SECURITY SECTOR REFORMS IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN SECURITY

Authors: [1] Emmanuel Achus Jah   Ph.D.

Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, National

Open University of Nigeria, Jos Study Centre

[2]Felicia Iruonagbe M.Sc.

College of Education, Gindiri, Plateau State

ABSTRACT:

The Security Sector in Nigeria remains a critical component that guarantees human security but rather puts it to a terrible threat since the history of nationhood in Nigeria. Reforms of this sector impacts on the survival of the people. The preponderance of military interruption in politics has only continued the colonial legacy of security focus on state centricity and serving regime security rather than human security. With the democratic rule extant, the situation is not different. This has only left all security frameworks, norms, institutions, infrastructure and entire architecture weak to be able to cater for the safeguard of human security. Wide spread political exclusion, human rights violations, selective justice, ethno-religious conflicts, spurious elections and proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), crime and violence, imbalanced federal character, all emanating from security policy miscarriages, institutional dysfunction, leadership and administrative deficits become the common denominator. This study is predicated on specific areas of human security - "freedom from fear" (physical, community and political security). The reforms must combine institutions with the instruments of coercion, over-sights activities and other critical actors in the security architecture for the protection of the state and citizens simultaneously. The paper recommends that Independent National and State Electoral Commissions must be independent; internal security operations and crisis management should meet international standards, establishment of Commission for the Minorities (ethnic groups), the justice and legal system should be regularly reformed to meet changing times and establishment of State Police. The paper concludes that Nigeria's Security Sector needs these reforms which must be all encompassing.

Keywords: *Security Sector, Human Security, Reforms*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has experienced recurring security sector destabilization and leadership deficit in the administration of national government as it affects the security of humans over the past decades. Political instability in the form of military interventions, civil wars, inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts, terrorism, insurgency, militia activities and authoritarian regimes have been quasi normative. This dysfunctional security sector and maladministration have precipitated serious human security issues from crises in internally displaced populations resulting from terrorism and insurgency, human rights infractions, insecurity, selective justice, extra judicial killing and ill established democratic institutions.

Security Sector Reforms occurs in societies that emerged from war of transited from military to civilian (democratic) administration. With a history of colonialism, military and dramatic transition from military to democracy, the security make up of Nigeria has been distorted. Premium has been placed chiefly on regime security at the peril of other indispensable actors in the security sector and human safety or security. According to Sollun (2013) Nigeria continues to face severe security situation. Reforming the security sector has remained on the political agenda through successive governments, not least because the legacy of the country's extended military rule post-independence has inflicted great damage on the psyche of both civilians and the military itself. With this instituted culture, military supremacy and dogmatism held sway thereupon precipitating negative domino effect on the security sector actors' especially para-military, civil society organizations, democratic institutions, rule of law, legislative and judicial activities whose functionality would guarantee the safeguard of

human security, but were either non-existent or stage managed by helmsmen. What is left is neglect of human security as most of the population's physical or personal, political and community security have diminished.

The return to democracy in 1999 was received with euphoric currency that the platform would involve the people in deciding who governs them and have a government that would consider human security as the essence of governance rather than predicated on regime security. This hope did not crystalize rather, migration of anti-democratic infrastructure and institutions, ethno-religious chauvinism, spurious elections, ethno-religious conflict, non-citizen-centric foreign policy, dysfunctional and weak institutions and instruments, cross border crime, terrorism and insurgency, imbalanced federal character, kidnapping, post-election conflict, conjecture-based executive decision, regional groupings, and human rights infractions all emanating from public policy insensitivity and miscarriages, leadership delinquency and administrative deficits become fraught in the system. The fallout of these common denominator, inescapably breed failure in the security sector.

 Public perception of security had not changed with the institutional imbalances and the traditional ties between the junta and the present modicum of purported democratic leaders. The power structure of the democratic rule was crafted in a way that it would not function optimally devoid of the military's and para-military's full involvement because leadership is more concerned about power retention and regime security.

