

<sup>1</sup> The Microcosm of Global Insecurity in Modern African Nations,  
<sup>2</sup> an Example of Nigeria (2007 -2011)

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<sup>7</sup> **Abstract**

<sup>8</sup> Africa has a disturbing notoriety for violent conflicts, civil wars, strife and political instability  
<sup>9</sup> which has earned it the appellation of ?a continent at war against itself?. This has engendered  
<sup>10</sup> insecurity, divided and pauperized societies. Various writers attribute this situation to the  
<sup>11</sup> underdevelopment of Africa?s political institutions; economic backwardness, ethnic and  
<sup>12</sup> religious pluralities. Using the Marxian paradigm, I argue that these views are diversionary  
<sup>13</sup> and smokescreen for strong global factors that engender insecurity in modern African nations.  
<sup>14</sup> The world today has witnessed increase in divergent and antagonistic pluralisms, which are  
<sup>15</sup> hinged upon global convergence around ideology and faith. These in turn are mere clothings  
<sup>16</sup> for conflicting economic interests.  
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<sup>19</sup> **Index terms**— Pauperized, Attribute, Backwardness, Diversionary, Paradigm.

<sup>20</sup> **1 Introduction**

<sup>21</sup> N security, divided and pauperized societies has been major obstacles to Nigeria's and indeed Africa's  
<sup>22</sup> development. Insecurity in Africa has manifested in massive unemployment, poverty, disease, ethnoreligious  
<sup>23</sup> conflicts, armed robbery, violent ethnic conflicts, political thuggery etc.

<sup>24</sup> Writers have made quixotic attempts at explaining the causes of insecurity in African Nations, many attribute  
<sup>25</sup> these to the economic backwardness of Africa, others attribute the social crises to ethnic and religious pluralities  
<sup>26</sup> of African countries.

<sup>27</sup> I attempt to view the problem of insecurity in Nigeria from a perspective that seems to have been overlooked by  
<sup>28</sup> many writers, I therefore opine that these views are mere smokescreens of fundamental factors that engendered  
<sup>29</sup> insecurity in African countries. These factors are the inherent contradictions found in dependent capitalist  
<sup>30</sup> countries and the contradictions caused by the 'umbilical cord' between African countries and the metropolitan  
<sup>31</sup> cities of global capitalism.

<sup>32</sup> We should not overlook the fact that Africa and other developing countries are attached to the headquarters  
<sup>33</sup> of global capitalist economy through the unbalanced economic relationship, and through the adoption of the  
<sup>34</sup> economic, fiscal, and political policies introduced or enforced from the global metropolitan countries of capitalism.  
<sup>35</sup> This relationship started from the mercantilist stage of global capitalism.

<sup>36</sup> Before I go into this, in this work, I shall attempt an analyses of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria

<sup>37</sup> Author : Email : immamtijani@yahoo.com between 2007 and 2011. During this period, Nigeria experienced  
<sup>38</sup> increase in destructive violent conflicts such as political conflicts, the Boko Haram religious/political bombings,  
<sup>39</sup> the militants in the South-South, armed robbery in the South-West etc. Insecurity has weakened the fabrics of  
<sup>40</sup> the Nigerian Nationhood.

<sup>41</sup> Certain questions are germane to this discourse, 'How can we explain the existence of widespread insecurity  
<sup>42</sup> and violence in modern African Nations? In other words what is the historical root of these phenomena in modern  
<sup>43</sup> African nations? In what political economic or social context did this situation develop? And lastly, how can we  
<sup>44</sup> address these notorious problems? I intend to provide answers to these questions in this paper.

45 Before I go on it is necessary to define insecurity as I have used it in this work.

### 46 2 II.

### 47 3 Conceptual Framework

48 Security may be put in simple terms as freedom from fear and want. Based on this we may talk of security of lives  
49 and property and security from poverty and disease. We may also view security as comprising three components  
50 viz: the food security, this is hinged on human existence; the national security and collective security. Insecurity  
51 is the direct opposite of security.

52 Food 'insecurity' or food crisis is one of the security issues that is central to national insecurity. It fuels the  
53 reserved army of national violent crises. The common adage 'a hungry man is an angry man' cannot be more  
54 adequate in describing the connection between food crisis and national crisis. Food crisis may be defined as lack  
55 of access to sufficient food, this can be chronic or transitory. When food crisis becomes chronic it means there  
56 is continuously insufficient diet which indicates inadequate production or acquisition of food for the generality  
57 of the citizens. While transitory food crisis is a temporary decline in household food supply. These results from  
58 instability in food production and food prices of even in the purchasing power of the generality of the citizens.

