having to sacrifice its sovereignty and national value. Also from the recent discussion, the concept of security has being noted to be a notion that cuts across many disciplines and professions covering military protection, surveillance, protection of national values and human rights among others majorly for prevention of threats occurrence to human life. With this, Ogbonnaya has for instance, stated that, *“a nation is said to be secured when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate*

*interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war”.* (Ogbonnaya, 2013).

Apart from these, the concept of security has also been understood to have been defined as the absence of threats to acquire values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. Moreso without leaving behind scholars from the political science field in reference to global environment, they have also define the concepts as a situation which provides national and international conditions favourable to the protection of a nation, state, and its citizens against existing and potential threats. (Bar-Tal & Jacobson,1998). To all these definitions, security has become a global phenomenon since no nation in the present world can guarantee absolute security to its citizens independently without collaborating with the larger international community due to interwoven of modern world order and that which has equally demand for sensitivity to global politics in sourcing for the needed safety within the complex system of the global society which at the same time breed insecurity. So by this, security can be best defined as a subjective concept, whereby source of ‘security can also implies insecurity’.

However in definition of globalization concept, scholars have shared different views following the historical trends and changes taken place in world order of present global politics, though some have a positive view to the concepts while some have negative views as well, but what stand to unite both position of justification is that globalization is a process. Adamu for instance, identified three dimensions of the process as:

*"The first one presents globalisation as an intensified transference or exchange of things (labour, skills, capital and goods) across existing units/nations. The second dimension sees globalisation as a “process of transformation that occurs at the systems level”, that is, the process of changes that occur in the economy, polity and social. Lastly, globalisation is viewed as transcendence. That is, globalisation transcends beyond the compartmentalisation of society into sectors. It is a process that takes place at all the levels of society economic, political, and social."(Adamu, 2012).*

Thus by these, globalization is a network connectivity of social relations of global economic system, global communications and global culture that have transcends state frontiers and encompasses people around the world.

So at this point while relating globalization concept to security challenge of 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries, it will be important to note that globalization has impacted so much transformation in the multicultural values of most nations around the entire global South since accepting the global trend order requires shift in their individual societal order towards global world direction that mostly call for exclusion and withering away of some of the historical and cultural values in which 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations are rooted in or developed from. There is no doubt that amidst all the necessary shift by majority of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries, globalization is still having its impacts on the economy and culture of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries, but to address the trend of insecurity, 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations still need to act beyond supreme policies of the global institutions for deciding ways of address regional insecurity. By this, an effective regional organization can be instituted in order to bring the globalization process more closer to individual nation and at the same time balance the weight of external force from dominating the low economic regions which has been noted to have staved insecurity in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world region.

## **1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

However, in order to understand the relevance of globalization process on 3rd world nation's security challenges, this study will look into the impact of globalization on Nigeria security challenges economically, politically, and socially. All these will be posed as the research objectives that will be questioned as: 1) what are the impacts of globalization on the 3rd world security challenges? 2) Does globalization process have impact on Nigeria security challenges? 3) What are the roles of UN and AU for Nigeria Security?

All the expected answers to the above questions are to help build a framework for better understanding of this thesis work, and to answer the questions, the nexus between globalization process and the position of 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations will be

established and also the various global effort to secure cosmopolitanism based on inclusive or interconnection of all nations will also be responded to. And while responding to the questions, the study is expected to narrate the historical amalgamation of Nigeria being the case study of the researched work, the colonial masters effort at addressing the various security challenges that threatens the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries security through humanitarian supports among others will also be examined as well how such efforts have equally stared insecurity in the nation.

## **1.2 METHODOLOGY**

As a research work that will span through different period of time from the historical formation of Nigeria and present Nigerian state, the design method suitable for its analysis is content analysis and qualitative approach that will be validated through works of previous scholars. An empirical and theoretical analysis of different literatures of books, journals, articles, and academic study presentations will be reviewed for establishing the arguments of this study. With these, the study will be able to test the validity of the various works consulted through systematic analysis of those literatures to answer the various designed questions in order to arrive at a decision. The application of qualitative approach for analysing the study can be said to be necessary and also the best for this study piece base on how it is expected to address the core challenges of the study which is the security threat in a global society particularly on 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries, and moreso from the outcome of the analysis, the findings will be summarised and concluded on a position that will be open to further research since the study have alot of issues to be analysed particularly on the prospect of partnership in the field of international relations study.

## **1.3 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY**

There is no doubt many reviews have been carried out in this field of study particularly among scholars from 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries who are more concerned with the threatening security issues being experience over the time in Nigeria and other 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations amidst reformative effort been put in place by the power blocs, the

United Nations (UN) and various other supporting international organizations in effort to curb the menace of insecurity around the globe after the second world war.

But in additions to all the reviews that has been done, this study will try to look into the efforts being put in place to curtail the menace of insecurity around the globe through the aids of global transformation in science and technology that has being developed over time to unite the world for global approach against any threatening issues of individual state and also the significance of humanitarian donations by global organization and international bodies committed to addressing global security issues and how it has in-between stare insecurity in a nation like Nigeria.

The study will equally try to understand more better if the global transformation of science and technology has being of good impact in addressing threatening security issues most especially among 3<sup>rd</sup> nations and if not, the study will try to understand the shortcoming of the global transformation in addressing the growing security issues among 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations which has being spreading to becoming global security challenge. So as a qualitative study that will be content analyse, the study will consolidate on work of earlier scholars in this field to buttress on the approach argument of the study.

The study will also explore the explanatory power of the literatures that will be reviewed to provide in-depth analysis on the contending issue in Nigeria and other 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations, and also the mainstream media or free media position with documented analysis about Nigerian environment will be review because some of the primary source like the Nigeria Security Academy sourced for information fear giving out 'classified' information of the country for public use. The study will focus on all the available secondary sources to come up with a position that can equally contribute to the ideas needed by the study in responding to the present challenges of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations and also coming out with some arguments that can address the shortcomings of global world organization efforts in addressing the security challenges of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations and Nigeria in particular.

Hence, the findings in this thesis will serve as additional support to the few research work that has been carried out in this field earlier and moreso, this work will be identifying social cultural challenges and economic challenges as part of the major security challenges in Nigeria, apart from political challenges that most of the earlier

work have been centred on. So with these, this thesis work is expected to contribute some additional knowledge to the study of international system while trying to discuss 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries and Nigeria issues in particular within the global system. The analysis of the work will be relatively autonomous; each chapter will be given a concise but in-depth background explanation due to the interlinked nature of discussed topic which will be centred on, global security and 3rd world nations with focus on Nigeria.

#### **1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The thesis study will be carried out Under 5 different chapters with sub sections under each in order to buttress the argument of each of the chapter for clarity and in-depth juxtapositions. In Chapter One, the study will give a theoretical background relationship between globalization and security concepts, analysing literatures from various scholars to define and explain in details what globalization is, what security implies in both local and international context and also explain the relationship that exist between globalization and security concept in the context of the study, also this chapter will be looking into the connecting point of globalization with 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries and also the chapter will identify theories of global security relevant to this thesis work. In chapter Two, international and regional organizations for global security will be examined with focus on the United Nations and the African Union, the concepts of the organizations in securing global security, the influence of U.N on African Security, and the general effect of globalization on 3rd world countries. In chapter Three, the study will examine generally, the Nigerian security challenges being a country that stand as the centre piece of other 3rd world countries in African continent. This chapter will also give an in-depth preview of Nigerian historical formation , its security challenges over the time that has being characterized by the Internal security factors, the External security factors and the new trend of security challenge that cluster around terrorist insurgency. In the midst of examining these different factors, the chapter will also be identifying the factors militating against the successful eradication of Nigeria security challenges and the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries

security challenges at large. In chapter Four however there will be analyses of the core area of the research study which will be attended to by content analysing the reliability and validity of the various literatures reviewed by testing the various responses of the researched work on the questions formulated as the main hypothesis of the study on the relevance of international organization and regional organizations at minimizing the security challenges of the 3rd world countries within the global world. From here the study will be attaining the conclusion part which will be the Final chapter. The study will be concluded that since the UN and other supporting international institutions have failed in their approach at dealing with individual state issues in Africa, then partnering with the regional organization will be projected as being of symbolic important for dealing with various African issues and Nigeria in particular.

## **2. AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBALIZATION AND SECURITY**

### **2.1 WHAT IS GLOBALIZATION?**

In defining globalization, various definitions given by different scholars have been came across, for instance, it has been described as a symbiosis social process of relationship having historical trend which can be identified as the stumping ground to world governance system. (Wolf,2001). In reference to this, different arguments have being established to recognize the form of relationship among nation states that exists around the world. As Wolf posited further, "*Some argue that predatory market forces make it impossible for benevolent governments to shield their populations from the beasts of prey that lurk beyond their borders. Others counter that benign market forces actually prevent predatory governments from fleecing their citizens. Although the two sides see different villains, they draw one common conclusion: omnipotent markets mean impotent politician*" (Wolf, 2001).

But be that as it may on conclusion draw by the arguments of the two sides, the route combination of the concept of globalization can be recognized as another reason behind contending definitions to the globalization concept. First is the term 'global' and second is the term '-ization' which are combined together to form the main concept.

The implication of the two terms combined has thus been recognized as another reason responsible for varying definition of the concept as the first stand for a single system of connection, notably through capital and commodity markets, information flows and imagined landscape that has penetrated the entire globe, while the implication to the second stand for the actions that has been practised to confirm the realization of the first which came up under different circumstances. With these, coming up with a universal acceptable definition have being a little bit complex to be agreed on. But yet in the midst of the surrounding circumstances, constructivist scholars, have tends to regard the concept as an undeniable and inescapable part of our contemporary world, and by this, the concept has been regarded as the one which emanated as a result of change in world order from de-industrialized economy of the developed world in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century to a new wave of connectivity under three identifiable dominants view. According to Dreher, these views can be said to be

sceptical view, the hyper-globalist view and the transformationalist view. (Dreher et. al, 2008).

For instance, in the recognition of the argument from the **sceptical view** as put forward by Dreher, the sceptics argument is that *'internationalisation and global connections are by no means novel phenomena. By placing cultural, economic, political, social, and technological developments on an evolutionary time-line, the sceptics argue that globalisation has existed for centuries and that the sum of recent development only changes the scale and scope of globalisation and not the intrinsic characteristics of the phenomenon itself'*. (Dreher et. al, 2008)

Based on this in relations to Nigeria connection with the global world, process of globalization can be said to have being taking place in Nigeria back in the 15th century when Columbus and the team of explorer sailed into Africa, but just that its process has experience new development after the mid 20th century when the U.N global organization was formed and when Nigeria became an independent Nation in 1960. But amidst these new developments, the intrinsic signs attached to earlier globalization process did not change.

Apart from this, in argument for the **hyper-globalist view** as put forward also again by Dreher, *' the hyper-globalists on the other hand, do not deny the importance of previous bouts of globalization, but identify an historical juncture after which contemporary globalisation emerge. The previous eras are sometimes described as pre-globalisation or as periods of internationalisation.'*(Dreher et. al, 2008).

Based on this argument, hyper-globalists view can be put to be the perspective in which there was an attempt to confirm the notion of globalisation which was to erode power from the explored nation- states and this has thus been perceived as the motives behind sustaining global system even after independent of all state.

Lastly is the third view of the **transformationalist thesis** which was also argued by Dreher is that, *'the transformationalists argue that globalization is the major force underlying the rapid, widespread social, political, and economic changes that are currently reshaping and reconstituting modern societies and world order. The nation-state still has an important, albeit transformed role'*. (Dreher et. al, 2008).

By this also, the view of the transformationalist can be said to have being in place in order to seal up a compromise between the views of the previous two as the world is so interconnected with the aids of modern technology bringing the world planet into a global village.

So with these, each perspective view of globalization identified can be said to have positioned difference key elements to guide the understanding of the impact of modern global phenomenon, and by this, each dominant view is presupposed to have an influence on different definition of the globalization concept.

Hence in reference to the sceptical point of view, the concept of globalization can be expressed to be a process that has been as old as the history of global exploration, with effort in quest for knowledge beyond man's immediate community, which resulted into the step towards globalization. With these, gradual compression of various groups into larger society which got intensified into global formation has call for the recognition of globalization process for sustainability of global unity. But still with it, it will be of importance to state that the recognition of the global formation process of the early time was recognized as just a global entity of various cultures connecting without any specific bond for unification of ideas in a global world. Based on these arguments, these periods can still be recognized as the early attempt in the process of global integration.

Apart from these, the process of modern globalization which can be related to the hyper-globalist view can be said to be a process that have started after the Second World War when there is need for countries to re-unite in terms of trade, investment and cultural integration. This position goes in agreement with Aslam, that stated '*globalization took its shape after World War-II when countries restored their relations in terms of trade and investment. (Aslam et. al, 2002)*. So in the reference to this, globalization became recognized as an effective process for re unification of the world, after the collapse of already existing League of Nations (LN) which brought about the later formation of the United Nations in 1945 to manage global integration in accordance with the approved charters of the organization which is to serve as guide for effective management of global world as a society where the world can be seen as a global village for everyone to live freely without threats and at the same

time an avenue to develop within the prescribed laws and charter of the United Nations without any distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Following these, the globalization of the world under those agreed principles prescribe in the laws and charter of the United Nations are expected to serve as guide to control the law and policies of every individual nation which invariably sometimes contradicts the historical culture in which the different individual nations are been rooted from as against the expected target notion of globalization. In agreement with Aslam, position, *“the concept of borders by globalization is an act of making something worldwide in scope or application”* (Aslam et al, 2012). He further explained the concept that border is central part for globalization. But that in which technology and flow of information has tend to unite without the border restriction, thus by this, globalization with the tools and technology of communication such as internet, mobile service can be said to have allows for the control and integration of all existing culture across sovereign boarder society. So based on this sovereign barrier to individual nation state is broken in the face of boarder control that still is expected to be the central part of globalization.

In another approach to the transformationalist view, the term globalization became recognized as a concept that has turned the whole planet earth into a global village such that every activities on a part of the planet can be in constant and integrated position with the rest of the world by the aids of modern technology via electronic, satellite or telephone communication support. By this, globalization refers to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between the states and societies that make up the present world system. It describes the process by which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world come to have significant influence for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the global world.

However, amidst all the efforts by scholars to define the term globalization, controversies were known to have followed as regards the ways in which globalization is being perceived by different individual sovereign nation. The proponents of globalization of the world towards adopting a forum of liberal policies that will break various societies standard into micro and macro levels became important in the face of United Nations in order to utilize the concept for maintaining global peace. This is a policy which is expected to make room for accepting and

integrating of global culture at the expense of each individual societal culture. So with these, all sovereign nations is expected come together in a global village to share all issues, vision and ideas with one another so as to curtail global insecurity to the lowest minimal form.

Finally in reference to this study, the term globalization will be look from the broader aspect of integration among nation states within the borderless society, with the consideration of political, economic and social cultural integration under which varying flow of interaction in a uni-polar direction can be identified.

## **2.2 WHAT IS SECURITY?**

The concept of security can be said to be the most essential determinant of human life which influence every individual actions for safety. But irrespective of how direct the definition seems to look, many scholars still stand to agree that the concept of security is a subjective one that requires subjective action for safety by every individual when stocked in a brutal arena even at the expense of a next door neighbour. Historically, the concept is derived from the Latin word 'secure' which come from the combination of world Se+ cura that means 'freedom from concern', and this combinations changed over time from sikernesse( c.1200), to sikerhede( early 13.c). and to the main concept 'security' which is agreed to on a general consensus by modern scholars to implies freedom from threats to core values of both individual and group of people from which nation state is been formed.

The concept security remains the most essential need in human life. In Abraham Maslow hierarchy of needs, security (safety) was recognized as the second most important need in human life after physiological need which was believed to be the most important determinant for human existence, but today, the concept of security can be said to be as important as the physiological need which is also important in order to secure the continuous existence of individual life within the society and in order to be assured of peace within the global world. This is because once there is a threat to a particular individual or nation and the safety is not cared about, invariably it may results into a threat to the world as we now live in a complex integrated world.

Thus in reference to this is the old quote from African which says, "*a threat to one is a threat to all*".

With this, the concept of security becomes a national concept that is required to be guided for emancipation of core value of individual society that nations stand to symbolize. This require for recognition of an independent identity and functional objectives of a nation state in order to guide against policies that can expose the core individual societal values like social economic and political values to unforeseen external threats in the name of globalization. This is because international system has brought societies to live in a 'distance less' global world that requires integration of security and globalization which the discipline of International Relations has being in constant research to analyse just like this research study which has being carried out in order to understand Nigeria security and global peace.

From the historical view while looking into how best to secure national security, writers like Hobbes, Machiavelli among others have over the past given pessimistic remarks on the power of national state, and international system was viewed as rather brutal arena to seek safety at the expense of next neighbouring nations as interstate relations was seen as power struggle among states which has led to the global world transformation that has brought about developing sophisticated weapons like the WMD(Weapon of Mass Destruction) for maintaining necessary form of defence.

However, amidst the subjective definition, the concept of security has been perceived to be a contested form following the varying values placed on security by nation states within the global society in which there has been dissatisfied status quo among individual states within the global world. This drives the varying quest for attainment of new society values by individual and regional states. So it is on this instance that International Relations scholar like Baldwin has posited that" Security is more appropriately described as a confused or inadequately explicated concept than as an essentially contested one. (Baldwin, 2007).