An attempt in Nigeria to reform the security sector was during the first tenure of President Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2003 where the administration retired all military officers that hitherto held political offices. This must be criticized as being strategically myopic as security sector reforms must account for total overhaul of the security architecture: from governance to operation, from policy formulation to implementation, from military to democratic bias outlook and from regional to national consciousness; and all made in generic manner to capture entire critical sectors and actors in the polity.

In Nigeria today, exclusion and inequalities in access to physical protection and political opportunities have risen exponentially resulting from institutional and policy inadequacies. These leave humanitarian catastrophe rife as personal, community and political security are put to serious threats and uncertainties. There is apparent lack of commitment to reform the security sector beyond traditional security sector.

There has been palpable annihilation of aboriginal inhabitants by herdsmen in most part of the nation and has continued unabated. The Fulani militants killed 1,229 people in 2014, up from 63 in 2013 (Global Terrorism Index 2005 **,** p.22). The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) is increasingly and dangerously becoming a trans-national organized crime in Nigeria, with Boko Haram's insurgency, re-emerging Niger Delta crises and escalating cases of kidnapping, ethno-religious crises, armed robbery, piracy and banditry providing an impetus for arms trafficking. This is what the porosity of Nigeria's border causes.

Personal security bothers on existence and survival of humans but the high spate of insurgency, armed conflict, genocide, state torture, human trafficking, kidnapping, terrorism and cross-border crimes have put tremendous threat to personal or physical security hence the humanitarian crisis and complex emergencies in Nigeria. Accordingly, in human security, personal or physical security does not only advocate for safeguard from physical threats and injuries but also access to fundamental freedoms, engagement in political process and social well-being which explains political security concomitantly.

Community security involves safety from inter-ethnic and religious tensions, the whole gamut of shared values, customs and practices which in the community are expressed in the threat of discrimination towards some members of the group.

Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. Community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations declared 1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence. Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance was still practised in 110 countries. Minority questions, Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information (Tadjbakhsh, 2007).

2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORITICAL DISCOURSE

The human-centric perspective of security sees the concept as encompassing much more than the amassment of awesome military power for the protection of the state. The Commission on Global Governance reports that "The concept of global security must be broadened from the

Security, like any other social science concept has variety of views, perceptions, polemics and postulations as to what the concept is and entails. Buzan(1991, p.1)states that the nature of security defies pursuit of an agreed general definition. Security has faced a paradigm shift from the perspective of primacy on military's safeguard of the territorial integrity from external attack to the inclusion of human security as a focal point. The two extremes of state centric and human centric perspectives on security are indispensable in underpinning their postulations on security.

2.1 Human Security

The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report (HDR) launched human security as a distinctive concept within the United Nations, broadly defined as 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. The 1994 HDR characterized human security as "safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression, as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities".(UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 and the HSU-OCHA).

According John (2014) states that:

> "The right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from
> poverty and despair .....Recognizes that all individuals, in
> particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear
> and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all
> their right and fully develop their human potential ....".

This paradigm shift grew popular and on 10 September 2012, the General Assembly adopted by consensus the resolution "Follow up to paragraph 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome" (A/66/290). The resolution has as its core the following elements:

- the right of people to live in freedom and dignity;
- people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses;
- human security recognizes interlinkages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights;
- human security is distinct from responsibility to protect; it does not entail the threat or use of force or coercive measures; it does not replace State security;
- human security is based on national ownership; it seeks national solutions, which are compatible with local realities;
- governments retain primary responsibility for ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of their citizens; international community complements these efforts, while greater cooperation and partnership is required among Governments, international and regional organizations and civil society; human security does not entail additional legal obligations to states(John, 2014).

The aftermath of the Cold War, the security debate has become part of the international development agenda. Traditionally, it had focused on military activities, the control of military hardware, action against armed groups and networks and the reform of state military institutions. Yet increased attention is now being paid to other actors within the "security system" and the softer side of security including governance of security institutions, the links between security and insecurity, access to resources, well-being, poverty, environmental risk and security (Karim, Donata & Julia, 2004).