59 The balkanazation of communist soviet union has led to series of national and international security challenges,  
60 especially the rise of what has been referred to as the 'unipolar world' or 'new world order' which invariably is  
61 American Military Adventurism or another form military subjugation of less developed countries, by the capitalist  
62 metropolitan nations. The national security implications of the current war in Asia, African and the middle east  
63 leaves no doubt that the less developed nations are under a new wave of unilateral breaches of national security.

### 64 4 III.

### 65 5 The Nigerian Example

66 The historical roots of insecurity in Nigeria cannot be divorced from the global trend. Infact, many discourse on  
67 modern African nations should necessarily recognise its post coloniality. By this, I am referring to its historical  
68 connection to the growth and development of global capitalism, which at a stage led to the colonization of  
69 Africa. In other words any meaningful discourse of any historical phenomenon should be within the context of  
70 its political economy. Consequently I view the root cause of insecurity in modern African nations within the  
71 context of the global political economy of global capitalist economy. Hence I adopt the neo-Marxian paradigm  
72 in my contributions to the discourse on insecurity in modern African nations.

73 Neo-Marxian paradigm is a broad term that encompasses various twentieth century approaches that amends or  
74 extends Marxian and Marxist theory, often incorporating elements of other theoretical explanations from various  
75 writers, especially in sociology, criminology and psychology. Many prominent neo-Marxists such as Herbert  
76 Marcuse, were sociologists and psychologists .

77 Neo-Marxian theory as an idea of new left wing often emphasis the evils of global capitalism. It describes the  
78 opposition to the problems of inequalities and uneven development experienced in the Less Developed Countries  
79 within the context of the political economy of global capitalism. In the perspective of sociological studies  
80 (writings) neo-Marxian approach add Marx Weber's explanations of social inequality to Marxist philosophy.  
81 This is employed here to the discourse on the problem of the microcosm of global insecurity in modern African  
82 Nations.

### 83 6 IV.

### 84 7 Insecurity Under Colonial Rule

85 The growth and development of the global capitalist economy led to the incorporation and supsumption of  
86 African economy under global capitalist system. The instrument of the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade, the so called  
87 legitimate trade saw global capitalism at its primitive accumulation stages. During this period, market expansion  
88 involved not only increase in global capitalist trade, but it was accompanied by violence, plunder, theft, robbery  
89 piracy and conquest of Africa and Asian countries. Thus at this stage of monopoly capitalism it necessitated  
90 the military subjugation, political domination, cultural alienation of the African continent all of which facilitated  
91 the plundering of the African economy under colonial subjugation for further development of the capitalist  
92 metropolitan headquarters in Europe and later in America.

93 Consequently, under colonial rule there were two distinct phenomena that are directly relevant to this  
94 discourse. "They are the creation of a state of insecurity, and the creation of uneven development" ??Tijani,  
95 A. 2011:183). These are characteristics of capitalist system In this, we witness today the activities of North  
96 Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) around the globe. The question is in whose interests has NATO been  
97 present in different parts of the world? Whose security are they maintaining, and in whose interest, etc. The real  
98 issue is that capitalism at its imperialist stage through the colonial and neo-colonial structures and institutions  
99 internationalized the issue of national security. Therefore, for the capitalist metropolitan headquarters national  
100 security did not always coincide with the national boundaries because events occurring in another continent

101 could threaten the national security at home. (the capitalist metropolitan cities). Thus we may understand the  
102 interest of the capitalist powers in wars in Syria, Libya, Bahrain etc.

103 In the same vein, economically the greater integration of the metropolitan capitalist economies of the world,  
104 coupled with the intertwining of global market and financial institutions led to a situation whereby global capitalist  
105 system became vulnerable to global recession or economic instabilities which undermine economic securities even  
106 in the peripheral capitalist nations in Africa. The two World Wars ??1914 -1918 and 1939 -1945), the Great  
107 Depression of 1929 -1933; the ideological conflict between the global communist and capitalist system referred to  
108 as the cold war which engendered wars in ??orean 1950 ??1953 ?? Vietnam in 1959 ??1975 and many sponsored  
109 conflicts in Africa, Latin America and Asia and the Middle East for the best part of the 20th century and  
110 recently as from 2010, the debt crisis in Eurozone, which has been termed 'debrocracy' and the subsequent  
111 'occupy movement' in the capitalist metropolis of Europe and America. These are all historical evidences of  
112 the inherent conflicts in the capitalist system. there are threats to all these aspects of national life. Collective  
113 security encompasses the global threats to security of lives, resources, human rights, and dignity etc. or threats  
114 to global peace. This, concept since World War II has been advocated, attacked, defined and even criticized.  
115 More so, since collective action against threats to world peace may mean the collaboration of a few states on  
116 ad-hoc basis to deal with such challenges.