Based on this, scholar like Barry Buzan have argued for an expanded conception of security outward from the limits of parochial national security to include a range of other considerations since it's about the fundamental freedom of all on a global scale. According to Buzan, he identifies different dimensions on security to include political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military aspects which is of a

broader international concern (Buzan, 1983). Through his work he was able to raise some questions about whether national security and international security considerations can be compatible and whether states, given the nature of international system, are capable of thinking in more cooperative international and global terms on the concept of security.

Following the development from such view, there has been advancement in transformation process within the global system which has therefore been perceived to have taken a new twist as security issue within global society became a challenge that is in subjective form particularly after the Gulf War in 1991 and the global incident of September 11, 2001 in particular which brought about new dimension to security issue. According to Baylis,

*'the violence disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and part of the former Soviet Union, continuing violence in the Middle East, the Iraq War and war in Afghanistan, to illustrate that we continue to live in a world of mistrust and constant security competition'.(Baylis et. al, 2011),*

Based on these, even though globalization has brought about integration, sustaining it has become the insecurity as nation states now focus more on self-gain from being cheated and stand to be in relative quest for self-gain. With these the WMD and intrinsic of globalization process that cluster around socio economic, global politics, to name a few, became the power factors identified to be behind global security challenges.

Therefore, the term security in reference to this study can be defined as a quest for freedom from threat and a condition whereby a state and the society can maintain an independent and functional integrity without interference or challenge, and if challenge, such nation state can be up to the task of securing its fundamental values without having to sacrifice its national value. Also in the recent discuss, the concept of security has been said to be the effort that cuts across many disciplines and professions covering military protection, surveillance, protection of national values and human rights among others majorly for prevention of threat occurrence to human life. By this Ogbonnaya posited that, *"a nation is said to be secured when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war"* (Ogbonnaya, 2013).

More so, the concept has been said to be the absence of threats to acquire values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. Furthermore without leaving behind scholars from the political science field in reference to global environment, the concept has also being defined as a situation which provides national and international conditions favourable to the protection of a nation, state, and its citizens against existing and potential threats. (Bar-Tal & Jacobson, 1998). To all these definitions, security has become a global phenomenon since no nation in the present world could guarantee absolute security to its citizens independently without collaborating with the larger international community due to interwoven of modern world order and that which has equally demand for sensitivity to global politics in sourcing for the needed safety within the complex system of the global society.

Hence on this note, the position of different school of thoughts among scholars of security studies will be compared within this study in order to recognize the influences behind the conflicting challenges in curtailing global security threats. This thesis will be looking into perceptions of scholars from the realist thinkers, perception of scholars from the Liberalist thinker and perception of postmodern deconstructionist.

### **2.3 UNDERSTANDING THE PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

The concept of globalization as stated earlier can be recognize as a process with old historical ideology, clustering around efforts in quest for knowledge and security beyond man's immediate community. That which has resulted into gradual compression of various community groups in order to form a larger society that got intensified into global process of integrating the world. Though the process of global integration in the past was just an attempt at fostering relationship among global environment of various cultural societies without any specific intention at integrating the ideas, but still it was the recognition of the attempt in the past that led into global formations process that brought about the term globalization which is being perceived differently today by scholars as some sees the notion behind its formation

as an effort to satisfy the security interest of the superpower across the global North pole while some sees the developing nations as the region preying on the industrialized developed nation.

So based on these, globalization and security can be said to be an interwoven discuss and by this, according to Aydinli 'studying globalization and security separately can first be seen as unproductive effort in the sense that separate agendas do not contribute to the comprehensive accumulation and integration of knowledge' (Aydinli, 2005). From these assertion therefore, studying globalization alone can be said to be an effort in futility following the fact that the integration process is about uniting nations and regions together into a 'distance less' society that will for sure require some form of transformations from normal functionality of individual state which could stare insecurity in some ways.

Moreso, the transformation from the normal functionality of individual society in order to suit global system is therefore perceived to be the basis for transformed security threats as the domestic way of state surviving is expected to be subdue for international system that will be having a great impact on the present and future security affairs of individual state survivor. In some cases, these impacts of globalization process may increase security threats and may sometimes help reduce security challenges as no perfect view of total elimination of security challenges around the world as at the moment of this thesis work, but only a likely continuation of new war and struggle for survivor within international system is being visible. This condition is further explained by Katzenstein in his statement where he said,

*'new war' that can only be understood in the context of globalization. The intensification of interconnectedness, she argues, has meant that ideological and/ or territorial cleavages of an earlier era have increasingly been supplanted by an emerging political cleavage between cosmopolitanism, based on inclusive, multicultural values and the politics of particularist identities'(Katzenstein et.al, 2011).*

By this, security issue in the global environment existed as a context link between those who believe in positive impacts of globalization process and those who are in contrary view of globalization until the event of 9|11 which present a total new twist to the view of globalization and security issues. The attack present a new view of

global security threats, which shows how globalization may be responsible for rise in security threats and quest for present and future maintenance of security threats militarily, socioeconomically, politically among others, and following these, security within the global world has more to maintain than the traditional struggle for safety between internal and external threats as security issues now has a transnational dimension.

The integrated understanding of globalization and security thus became necessary in order to recognize the security dilemma in the new global world which is the challenging concern of international community as security issue in global atmosphere is being reshaped and the change setting in is becoming of strong impact on the security issue of individual state of polar equator across the globe. This becomes the trend of challenge as '*a pro-globalization book admits that globalization does not necessary foster integration or stability*'. (Aydinli et. al, 2005).

This assertion can be centre on the fact that global security in unity is characterized by selectivity which is being determined by the economic strength and political strength of some nations at the expense of the others within the global system. By this therefore, interventions and respect for guiding framework or sovereignty of every nation state is perceived to be relevant based on how it suit the strategic and economic interests of the coalition of the willing and able superpower nations, but that which are not recognized when its issues that does not suit the interest of the superpower, then the global norms that is centred on the need to respect the sovereignty and fundamental framework of all nations around the globe are being disregarded most especially when its issues that has to do with the weaker nations. Example on such condition has being in recognition of the indirect intervention in Libya by the Superpower which was believed to have occur out of disrespect to the sovereignty of some nations particularly in 3<sup>rd</sup> world region. Thus this shows that the importance of sovereign right is recognize as less important factor when it's in the interest of the superpower nations invading or intruding into lesser power.

By these, globalization has become a process necessitating the quest for favourable security condition which has tasked the superpower 'to do what they can do' to preserve global power dominance and at the same bring unity that will guide against power rivalry. A condition that has brought about unified industrialize strength

through the formation and functionality of the Revolution in Military affairs (RMA), set up to control international system while the global South are left to remain with an indelible psyche at the centre of being subordinate to the economic and military power of the superpower. Through these clause, global insecurity has being recognize as the consequence of political and economic power domination which has call for the weaker nations 'to do what they must' to draw attentions to the dark shadows of global North South relations or to deter imbalance in global power.

So the need to deter the Revolution in Military affairs force has therefore becomes essential quest of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations in order to gain balance of power or achieve power equalizer and this has in turn become recognize as being a challenge to global security. According to Ayoob,' these equalizers are obtainable only in two forms. They can be procured either as weapon of mass destruction accompany by delivery systems that can reach RMA troop and weapon concentrations at relatively long distance or as 'terror' tactics that can render RMA weapons militarily irrelevant, thereby reducing their political unity'(Ayoob, 2001). Hence, the result of the later has thus become the nature of the poised terror threats to the global security in asymmetric dimension from the weaker nations.

#### **2.4 GENERAL EFFECT OF GLOBALIZATION PROCESS ON THE 3RD WORLD COUNTRIES**

After the WWII, there has being varying proportional transformation in economy of livelihoods and modes of existence of nation states within the global world, and base on this, the UN and host of other global organization like the IMF has being existing as organization obliged in sustaining an equal global world, however, realization of such obligation have being faced with shortcomings. For instance, the lack of ability to get an aggregate datas needed for effective control of multifaceted social, economic, and political challenges within the global world. It is in recognition of this that classification system of the global world was being recognized from 1964 onward. According to Nielsen, from 1964 onwards various analytical classifications have been in use. The first classification system divided countries into (1) industrial countries, (2) other high-income countries, and (3) less-developed countries'

(Nielsen, 16: 2011). In subsequent analysis of the classification system was the analyses by the Nation Online which goes by the analyses below:

1 - The bloc of democratic-industrial countries within the American influence sphere, the "First World".

2 - The Eastern bloc of the communist-socialist states, the "Second World".

3 - The remaining three-quarters of the world's population, states not aligned with either bloc were regarded as the "Third World."

4 - The term "Fourth World", coined in the early 1970s by Shuswap Chief George Manuel, refers to widely unknown nations (cultural entities) of indigenous peoples, "First Nations" living within or across national state boundaries. (Nationsonline, 1998-2015).

Following these classifications, the less developed countries with Nigeria inclusive, classified to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries fall under the dominant control of the earlier industrial or 1<sup>st</sup> world countries that have colonized a reasonable numbers of the less developed countries. So upon the attainment of independent by the colonized nations, there was sharp notable transformation in the social-economic and political management of the less developed nations by the industrial nations and a sharp contrast in position of accommodating the industrial western nations by the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations. In addition to the changes, was also the loss of control exercised on the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries by the 1<sup>st</sup> world countries. This trend of transformation changes was noted by Mittelman as he stated:

*'it is worth noting also that the dominant form of globalization means a historical transformation in the economy of livelihoods and modes of existence; in politics, a loss the degree of control exercised, for some, however little to begin with –such that the locus of power gradually shifts in varying proportions above and below the territorial state; and in culture, a devaluation of a collectivity's achievements or perceptions of them. This structure in turn may engender either accommodation or resistance (Mittelman, 2000:6)'*

Based on these submission, there has being discovery of disparity on the chances of free open market after the WWII which gives the industrial powerful state the advantage of penetrating the vulnerable less developed nations as there is a system of international division of labour in which all nations know their place particularly the newly independent nations who need much activities in the open market to enhance transactions needed for economic growth. So with these, even the nations blessed with natural resources that are required by the global world were compelled to bargain their way into the powerful economic nations for proper market value of their product. For instance, Nigeria as a nation bless with oil as its natural resources, which is in high demand in the global market, are still made to feel more comfortable under the clause of economic liberation and globalization to demand for patronage on the sale of its oil production among the powerful economic nations in order to earn better gain on the sale of its product so as to profit greatly with capital required to enhance its national development. So by this, the benefit of economic liberation goes disproportionately to the industrial country. The consequence of this on 3rd world countries is what Sharma explained in graphical form which is being sited below:



(Sharma 118:2011).

Based on this analysis therefore, this study will maintain that the process of global integration is a compelling process that is characterized by concealed disparity between the developed nations and developing nations. The developed nations as capitalist nations are able to utilize the process of globalization for expanding their

market values across global societies while the developing nations as low capital society were indirectly subjected to be economic dependent due to low capital at their disposal which is required for competing favourably in a global market. By this therefore, the process of globalization can be said to be an integration process having disproportionate advantages between the developed and the developing nations, and that which has continue to subject 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations to continuous exploitation.

Moreso in recognition of global classification, this study has been able to deduce that the structure of globalization with the classification system is another way by which the superpower set disparity between world nations and project the Western values and as well strengthening the superpower on the dominance over the rest of the classified world. It is based on this varying position that neo-colonialism is being sensed in the process of the integration and out of fear of the history of colonization repeating itself has thus being noted to have being instigating the pronounced asymmetric security threats from the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations striving to deter imperialist power while the 1<sup>st</sup> world nations has being much confronted with the challenges of sustaining the dominance influence on the global world.

Furthermore, Kwaja in his work on globalization of economic transaction stated *'globalisation of trade and liberalization of economies have been described as inequitable and inimical to the third world in general. Economic structure is yet another important structure which is wholly controlled by the developed world. Besides, the fact that most, if not all the third world countries are largely indebted to the developed nations, leaves them with very little or no control over their national economies how much more that of the global economy. (Kwaja, 2002).* By this, globalization process can be said to be a slave-master or master-slave integration process and based on this the security challenge being faced by every nations varies in accordance to the economic sphere of influence within the classified power. A position that has instigated reprisal acts of security threats from the marginalized economic class particularly among the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations.

In addition to these while looking into the world classification from the political arena, global humanitarian intervention has been perceived to be a strategy for turning down the sovereign barrier to interfering in every nations. This is because it's an important factor that needs to be control by the superpower in order to preserve

their place of global dominance. Hence through the overriding power of humanitarian intervention set to be a clause to state sovereign right within the global structure, the state capacity at managing its individual territory is expose to division from the superpower class most especially those at the head of the global organization of the U.N (Security Council). Under this position, the superpower hide to play the real politics of sustaining the dominance of world power as final power to endorse humanitarian action only lies in the hand of the superpower within the Security Council of the U.N. According to Ayoob, *The use of the U.N. Security Council to endorse such actions provides the veneer of international legitimacy under which decisions based on realpolitik are disguised*'(Ayoob, 13:2005).

So the blocking of all options at expanding the membership of the Council has however stand to suggest the dominant interest of the superpower within the global world which has continue to threaten the peace of 3rd world countries while the 1st world superpower remain in total control of their own sovereignty and security. With this condition therefore, the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries are left with no other choice but to do what they can to preserve their sovereign right within the global world, and the consequence which has in turn breed asymmetric security threats.

Apart from these, there is a responsibility on 3rd world countries that is clustered around being loyal as newly independent nations who still need to remain dependent on institutional capacity of the global system for social and economic protection in order to address likely economic challenge a newly independent nation is mostly confronted with. Based on these, the developing African nations are compelled to remain loyal to the policies of the global organization like the U.N, World Bank among others which are being dominated by the classified 1st world nations. So under this global system, when issues of global policy is in place, even when the policy to be debated on contradict the national policies and values of member states from the 3rd world countries, they are compelled to reluctantly honour the global policies, and by this global organization have been noted to have being dictating the tune of governance of 3rd world countries. Through this, insecurity is being stared among member states from 3rd world region as the traditional policies of administration are being eroded by global policies.

For instance, the insistence by America being a key power in the U.N to promote gay right across the world, even though such policies negates the culture of most African 3rd world countries, the process of considering it has become ongoing as its been noted to have being approved in some African nations like South Africa in which gay right has already being legalize. By this the culture and tradition in which the 3rd world countries are being rooted is being damage by globalization process and when there is sudden breakdown in a nation governance system, violence is imminent. So this has thus being also responsible for the more pronounce security violence in 3rd world countries and Nigeria inclusive.

Moreso, there is a condition clustering around free open market, although the free open market is expected to increase opportunities for international trade, but in between it has also increased the risk of insecurity and a challenge which has been the basis at which the industrialized nations have being at competitive edge over the developing nations. This perception can be based on the point that the economic institutions under which the developing nations have been operating are still being operated on little capital flow because of the low economy in which the region have remained after been colonized. By these, developing nations of the 3rd world countries cannot strike a balance with the industrialized nations on the global platform and because of this the economic impact of globalization goes disproportionately in the benefit of the industrialized superpower nation and the developing nations have to sometimes remain dependent on the colonial masters. On the basis of these therefore, the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations are prone to insecurity in the face of globalization.

Additionally on the disproportionate benefit of the free open market in global world has being the fact that free market enhance free trade and this in turn can possibly drive up production and labour cost, including higher wages for more skilled worker. A condition that is equally favourable to the industrial nations as they were known to have posses larger populace of skilled worker due to concentration of high multinational companies around their region and by this, developing nation were getting more divided as the few skilled were induced by these higher economic wage into relocating and through which there is loss of unity and loss of identity in which the region has being left insecured in the hand of the remaining unskilled masses in the society.

Furthermore, the impact of globalization on 3rd world nations can be seen on the social cultural platform under which the disproportionate structure of global interaction under the influence of the U.N global actor can be said to have being of much negative effect on the developing nations. For instance, the structure of globalization has being much understood to be going more in a unipolar order in the direction of superpower 1<sup>st</sup> world nations and by this the social cultural values of the classified 3rd world nations are being eroded by the superpower nations. Following this, there has also been loss of identity needed to enhance unity among developing nations which could have assisted in a united strength towards enhancing regional development. It is in view of these that many referencing acronyms have been put up to redefining globalization among scholars like Adiche who sees globalization as ‘Americanization’ to imply that the globalization of the world is being structured towards American direction in the global North.(Adiche, 2013). This for sure is another condition exposing the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations to identity threat.

In addition to this also has being the recognition of global structure at homogenizing the global world. According to Smith sitting coffee shop as an example to socio-cultural homogenization he maintained” with the same coffee shop on every corner and the same big-box retailers in seemingly every city in every country. So, while globalization does promote contact and exchange between cultures, it also tends to make them more similar to one another. So by this culture of the superpower remain at dominating the global culture”.(Smith, 2007).

Furthermore, the impact of globalization on 3rd world nations can be seen on the political platform under which the disproportionate structure of global interaction under the influence of the U.N global institution has been seen to have being of much negative effect on the developing nations. For instance the superpower through the U.N. has being able to promote a universal system of governance which is the democratic system as best form of government even though some nations have find it difficult to survive on it, they have being compelled into accepting it and as result of which it has eventually breed violence in some nation that are much attached to other system of government, or better still, nation state that are still young for practice of democracy. It is in reference to this political impact that there has being spread of violence across Arab spring and that which has breed unrest in Libya till date after the elimination of Col. Muhammed Ghaddafi.