In the African context, "Security is more than military security or security from external attacks. For many of the 4 billion inhabitants in the developing countries, security is conceived as the basic level of the struggle for survival... Therefore, in other to provide an integrated African security assessment, the non-military dimensions of security should be added (Ogunbanwo,1990).

Commission on Human Security CHS**,** *Human Security Now: Final Report*, 2003 state that:

> **'**The state remains the fundamental purveyor of security. Yet
>
> it often fails to fulfil   its security obligations….That is why
>
> attention must now shift from the security of the state to the
>
> security of the people—to human security'.

The neo-realist approach to human security has been advocated by 'structural' or neo-realists such as Barry Buzan in his seminal work *People, States and Fear* that what dominated the discourse during the Cold War was 'simpleminded' and led to the underdevelopment of the concept. He subsequently broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic.

UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 and the HSU-OCHA gave the following as types of human security and attendant threats:

1. Economic security- Persistent poverty, unemployment.
2. Food security- Hunger, famine.
3. Health security- Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care.
4. Environmental security- Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disaster pollution.
5. **Personal security**- Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child Labour, kidnapping.
6. **Community security**- Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions.
7. **Political security**-Political repression, human rights abuses.

2.2. SECURITY SECTOR

The security system is that 'which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions in working together to manage and operate the system in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework'(OECD, 2004). This means that the role of the armed forces, police, paramilitary forces, presidential guards, intelligence services, customs authorities, civil defence forces, civil society, the legislature, judiciary and the executive are keys to promoting the security of the state.

The security sector broadly defined includes armed forces, paramilitary forces, national and local police, intelligence services (military and police), special branches of the police, customs services, justice and law enforcement institutions (judiciary, the courts, prisons, human rights commissions, ombudsman and customary courts), private security firms, civil oversight bodies such as parliament and parliamentary select committees, civil society organisations, professional advocacy groups, the media and religious organisations. Security organizations must operate within the purview of constitutional and international law, the rule of law and respect for human rights. A professional and disciplined security sector cannot be effective if it is not supported by an independent and well-functioning judiciary and correctional services. Moreover, for the police to maintain law and order, they need a well-functioning judicial system to prosecute those who transgress the law, and prisons to hold convicted criminals. Public security would also be compromised if there was a partial application of the law (Gavin, 2009, p.146).

The security sector is categorized into:

Core security actors:
Armed forces; police; paramilitary forces; gendarmeries; presidential guards, intelligence and security services (both military and civilian) ; coast guards; border guards; customs authorities; reserve or local security units (civil defence forces, national guards, militias).

Security management and oversight bodies:
The Executive; national security advisory bodies; legislature and legislative select committees; ministries of defence, internal affairs, foreign affairs; customary and traditional authorities; financial management bodies (finance ministries, budget offices, financial audit & planning units); and civil society organisations (civilian review boards and public complaints commissions).

Justice and law enforcement institutions:
Judiciary; justice ministries; prisons; criminal investigation and prosecution services; human rights commissions and ombudsmen; customary and traditional justice systems.

Non-statutory security forces
Liberation armies; guerrilla armies; private body-guard units; private security companies; political party militias (Karim, Donata & Julia, 2004).

In the same vein, African Union Framework on Security Sector Reforms puts that the components of the security sector vary according to each national context. It outlines same as above but with the addition of the following:

Specialized Intelligence and Security Institutions: such as those that are in charge of finding and using intelligence to preserve state sovereignty, state security and to defend vital national crime; interests. These may be involved in security activities such as counter espionage, counter terrorism and the fight against all forms of organized crime;

Civil Emergency Units: such as search and rescue services, fire- fighting, riot control, natural disaster management and natural resource protection units (AU, 2005).

In states affected by armed conflict, the security sector also includes non-state actors such as armed opposition movements, militias and private security firms. Additionally the media, academia and civil society can play an important role in monitoring activities and calling for accountability.