117 nations therefore, we see that the foundation of insecurity as engendered by the political economy of capitalism  
118 took root from the mercantilist period (Slave This reference made by ??Nnoli 1978 : 63) on this pasteurizes the  
119 scene, he observes that:

120 Capitalism in general and the peripheral capitalism purveyed by colonial capitalism in particular contained an  
121 inherent tendency to marginalise people and areas and economic sectors not directly involved in the expanded  
122 reproduction of private capital through profit maximization.

123 The first colonial character which is the creation of uneven development globally as well as within national  
124 borders or within the colony, made urban centres that served as seats of colonial administration to have had  
125 more socio-economic infrastructure than the rural centres. At the regional level, development existed depending  
126 on the extent to which each region was integrated to the capitalist mercantile economy ??Rodney, 1972 : 227).  
127 Thus for instance southern Sudan and Western Kenya had little that attracts colonial interests, they were thus  
128 neglected in terms of provision of roads, hospitals, schools, etc. In Nigeria, this phenomenon ignited the demand  
129 for creation of new regions, states and local governments especially after independence.

130 The second character of the colonial system was the creation of insecurity bearing in mind, our definition of  
131 insecurity as freedom from fear and want. The colonial state necessarily came into existence through violence  
132 and for the purpose of plundering the economy of the colony. In other words to pauperize, and impoverish the  
133 colonial people. One of the main consequences of colonial rule was the creating a class of elite that stepped into  
134 the shoes of the colonial master, whose interests was also to acquire wealth at the expense of the governed. This  
135 situation was enhanced or made inevitable by the inherent colonial structures, policies and constitutions and by  
136 the pauperization of the independent states economy.

137 Thus apart from this class the economic structures had the umbilical cord of neo-colonial rule intact. The  
138 relationship between the two was that the former became local agents of international capitalist, those Marx  
139 called comprador Borgeoisie.

140 Therefore, we could safely say that insecurity in modern nations took root in the global capitalist system.  
141 Therefore when we talk of the manifestation of insecurity in modern African nations such as widespread  
142 deprivation, poverty, unemployment, disease and violent conflicts etc. we trace it to the dislocation of African  
143 systems and its relationship with the global capitalism.

144 V.

## 145 **8 External Threats to National**

146 Security in Nigeria a) Food Crisis (Insecurity)

147 Nigeria is a dependent capitalist country. It has all the features of economic backwardness. Poverty is an  
148 important factor in national insecurity. For instance disproportionate population of people in poverty implies an  
149 insufficient utilization of national resources and the possibility of social unrest which may be due to unemployment,  
150 or underemployment. This creates or swells the population of what we call the Industrial Reverse Army IRA. In  
151 third world countries like Nigeria, it is this army that readily serve in the violent national crises. The 'occupy  
152 movement' in western countries is part of the features of poverty in such societies when the potentials of the poor  
153 are untapped or under developed or under utilized there is a high risk of frustration and national insecurity. It is  
154 in this regard that poverty leads to poor participation or even totally inhibits popular participation and apathy  
155 in policy formulation and procedure of election. The net result is poor governance, lack of direction and general  
156 instability.

157 Also because the potential of the poor are unengaged they find expression in form of retaliation against the  
158 state which they hold as been responsible for their deprivation. This may lead to drag trafficking armed robbery  
159 violent ethnic/religious conflicts kidnapping by ethnic militias etc.

160 When we consider our period of discourse, i.e. 2007 -2011 in Nigeria, we need to look into the consequences  
161 of New Liberal Capitalist policies in engendering insecurity in Nigeria. In Nigeria, neoliberalism stipulates the  
162 withdrawal of state from the provision of social services. Fundamentally, it advocates the disengagement of state

## 11 EXTERNAL FORCES AND NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

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163 from the management of public services. Nigeria has embraced this ideology, it consequently led to the policies of  
164 withdrawal such as privatization, commercialization, deregulation etc. With this, Nigeria entered the period of  
165 severe economic crisis coupled with the dearth of democratic values, manipulated democratic enterprise fraught  
166 with electoral malpractices; and the consequences of aggressive neoliberal policies of commercialization and  
167 privatisation. These led to the manifestation of insecurity which include massive unemployment, poverty, disease,  
168 ethno-religious conflicts in various parts of country, high and rising rates of criminal activities, proliferation  
169 of ethnic militia, politically motivated violence, arson, thuggery, terrorist bombings high inflation rates and  
170 instability in the oil market. It also led to environmental insecurity such as decadent, decaying and neglected  
171 infrastructure such as roads, bridges, urban overcrowding etc.