Furthermore, the impact of globalization on 3rd world countries has been noted in the global military formation. The military power has been perceived to have being centred among the superpower under the joint formation of the Revolution in Military Affair (RMA). With this formation, the U.N has being used to formalize the concentration of power in hand of the superpower under the permanent. The RMA was then equipped to be so effective and then being used superpower to silence the weaker power while dominating the global industry. In reference to this has the argument of Ayoob been noted as he posited that "the United States, the leading RMA power, sits in the lonely glory at the top of the technological military pyramid. A group of major industrialized countries is clustered probably two-thirds of the way up" (Ayoob, 19: 2005). So the superpower with the force of RMA stand as a symbolic power waiting to silence any interest of individual state power from the lower region willing to rise into becoming a rivalry power.

Hence it is as a result of this that lower power nations like Nigeria has being left with the choice of idea to revolt the dominance by force or remain subjected to the dominance power which has thus stare insecurity from aggrieved non-state actors that have tapped into asymmetric ideology of demanding for power change. It is in reference to this that Oyeniya has tried to justify such asymmetric approach for power change when he posited that '*groups agitating for purely parochial interest of ethnic, religious and social groups are terrorists groups because of how they have being classified by the UN and US government*'. (Oyeniya, 2010). With these, the terrorist organization is understood to have being centred on superior motivation and determination for power change as key to successful compliance of an adversary or as defensive means of protecting the of marginalized power.

Furthermore, globalization process particularly under the U.N global actor can be said to be a process that has subjected the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations to recall the experience of colonization as the structure of classification system still continue to see the colonial power as the 1<sup>st</sup> world nation dominating in the globalization process. This position can be said to have insight the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nation sighting the process of globalization as neo-colonialism and following these, the tools attached to globalization process like the WMD which is been used to control the global power, and address tendency of rise in power threats against the global order, has thus stare the consciousness of the lower power nations into adopting a form of guerrilla tactics

in order to deter power order and power dominant. The consequence of this has thus been the growing insecurity in the hand of the lower power nations whose government have been rendered weak by structural order of global policies that has discarded the traditional policies. It is in reference to this that terrorist groups are growing as a movement across the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nation in which there has being groups such as the Al-Shabaab in Somalia, the Taureg groups in Mali, the Boko Haram groups in Nigeria whom through their spokesmen Abubakar Shekau has of recent pledge their loyalty to the global terrorist group of the ISIS.(CNN, 2015:3)’.

Finally as the globalization role can be easily noted in the effort of addressing anti-developmentalism in the global society, aiding non-government institution to complement nation state government for supporting socio economic and welfare growth has being noted as one key objective of globalization process. And based on this, non- government organizations like the International Centre for Reconciliation( ICR), World Bank, are in partnership with the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), to name a few and then the known international bodies are financing private community programme in Nigeria like many other 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations. This to some extent has being of support to government institutions, but on the other hand, it has being replacing government legitimacy in enforcing full authority over the territorial state because of the regional inequality which were been caused by such international bodies financing private programmes.

An instance to buttress on this is that, part of the Niger Delta militant crisis has being known to have grown out of divided loyalty as a result of unaccountable external donation that have circulated into the hand of non state actors which has invariable stare regional crisis from un-benefited groups from other region in the state. So it in view of situations like this that the African Union has remain committed to fighting colonialism and its strategies which is believed to be visible in the global system of promoting global welfarism through which insecurity has remain inevitable challenge of Nigeria.

## **2. 5 THEORETICAL PERCEPTIVES IN RELATIONS TO SECURITY**

Knowing fully well that the study of globalization and security issue is a complex interwoven challenge, approaching the study through a single theory will be practically an impossible mission. This is not because a single theory will not share a good perspective that can provide a way forward towards approaching the threatening global insecurity, but no single school of thought through history has provided a perfect solution to global security challenges, rather they present ways through which globalization can be perceived which goes in line with the perception of argument that is being promoted. So by this, if a particular theoretical approach is approved as global solution to international issues without making out time to understand position of another theory, then such solution can easily be concluded as perception for autocratic ideology.

This has then call for a broad theoretical approach to the study of globalization ranging from traditional neo-realist approach, liberal institutionalism democratic peace theory, collective security theory, constructivist critical theory, post-modernist views among others that have shared differences of views towards addressing challenges that comes with globalization which sometimes end up in contrast view to each other. But in the midst of the above mentioned theories, few of them will be of important and they will be focus on in other to give a concise analysis needed for this study.

So, when discussing the notion of security, which is proponent of globalization and scholars who subscribe to the notion of a global society, two major arguments are mostly at the top of the argumentative approach following the fact that they choose their data from a restricted universe. Hence these two arguments of realist and liberalist that are mostly at the top will be considered along with critical social theory. All will be review one after the other:

### **2.5.1 Realist Theory**

Realist position in the midst of globalization and security can be said to be the view that grew out of constant quest for power, and that which has being necessitating for process of globalization to be relegated to a secondary position. These arguments on

this study is being base on the precursors of realist view in International relations, the work of scholars like Niccolo Machiavelli who is the Author of 'The prince' (1532), Thomas Hobbes who is the author of 'The Leviathan' to name a few. In their presumption that has been considered is the point that human beings are being motivated by self-interest which drives passion for unending quest for power,' *not necessarily resulting in constant open warfare, but always necessitating a readiness to go to war*'.( Wilkinson,2007).

For these purpose, acquiring military power has been noted to have become a necessity that are being attain through economic, religion and political strength. This claim becomes obvious as globalization process bring down the power of state to guide its territory and policies on interstate relations. With these therefore, the economic powerful states from the global North are discovered to have being at the advantage of easy penetration into the weaker states of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries and by which, the weaker states are left to be vulnerable through which the superpower states have being perfecting its resources (economic and human) manipulation under the guise of economic liberation and globalization which has being going disproportionately to the advantages of the industrialized states of the global North. According to Rosenau,

*'the overwhelming majority of the economic interactions that makes for the interdependence in a 'globalizing' world take place among the triad of North America, Europe and Japan*'. (Rosenau et. al, 2005).

By this, the global North has remain the determinant of market value as the monopoly of power became visible in the international system whereby the 3<sup>rd</sup> world African nation are not having the opportunity for opposing voice within the superpower of the U.N that determines the major global economic policies. This is thus the position maintained by 'The Prince' authored by Niccolo Machiavelli which is centre on the fact that the powerful state accumulate as much power as possible for defence and pursue of national interest living the weaker nations to 'do what they must do' by either repelling or continue to accept the globalization which has thus become the basis for insecurity from the weak Nigeria economy and rest of 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations.

Apart from this, in contrast argument to notion that is being promoted by liberalist to denounce the place of states as great power for protection of its sovereignty most especially after the Cold War in 1991, when the notion of globalization under the U.N became more promoted, realist argument has continue to resurface as the basic structure of international system remain unchanged in recognition of state power. To buttress on this, Mearsheimer has posited that "*it is difficult to find a serious scholar who argues that the United Nations or any other international institution has coercive leverage over the great power or is likely to have it anytime soon*". (Mearsheimer, 2002).

Based on these, it can be said that even though, nothing stays permanent with the theoretical perspectives to global securities, the good side of it to realism disposition is that power of sovereign states has not yet passed, so realism perspective will be agree to a theory that will continue to be of importance to reckon with in order to control global security.

Moreso, following the contrast argument to the notion of realism by proponent of globalization that the world after the Cold War has advanced beyond age of power politics to the age of geoeconomics, it will be said that such notion is not substantial enough to denounce the place of states that realism stand to promote. In reference to, Mearsheimer posited that "*Politics and economics are connected. International economic systems rest upon the international political order*" (Mearsheimer, 2002).

Based on these therefore, it can be argued that it is in the course of the superpower, in the likes of U.S and the rest of Western Europe to retain the power position across global world that all efforts are been embark on in order to sustain political power hegemony. It is also in the recognition of this notion that an argument will be put forward on the point that, at the wake of cold war, the European Union (EU) has being craving for more political order into Western Europe before spreading across continent. So with these, it has become of important for this study to note that as state power remain of utmost important to secure national sovereign, the step in political order to curtail insecurity by Nigeria and the rest of African developing nations will depend on the need to unite against influx of 'external' political order and has being responsible for insecurity in order to sustain security. This has then become noted as the reason why interstate conflict has appears to have being on the

increase in Nigeria and the African region after the Cold War due to loss of focus on regional political order which has become the task the regional unity has being saddled with in effort to revive the traditional political order of the region.

So, it is on this position that realist view has been concluded on the note that 'neorealists accept, explicitly or implicitly, these underlying assumptions, and stress the continuing necessity of alliance-building, the role of the state as key political actor, the maintenance of a favourable balance of power, and firm refusal to entrust security to international organizations and agreements, as essential components of an effective national security policy'. (Wilkinson,3: 2007). A condition which has being perceived to be responsible for the global security clash in-between North-South relations and by which African leaders are getting more committed into African Union objectives.

### **2.5.2 Liberalist Theory**

Liberalist view is another position in the midst of globalization and security and it can be posits to be another theory to globalization which grew out of concern for realist effectiveness in sensitising political significance of state power which is in contrast to universal argument of liberalist ideology to global peacebuilding. So by 1979, liberalism ideology is being promoted as an international relations theory to global peacebuilding and liberalist scholars started embarking on ideology in which 'individual freedoms, representative government, and constitutional limits on authoritative power of traditional government is being encourage. It is reference to this that Wilkinson has stated that' *it makes a great deal of sense for the powerful to portray their own relative gains as absolute gains for the entire international society*'. (Wilkinson,4:2007).

So by this, liberalist are bent on the promotion of combine ideology for sustainance of national and global peace while role of traditional political institution is being submerge to function as an aspect of combine driven ideology for sustaining domestic or tradition peace.

Moreso, liberalist scholars have tried to see act of war as condition develop from social pressure which mostly brings up aggression among nation states. So by this, liberalist have taking into building combine military strength for possible prevention of war outbreak, while interstate imbalance is being looked as a challenge within the scope of nations bargaining power in international society. So cooperation of nation states irrespective of visible imbalance has thus being perceived as essential ideal to deal with national and global insecurity and based on this, Jehangir, has posited that *“such cooperation can translate into interdependence entailing mutual benefits for both the parties involved, something that reduces the risk of war and increases the prospects of peace amongst nation-states.”* (Jehangir, 2012).

By these, Neoliberalist, argument of liberalism can be submit on the note that even though state is not competent to prevent act of war or better still external threats based on the global transformation in technologies, and economic welfare, which is beyond ability of states that liberalist seems to be promoting, it will be fare to know also that relevance of international institutions that is being promoted by liberalist has not being sufficient enough to guarantee the sustenance of global security. This is because regional insecurity seems to have being on the increase within regions of the global South as we have war in the Arab region, Nigeria and host of 3<sup>rd</sup> world nation states. Hence liberalism with its focus on universalism and harmony makes for an unstable world security as the postulations of liberalist remain insufficient to guarantee free peaceful global society.

### **2.5.3 The Critical Social Theory**

Critical social theory position in the midst of globalization and security can be said to be another notion to globalization that grew as a modern theory to deconstruct both previous position with the sole purpose of maintaining neutrality to international relations. According to Wilkinson in reference to critical social theorist' *they believe that they are able by the process of 'deconstruction', to uncover the underlying subjective meanings and intentions of the text in the light of the social and cultural climate in which they were produced'*. (Wilkinson,6:2007).

Following these, globalization and security challenge can be portrayed as an unending paradigm that will continuously remain subjected to 'constant change to human existence' based on trend of time and condition applicable to era. As previous to Contemporary age which started from (1914 to present time), there was the Mid Modern Period (1750 – 1914) and the Early Modern Period (1500 – 1750).

These whole period have been recognized to have experienced challenges at one time or the other, and so will this present moment and global security challenges of this era come to pass as the ultimate position of the globalization process is already being challenged to be redefined as 'glocalization' in order to position individual state as parallel to the global society. ( Khondker, 2004).

More to this, social critical theory as an ideology based on deconstructionist can be put to be theoretical perception that requires abandoning the illusion of absolute and universal certainty of knowledge that is being obtainable through human mind as represented by the state power which the realists tend to promote or agency in the like of international institution which the liberalists tend to promote. So based on this perception, assumption of knowledge in a paradoxical form is expected to be constituted for theoretical defence of universal human societies. It is in reference to this that Ikeda has posited that: *"all we can do is to try to approximate our assumptions to what is supposed to be the material world which exists regardless of our subjective wishes; but at the same time, it is totally fair and reasonable for humans — as fragile living creatures that have to survive in limited material conditions "*.(Ikeda, 30:2007).

Furthermore on the social critical theory view, it has been noted that indirect replacement of the position of human by both realists and liberalists through the promotion of state and international system above human has been perceived to be capable in creating difficulties for the conceptualization of human significance to global society and relevance of collective entities that can be constituted by human as the main actor to world politics possessing empirical value, so attempt in seeking normative transformation of this fact is prone to encouraging social vices. It is in reference to this that Ikeda has posited further on difficulties that can be created when human force is overlooked as he stated: *'such difficulties are manifested by the*

*challenges posed by “postmodern” IR studies that, no matter what semblance of commitment to ethical and political principles they pretend to keep, in all actuality lean toward cultural and communitarian relativism (or rather, anarchism) supported by epistemological relativism’.* (Ikeda, 30:2007).

By these, addressing global insecurity is expected to be directed at tackling relevance of realism and liberalism theory which has being perceived to be the forces discrediting the true position of human and this challenge as battle for peace is believed to be realizable only by going way of philosophical turfs. Therefore based on these positions noted by the critical social theory, the point of argument will be submitted on the note that since achieving global peace requires expanding of knowledge and integration of philosophical turfs for possible strength to defy mystical interpretations at sustaining human peace universally, a more paradoxical understanding of war and peace that is based on ‘human supremacy’ should be projected as possible solution to curb the conflicting positions of security challenge and providing probable way forward for peace as contrary to analyses of realist and liberalist.

Moreso, in social theorist perception of the arguments established through the realist account which could be said to be a pessimistic view of international system, war has being perceived to be a visible occurrence and it is upon this that prospect for peace within the international system cannot be promoted by this work as event that is visible anytime soon. It is on this note that Bilgin posits that security is a ‘derivative concept’; one’s understanding of what ‘security’ is (or should be) derives from one’s political outlook and philosophical worldview. Failure to recognize this point and practices shaped by ostensibly universal conceptions of security have rendered the world less secure’. (Bilgin, 2008).

Furthermore, as proponents of succeeding theories who have showed much concern to peacebuilding in real world have noted that indeed succeeding theorist have always reasons to rely on the compelling view of realism on states behaviour to juxtapose their arguments, even as Mearsheimer also posited when he said “ *realism will disappear only if there is a revolutionary change in the structure of the international system, but that is not likely to happen anytime soon.*” (Mearsheimer, 2002).

Then base on general overview, theories on security will be submitted on the observation note which that subsequent theories after realist has indeed attempted efforts to discredit the place of realism and that which has never seems to be working in anyway since their approaches have always being developed from realism perspectives and by this, realist has being recognize as an essential theory to be promoted for understanding of global peace building.

### **3. SIGNIFICANT ORGANIZATIONS RELEVANT FOR ADDRESSING INSECURITY IN 3RD WORLD COUNTRIES: THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE AFRICAN UNION**

The concept of security as stated earlier is the most essential determinant of human life which influences every individual action for safety and in sourcing for safety within the global world, the development of ideas about global system of governance deeply rooted in integration of nation states through formed international institutions is essential to be conscious about. Based on this, global governance can be defined in accordance to Jeong *“as the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests can be accommodated and cooperative action taken”*. (Jeong 2010).

So from this assertion, Diehl’s position on international organizations has further being considered as he asserted that:

*‘there are two predominant views of international organizations among the general public. The first is a cynical view that emphasizes the dramatic rhetoric and seeming inability to deal with vital problems that are said to characterize international organizations and the United Nations in particular. According to this view, mirrored in some realist formulations, international organizations should be treated as insignificant actors on the international stage. The other view is an idealistic one. Those who hold this view envisage global solutions to the major problems facing the world today, without recognition of the constraints imposed by state sovereignty’*. (Diehl, 3:2005).

From this analyses therefore, international organizations can be said to be a united administrative bodies that is neither relevance to be accepted in totality nor should be wholly rejected as the ultimate system for sustaining global unity and global security. But be that as it may, international organizations can be said to be a relevant actor or relevant body for re-uniting the world since the end of WWII that almost put the unity of the world to an end, although the structures of uniting the world has being noted to have varies in accordance to the issue area and situations being confronted by individual nation state within the global world.

So by this, while looking into the historical view of international organization as it being sustained before the WWII was the recognized League of Nations that was formed to unite the universe after the WWI specifically in 1919, and it stood as an international body functioning to foster cooperation among nation states in order to prevent outbreak of War within the global world until 1938 when there was an outbreak of WWII which saw to the collapse of the League. After the breakdown of the League system, there has being many international organizations both global and regional like the U.N (United Nations), IMF (International Monetary Fund), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), EU (European Union) AU (African Union) to name a few, all functioning to sustain peace within the universe and managing global security issues in relations to economy, education, and criminality, among others.

However after the WWII with the formation of these various international organizations, one has being regarded to be the most respected, according to Pirnuta,

*'It is worth to mention that the UN is the only organization which has global identity. The other organizations, representing approximately 97% of the total number, have limited objectives when it comes to the number of their members and the domains they operate in'. (Pirnuta et. al, 79: 2012).*

With this apex recognition of the U.N, it will be relevant to look into its concept and the A.U being the regional organization of the African 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries that is the focus region of this thesis.