2.3 SECURITY SECTOR REFORM
SSR ideally addresses the dual challenge posed by security services and security sector on governance by transforming military forces to defend their country against foreign enemies while trying to institutionalize civilian oversight and/ or parliamentary control(Dehez, 2010). He further states that, security sector reform aims to strengthen oversight and executive control of all security services from the army to border control and the intelligence services while trying to enhance their operational capabilities in maintaining a peaceful, co-existing and organized society.

Security Sector Reform is the set of policies, plans, programs, and activities that a government undertakes to improve the way it provides safety, security, and justice. The overall objective is to provide these services in a way that promotes an effective and legitimate public service that is transparent, accountable to civilian authority, and responsive to the needs of the public (USAID).

Reform of this sector is important for promoting peace and good governance in the short and long term. In the short term, SSR is needed to ensure that: forces do not regroup to destabilise or pose a threat to peace; bribery and corruption are eliminated; and the sector (including leadership structures) is fully transformed so as to gain credibility, legitimacy and trust in the public eye. If the security sector is not handled adequately and in time, it is likely that funds will continue to be misdirected, putting a severe constraint on the process of post conflict reconstruction (Sanam & Camile, n.d.).

This submission captures the essence in post conflict environment or state undergoing transition for instance Central African Republic, Liberia and Sierra Leone. These countries had international support for its SSR.

Security Sector Reform is a process of creating a new image of the security sector through re-orientation of the sector and the citizens on security matters organize a well-equipped, well-trained and well-resourced security sector that could maintain both the government in power, institutions of government and the general citizen (UN Report of the Secretary-General", A/62/659–S/2008/39, 2008).

To this end, it is important to understand the composition of the security sector as a whole, the roles and responsibilities of the various actors, the relationships between them as well the adjoining security superstructures. It is the total overhaul of all institutions saddled with the safeguard of the state and human alike. Changes have to be made from what currently subsists and a drifting away from the institutional framework, ideologies, idiosyncrasy, established norms value system and mores must deliberately be reversed to attain desired correction.

The paradigm of human security has become critical, underscoring the need to ensure the protection of the individual from any (and therefore not only from military) threats to its existence. The state must be seen making efforts to ensure citizens safety at home and create citizen centered foreign policy that its citizens will

not suffer xenophobia, vilification and discrimination on due rights and privileges. The institutional and legal framework the security architecture should not be made a catalyst for violence against weaker groups in the society.

In the most general terms, the SSR is defined as "a process of creating modern, efficient, professional security structures, subject to democratic control"; or "transforming the security system, which consists of all the institutions contributing to the proper functioning of the security environment in the country". These institutions should be managed in a way that takes into account the democratic standards and the principles of so called good governance (DAC Reference Document**,** OECD, Paris, 2004, p. 16).

In sum, security has to do with safeguard of humans from threats to life, all forms of abuse and political exclusion and generally freedom from fear and want as well securing the state. Security sector involves all and sundry that have both core and oversight functions in the security architecture of the Nigerian state. And security sector reforms accounts for total overhaul of entire gamut of security operators from policies, orientation, governance, operation in line with international benchmarks. SSR submission centres mostly on states that have come out of political crises and civil war. The nature of the Nigerian state does not differ with the state of being of those nations coming out of war considering the myriad of security challenges and inadequate response from the security sector. Nigeria direly needs security sector reforms.

2.4 ISSUES AND NECCESSITIES FOR SECURITY SECTOR REFORMS IN NIGERIA

Protecting the populace by the government is a constitutional sanction and internal order. Nigeria is a signatory to various international conventions especially the Responsibility to protect. Pillar one of the protection responsibilities of the State is, to protect its population from ethnic cleansing, war crime, genocide and crime against humanity (The United Nations General Assembly A/63/677. 2009).

The Government has the responsibility or obligation to keep to the social contract between it and the people as provided in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The 1999, constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides for the maintenance of public order and public security by the government.