### **3.1 THE UNITED NATIONS IN SUSTAINING GLOBAL SECURITY**

The United Nations as an international organization has been recognized to be an organization formed after the collapsed of the preceding League of Nations at the end of WWII. It was officially formed in October 24, 1945 and at inception it was called United Nation Organization (UNO) but now it is called United Nations (UN) and since its formation, its being functioning as the utmost organization responsible for bringing nations closer to each other and reasoning together for maintaining average standard of living for all, coupled with the responsibility of securing peace and prosperity of all nations. By this, the maintenance of international peace and security

can be said to have characterized the primary purpose behind the formation of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the U.N since its formation has being saddled with so much different responsibilities carried out under six main organs of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, the International court of Justice and the Trusteeship Council which operation was later suspended on October 1, 1994 at the independent of Palau being the last territory under the control of the council. All these organs have being functioning with the support of various NGOs and intergovernmental organizations like the UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO, FAO, WHO UNDP among others which have all being assisting globally in minimizing the gaps between the rich and poor countries in terms of socio-economic development and re affirming of the lost faith in the League of Nations at securing global peace and the fundamental human right of all.

Based on the importance of international peace and security for global peacebuilding, focussed on at the establishment of the organization, provision for international peace and security was clearly stated in the preamble and the Charter in which the Organization was formed. In addition to these, principles, methods and procedures which are to be followed to sustain global peacebuilding were also clarified. For instance, collective security system dominated the entire process planned in the United Nations Charter.

### **3.2 FUNCTIONAL ROLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

According to Dr. Abdulrahim while trying to outline the U.N role, 2 different methods were identified, “The Charter provided a system for the pacific settlement or adjustment of disputes, and the use of collective measures in threat to or breaches of peace and acts of aggression.

The first method provided by the system is that of seeking peaceful settlement or adjustment of disputes and situation by peaceful means listed in the Charter. The second method is that of taking collective actions (measures) of a coercive nature for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace. Through these two methods delineated

in Chapter VI entitled “Pacific Settlement of Disputes” and Chapter VII entitled “Actions with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression” of the Charter, the United Nations primarily exercises its role in maintaining international peace and security.”(Abdulrahim,1994).

So with this identification, proper analyses of these roles which serve as prerequisites to other purpose of the United Nations will be necessary:

### **3.2.1 Pacific Settlement of Disputes**

The procedure for carrying out this functional role was recognized to have been specified in chapter IV of the United Nations charter and analysed under different articles of laws in the charter of the body. Article 33 analysed on conditions to settling disputes which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security that is stated as procedure for settlement by the traditional peaceful procedures which has already been established in international law. These conditions have been guided by the recourse to utilize peaceful methods by nations in dispute which is expected to be in a state that international peace and securities, and justice, are not endangered. But in the failure of specified method of article 33 to curtail warming disputes according to Dr Abdulrahim, 'the United Nations would intervene to consider the matters and to give its recommendations and decisions under the Charter'.”(Abdulrahim,1994).

The Security Council is giving the preferential status to intervene by its own initiative before other options in such situations of war like deliberation outcome of General Assembly among others. Hence this posits the concentration of maintaining global dispute power under the discretion of the superpower power which has by dispute marginalized the position of the 3rd World African nations having no representatives within the Security Council.

### **3.2.2 Collective Enforcement Action**

Collective enforcement action is another functional role of the U.N recognized for sustaining global peace and security. This functional role is analysed by chapter VII

of the U.N Charter and made specifically for uniting nations for peace. This functional role has also being grouped by Abdulrahim into:

- Dealing with Threats to Peace

This Sub function towards collective enforcement actions also authorize the Security Council to deal with threats to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and to take collective enforcement actions to sustain or restore international peace and security. Under Chapter VII, article 39 which is the first article of the chapter in laws and charter of the organization, the Security Council is given a wider discretion to determining “the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression”, and to “make recommendations”, or to “decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.” (Abdulrahim,1994). Even though there is an option for Security to compel dispute groups to restore peace, but still in absence of peace, the Security Council retain the utmost power to take up other decisions like complete or partial interruption of economic relations, means of transportation, means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. Following these, the Council still uphold the final decision under article 42, of the Chapter VII to take up armed actions that may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces in which member nations of 3rd world countries are restricted in being part of decision making whereby solutions in a more regional setting could have still be of better option. An instance to this was the final decision taken in troubled Libya in 2011 where no flight zone was enforced that saw to the death of President Muhammed Ghadaffi and the condition which has left Libya to remain an insecured nation till present moment due un-acknowledgement of U.N final decision countries and rest of similar nations that experience similar Arab in the region.

- Uniting for Peace Resolution

This is another sub function of the collective enforcement actions that grant the General Assembly the authority to act in place of the Security Council if the latter fails to act appropriately due to lack of unanimity of permanent members to perform their primary function in sustaining international peace and security in any case

where there seems to be insecurity. Under this functional role, the General Assembly may make decision in such exceptional case as contain in Chapter VII of the charter of the organization. The assembly may debate over matters and may involve military power also if there seems to be majority consent to the decision. However this power of the General Assembly under the Uniting for peace resolution has remain noted to a majorly force that has left most nations of the 3rd world countries to remain unreluctant to withdrawal fully from the U.N member since they tend to feel obliged participating in decision making on the platform of the General Assembly even though recommendation on this platform still lack legal force and effect that the Council's decisions have.( Abdulrahim, 1994).

- United Nations Forces

This is also another sub functional role of the collective enforcement action, upon which the U.N established international military forces to carry out a diverse function in maintaining global peace. Under Chapter VII article 29 which in complementing article 39, 40, 41, and 42 stated earlier, the Security Council perform its functional role as deemed necessary to utilized armed action in the name of humanitarian intervention for sustaining global peace, under the real politics of the superpower within which the U.N takes celestial authority that is binding on member nations. These notions were further express in article 10, 11, 14 and 22 of the United Nations.( Abdulrahim, 1994). With all these functional roles clustering around maintaining global security, they have also remain the prerequisites for ensuring end to war in troubled region, promote social progress among member states, ensuring human right of every individual, ensuring international law, equality of men and women, and also nations, approved the use of armed forces only in common interest of all, ensure sovereignty and equality of all member states, ensure obligation set out in the charter of the organization is being fulfilled, settle disputes with peaceful methods, among others.

### 3.3 CHANGING PERCEPTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Following these varying conditions to be considered before invoking any chapter of the U.N. which makes it function and the reality of conditions attached to world classification system, without doubt, the U.N has being recognized as functioning global body that has partially restore peace while it has gone more worrisome in order instance as noted by Abdulrahim, as he posited " Although in most of the crises, the United Nations has succeeded in preventing further fighting between the parties, it has not succeeded in finding solutions, or in reaching lasting peace to most of these crises".(Abdulrahim, 1994).

But be that has it may, it will be essential to look into arguments surrounding the beneficial parties to the global organization as the conditions for addressing global security issues has come with varying clause recognized earlier by different scholars across global pole. Some arguments have being perceived to have recognized the developing nations or 3rd world nations as the benefiting party, some recognized the developed nations of the superpower as the beneficiaries of the organization, while some argues that the ability of individual nation to identify the benefit of the organization and ability to utilize it determines the level of influencing benefit to be derive from the organization. For instance scholar like Angie in an online publication has maintained that developing nations are the main beneficiary of globalization or the UN formation, she buttress on this by stating that: 'Financial and industrial globalization is increasing substantially and is creating new opportunities for both industrialized and developing countries. The largest impact has been on developing countries, who now are able to attract foreign investors and foreign capital'.(Angie, 2008).

Through this, the position of scholars who sees the UN formation to be of benefit to developing nations can be sustained as much of the economic interactions that is capable of enhancing global interrelations which has being taking place among the developed nations has easily pave way for developing nations to equally transact as developing nations through the globalization process that is being enhance by the U.N stands the same chances of attracting foreign investors which can help address economic insecurity.

In another argument in which globalization has being presented to be of benefit to developed nations was the argument maintained by Frederick while expressing the notion of globalization integration as modernization in which the U.N has being on course to sustain. He posits modernization as a theory in which: “*modernization theory's central argument was that key elements of society varied together and this clustering produced the movement from traditional to modern societies*”. (Frederick, 2001).

By this, the traditional being referred to are understood literarily to be the developing nations characterized by 3rd world nations which are the once who suffer the global integration by having to compromise their sovereignty and societal value for the modern societies (capitalist security community) who remain the determinant of the welfare and security of member states through the permanent 5 Security Council member. It is on this note that Wilkinson has maintained that the developed nations are the beneficial of the globalization process following his view on cause of war as a respond to threats that has emanated out of capitalist states quest to continue opening up new markets in order to perpetuate economic system of dominance beyond territorial region, the condition which has left developing nations vulnerable economically. (Wilkinson, 2007).

While in the view that perceived globalization to be of mutual benefit to all, Hassan has argued that there are mutual chances of benefiting among developing nations and developed nations from UN globalization process. He maintained that the purpose behind globalization appears to link people, societies and economies which can open equal opportunity of the UN benefit to all human being (Hassan, 2012). Through this position, he satisfactorily expressed the view that sees globalization to be of benefit to all.

However, amidst all the above perspectives to globalization process through the U.N global actor, this thesis deems it of important to identify the reasons behind the positions maintained by the various scholars and at the same juxtapose on the varying arguments attributed to the positions maintained by the various scholars that sees globalization argument in a streamlined direction basically from realist perspectives and liberalist perspective. For instance, Aslam, in recognition of argument seeing

U.N global integration as beneficial to 3rd world nations which is in perspective of liberalist stated that:

*"During the last couple of decades, developing nations that tend to be globalized and open their doors to international trade and investment showed more progress than those who remained isolated".(Aslam.et. al 2012).*

Based on this postulation, arguments of U.N global integration for the benefit of developing 3rd world nations can be submitted on the note that opening to global ideology have helped reduce the number of people around the globe who lives below poverty line of 1\$ per day. This is following the global initiative that has enhance wide opportunity of global trading and United Nations humanitarian supports which has helped improved the living condition of every member states without any form of discrimination as to sex, culture, religion or background.

Also in another reference of argument from liberalist perspective has being on the assertion that globalization has a mutual benefits to all nations and this argument has been buttressed on the fact that 'the United Nations was founded on two principles of the sovereign states and an essentially voluntary system of collective security. This is meaning that the organization has no means of enforcing its decisions on any sovereign state, and it's up to the member states themselves to decide what their obligation to the UN should be and whether they should honour them' Paul Wilkinson (2007). So by this, any nation from the 3<sup>rd</sup> world African states can choose to deter the opinion of the organization if they feel such opinion is not going to be of benefit to their national development.

In further argument from realist perspectives that sees developed countries as the main beneficiary of the U.N was the view promoted by Frederick who argued that the U.N structure is majorly for the benefit of developed nations and these has being based on the fact that the U.N structure in deeply planned in a way that is misleading to the rest of the world under the guise of preserving global unity while the developed nations retain the ownership right of global ideology that is being spread in a bipolar direction across the global world. Also while looking through history, it will be agreed that all forms of relations between developed nations and developing nations have always being by shaped in a disproportionate direction. For instance, in the Atlantic slave trade, all forms of transaction that transcribed between the

developed nations and developing nations goes in disproportionate direction in which the developing nations where being enslave. So this is to imply that, globalization process being facilitated by the U.N is another divisive way of the superpower rephrasing their tactic at controlling the developing nations through peaceful means that will at the long see the developed nations still retaining the dominant head in controlling the developing world.

More to these, the global organization has being linked to be an idea by powerful state to control the trade flow and keep market domination under the control of developed nations. According to Frederick, he maintained that: *"Pressure from the United States, the IMF, and transnational corporations brings down national barriers to the movement of capital"*(Frederick, 2001).

By these, the United States as one of the powerful nation behind the formation of the UN with IMF and other transnational corporation like the World Bank among others tend to remain in control of movement of capital for the benefit of global North.

So based on this, the U.N takes more priority in responding to affairs around the global North region more than any other region, and it is as a result of this also that the organization has failed to reach the expected global peace most especially on issues happening around African 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations which can be centred on the fact that lack of having a true representative within the Security Council to stand as the echo of the true yawning of 3<sup>rd</sup> world African nations and the rest of the global South has being responsible for differing security challenge across the global pole. For instance, the Reuter news was able to have quoted Gaddafi in opposition to the veto power of the Security Council at the platform of the General Assembly of the U.N., " as he said: *"The veto is against the charter, we do not accept it and we do not acknowledge it."*( Reuters,9:2009).

Hence by this, there has being clamour for reformation of the U.N. since even at the formation of the organization, many of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations where not in existence as an independent nation to share their own view on the adopted guiding charter of the organization, so as a result of this, needs and issues surrounding those 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations where not considered to be specified in the Charter of the organization and by this, insecurity has become inevitable to 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations. It is in recognition of this that there has being more agitations for effective regional organization of the

African Union formed in the 1963 and through it, African main challenge can be unanimously shared and manage without any nation being scared of being marginalized and also it is account of such that Gaddafi submitted in his arguments at the floor of the General Assembly with his argument through history of global interaction as *"he called for \$7.77 trillion in compensation to be paid to Africa from its past "colonial masters"(aljazeera, 9:2009)*. The colonial masters in reference are thus recognized to be the Veto power.

So on this note, since globalization role under the U.N global actor has being centred on integrating the world society, Ahmed has being able to make a clarification on how the policy of global economic integration like other globalization policies has over the time breed insecurity among the low economic 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations in particular has she maintained that " the post-Second World War international economic order thus bears some significant parallels with its predecessor in the colonial era. Notwithstanding decolonization, there are key continuities in the relationships between Southern postcolonial states and Northern former colonial powers. The post-colonial "world economic order is by far, more centralized, concentric, and institutionalized at the top", (Ahmed, 2004). This has remain a condition that has left the 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations marginalized in the global economic order which has breed unending quest for economic survival.

More to these, she has noted that "many poor countries –with about 2 billion people– "are now "becoming marginal to the world economy, often with declining incomes and rising poverty." But the Bank's explanation for this is that they "have been left out of the process of globalization". Contrary to the Bank's position, however, data on economic human insecurity show that the marginalization of vast swathes of the population is a direct consequence of the policies of the global economic regime –not the lack thereof. (Ahmed,2004).

Hence by this globalization can be said to be capitalism in which its underlying economic order is similar to that of imperialism and by this the global economic order can be said to have impacted detrimentally on economic human security of Nigerian as well as people from other low economic 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations who have to battle in the competitive global society for their economic security, health security, hunger security to name a few.

Thus indeed globalization role in economic integration has being perceived to be an economic order that has fuelled poverty in Nigeria like other 3rd world nations as a result of imperialist dominant effect of the capitalist within the global world. Base on this, there has being growing poverty gap between the few rich and the poor masses and following this; interstate conflict has remained an inevitable act by those who lacks the economic opportunity. As Ahmed noted, 'If the poor are left hopeless, poverty will undermine the fabric of our societies through confrontation, violence, and civil disorders' (Ahmed, 2004).

However in the hope to secure the capitalist economic dominance, the European Union was formed in the western region to ensure major international economic transaction is being shared in a close circle of member states. Having realised the special benefits to such initiative amidst the existing global organization, the African leaders where compelled to form their own regional organization in order to serve similar functional role like the European Union for the benefit of member states. Hence by this, African Union was formed.

### **3.4 THE AFRICAN UNION AND ITS ROLES IN SUSTAINING REGIONAL SECURITY**

Following the classification system of the global world as identified earlier and prior agitations for African freedom, at the realization of Ghana's independent in 1959, Kwame Nkruma who has often being regarded as the acclaimed father of African Union and also the first president of Ghana. In his independent speech, he was able to stimulate the region for a purpose, According to Aguilar, Nkruma was quoted to have stated "*in Ghana we regard our independence as meaningless unless we are able to use that freedom that goes with it to help other African people to be free and independent, to liberate the entire continent of Africa from foreign domination and ultimately to establish a Union of African States.* (Aguilar et.al,5:2008).

Through this speech, African were sensitised politically to recognized imperialist trend in the globalization process as the world classification system already showed

3<sup>rd</sup> world as the less developed nations and by this, Africans has being more conscious of neo-colonialism in the globalization process. Nkruma view posit that the continent of Africa has remain subjected to foreign domination as he emphasis that, *'the third world has continued to be on the margins of the globalized world economy. Of course, someone was bound to be marginalized for it, is in the nature of capitalism that capitalist accumulation can only take place on the basis of some countries loosing put those which gain and control the entire system of production and reproduction'*. (Kwaja 2002).

So based on these, Africans where sensitised to combine their economies into sub-regional market, a market that can be seen in the likes of European Economic Community. Although, the speech by Nkrumah was disregarded at the early period by many African leaders, as they agreed in majority to rather form an Organization of Africa whereby 3<sup>rd</sup> world African nations can be merged together to form one Pan-African Economic Union and by this, OAU became established in 1963 with an overarching objective in the emergence of “an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena” (Williams, 6:2011).

Then after the establishment, sustaining the organization to survive years ahead without interference became the challenge of the organization as chapter VIII of the UN seek to improve corporation and coordination with regional organizations like the African Union and under such corporation, there is the need to come to terms with some of the inherent issues that has called for the formation of the African. So following these, there has being restriction in the African Union operation on total liberty couple with misconception, misunderstanding in partnerships between the global organization of the U.N and the regional Organization of the A.U which persist the growing insecurity in the African region and by this, Aguilar stated “*The OAU struggled to enforce its decisions and its lack of an army made it difficult to intervene in civil wars and countries struggling with colonialism.* (Aguilar et.al 2008).

Then going by these challenges ahead of OAU to suppress the bipolar fashion of the U.N that sees the superpower retaining the dominating gain of the international system, there were laws and charter enacted at the formation of the OAU under

which the norms and functional role of the organization was stipulated and that which has been subjected to modification in strengthening the functional effectiveness of the organization within the region and in streamlining the forces of unforeseen foreign interference. Some of the norms and functional role highlighted in the Charter of the organization in broadening the framework that necessitated the establishment of the regional security structure according to Aning, were the quest to maintain.

- Sovereign equality of member states (Article 4a)
- Non intervention by member states (Article 4g)
- African solutions to African problems
- Uti possidetis ( which in context of this study stipulates that colonial administrative boundaries would be perceived as international boundaries and quest to maintain the continent's strong anti-imperialist traditions and hence supports African solutions to conflicts wherever possible is perceived to be essential) (Article 4b)
- Non use of force/peaceful settlement of disputes (Articles 4e, 4f, 4i)
- Condemnation of unconstitutional changes of government (Article 4p)
- The AU's right to intervene in a member state in grave circumstances (Article 4h). (Aning, 3:2008).

These norms and functional role of the OAU has remained the platform for continuity which other increasing importance were being maintained upon. For instance in 1980 in one of the summit of the organization held in Lagos Nigeria, there was an adoption of additional responsibility included in the charter of the organization. According to Aguilar this additional role of the organization is on "*the need to take urgent action to provide the political support necessary for the success of the measures to achieve the goals of rapid self-reliance and self-sustaining development and economic growth.*" (Aguilar et.al 2008).

Furthermore on these was the summit held in Durban in the Republic of South Africa on July 8, 2002 whereby the need for full African Economic Development was adopted as part of the organizational norms and also accepted in the summit was a change in the name of the organization from Organization of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU) and also change in scope of the organization from just fighting

to promote peace and security to fighting colonialism and apartheid. As Aguila Posits on the focus aim of the AU *to' unify its 53 Member States politically, socially and economically.* (Aguilar et.al 2008).

Hence having perceived globalization as a form of neo-colonialism, economic glocalization became essential need of Nigeria and rest of 3rd world African nations in order to guide against capitalist imperialism brought by globalization policies. That which has being perceived to be exposing weaker economic African nations to economic dependent under the capitalist society and by which collapse of political authority in the African environment has being accelerated and insecurity from factional groups struggling for power has become inevitable.

All these, became the core reasons responsible for defining the new principles and objectives of the organization's security policy that is approved as a Constitutive Act of July 2002 which were centred on two general preferences for non-intervention. First, the union has repeatedly confirmed that it will not tolerate “unconstitutional changes of government.” Second, it claims a new right of humanitarian intervention under Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act. (Williams, 6:2011). These roles are further explained below.

### **3.4.1 Functional Role of Addressing Unconstitutional Changes of Government**

Before the adoption of the Constitutive act, AU has being preoccupied with the tenet of illegitimate unconstitutional changes in government which has being a major challenge to the security of the continent as the Union remain indifferent to how states leaders within the organization assumed power even though there are sometimes criticism on brutal platform of some leaders procedure of assuming power like the condemnation of Burundi coup of July 1996, Sierra Leone in May 1997, among others of such brutal overthrow of power, however with the ratification of the Constitutive act in 2002, the Union has being able to uphold a policy that recognize legitimate means of assuming power.

Hence with this, from 2003, the Union has being condemning in outright form, any successful military overthrow of power like those that transpire around Central African Republic (2003), Guinea-Bissau (2003), São Tomé and Príncipe (2003),

Togo (2005), Mauritania (2005 and 2008), Guinea (2008), Madagascar (2009), and Niger (2010). It is also now commonplace for the AU to make public statements in favour of democratic governance, and the union has explicitly kicked against “authoritarian” governance structures and stare crisis outbreak.

Through this, the union have being taking up self responsibility of guiding the region from violence outbreak without having to depend or wait for international order.

### **3.4.2 Functional Role of Addressing Humanitarian Intervention**

Like the functional role of addressing unconstitutional changes of government, the humanitarian invention role has stipulated in Article 4(h) of the Union Charter which also had it root function from the old functional norms of the Union following the flaws in handling the regional security challenges by the global organization and by this role, the union carry out this function following recommendation of Peace and Security Council(PSC) of the organization on the appropriate right to intervene in member state security challenges when there is life threatening circumstance like, war, genocide and other crimes against humanity. According to Williams, In the late 1990s, Libya began lobbying for a stronger AU with powers to collectively mobilize against external aggression, generating a set of debates about the shape of the new union; at around the same time, the moral impetus to stop mass atrocities was growing in salience, particularly after the release in May 2000 of the OAU’s report on the international failure to prevent Rwanda’s 1994 genocide.( Williams, 2011).

This agenda was known to have suffered a setback following the position of other powerful state like Egypt, Nigeria among others within the continent who push for limited power of the union to intervene in member nations due to inherited atrocities that is well pronounce among such nation states couple with the contradicting position of the agenda with the partnering article 53 of the U.N global organization charter in which U.N position has being prevailing. As Williams perceived it, ‘while there is some debate on this matter, the weight of international legal opinion sees humanitarian intervention authorized outside the UNSC as illegal’.

So as a result of these, when the agenda was finally ratified in 2002, there has being the challenge of invoking the act in article 4(h) of the union charter for justifying

military action against member state even when necessary due to inherited legacies of powerful nation within the global organization defying U.N international which has remain visible within the regional organization and also as powerful host state feels comfortable to recall the residual power of the principle of non- interference in nation state issue. So based on these individuals and groups that have lost hope in credibility of the regional organization and the global organization have transformed private act of agitation into regional and global movement of violent threats.

It is in reference to these, that asymmetric violent groups like the Boko Haram in Nigeria where justifying claim of their violent action according to their leader Muhammed Yusuf in an interview granted to BBC (British Broadcasting Corporations) as quoted by Agbiboa, he posited: "*Western style education is mixed with issues that run contrary to our believe in Islam*", and also argued that the land was an Islamic state before the colonial masters turned it to a Kaffir (infidel) land. (Agbiboa 2014).

Moreso, it is in this vein that African leaders are beginning to perceive the essentials of structural change in trend of partnership with the global organization. In reference to this, Aning also posited that, "however, much as there is a recognition of the potential for and some- times the reality of greater involvement by regional agencies in conflict prevention and management in all regions, in cooperation with the UN, the real challenge is to replace the improvised, politically selective, resource skewed approach to regionalism with a more planned, consistent yet flexible, and resource balanced style of regional and global governance on the part of the UNSC." (Aning, 8:2008).

Furthermore as it has becomes essential for the regional organization to make a shift off the position of having the need to justify their legal right to intervene in issues among member states, Robert Mugabe who is the President of Zimbabwe and the current Chairman of the AU as at the time of this study has being promoting the need for AU autonomy in order to uphold the true vision in which the organization was established. By this he posited in the recent summit of the African Union held in Johannesburg, South Africa in June, 2015 that: *the International Criminal Court was a court for Western countries, dispensing Western injustice on Africans.* (News24, 06: 2015).

Hence by these, to uphold the true course of African Union in forming an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own 'internal' members and representing a dynamic impact in the global society, then recognizing the African court system that will be the highest decision making body for the region becomes essential.

## **4 OVERVIEW OF NIGERIAN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN A GLOBAL WORLD**

### **4.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF NIGERIAN FORMATION**

From the historical point of view, the trend into the formation of Nigerian came up following the adventurous voyage of the western superpower led by Christopher Columbus into the shore of Africa in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and during those times were the quest for human power by the global North nations. So as a result of these, the exploration voyage was turned into eventual exploitation of the continent resources (both human and materials) to assist the developmental work of the western world. This process went by for over 500 years between 14<sup>th</sup> century and 18<sup>th</sup> century among the western powers, before a law was instituted in Berlin to review the conflict of interest rising over random exploitation among the western power at the conference called the Berlin conference of 1885.

At the conference a principle was enunciated which was known as 'dual mandate' to serve as guide for the interests of both Western world and Africa towards maintaining a form of mutual gains on the exploitation trade and African's access to civilized political world. During these times, the Niger Basin which later forms the Nigeria nation was ceded to the Britain, although France and Germany as at the time also showed interest in the region and this action called for hastened establishment of an effective administration by the British which was the creation of the protectorates of the Northern and Southern Nigeria for effective control of the environment.

According to Bill *'Frederick Lord Lugard who assumed the position of high commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900 was occupied with transforming the commercial sphere of influence inherited from the Royal Niger Company into a viable territorial unit under effective British political control because the whole Niger basin region comprises of inhabitants with different tribe'*. (Bill, 1984). By these times, the social cultural values of both protectorates was been eroded and thus for better administrative purpose, the Northern and Southern protectorates was instituted and later amalgamated in 1914 to become Nigeria. After the amalgamation, the only thing both protectorates retain together is the name of the

country as both protectorates still have their own separate administrative setups following the differences in tribes and ethnics prior to the amalgamation. Still after the amalgamation the differences was been sustain among the tribal groups till nation's independent in 1960 and beyond.

These tribal differences has over the time, remain the root of the nation's security challenges, and following the fact that Nigeria remain the biggest nation within Africa continent and also maintaining the status quo of being the centre piece of all African foreign policies, security challenges in the country easily tends to be having an impact on other countries security issue within the continent. So based on this, Nigerian foreign policies go a long way in dictating the socio political and socio cultural life of the other African nations. A condition which has being the reasons behind this thesis focusing on Nigerian security challenge to determine the security issues of other African Nations.

However, following the differences clustering around regional ethnicity among others which has sets into Nigeria administrative system prior to the national amalgamation of the regions and even as at the time of independent of the nation in which the different ethnical groups were united to become one, several security challenges has erupted in the country. These challenges are the once clustering around both the internal and external factors of the country. The Internal factors are the visible internal problems which are characterized by the economic factor of the country, socio-cultural factors among others, while the external factors revolves around the globalization factors that are also characterized by global political factors, global social economic factors among others before the new faces of security challenges the nation is being confronted with. All these will be briefly discussed one after the other in the below sections:

## **4.2. INTERNAL ROOTS OF NIGERIA SECURITY CHALLENGES**

### **4.2.1 Political Factors:**

Like many other African nations, Nigeria was a provincial area of different social-cultural group before the British who were the colonial power administering the

colonization of the country decided to amalgamate the area for easy administrative purpose in 1914 under Frederick Lugard who was the British high commissioner in the country then. After the amalgamation, the only thing that both protectorates have ever truly shared in common is the name Nigeria since both protectorates had maintained different ethnical, cultural and administrative institution prior to the amalgamation. This, to some extent, became one of the sources of insecurity the nation has being confronted with as the spirit of national unity in which a nation thrives has never being binding on the different regions in the area after the amalgamation and even after the independent of the country.

Few years into the amalgamation of the provincial territories that became Nigeria, there was Sir Hugh Clifford who emerged as the Governor General of Nigeria between 1920 and 1931. In his assumption of the position, he described Nigeria at the Nigeria Council debates in Lagos in 1920 as "a collection of independent Native States, separated from one another by great distances, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers." (Atofarati, 1992:3).

This implies that, even though Frederick Lugard succeeded in uniting the provincial territory that made up Nigeria, the essential predominant ethnic group within the regions has never changed. The existing ethnical groups within the amalgamated regions still continues to derive their way of life more from the ethnic province than living as an amalgamated region whereby the need to tolerate other ethnic identities is essential. It is reference to this, that Justin has recognized the ethnical factions of Nigeria groups when he posited that 'the three predominant factions were the Igbo in the southeast between 60 - 70% of population and they were by and large Catholic Christians; the Hausa - Fulani in the northern part about 65% of the population were mostly Muslims and the Yoruba in the south western about 75% of population belonged to the different sects of Christianity and Islam' (Justin et, al. 2013). However, it is essential for these predominant ethnical groups to be united in order to consolidate the national unity

So based on this Sir Huges Clifford aimed at increasing political awareness, which was expected to serve for consolidating Nigerian Unity, and by this a constitution was enacted in 1922 which gave the chance to the different regions of the provincial

territory to elect their representative to sit on the Nigerian Legislative Council, although the constitution did not empower them fully to contribute in making laws for the Northern region, but being the first constitution, it sensitized the people politically, and it embodied the principle of election in the country till 1940. By 1940, Nigeria was divided into four administrative units in which the Lagos colony was recognized along with Northern, Eastern and Western provinces. This administrative division, with increased power for the colony and the provinces, deepened sense of separateness among the provinces and following these, *'the constitution established an Executive Council to advise the governor until 1943 that the first two unofficial Africans were appointed into the Executive Council'* (Okonkwo: 1962, p.211). The constitution was administered in the country for a time frame of 25 years.

In 1946, there was Sir Arthur Richardson's Constitution that inaugurated Nigeria's regionalism, by which the North and the South were legislatively integrated. During the 1940s and 1950s, the Igbo and Yoruba parties, which represented the Southern region of the country, were in the forefront of the fight for independence from Britain till the new constitution was inaugurated.

By the 1951 Macpherson's Constitution was set up, which accepted a quasi-federal structure for the country. Under this constitution, Nigeria started to struggle for securing self-governance as contrary to the view of the leaders of the Northern part that preferred the perpetuation of British rule because they thought that the independence would bring more political and economic domination by the Westernized elites in the South. Therefore, the North, for the first time based on this insinuation, started to mention explicitly the possibility of secession rather than to endure what they perceived as humiliation and ill-treatment.

The constitution ushered in the formation of new political parties, which was perceived to be engulfed with some shortcomings like granting of electoral franchise that is limited by economic status and sex, enactment of an electoral process into the Federal Legislative Council that was deemed to be unsatisfactory by some politicians and lastly, the constitution was also seen as the one which further deepened the ethnic gap in the country. Hence, the political parties, which were created under this constitution like the Action Group and Northern People Congress, were forged along

ethnic line and these eventually render the Macpherson's Constitution ineffective in sustaining unity for the country and this eventually led to the enactment of new constitution in 1954.

In 1954 Lyttelton's Constitution was enacted which provided greater representation to the people of Nigeria in decision making, as the people were already strongly agitating for independent following the movement for the motion of self-government, which was led by a member of the House of Representatives, Chief Anthony Enahoro of the Action Group Party in 1953. By 1956, the movement has grown into crisis at the floor of the House as the Northern delegates opposed the movement on the ground that the Northern delegates were unprepared for such sudden decision. 'The leader of the NPC (Northern People's Congress) in the House, Sir Ahmadu Bello proposed that the date 1956 should be substituted with 'as practicable as possible.' (Olusanya, 536:1980). In the constitution, the demand of each region was recognized and Lagos was created into the Federal territory. The 1954 constitution then confirmed and formalized the wishes of Nigerian leaders to move and remain as far apart as they possibly could by having self-government and thereafter things happened fast in the political arena as there were various constitutional conferences in 1957, 1958, 1959 and in 1960 which finally culminate the granting of independence to Nigeria on October 1, 1960.

Despite gaining independency, Nigeria remained like "a state without unity", a society of 300 ethnic and cultural groups as at the time of independence. Although the Independence Constitution emphasized civil and political rights of the people and adopted a federal structure with the intent to provide representation to each region, serious challenges to the unity of the nation started to be emerging from the regional parties. The power struggle among different ethnic groups inevitably turned into an ethnic-sponsored violence.

The growing violence collapsed the first civilian rule of the First Republic in a military coup in 1966, which was followed by a counter coup that resulted into civil war between 1967-1970. Although the parties of civil war reached a ceasefire in 1970, but still, the psychological trauma remained. By 1979, the country returned to civilian rule and a new Constitution was adopted. The 1979 Constitution reaffirmed the civil and political rights to recognize human right to life, liberty and self dignity.

Despite the recognition of these rights, the Second Republic had poor records of human rights. Therefore, the power struggle among regional parties was once again triggered between 1979 and 1983. Then, another military coup happened which saw the military taken over power and the country was ruled under military leader until 1999.

In 1999 when the civilian gain back the power as the country returned to democratic system under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo, he promised to reduce the military influence and establish the democratic system. However, as the country returned to democratic system, some regional groups in the country feels marginalized and unsatisfied with the government, and because of these, they started getting involved in criminal activities, such as promoting illicit flows of money, arms and drugs, which later turned into instruments of brewing security violence in the country. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the seeds of current security challenge in Nigeria and the likes of other 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries were rooted in the nation's political history. Hence the security threats in Nigeria is a part of the historical political struggle from opposing ethnic groups striving to deter rival group from dominating power, rather than upholding the national unity.

#### **4.2.2. Economic Factors:**

Also like the political factor, economic factor is another internal security threat to the unity of Nigeria. Since the nation's independent in 1960 when the colonial master exploration in Nigeria formally ended, there has being various reforms in the administrative system of the country especially on the economic sector following the early agitations for better formula in the management of the nations resources by the different ethnic groups in the country most especially after the discovery of oil in the country in 1958 which has since became the national source of economy.

So following the agitations by the different ethnical groups in the nations for better federal resource benefits, there was clash of interest over revenue allocation in which the Easterners claimed they deserve better allocation due to oil discovery from Oloibiri in the Niger Delta of the Eastern region while the other regions perceived other formula in allocation of the federal resources to the equal benefit of all. The whole agitation was what eventually led to the national civil war that broke out in the

nation between 1967-1970. And at the end of the civil war, when normalcy returned into the nation with the emergence of Yakubu Gowon, a Northerner as the military head of state, various forms of economic reformation were further put in place to satisfy the quest of the different ethnic groups in the country like creation of much states in order to come up with a revenue formula that can appeal to the agitation of the different ethnic groups and moreover the government embarking on economic programme like 'Operation feed the nation' to address poverty and different economic challenge in the nation.