Nigeria lags significantly in shouldering the spirit of responsibility to protect. The protection of humans does not begin and end in granting security alone but those who perpetrate these heinous acts undergo criminal prosecution for deterrence. Till date no militant, Boko Haram insurgent, and bombers save Madalla bombers (Kabiru Sokoto), have been prosecuted. Same for Njger-Deltan militants and Fulani militia who commit crime against the state and citizens in the bestial acts of genocide. If criminals are not prosecuted, insurgency, kidnapping, abduction, human trafficking, proliferation of Small and Light Weapons and genocide would scarcely be abated.

Nigeria citizenship diplomacy has not given Nigerians in the diaspora any form of belongingness, safety and reverence as citizens or as other nation- states care about their citizens living abroad. The South African xenophobia attack has been perpetual where most Nigerians being killed are innocent of spurious accusations and suffer vilifications. Nigerians are being killed in many countries. Some killed on the streets in the presence of security agents in host countries while Nigeria offers foreigners here with full security complements. Nigeria as a giant of Africa has not shown that it values its citizens in diaspora.

Political power in Nigeria is crafted in such a way that those who wield influence in the polity are considered or engaged primordially. This is a catalyst for bifurcating Nigeria because there are always an outcry of deprivation and marginalization by other religious and ethnic persuasions.

Today, who gets what, how, when and where is not made on general terms or eligibility but based on affiliation with the ruling party. African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance which Nigeria is a signatory, states that State Parties shall take legislative and regulatory measures to ensure that those who attempt to remove an elected government through unconstitutional means are dealt with in accordance with the law (African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance,2003). The political configuration of Nigeria is such that statutory political office holders are removed unlawfully(before their tenured timeline) and Governor of a State would unilaterally remove or dissolve elected Local Government Councils unconstitutionally with the use of public pronouncement and the security agents are muzzled to ensure this aberration is carried out. And in case of litigation, the judiciary is stage-managed by ruling party's clout and the electoral body or legislature can't sanction the governor and reverse the unconstitutional trend. The case of dissolution of elected council

members by Governors for reason of not being in the same political party has become a common practice in Nigeria.

There are varied exclusion and deprivation emanating from irregularities in the political process which have hitherto put political participation at its lowest ebb in Nigeria and it becomes an incentive for violence. With the irregularities, inconclusiveness and violence, the electoral body's impartiality, security agencies activities during elections are always put to question. Electorates now feel their votes do not count and the consequence is the high apathy rate. The Director-General of National Population Commission, NPC, Ghaji Bello, has said Nigeria's population was currently 182 million, with more than half its people are under 30 years of age. Of the 67,422,005 registered voters in Nigeria, only 31,746,490 (47.08%) were accredited for the 2015 presidential election; 29,432,083   of votes were cast, of which 28,587,564 (97%)   were   valid. The   2015 presidential election and the eventual outcome were in many ways different   from   other   elections, especially the 2011, (The Centre for Public Policy Alternatives CPPA). This reveals the disenchantment of electorates from the political process. People got themselves registered just for reason of ownership of the Voter card, self-identification and bank transactions but not for the sole purpose of election. This becomes an outright systemic exclusion of electorates from the political process.

The security sector exists to perform functions that are capable of guaranteeing human security where communities live without fear of aggression, genocide, kidnapping, and abduction. Also people will not be politically excluded when their rights are not violated in any political process and justice can be got in the least cost and without delay.

The National Security Strategy (Policy) and The National Defence Policy are both bereft of preventive elements. And because all operations and governance of security sector derive their powers within the purvey of the enabling policies, if the policies are not citizens centric there is bound to be a backlash. This has put our security actors on the reactionary rather than on proactive pedestal. Sometimes the military dispenses civil and criminal cases rather than forwarding to the police who are sanctioned to do that. Police does such aberration where suspect of massacre, murder and robbery are not taken for trail in the court even when it is obvious that they are culpable rather they are released because of vested interest.