However, rather than the appeal of these ideas to the ethnical agitations of the groups, it further accelerated context of structural imbalance as the Niger Delta ethnic groups from the Eastern part remain uncomfortable with the idea of much state creation in order to manage the challenges of revenue sharing as they continually demand for better allocation in which government is expected to compensate the people of the region over damages done while exploring the oil resources of the region and at the same time the Northerners that were been perceived to be more "parasitic on the resources of other regions due to the absence of natural resources from their regions" (Onimode, 2000), were also clamouring on their regional poor which eventually arose the application of global economic reform by the subsequent government which is in line with opinions of World bank, International Monetary fund among others that serves as the financial supporter of the last order. It is in view of this that Onimode posited further: "*the programme of economic reform in Nigeria has its ideological roots and orientation in the scheme of neo-liberal globalization as championed by the West under the aegis of the trio of the World Bank, IMF and the WTO*". (Onimode, 2000).

Based on this, the administrative system of Nigeria is being embedded in the core ideals of free market economy like privatisation, liberalization, de-regulation among others since the return of administrative power to civilian democratic government in 1999. Hence with the new economic reform, according to Etham '*over a hundred Public Enterprises have been divested of public ownership, with attendant job losses and the stripping of majority of Nigerians off their claims to property rights, which they enjoyed as citizens*'. (Etham, 5:2007).

Moreso on the trend of economic reform, there has being increasing privatization of other sectors of the national economy like the education, health, housing, etc. however following these privatization, there has being de-subsidization of the basic social service whereby majority of Nigerian who can't afford the competitive financial status have being excluded from enjoying the sound benefit of these basic economic assistance. As a result of these, there has being disparity among the able and the low income citizen and by this there has being increase in violent eruption among the nation's social economic classes.

Furthermore, there has being negative impact of trade liberation in which there has being closure of several domestic industry as a result of improper regulation of import products which have being dominating the domestic markets and going by this, there has being roll back in the state economic in which state values are being eroded as citizen tend to be more attached to import products. The consequence of which has being instigation of act of extremism, fanaticism and most especially grievances from states elites who feel excluded as the national domain remain under the control of foreign market value. However in the process of state attempt to regulate the adverse impact of trade liberation on the nation, several dialogues and mechanism are bound to be employed to prevent clash of interest over economic issues. Thus in the process of dialogue conflicting views are visible and going by Etham assertion, *'in the absence of a constructive dialogue and as a result of adverse impact of economic reforms, violent outburst became inevitable'*. (Etham, 5:2007).

Base on this, when violent becomes inevitable, the national security will sure remain under threat. It is the inevitable of such violence in absence of constructive dialogue that violence has being instigated from various aggrieved groups like the Niger-Delta militant groups among others which have grown to become National security threat to the nation.

#### **4.2.3 Socio-Cultural Factors**

Also on socio-cultural factors, the nation Nigeria like many other African society is a nation characterized by traditional value system such as maintaining loyalty to

authority and community collectivism, honesty, truthfulness, hard work, mutual harmony and coexistence, societal love for each and varying multi ethnic gods that were been consulted in protecting the peoples life and also in maintaining justice system peculiar to each society. If anyone is caught up as being threat to another or engages in some kind of theft even though it's carried out in private, the traditional gods were quickly consulted for proper justice as human lives is highly valued by the people and the justice of the gods were deeply respect. In the different ethnic society of Nigeria, were the Arochukwu gods, Sango, Oya among others.

These belief systems where the socio-cultural value system that has kept the society prior to western interference in the administrative system of the traditional society. After the amalgamation, the justice system was rendered ineffective as there was lack of cordiality among ethnic society which has spread to become national. Hence new value was allowed to take over the ethnic culture with the so called civilization and through it, the traditional values and morals were traded off for western values and based on these, there has being internal security threat in sustaining the traditional value upon which the various ethnic societies have survived. It is in reference to this that Achumba has espoused Obama's challenge to society as he posits: *“Our challenges may be new. The instrument with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends are hard work and honesty, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism, these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quick force of progress throughout our history, what is demanded then is a return to these truths”*. (Achumba et,al82:2009).

However these internal social cultural values where seen to have been lost as the various regional group after independent were compelled to adopt modern independent constitution that waved off the practice of some regional traditional rights. For instance, the social cultural values of the South Western gods of masquerades which the people have a symbolic attachment to for prayers in the beginning of every year, the condition of the rituals of the masquerade was that when the masquerade will be coming out during the daylight, nobody must walk in the city, but following modernization and subsequent constitution after independent, the cultural value was eroded as constitutions were made to restrict the traditional right of such rituals under the assertion that such rights were being enjoyed to the detriment of others.

So as the power of the cultural gods which people hold in highest esteem for protection and guidance's were weakened by modern laws and policies, violence became inevitable as the respect and fear of the consequence of the rituals from the gods was overlooked and the constitutional laws has being insufficient to fill the vacuum which the cultural gods hold in minds of modernization. It in reference to this also that people are beginning to advocate for the gods of iron to be re introduced into the Nigeria judiciary system that when people are in the court of law and are meant to swear to an oath or as witness, they should be asked to swear with an iron that symbolise the gods of iron along the Bible and the Quran which people use in the modern Nigeria court because with the iron people get more scared and will choose to be more honest compare to when they only have to swear by the Bible and the Quran.

### **4.3. ROOTS OF SECURITY CHALLENGES: EXTERNAL FACTORS**

#### **4.3.1 Global Political Factors**

Issue of security that has to do with freedom has no doubt become a global issue which has transcended beyond individual nation state. And following the globalization process, a state can be said to be secured when there is adequate protection of lives and properties of citizens. In addition to this, a state can be said to be secured when there is adequate protection of the territorial sovereignty without having to sacrifice the national values of such state, and in the event of challenge to such protection, then the state government should be able to live up to the task of securing its political territory and assuring its citizen of an average stable socio-economic life for national peacebuilding. However, these protective functions of Nigeria as a sovereign state has being challenged over the time by various global factors aside the internal factor and that which global politics as being one.

Global politics has been regarded to be one of the security challenges to Nigeria unity as well as other African nations following the historical acknowledgement that through globalization, there has being transition in order of integration from the period of colonization of Nigeria like other African countries and the modern trend

of globalization process after U.N formation. So as result of these the colonial legacies of the western superpower which has being the basis of Nigeria political system has been understood to have partly stare insecurity in Nigeria prior to independent after independent. But even after Nigeria independence , the colonial masters have continued to remain the dominant power of the globalization process and as a result of this, the political dominant and exploitation is being renewed and by this, the sovereign right of Nigeria is systematically eroded through global political strategies and policies which is being maintained to suit the political sphere of the onetime colonial masters who have become the decision making body of the United Nation Security Council that controls the global political affairs. So based on these, the functional role of the U.N charter specified in Chapter VII, article 39 which gives a wider discretion to determining “the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression”, and to “make recommendations”, or to “decide what measures can be taken to address member states challenges has being noted to have being taken advantage on in exploiting Nigeria politically which has also being responsible for the nations insecurity challenges.

It is in reference to this that Ibrahim while looking into this from African perspectives that he has posited that *‘Specific impact of globalization on Africa were identified in the political sphere, the most important consequence is the erosion of sovereignty, especially on economic and financial matters, as a result of the imposition of models, strategies and policies of development on African countries by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization’*(Ibrahim, 2013). These have thus being responsible for economic struggle in Nigeria which has bred national insecurity.

#### **4.3.2 Global Economic Factor**

Like the global political factor, global economic factor has being another external security challenge to the unity of Nigeria. This factor has being visible as the barriers imposed by state boundaries is being brought down under the guise of global integration and economic liberation as it allows the economic powerful states to penetrates the economic weak states and perfect the international division of labour

in which all societies already knows their category. Based on this according to Ayoob the *'benefits of economic liberation goes disproportionately to the industrialized countries of the global North'*. (Ayoob, 15:20005).

For instance, the key international economic institutions like the world bank, IMF, WTO among others which supports financial projects of nations states were known to have being dominated by global North, and by this they have being able to set exchange rates of capital flow and also determine the fiscal policies in global market which has make the benefit of global trade to be unfavourable to Nigeria and the rest of developing third world nations who have to really on these policies to determine their market positions and hope for economic supports from the global institution.

Also, on the flow of manpower, there has being restriction to easy mobility of manpower for employment opportunity among the less developed countries following the border control that has hinder the chances of verse labour productivity being enjoyed by the developed nations. It is in reference to this that Wolf has maintained on limitation clustering around trade liberation within the global world after the formation of the U.N in which he stated that:

*'yet governments' control over the movement of people in search of employment tightened virtually everywhere in the early part of the last century. With the exception of the free immigration policy among members of the European Union (eu), immigration controls are generally far tighter now than they were a hundred years ago. The policy change that has most helped global integration to flourish is the growth of international institutions since World War II'*.(Wolf, 7:2001).

By this, the international institutions which are the industrial market of the developed nations tend to be dominating since the developing nations like Nigeria as well as other 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries are still at the struggling state with the production of low cost production of manufactured goods and by this, there has being low wage and salary. Hence with this, the disproportionate of global economy is being enhanced to the benefit of the industrial North nations and that which has adversely become a challenge to the developing nations whose citizens have to struggle to be integrated into the developed nation's societies for better economy opportunity. Through this,

there is loose of national identity by the masses of the populace which remain scattered all over developed economic nations in search for better living and this has thus become a security threat to Nigeria and host of other developing nations.

Moreso, majority of economic interactions that was supposed to be the benefits of free global economic trade were known to have being restricted for transactions among the economic powerful nations like America, Europe among others. Transactions that involve capital mobility such as investment and employment, while Nigeria and rest of the world were expected to remain marginalized in both investment and trade of low cost productions of manufactured goods. And even at that, such productions which could have being used to earn a competitive advantage were restricted from having a market place in the global North environment. It is in reference to this that Ayoob has also argued on " *the recent American decision to impose steep tariffs on the import steel and the EU's policy of subsidizing agriculture under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) for prime examples of this phenomenon. (Ayoob, 15:2005).*

This is to imply that such decision is a deliberate attempt to use social and environmental criteria to restrict cheaper imports from Nigeria and rest of developing 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations. It is in recognition of the consequence of such action that Adamu quoted Mr Wolfgang Thierse, the president of the German Bundestag, expression in the April/ May of 2002 issued on the periodical Deutschland in which he posits that " *what we refer to today as globalisation is a Western dominated form of economic power which is breaking and entering into all the world's cultures, and which endeavours to reduce people to their economic functions as consumers and producers.... If people believe that their own cultures are being marginalised, their religion disdained, their ties and bonds undermined, then their reactions are predictable*"(Adamu, 2013).

Hence with these, violent outbreak is predictable from the poor as the logic of economic globalization and economic liberation in which the barriers to state boundaries that has being brought down seems have being enhancing the economic interest of the superpower against the weak and by this the poor nations have continue to remain poorer. Thus the consequence has become the asymmetric

security threats from weak in efforts to agitate total displeasure to globalization structure.

### **4.3.3 Socio-Cultural Factor.**

Another external security factor to the unity of Nigeria has being the global socio-cultural factor. This factor has being noticeable as the process of globalization under the U.N. system is seen to be structured in a unipolar direction along the global North due to most socio cultural activities that has to do with technology are known to be peculiar culture of the industrialized North and this process of globalization has being put to be a journey towards an unreachable destination. As its being argues by Wolf "*Globalization is a journey. But a journey toward an unreachable destination- "the globalized world".(Wolf, 2: 2001).*

The reality of this argument in place of the challenge of the global socio-cultural can be understood from the dimension of how the mass media as tools of globalization has being projecting the global socio-cultural factor in a disproportional way which has drawn the attention to the dark shadows in North-South relations.

For instance, as globalization is enhancing export and import of cultures, so also it has being structured to promote cultural invasion as the global north retain the ownership right of the technological tools of the mass media which is being used to promote disproportionate dissemination of culture. According to Adamu while looking into the power of media technology as being utilized by the global North, she posits. '*Technology is power. It becomes the carrier to those systems and ideologies (Values and cultures) within which it has nurtured*'. (Adamu, 55:2009).

So based on the ownership right retain by the Global North, the whole idea of global development is decisively shaped by the Global North life-style and world view.

More to these, the unipolar culture is fast representing the global culture in which the developing African nations social cultural value is far being eroded by the Global North unipolar culture through the media technology in the name of globalization. It is based on this that Adamu posits further on the tenet of mainstream global media that, "*the tendency is to accept the efficiency with productivity without any concern for compassion or justice*'. (Adamu, 55:2009).

However, following the fact that Nigeria like many other 3rd world countries, believes in a very strong practice of community ownership of land and property, this cultural ideology has been known to contradict the global North ideology of individual property accumulation that is being encourage under the phrase " freedom of information dissemination but that which is being disseminated without compassion for any balancing". So this position can be said to have being defaulted through the global media as the functional role of the U.N in uniting member states for peace as being contained in chapter VII of the organization charter. For instance, according to Farooq, *'the global media, often presented as the epitome of globalisation, is the province of fewer than one hundred firms. Sixty-eight percent of global media exports originate from the US. The UK is a distant runner-up (9 percent), but British export is still three times as much as its nearest rivals, France and Australia. Cultural artefacts contribute some \$110 billion to American GDP and £11.6 billion in the case of the UK.'*(Farooq, 2012).

By this the global culture of Nigeria is being dominated upon and gradually eroded off global society. Also through this integration being promoted by globalization, Nigeria is being exploited as the cultural artefacts of the superpower nations are being disproportionately passed unto Nigeria like other 3rd world nations. Hence the consequence of this has thus being intra-communal rivalry out of struggle to dominate the local environment which has become transformed into national security threats.

#### **4.4 NEW FACES OF NIGERIAN INSECURITY: THE NIGER DELTA MILITANT GROUP AND BOKO HARAM TERRORIST INSURGENCE**

Following the inadequate attention to the threatening Nigeria security challenges, both the internal and external political, economic and socio-cultural factors have led to the emergence of the new security challenges in Nigeria. But under the face of the new security challenges, the magnitude of violent actions being perpetrated has increased in the Nigeria and around the world and they were challenges that are directly carried out unlike the challenges that were indirectly erupting. Moreso, there

has been an increase in regional political consciousness among ethnic groups in Nigeria and the rest of the developing nations, which have in time sprung up national security challenge to the unity of Nigeria and the rest of African developing nations, most especially among ethnic groups from colonized states who have remain politically divided for long even in the midst of colonial influence at uniting the system politically. For instance, in Nigeria like many other African Nations, the quest for political supremacy among the divided cultural and ethnical groups that existed in the country prior to the influence of the colonialist at uniting the nation has remained the same until independent and even after independent. It has remained the root source of modern form of security threats to the unity of the country.

However, the new dimension of security challenges to the unity of the country has being the one aided by the nation's exposure to the structural formation of globalization, the political influence and the public exposure to the tools of globalization under the U.N global actor which has over the time transform the activities of violence being carried out by the various social-cultural groups within the regional environment in the past into carrying out direct national attacks by the different ethnical groups in the country.

Having grown of the security threats from the divided ethnical groups into frontier national violent groups acting in the name of ethnical regions in the country, the various transitions in government power from independent have equally aided the activities of those regional violent groups as they tends to act in opposition to the region of any sitting government until 1999. However, from 1999 when Nigeria fully returns to democratic government, new chapter of security threats was being faced by the country as the long history of violent and security challenges in the country which was been characterized by political leadership struggle, economic struggle, and socio-cultural crises turning into an outbreak of bloody terrorist violence orchestrated in different dimensions from the different regional violent groups in the nation. According to Ogbonnaya while buttressing on the views and dimension of the violent attacks in the nation, he posited that;

*'When viewed from outside, it does seem that these conflicts boil down to religious differences, tensions between blocs of Muslim and Christian inhabitants. But on a closer consideration, one finds that politics – more precisely, control of government*

*patronage – is the primary cause of many of these conflicts’.* (Ogbonnaya et. al, 2003).

Thus by this, the violent actions of the regional groups in the country can be put to be a form of action that has been motivated from aggrieved regional violent groups. The action of these groups can be said to have being ignited by actions from groups that can be splited into the non-state actors who are the aggressive violent group and the state- actors whose action under unofficial circumstances changed from the normal cause of responsibility to that which often stair domestic violent and agitation in the state. Based on these therefore, it will be essential to understand the actors responsible for terrorism which is the new of insecurity in the country as it will be briefly analysed under the category of non-state actors and state actors in order to identify the interlink of the new security threats in the country and its points of connection with the global world.

**The non-state actors** are the actors that share many characteristics in common with other international opposition bodies to the government that are responsible for local and international mostly popularised terrorist actions. They have their network scattered around the globe following the aids of global technology that allow easy connection for them in order to plan a simultaneous actions across the world. Their examples in Nigeria are the **Niger Delta Militant** and the **Boko Haram** terrorist groups.

According to former president Jonathan of Nigeria in an interview about Boko Haram and crises situation in Nigeria with Christiane Amanpour of CNN, he maintained on the Boko Haram terrorist groups that” they have got links with other terrorists groups of Al- Quaeda in Northern Mali and other parts of the nations after the dethrone of Ghadaffi and these, they really on for strategies and supports for continuous spreads of their violent actions”. Hence act of terrorism in Nigeria can be referred to be a global movement, but that which came into global recognition after the attacks of September 11, 2001 bombing in the US which led to several intelligent reports on various terrorist groups spreading around the world with additional reports of the recent pledge of allegiance by Nigeria terrorist groups to the frontline global terrorist movement.