Nigerian judiciary has been turned to a platform for arm twisting especially in elections result declaration by Independent Electoral Commission as well the State Independent Electoral Commissions. Elections result would be declared against opposition party's candidate arbitrarily and he or she is confidently told to go and seek for redress in the court knowing that justice would be delayed and subsequently denied.

All subsectors in the security sector have mandates, objectives and frameworks meant for securing humans. The Judiciary is expected to deliver justice, Legislature making laws that will have direct positive impact on the citizenry, Ministries, Departments and Agencies alike carrying out human centric activities. The military, para-military and intelligence carrying out functions to safeguard the territorial frontiers of the state and internal security. The civil society be at the stand point of whistleblowing. Where there is a derailment or policy miscarriages, definitely the ailing situation would need a reform.

Schnabel and Born (2011) say that for states that undergo considerable – often dramatic – political and socio-economic transitions from war to (negative) peace, from authoritarianism to democracy and from closed to open societies. Those transitions, difficult as they already are, take place amid environments that are characterised by transitional, often unstable, political institutional arrangements, endemic corruption, ongoing violence, attempts to implement imprecise, open-ended or non-inclusive peace agreements and post-conflict architectures, lack of resources and 'stolen' or impending elections or referenda. These are the typical hallmarks of the environments in which comprehensive, holistic and sustainable SSR efforts are pursued. Nigeria, not different.

However, the more the impediments facing Security Sector Reforms, the more is the necessities for the reforms.

2.5 PROCESS TO TRANSFORMING SECURITY INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA
With the abysmal performance of the security sector, the reform would start by addressing problems within and outside the traditional security sector, relating to wider questions of administrative capacity, orientation, political governance, distributive justice, establishing congenial playing field for elections by Independent National Electoral Commission and public policy formulation and implementation. For instance, sound judicial decisions, people's oriented policies and legislative acts, law reforms for the total protection of all, enabled and empowered democratic institutions, responsive and responsible leadership, forsooth would ensure safeguard of human security.

There must be a deliberate policy and programme template drawn up by all security actors in Nigeria with each institution having a committee of Eminent Persons Group in that specialty and the civil society to carry out formulation and implementation. Thorough legislative discussion and joint parley with the civil society is conventional to broaden participation. A centralized   Strategic Plan drawn for all actors in the security architecture would be made operative. All actors in the security sector will embark on the exercise seamlessly and simultaneously against what is extant where some make modicum, spurious and paltry reforms that is not far reaching.

Within the purvey of the traditional security hitherto culture, norms, work ethics and practice which erode best security sector governance, operations and practices be reformed as foremost task. De-orientating personnel, from sectional persuasions and partisanship to nationalism.

Undemocratic infrastructure and superstructure be weakened and subsequently removed. When this is achieved, every traditional security personnel does not think first about his or her religion, ethnicity or group affinity before Nigeria and the security sector takes the expected shape to meet its sanctions.

2.5 OUTLOOK OF SECURITY SECTOR AND REFORMED SECURITY SECTOR IN NIGERIA

The outlook of Nigeria without Security Sector Reform is such that spurns rule of law in its entirety. According to Caparini and Fluri (2000) in many transition countries, crime rates increased sharply with political and economic liberalisation, spurring a demand for reforms in the criminal justice system in order to enhance the capacities of police, prosecutors and courts. However also in many of these countries, police lack a service ethic, are unaccountable, and are implicated in crime, corruption, and abuses of the human rights of citizens. Internal security forces have often proven to be even more resistant to reform and democratisation than military forces. Judicial reform has also lagged, and judicial systems, to be legitimate, must be able to create a sense in the people that they will effectively uphold constitutional principles and defend their human rights against abuses by police and other public officials. These are but several of the main parts of the broad institutional framework evoked by security sector reform.