The **state actors** on the other hand are actors that are not well discussed about as the non-state actors that sometimes engages in terrorism following the fact that their activities are expected to be literarily base on the national consent, but they can also get involved in instigating violent act when they act contrary to the will of the people as a result of corruption tendency, greediness and being power drunk. They abuse the prerogative of legitimacy by mismanaging of the state resources and unofficially take some actions which are tenable at inducing domestic violence in the nation among groups of rival ideology. They got involved in instigating terror acts under three conditions that can be identified as:

- Governmental or "State" terror
- State involvement in terror
- State sponsorship of terrorism and extremism

However, in relations to Nigeria, the act of state actor in terrorism is a condition of state sponsorship of terrorism and extremism as a result of their corruption and greediness. Under this condition has being the involvement of the government in supports of the non-state actors by financing, training and providing safe haven for terrorist organization, coupled with providing false documentations for transactions and weapon purchase that are not available for terrorist groups in the country. An example of this is the allegation involving Nigerian government as part of illegal transaction on purchase of armed weapon at the cost of 9.3million dollars in 2014 from South Africa which has over the time ignite social, psychological and political conflicts among citizens in the country. (PREMIUM TIMES, 2014:09).

It is in reference to this after months of controversies on the allegation that Nigerian news cleared the air through a published report that “the Nigerian government had on Tuesday admitted that it owned the \$9.3million cash smuggled into South Africa aboard a private jet and seized by the authorities of that country”(PREMIUM TIMES 2014:09). Based on this has being the criticism of idea of government that is being encouraged by globalization process. It is in reference to this, that Baylis cited critic’s experts Peter who have criticised system of global government as efforts:

*‘to be in pursuit of power in order to correct flaws within the society but retain the overarching system’(Baylis et, al, 2011).*

With these, state actors activities are terrorism under unofficial transaction, although challenge of such authorization is rarely acknowledged openly, but be that as it may, it will be important to understand deeply the new face of insecurity in Nigeria which are being perpetuated by the terrorist insurgence of the Niger Delta Militant Groups and the Boko Haram.

#### **4.4.1. The Niger Delta Militant Group**

The Niger Delta Militant groups which are in category of the violent non- state actors are recognized terrorist groups in South Eastern part of Nigeria threatening the unity of the country in recent time particularly since the return of power to democratic government in 1999. The activities of their action was known to have sprung up by a small group of people agitating for compensations over acclaimed injustice and insensitivity from the government to address number of destructive capability happening in their region, and in the space of time while trying to express their grievances, the region was marred with protest by people agitating for self-autonomy. The region by derivation was naturally endowed with oil as their natural resources and as a result of these, there were agitations for additional benefit to the region since the oil company like the Shell, Chevron among others licensed by the government to explore from the area seems not to be giving adequate corporate social responsibility back to the community and government revenue allocation seems unfavourable enough to the people and by which various demands and agitations of the people, government has remained insensitive.

Following government insensitive to their outcry, there was initial breakdown in laws and order in the region around 1998 which eventually escalated into different dimensions of violence from the people which was characterized by kidnapping of oil worker in the region both national and international worker, and posing all forms of terrorist acts in the region and as a result of these, their region was labelled “a lawless zone, where youths disrupt oil production activities in the region and the communities is frequently being engaged with conflicts and provocation, in destructive inter-and intra-community strife”(Niger-Delta Development Commission ([NDDC], 2004).

Those violent actions of the time which happen to be the era of transmission of power to a democratic leader in 1999 saw a leader from another region becoming the head of state. This reason in addition fuelled the violent action of the people in the area from just expressing their plight of being aggrieved towards engaging in full terrorism action of kidnapping and hostage taking of oil workers and top government inhabitants, bunkering, militancy and incessant disruptions of oil production activities in the region and also the destruction of oil and gas installations and facilities in the hope for securing autonomy and self-control of the oil resources of the region.

After success recoded in gaining government attentions and their actions became the national discuss around 1999, the anticipation grew and got hijacked by previously unavailable groups that followed suit in committing more violent acts out of desperation, in response to opportunity and by this; the existing groups got multiplied into factions with different dimension and motives of operations. The popularization of their actions on the media and the fear incited on the nation called for so many other groups like " Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) led by Henry Okah, the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Alhaji Asari Dokubo, the Niger Delta Vigilante force (NDVF) led by Ateke Tom, the Bush Boys, the Martyrs Brigade among others" (Ogbonnaya et all 2001) to join in the act. All those new groups spread across most parts of the Southern regions like Bayelsa, Akwa –Ibom, River State among others leading to shut down of oil production in the area following their continuous violence account like damaging of government and non-government properties, killing of oil workers and government civil workers across the region among others.

Despite majority's acknowledgement that the country was being terrorized, the Niger Delta Militant groups headed by the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) have termed their action as a reaction to call for the government's attention to the regional injustice and deprivation. According to Akpobibibo, *'the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) is the leading peoples' organisation at the forefront of the struggle for resource control and environmental justice in the Niger Delta. It was formed on the 11th of December 1998 with the issuance of the Kaiama Declaration that revealed the unabated damage to the environment as due to uncontrolled exploration and exploitation of crude oil and natural gas which has led to numerous oil spillages, uncontrolled gas*

*flaring, the opening up of forests for loggers, indiscriminate canalisation, flooding, land subsistence, coastal erosion, earth tremors etc'. (Akpobibibo,2002).*

A record of their deadly terrorist violence in the regions were reported over the time on the media like the report from the (Punch Newspaper of July, 13, 2006), that reported the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta ( MEND) combatant killing four naval personnel and injuring of three soldiers who were escorting a Chevron oil tanker along the Chomoni Creeks in the Warri South local government Area of Delta State in the Southern part of the Country, another newspaper( The Midweek Telegraph, between April 18- 24, 2007) also reported an attack on the Mini- Okoro, Elelenwo Police Station leaving many police officers dead during the attach.

Moreso on January 1, 2008, the Niger Delta Vigilante Force (NDVF) led by Ateke Tom was reported to have attacked a police station and a five star hotel in Port Harcourt in River State all in the Southern Region, and apart from these, there was also a record of attack on the nation also caused by MEND group at the Eagle Square in Abuja on October 1, 2010 during the moment of celebration of the nation's independent which is the Golden Jubilee of the nation's 50 years celebration. The list of their deadly attacks goes on and on and remains seemingly endless.

However, apart from engaging the region on the deadly attacks, hostage taking and kidnapping in order to demand for ransom was also identified as other forms of their terrorist operational activities. *"Between 2006 and 2009, there has being records of over 700s kidnapped cases"*(Paul et.al, 65: 2011). All attached to the cause of securing the long history of the entire region as they strive for self-autonomy and changing government policies over the regions. So as a of these result, it can be argued that the hopelessness of the youth in the region was what forced them into taking part in an asymmetric warfare against the state in order to gain political, economic and social demands for gaining a better living.

#### 4.4.2 The Boko Haram Insurgence

Boko Haram, as another terrorist group from the Northern part of the country, became stronger when the activities of the Niger Delta militant activities were being curtailed. The Boko Haram, includes a combination of two different meaning. *"The nomenclature, "Boko Haram," is derived from a combination of the Hausa word, boko (book), and the Arabic word, haram (forbidden). Put together, Boko Haram means "Western education is forbidden." (Agbiboa,2014).* In respect to this, the impact of globalization on Nigeria and the introduction of western type of education to Nigeria were seen by some as a sufficient reason to getting involved in terrorist activities. The leader and founder of Boko Haram, Mohammed Yusuf, for instance, criticized the process of globalization in an interview with (British Broadcasting Corporation) BBC stating *"Western style education is mixed with issues that run contrary to our believe in Islam", and also argued that the land was an Islamic state before the colonial masters turned it to a Kaffir (infidel) land.( Agbiboa 2014).*

Statement like this and actions embarked on were understood to have led into his manhunt. By his capture, the attacks from him and his groups temporarily stopped, but when the group re-emerged, there was change in both the organizational structure and modus operandi of their actions. The Boko Haram divided into multiple cells that are ruled by different hidden leaders and started to use different strategies and tactics, including suicide bombings, targeting all institutions represented by the national government and the UN office. In 2011, Abu Kakah, a spokesman of the group, stated that *"We are responsible for the bomb attack carried out on the U.N. building in Abuja,"* mentioning their standing view in opposition to western education.(Reuter News, 2011:08).

They also started the use of high sophisticated weapons, which raised the doubts about the possible link with international terrorist groups of Al-Qaeda, and tendencies to conduct more provocative attacks aiming to destabilize the unity of the nation. In addition, the group has been attempting to spread its influence over the new areas; such as Mubi in Yola, Baga in Borno, Potiscom, Malari and Sambisa in Maiduguri, in addition to the areas, namely Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Madalla (in Niger State), and Abuja, where they had already conducted their attacks. In fact, thousands

of policemen, soldiers and civilians lost their lives and millions of people have become homeless.

According to Agbibo, the group have split into three factions: one that remains moderate and welcomes an end to the violence; another that wants a peace agreement; and a third that refuses to negotiate and wants to implement strict Sharia law across Nigeria. (Agbibo,2014). In fact, the division into different cells made the attempts of the government to solve this issue peacefully to be more difficult. (Nigerian Crime News, May 31, 2011).

Finally, the attacks of Boko Haram became a direct threat to the whole political system, aiming to create an Islamic state under the law of Sharia and the leadership of Abubakar Shekarau.

Like the Niger Delta Militant group, Boko Haram also defined their terrorist acts as an asymmetric action carried out to create awareness in the public against the unfair policies of the government that made the region the poorest and the less developed part of the country. According to Mantzikos in an argument justifying the action of the group, he said *“infact a key element of the narrative put forward by Boko Haram is that the government is corrupt, uncaring, and unrepresentative of interests in the north”*. (Mantzikos, 89:2013).

In fact, it seems that terrorism in Nigeria became a form of violent activism of the marginalized regional groups who have been demanding for better political, economic and social conditions, which has being ignored by the government over the years. In other words, one of the reasons of political violence and terrorism in Nigeria has been the discontent of religious and ethnic groups about the policies of the government encouraged by the global society. It is also certain that the economic factors also played an important role for the increase of political violence and terrorism in Nigeria. Nwabuiro, for instance, while looking into the economic reasons behind violence in Nigeria, he maintained that *'in Nigeria where poverty is accommodated and crowned as a king, courtesy of bad managers of the country's abundant resources, the bitterness it arouses in the people has made the country vulnerable to violent eruptions with enormous costs in terms of lives and property'*. (Nwabuiro, 2008).

Besides the political and economic factors behind the violence and terrorism, the alleged support of the government of Nigeria has been perceived as one of the influential factors of increasing political violence and terrorism. The Nigerian government has been accused of financing, training and providing safe haven to the terrorist organizations. For instance, on the controversy allegation of Nigerian government involvement in the illegal finance and purchased of armed weapons in 2014, The Premium times Nigeria news was able to published the confirmed reports as ' The Nigerian government had on Tuesday admitted that it owned the \$9.3million cash smuggled into South Africa aboard a private jet and seized by the authorities of that country' (PREMIUMTIMES 2014:09). The acknowledgement of such reports is one of the many examples that government system encouraged by the global actor of the U.N which is left as legacy of the western superpower from colonization era has thus being recognize as one of the influential factors steaming violence and current terrorism in the country.

## **5. APPROACHES TOWARDS PEACEBUILDING AND MANAGEMENT OF NIGERIA INSECURITY**

The complex dimension to the management of Nigeria security challenges can be said to be the outcome of the conflicting ideological position of analysis between the neo-liberalist and neo- realist scholars whereby non has satisfactorily identified and explained the major security challenges of the global world as part of Nigeria security challenges. This position has been based on the fact that both ideologies derived their arguments from a geographical circumscribed universe and upon this, their analysis of the interlink between global security challenges and Nigeria security challenges has been centred. For instance in considering arguments of liberalist and realist on the economic interdependence principles, the liberalist claims has been recognized in a direction in which economic interdependence principles increases cooperation in international relations and by this liberalist perspectives is important to international institutions as the motives of the theory is to institutes interdependent world. In addition to this has been the argument put forward by Jehangir on neo-liberalist as he stated 'that institutions will not be significant if a conflict of interest exists between two states at the international level as such a conflict cannot possibly be resolved by institutions alone due to the pursuit of interests by each state'. (Jehangir, 2012).

Hence by this considering the arguments from both side has become essential so that when there is a conflict of interest like economic conflict in international circle, it can be easily recalled that managing the challenges within the frame of the global organization is not guaranteed, more also when a domestic state like Nigeria or group of nations across African region is being faced with serious intra or intra economic crises, managing it is not expected to be an easy task for such individual state alone, it is expected to be possibly managed by such nation state taking up the responsibility of having to do what is necessary to defend its economy by advocating for support from the like mind authority which may not necessary be the international system of the global organization.

In a similar argument put forward by Jehangir also which goes inline with the view of realist on international institution, it has been stated 'that the international institutions such as the United Nations and the WTO are just representations of the

distributions of power that exist in today's world due to America's control over them and their function' (Jehangir, 2012). By this when there is a conflict of interest, like the economic interest in international circle, and a state like Nigeria is involved in a crisis with a superpower nation, then expecting a resolution for action from international institutions which was posited as representation of distribution of power is like expecting a fair justice under the control of an "ally" colonizer.

Thus by these, managing the issues of Africa security challenges tend to be problematic when perceived and discussed from the global perspective rather than looking into it from the regional perspectives which this study has discovered to be of utmost relevant for management of the Nigeria security challenges within the authority of close internal members. By this therefore, addressing the Nigeria insecurity under close support of the regional organization has been observed as being essential for managing the nation insecurity even though partnering with the global organization may also be considered.

In addition to these, while acknowledging the fact that Nigeria is strategically important to the evolving global society based on its natural resources (economic and human) and sole impact on African foreign policies which is needed by the developed nations for expansion of their marketing values, managing their security challenges is a task perceived to be important to the global society. So based on this, the functional roles of the U.N have been mapped to cover the security interest of the region for the interest of the general evolving society. For instance, in the chapter VI and VII of the guiding charter of the organization, conditions have been specified on the pacific settlement of dispute in member states as well as dealing with threats to global peace which Nigeria as a member nation is not left out. But in reality, upholding this laws as understood through the arguments of the various literatures analysed has being characterized by varying order of political priorities which makes U.N responsibility in addressing member states security challenges particularly nations from the 3rd world countries to be insufficient or better said to be in rhetoric form.

So following the acknowledgement of the conditions characterized by priority which U.N considers before taking actions, Nigeria has experienced the share of U.N bias approach when it called for global intervention to curtail its growing security

challenges and by which the response action gotten was not immediate but slow. The consequence of the response action has thus been what has been noted to have increased the national insecurity from the violent groups that have grown more contented with the U.N slow or bias response.

Furthermore, there has being the fact that strategies and policies recognized for managing global security challenges by the supporting global institutions like the IMF and World Bank were not designed to be truly compatible with developing nations, and by this such strategies and policies have been noted to have only being suitable for the political and economical conditions of the developed nations, and that which has in the other way round being the source of economic insecurity to Nigeria as the nations in years of dependent on global social-economic strategies in addressing its development programmes has being facing continuous social economic insecurity.

In reference to this has been the position expressed by Ibrahim while looking into the globalization policies in a similar perspective that shows global institutional policies has being subjecting African nations to growing insecurity. In his view, he posited, ‘Specific impact of globalization on Africa were identified in the political sphere, the most important consequence is the erosion of sovereignty, especially on economic and financial matters, as a result of the imposition of models, strategies and policies of development on African countries by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization’(Ibrahim, 2013). By these, since it can be acknowledged that existing Nigeria security challenges requires external support, and that which seems directly invisible from the global organization based on priority of purpose and policies , African Union has been perceived to be of utmost responsibility in partnering for greater responsibility in order to address Nigeria insecurity as well as the regional security challenges.

It is in view of these assertions that Williams’s similar point of view with the former U.S Secretary of State has been recognized in the posited “the African Union (AU) has great potential as a U.S. partner in Africa. So, regional institutions like the AU are increasingly “called upon to be problem solvers and to deliver concrete results that produce positive change in people’s lives.” (Williams,2011). It is based on assertions like this that regional organization like AU has been perceived by this

study to have being of utmost important in managing Nigeria and other African security challenges, even though partnership with global organization has been acknowledged, the active response of the Union to regional insecurity has remain undisputable.

## **5.1 THE AFRICAN UNION IN MANAGEMENT OF NIGERIA CONFLICTS: POLITICALLY, BY PEACEKEEPING AND PEACEMAKING**

In absence of smooth peaceful security integration between global society and individual nation state from 3rd world countries on how to manage the growing insecurity in the region as visible with Nigeria case which the review of this study has been centred on, regional organization of the African Union has been observed to be in the best position for its timely responds to the security demands of Nigeria and other member nations, and also how it has being a facilitator of the required synergy with the global society. Hence by this, the management responsibility of African Union in compliment with its functional responsibility has been noted essential for addressing the regional insecurity in this study and this will be analyse as peacebuilding steps one after the other.

### **5.1.1 AFRICAN UNION IN SECURING REGIONAL POLITICAL ARENA**

Even though theoretically, the U.N as a global actor has a laydown provisional constitution that stated how to respond to throngs of security challenges across member nations, referring to this provision in time of security challenges among member nations has been noted to have being characterized by some level of political priority. This priority has thus being acknowledged to have been unfavourable enough to developing nations when there is a security threats that requires urgent attentions of the U.N. For instance, as Nigeria as being in the midst of its threatening insecurity whereby there has been killing and kidnapping. Even though Nigeria called for U.N intervention and going by the U.N constitution under Chapter VI and VII the law has been clarified that the U.N should act when a security challenge is

becoming a threat to life. But as Nigeria is being face with the capital insecurity that has turn into killing and kidnapping , the best the U.N has done in response to the outcry has being providing financial supports, outright condemnation of the attacks by the violent groups and 'military supports in rhetoric' after many people have been kidnapped and many souls left dead.