 A Nigeria with a Security Sector Reforms is a situation which upturns old practice to global best practice. Security Sector Reform also has a very significant emphasis on good governance, rule of law, predictable, transparent and open policy-making, a professional bureaucracy that serves the public good, and a vibrant civil society that actively engages in public affairs (Caparini & Fluri, 2000). Good governance is all encompassing as when in practice security sector means the effective, efficient, responsive, participatory, credible, accountable and transparent functioning of legal frameworks and state institutions. Another scenario that plays out is civilian security professionals must be able to provide advice on defence and security issues and must be available to staff relevant state institutions. An effective, neutral, law-based and accountable policing, or an independent, impartial and effective judicial system.

However, Nigeria would have identified security sector challenges and put an emphatic focus on community policing, armed violence reduction.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Independent National Electoral Commission and State Independent Electoral Commission must live their independence and not inclined to the capricious whims of those in government.

The necessities to strengthen and enhance civilians' security and protection as the military carry out security operations can't be spurned. All operations must be carried out in consonance with democratic ideals.

The palpable shortcomings in the internal security operations and crisis management must meet international best practice and standards.

The Early Warning Signs are not taken seriously that is why our military activities are always mere reactionary rather than proactive. Deterrence mechanism be put in place in respect to intelligence gathering and prosecution of those culpable of committing terrorist acts.

Nigeria needs to create a Commission for the Minorities (ethnic). This will help in monitoring marginalization, national projects siting, ensuring National Emergency Management Agencies works impartially when on

humanitarian intervention. It will follow up on criminal cases preferred against terrorist, especially those overrunning ethnic minority. These cases are mostly stalled at police level denying the minority its deserved justice.

The justice and legal system should be regularly reformed to meet changing times. This will engender synchronized judgment against differential ruling by justices on same matter.
Nigeria has well over one thousand illegal entry routes at the borders. These routes have been exploited by trans-national criminals, smugglers of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) into the country. The borders are poorly manned for lack of adequate manpower, detection gadgets and aerial surveillance equipment. Nigeria Customs Service and Nigeria Immigration Service should attract large budgetary allocation in order to be strengthened in men, material and money for the optimal manning of the borders.

Security Sector governance and operation must meet globally accepted standard in that when the military are in operation they must uphold nationalism above primordial considerations. This is pertinent as there are torrents of complaints against the style of intervention which grossly go foul to the principles of peacekeeping operations.

Supremacy attitude of some security agencies on some expertise has eroded the inter agency harmony while rivalry is entrenched. This has made clashes between mobile police and the army rife in joint operations. Also the attitude of security agencies in relation to internal security intervention is not synchronized. In case of ethno-religious strife each ethnic and religious group shows preference or identifies with particular security agency. By implication the expected result for the intervention becomes distant possible.

State Police can't be evaded in Nigeria. It would have overriding advantages over the Federated Police bottlenecks in chains of command, responsiveness, vested interest and intelligence gathering. They would be community based policing with the understanding of the nativity and dynamics of the locality and taking ownership of the security by the locals.

Security Sector Reforms support in Nigeria by foreign states and International Organizations is needed. Even though this arrangement may be seen as infraction on sovereignty, Nigeria could be supported with templates of models for implementation in order to avoid impingement and seeming governmental secrecy divulgement.

CONCLUSION
Nonetheless, in many contexts, violence and political disorder continue to be widespread, adding to the lack of confidence in the State's capacity to create the conditions for human security to be achieved. Nigeria has actually experienced civil war, insurgency, militancy and terrorism, banditry notwithstanding decades of undemocratic rule and democratic rule that is stunted and fledgling averse. This leaves the country with no much difference with Central Africa Republic, Liberia and Sierra Leone which came out of turmoil and had to undergo Security Sector Reforms. However, Nigeria's Security Sector needs these reforms which must be all encompassing and involving all and sundry in order to have a satisfactory Security Sector.

REFERENCES
African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2003). Chapter 6, Democratic Institutions Article 14.