An example to such condemnation was the press conference reports from May 2014 in which the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights stated, in response to Boko Haram's threats to 'sell' the abducted schoolgirls, that the group's actions could constitute 'crimes against humanity.'(ICRtoP, 2014:05). Upon these acknowledge threats, off course, the violent groups were expected to act in good faith and let go off the kidnapped girls, but in reality, threats in faces of such violent groups that have left many souls death will not be sufficient enough like engaging them in a military confrontation. So by this, as U.N has failed to take a military action required by Nigeria to confront these violent attacking groups, killing and kidnapping has being on the rise.

Moreso, in reference to this was the observable fact in which Nigeria through the formal senate president and some protests groups have once requested for the United Nations intervention role on its national security challenges, "(Enca News 2014:03). Though the organization responded by given theoretical supports. For instance, on the commemorating anniversary of the 4 years in which U.N house was attacked by the Boko Haram insurgency in which 23 staffs were killed, the U.N Secretary General Ban Ki-moon while addressing the press on the growing insecurity and the kidnapped girls in Nigeria stated "I once again call in the strongest possible terms on those responsible to unconditionally release these girls and the many other abducted children." (UN News Centre, 2015: 08).

This as a statement implies that there has been series of condemnation on the spate of Nigerian insecurity, but because of the bias circumstances and order of priority in which the organization has being acting, taking military action which Nigeria needed most has being acknowledge to have being in rhetoric. Even 4 years into the attacked on the main U.N house in the country, nothing has changed and these negate the functional role stipulated in Chapter VII of the U.N constitution that stated "Actions

with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression”.

However, as U.N practical action is being delayed in respond to Nigeria insecurity, the violent action is fast spreading into the neighbouring nations, and based on this, AU has been more effective in respect to its constitutional objectives, by taking up actions in the ongoing military confrontation with the violent insurgency of the Boko Haram group in Nigeria. It is in acknowledgement of AU relevance in the Nigeria and regional insecurity more than the U.N that William has stated: *'Regional institutions such as the AU are not only actors; they are also political arenas in which multiple actors interact and where ideas, values, and policies compete for dominance. As the fulcrum of the APSA (African Peace and Security Architecture), the Peace and Security Council functions as two interrelated political arenas'.*(Williams, 2011).

So through these AU political arena platforms, the Union has mediated into series of regional insecurity as well as stabilized the issue of delay factor of the UN toward responding to Nigeria security challenges. An instance which has seen many neighbouring African nations like Chad, Cameroon and host of other neighbouring nations acting in accordance to the AU objective of article 4h which stipulated on AU's right to intervene in a member state affairs when in grave circumstances.

In reference to these also, was the remark from the 489th of the African Union PSC meeting in which it was stated that the ‘Council further notes the need to mobilize adequate enablers and force multipliers to enable the MNJTF (Multinational Joint Task Force) to successfully neutralize the Boko Haram terrorist group, in line with its mandate. Accordingly, and based on the recommendations contained in the report of the Chairperson of the Commission, Council authorizes an increase in the strength of the MNJTF from the initial figure of 7,500 to up to 10,000 military and other personnel to be generated by the LCBC (Lake Chad Basin Commission) Member States and Benin, in strict compliance with the requirements contained in the operational-level CONOPS (Concept of Operations)’. (AU-PSD, 2015:03).

Furthermore, the Union has responded to 'external' approach on conflict management in Nigeria and African Nations which has been perceived to be threats to the regional security. For instance, strategies of global organizations like the U.N, EU, IMF,

World Bank to name a few which have responsible for total management of global economic policies prior to the active roles AU in the region. Hence based on the active condition under which the Union has being functioning in the region, the Union has been in the position of an intermediary political body sanitizing and verifying global political strategies and policies so as to guide against inflow of external policies from having a direct impact that may stare controversies or further increase the chances of insecurity among member nations.

However on the basis of these analyses, to respond to the research question on finding if globalization have an impact on Nigeria security challenges, it will be maintained that globalization policies affects Nigeria and led to the rise in the national security challenges as it subjected Nigeria to exploitation and domination which also led Nigeria and rest of African nations into becoming economic poor. The consequence of these has thus been identified as part of the reasons behind the regional organization of the AU rising into becoming an essential body that is striving to prevent global political policies which is considered to have subjected Nigeria and the rest of Africa to been exploited and that which in return instigated regional insecurity.

### **5.1.2 AFRICAN UNION AS PEACEKEEPER IN REGIONAL ARENA**

In addition to managing the political arena, the African Union has also being responsible for carrying out full peacekeeping mission in addressing pressing security challenges of member states in the failure of the U.N timely responds to member nations outcry for aids. This A.U has also being responsible for even though the planning budget of the Union is little when compare to that of the UN global organization. For instance in Williams acknowledgement of the A.U peacekeeping role amidst the low resources, he stated *'While the AU still suffers from some of the same structural impediments as the OAU—dependence upon external financing and insufficient bureaucrats, standing forces, and logistical capabilities—it has pursued a much more active peacekeeping agenda. The AU's peace operations have ranged from small observer missions to two missions involving over seven thousand troops in Sudan and Somalia'*.(Williams, 2011).

So in reference to this, on the pressing security challenges in Nigeria in which there was call for global support through the former senate president, the U.N has not being able to provide the military team required for peacekeeping purpose in Nigeria. Then based on this, the spate of insecurity from the growing insurgence in the country has being spreading to neighbouring countries like Chad, Cameroon, to name a few before the A.U active military supports to address the Nigeria growing insurgency on the basis of internal African Union member and through this, violence security threats from the Boko Haram militancy is gradually being suppressed.

Although there has being some partnership for 'external' supports according to William, 'nearly \$800 million from the UN—in addition to the nearly \$40 million pledged to the UN's AMISOM Trust Fund between 2009 and 2011'.(Williams, 2011). But still these support can be said to be a minor parts to the management responsibility of peacekeeping objectives required by Nigeria for combating its growing security challenges which is the practical aids of military support that the U.N has not been able to assisted with as expected in accordance to chapter VI and VII of the organization, but an objectives which the African Union has being able to provide through the military task force of member states that has being on ground and across the border edge of Nigeria assisting in the fight against insurgencies on the basis of African Union membership.

It is also in reference to this that the remark of the 489<sup>th</sup> meeting of the African Union PSC has been acknowledge in which it has been stated that 'the LCBC (Lake Chad Basin Commission) Member States and Benin pledged up to 8,700 military and other personnel'. (AU-PSD, 2015:03). Action which is known to be in relevance to article 4h of the Union constitution in which stipulated AU clearly on the right to intervene in any member state affairs when in grave circumstances.

Hence based on these, as the fight against Nigeria terrorism insurgency has being in the fore front of the African Union peacekeeping mission in Nigeria which the global Union has also being partnering into its mission financially, then it will be agreed that the process of globalization has assisted Nigeria on partnership basis through the financial supports pledged and donated to the AU to address the regional challenges.

### **5.1.3 AFRICAN UNION AS PEACEMAKER IN REGIONAL ARENA**

According to Williams, 'fundamentally, the AU's peacekeeping missions can only reduce the worst symptoms of ongoing armed conflict. The acid test of the new APSA is whether the AU can actually resolve the underlying causes of the violence that has done so much to blight the continent's progress'.(Williams, 2011).

So following this assertion, restoring peace in Nigeria and the rest of the 3rd world nations will demand for a logical strategies that may require getting conscious of the political history of global relations from the era of colonization and the structural order of global relations after the U.N formation. The relations which has been perceived to have subjected Nigeria and the rest of Africa to become weak economically as some of the literature reviewed acknowledged that part of the regional insecurity grow out of quest for political and social economic power balance.

To buttress on this is the postulation of Kwaja, in which he posited that 'globalisation of trade and liberalization of economies have been described as inequitable and inimical to the third world in general. Economic structure is yet another important structure which is wholly controlled by the developed world. Besides, the fact that most, if not all the third world countries are largely indebted to the developed nations, leaves them with very little or no control over their national economies how much more that of the global economy'. (Kwaja, 2002).

By this postulation, the AU has been noted to have being functioning as a regional body striving to revive the region economy and based on this, sanction has been observed to have being taking as a policy measure to guide against unconstitutional change in national government of member states and also to guide against unconstitutional 'external' interference. This policy has being upheld under the Uti possidetis that has clarified on guiding the region against external influences including strategies and policies considered to be capable of aiding regional insecurity.

While acknowledging further on the sanction policy measure for possible peacemaking in the region, the African Union is understood to have seen global partnership as a condition for ensuring that peacemaking management gets more

effective. It is in reference to this that Williams has stated that, 'rather, the AU's sanctions are probably meant as symbolic messages within a broader peacemaking strategy—though it is difficult to discern motives because the PSC's substantive discussions occur in private'.(Williams, 2011).

Furthermore, in effort to sustain the objectives of peacemaking, the regional organization is hoping to strengthen trade relations among member states in order to support regional economic development that can address regional poverty. This is because low regional economic transaction in the region has been seen to have subjected the region to remain economic backward. So by this, the Union has also perceived the sanction policy to be necessary for enforcing discipline on member states and guide the member states from derailing from the guiding laws and principles of the Union. The sanction is also expected to uphold the effectiveness of the Union in coordinating member states for development. Thus so far into the policy measure, the Union has enforced sanctions on some regional states like Eritrea between 2009-2011, as the nation was noted to have aided insurgency in Somalia; it was also enforced in Ivory Coast between 2010-2011 as the Incumbent regime refused to relinquish power after electoral defeat among others.

Although the peacemaking process has yet to be effective in addressing Nigeria security challenges as peacekeeping remain the paramount requirement of the nation in order to combat the growing insurgency presently threatening the nation. However as the process of globalization has been noted to be imperialism, then it will be posited in general that the process of globalization have affected Nigeria through the policies and strategies encouraged by supporting global organizations like the IMF and World Bank in particular, which were been fully adopted by past Nigeria government and that which have subjected the economy to be run on capitalist economy and also subjected the nation to remain economic dependent on the global organization with hope of raising the national economy standard. The consequence of which has being borrowing that have left the nation to be in national debt and inability to manage the economy which have stared national insurgency before the active policy measures being taking by the regional Union to minimize 'external' influence and coordinate member states for development.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Historically, the process of globalization is not a new phenomenon to modern society; it has been a long journey that has passed through series of transformation stages like the colonialism stages before this modern process of uniting the world for global peace. So based on this, many analyses to the concept of globalization has been explored. However, in a comparative study, the study arguments have been based majorly on realist and liberalist approaches following their relevance to international relations studies. Apart from this, the study has been focused on these two approaches because of the relevance of their approach to global security challenges as the arguments from both approaches were drawn from different perspectives of a geographical circumscribed universe in which the study is being centred. These reasons make the areas of the analyses in the study to be broader, but considered relevant for comparing global security issues politically, economically, and socially especially in relations to Nigeria security challenges being the focus area of this study.

So following the geographical circumscribed universe in which the arguments have been drawn, a world classification system was recognized, and based on this, different actors relevant to the geographical areas of this study were identified. The U.N was identified as the apex actor in the globalization process and analyses of its functional roles in addressing global security issues and its relevance in addressing Nigeria security challenges was discussed. Also the A.U was identified as the organization in African region where Nigeria falls within the global classification system, and based on these, an insight into the functional roles of the AU in addressing Nigeria insecurity and the regional insecurity was also considered relevant and discussed.

Moreover while considering the analyses of these two actors in addressing Nigeria security challenges, it was discovered that globalization is a process, but a process which has created room for dual opinion in which individual nations within the global environment have the choice of either to accept the norms of globalization order as sufficient norms for addressing national insecurity or reject the norms of globalization order and address all huddles within the regional circle.

Furthermore, the study has also taken into consideration the analyses of Nigeria historical development politically, economically and socially in order to identify the factors responsible for insecurity in the nation, internally, externally and the new trend of insecurity the nations has been confronted with like the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta Militancy. These analyses has been considered relevant for this study in order to show a clearer perspective of the U.N functional roles in addressing the various national insecurity and at the same time identified how such roles has enhance the nation's insecurity. In addition to these, the functional roles of the regional organization have also been considered in the face of Nigeria insecurity in order to identify how relevant it has being to Nigeria in addressing its national security challenges.

Hence on the basis of these considerations therefore, the determination of Nigeria and rest of Africa 3rd world nations to deter power dominance and address regional insecurity has remain a challenge since the agitation for self independence from the colonialist. Then following the independent of many countries in the region in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the process of globalization has become synonymous to a journey being embarked on, but without the possibility of reaching a valid destination. This conclusion has being based on the finding that recently, commitment of independent African nations within the regions has mostly being focussed on discarding full 'external' impact on the region and building an effective 'internal' society for regional peacebuilding without having to depend on the 'external' global society. These commitments can be visible in how the regional organization of the African Union has responded to the pressing insecurity in Nigeria without been obliged to wait or depend on global policies as discussed in the study. So these show the will and determination of AU to attain an effective regional position that will be responsible for Nigeria and rest of African insecurity without necessarily depending on global society.

In addition to these, trend of AU relationship with the 'external' society in recent time has showed that global society is more recognized as a 'strategic partner' in dealing with regional challenges. So in reference to this has being the pace at which AU has being taking up the responsibility of addressing Nigeria security challenges, African challenges, and functioning as corporate intermediary with global organization of the U.N global actor among other global organizations. This shows

that majority of challenges within the region are accepted as internal challenges that seeks internal responsibility while the U.N and other global organizations are being seek for as partnership secondary body.

Above all, this study has been carried out to give a background knowledge required in understanding Nigeria insecurity in global arena and as an international relations study; this foundation is expected to serve as guide to further researchers willing to carry out a study on Nigeria insecurity and process of peacebuilding in African.

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## RESUME

### Yusuf Saheed Adegboyega

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E-mail address: mclomas22@gmail.com

**Full Name**

Yusuf Saheed

Adegboyega.

**Date of Birth**

22<sup>nd</sup> March 1984.

**Marital Status**

Married.

### ACADEMIC INFORMATION.

#### Educational Institutions attended with Dates.

2004 - 2008	Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko, Ondo State Nigeria.
2013- 2015	Istanbul Aydin University Turkey.

#### Academic Qualifications with Dates

2009	Bachelor of Arts [Mass Communication] 2 <sup>nd</sup> Class Division.
2010	Oracle Database SQL Expert Certificate
2010	Nigerian Institute of Management
2015	M.A. Political Science and International Relations.

#### Details of Position Held.

Year	Positions Held
2006-2007	Assistance General Secretary, Faculty Of Arts Students Association, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko Ondo State.
2007-2008	Secretary, Audit Committee of the Student Union Government. Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko Ondo State.

### CAREER STATEMENT.

#### Career Objectives.

- To Work in a Competitive Organization Where Hard Work is Being Observed and Rewarded
- To Work in an Organization that put into Consideration Relevance of Advance Information and Communication Technology.

### WORK EXPERIENCE.

<b>DURATION</b>	<b>PROGRAMME</b>	<b>ORGANIZATION AND JOB DESC.</b>	<b>ADDRESS</b>	<b>ECONOMIC SECTOR</b>
<b>January 2008 – March 2008.</b>	Students Industrial Work Experience Scheme [SIWES].	Nigeria Bottling Company Plc(Coca-cola). Assistance Business Developer Manager	Coca Cola Plant, off Sango Road, CoCa Cola, Ibadan. Oyo State.	Consumer Production Sector.
<b>November 2009 – October 2010</b>	National Youth Service Corp [NYSC]	Cobol Consulting Firm, Oracle Database Administrator and Structured Query Language (Expert) Instructor.	No. 49 Adekunle Fajuyi Road, Opposite Abiola House, Adamasingba, Ibadan, Oyo State.	Information and Communication Sector.
<b>November 2010 – October 2011.</b>	English Teaching Assistance	Success group of school, English teacher using CALLAN method for young and adults. Organized debate competition, Maintained attendance and students records.	No. 4, Fatodu street, oremeji Mokola Ibadan.	Educational Sector.
<b>November 2011 – August 2012.</b>	Business Developer.	Emadec Nigeria Limited. Manage business of the company with clients and organizes events.	No.2, Shobande Avenue Oremeji Mokola Ibadan.	Business and Commerce.(Investment Consultant).

### **AWARDS RECEIVED WITH DATES**

Competence Award: The Secretary General of the Students Union Audit Committee.....2008  
Academic Award: Erasmus Scholarship Grant.....2014

### **PERSONAL SKILLS AND COMPETENCES.**

**Mother Tongue** Yoruba  
Language.

**Other Languages (fluently spoken)**  
English Language.

Pidgin

Nigerian

### **Additional Languages Spoken**

Beginner's

Turkish

Course 1.  
German  
Beginner's  
Course 1.

### **Technical Skills and Competences:**

Administrative competence: Oracle Database Administrator and Structured Query Language Expert.

Managerial Competence: Good Leadership and Managerial Skills with Sound Communication Skills.

### **STRENGTHS AND ABILITIES.**

Motivator, Inventor, Marketing Communication Skill, Leadership skill, Inspiring and Sound Relational Skills.

### **INTERESTS:**

Sustaining acquired knowledge of building synergy through task and challenges, thereby benefiting my organization and the target societal prospect at large.

### **HOBBIES:**

Reading, Travelling, and Relating with people.

### **REFERENCES:**

Asst. Prof. Dr. Department of Political Science and International Relations,  
Özüm Sezin Istanbul Aydin University, Turkey.

Uzun.

Chief Dayo Department of Mass Communication, Adekunle Ajasin  
Duyile University Akungba Akoko, Ondo State Nigeria.

**PHOTO**