African Union (2005). 'African Union Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact', Abuja, Nigeria,31January,2005, Retrieved from http://www.africa-union.org/Official_documents/Treaties_%20Conventions_%20Protocols/Non%20Aggression%20Common%20Defence%20Pact.pdf.

Booth, K. (1994). *A Security Regime in Southern Africa: Theoretical Considerations*. Southern African Perspectives 1994 No. 30, CSAS.

Buzan, B. (1991). *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security in the Post- Cold War*, New York: Harvester, Wheatsheaf in Fundamental of Security and Strategic Studies 1991 pp. 1-4.in in search of Fundamental of Security and Strategic Studies, 1.

Caparini, M. & Fluri, P. (2000). Introduction: The Relevance of Democratic Control and Reform of the Security Sector in Hans Born/Marina Caparini/Philipp Fluri (Eds.) Security Sector Reform and

Democracy in Transitional Societies   Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces November 15–17, 2000.

Commission on Human Security CHS (2003). *Human Security Now: Final Report*, 2003 New York: CHS.

DAC Reference Document (2004). Security Sector Reform and Governance: Policy and Good Practice, OECD, Paris 2004, 16.

Dehez, D. (2010). *"security sector reform and intelligence service in sub-Saharan Africa*: capturing the whole picture" Africa Security Review June 2010 Vol 19 No2.in Ola Abegunde, Need for Security Sector Reform: Nigerian Perspective, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 3 No. 9; May 2013.

Gavin, C. (2009.) *African Security Governance Emerging Issues*, Wits University Press and P&DM in collaboration with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 2009 (ISBN 978-1-86814-483-9),p.146.

John, W. A. (2014). Concept Note, Thematic Debate "Responding to the opportunities and challenges of the 21st Century: Human Security and the post-2015 development agenda" 18 June 2014: To All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations.

Karim, H., Donata, G. & Julia, W. (2004). *Security and Human Security*: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives: What Implications for West Africa?

Keith, K. & Michael, C. W.(1997). *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases,* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, in Fundamental of Security and Strategic Studies.

Measuring and Understanding The Impact of Terrorism Quantifying Peace and its Benefits (Global Terrorism Index 2005)**,** p. 22.

National Population Commission-Nigeria's population now 182 million-NPC. Retrieved from (http://www.population.gov.ng/index.php/80-publications/216-nigeria-s-population-now-182-million-dg-npopc)

Ogunbanwo, S.(1989). *" Security Perceptions and Requirements in the African Content,* in United Nations, African Security Perceptions and Requirements including Related Issues, UN Regional Disarmament Workshop for Africa, Lagos, Nigeria 3-7 April 1989, (New York: United, 1990), p.10.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD(2004). Security -- System Reform and Governance: Policy and good practice. A Development Assistance Committee Reference Document 2004, Paris.

Sanam, N. A. & Camile, P. C. (n.d.). *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace*: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action.

Schnabel, A & Born, H.(2011). *Security Sector Reform* :Narrowing the Gap between Theory and Practice: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), ISBN 978-92-9222-179-9 © 2011 The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

Schnabel, A. & Hans, B. (n.d.). *Security Sector Reform*: Narrowing the Gap between Theory and Practice, SSR PAPER 1

Tadjbakhsh, S.(2007). Human Security In International Organizations: Blessing or Scourge?" (2007), *The Human Security Journal*, Volume 4, Summer 2007.

The 1999, constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria , Chapter 1 part 2 subsection 11 which provides for the maintenance of public order and public security by the government.

The Centre for Public Policy Alternatives CPPA (2015). Presidential Election Outcome: analyses & implications *http://cpparesearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/2015-Presidential-Election-Outcome_-analyses-and-implications_FINAL-REVISED.pdf. Retrieved10/11/2016.*

The United Nations General Assembly A/63/677 12th January, 2009, 63rd Session Agenda Items 44 and 107. Implementing the responsibility to protect, Report of the Secretary-General. The Heads of State and Government unanimously affirmed at the Summit that "each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity".

UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 and the HSU-OCHA.

UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 (no.12).