172 Neo-liberalism should be viewed within the context of the new world order, uni-polar world or in other words  
173 the globalized world. There has been increase in divergence and antagonistic pluralities which converge around  
174 ideology and faith. This has divided the world into violent ideological and religious camps. It has been so violent  
175 that it has threatened global security.

### 176 9 Global

177 dividing line between terrorism and freedom fighting, These has manifested itself at the global level in the  
178 conflicts of which makes one to question the between foreign occupation and human rights supporters, between  
179 installation of puppet regime and democracy soldiers etc. All these crises are global manifestation of the global  
180 conflicts between faith and ideology. What then is this globalization. The globalized world is principally hinged  
181 on the globalisation of economy, (capitalism), Information and Communication Technology ICT these led to the  
182 attempt to globalise western model of democracy and 'human right. Hence western 'NATO' Army of Democracy  
183 are in essence solders of global capitalism, hence on the other hand, the religious 'fundamentalism' may not  
184 occur in a vacuum. It is within the context of the new world order or the globalized world. Otherwise why  
185 should al-Qaeda strike in the different parts of the world especially where there are American Economic interests,  
186 violence on both sides have polarised the world into conflict between ideology and faith.

187 In the same vein, when we consider, the organisation, methods, operation of the terrorist groups in Nigeria  
188 within this period, the Niger Delta militants, the Boko Harram, the Armed Robbers we find that in spite of the  
189 seeming ideological differences a common strong factor exist among them, i.e. the political economic interests.

### 190 10 VI.

## 191 11 External Forces and National Security Challenges in Nigeria

192 In this paper, the term external forces refers to the 'United Nations Development partners, the international  
193 monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the World  
194 Trade Organization (W.T.O) They are among the numerous institutions that constitute the Economic and Social  
195 Council (ECOSOC), which is a body of the United Nations that coordinates all the social and Economic Works  
196 of the United Nations (U.N.).

197 The World Bank and IMF today have dominant economic activities in many countries of the world. The  
198 main preoccupation of the IMF was to stabilize foreign exchange rates while the IBRD was involved in the  
199 reconstruction of war devastations in Western Europe and long term economic development planning for less  
200 developed countries (Alkali, 1997). The World Trade (GATT) created in 1947. The WTO has been involved  
201 in promoting "free trade" agenda of the Trans-national Corporations. In other words ensuring the opening of  
202 national borders for the trade exploitation by the multinational companies headquarters in Europe and America.  
203 The common characteristic of the three institutions is that they dictate economic policies to less developed  
204 countries, rather than the other way round. It is within these context that we shall appraise the external factor  
205 in the security challenges in Nigeria.

206 The IMF, World Bank and WTO played roles that have devastating effects on the Nigerian Economy. They  
207 have in essence assisted the economic enslavement of Nigerian economy by the global capitalist metropolitan  
208 economy of Europe and America.

209 As early as 1955 the world bank had started involving in the Nigerian Economy. It took up the responsibility  
210 of a critical study of the Nigerian economy (Alkali, 1997).

211 Between 1971 and 1980, the World Bank was involved in the funding of agricultural projects and rural  
212 development. It financed Cocoa production in Western Regions and between 1974 and 1077 it sponsored five  
213 agricultural development projects in Nigeria, i.e. Funtua, Gombe, Gausau, Lafia and Ayagba. In fact between  
214 1958 and 1987, 66 projects loans were approved by the bank for Nigeria out of which 29 projects were for  
215 Agriculture which was values at \$1,591.8 million. The result generally was that it boosted agriculture impressively  
216 during this period (Alkali, 1997).

217 However, by 1980, World Bank began the introduction of non-project and quick disbursing structural  
218 Adjustment Loans (SAL) in its global activities. In September 1986, the Federal Government of Nigeria adopted  
219 the Structural Adjustment Programme officially (SAP). By November, 1986, it acquired the first SAP loan

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221 Volume XII Issue X Version I In 1958 it gave its first credit facility of \$26.1 million to Nigeria to complete  
222 the railway line from Gombe to Maiduguri. This was the beginning of its involvement in the Nigerian political  
223 economy. Thence it financed projects mostly in areas of transport, sea ports, highways, telecommunications and  
224 electricity. Between 1958 and 1970 it financed a total of twelve projects amounting to some \$248.3 million (Alkali,  
225 1997).

226 programme and the loan was designed to further enslave the economy of the borrower and favour the designers.  
227 The World Bank programmes started playing the role of facilitating the activities of the International

228 The IMF and IBRD also known as the World Bank were established at Briton Wood after the Second World  
229 War to help avoid economic disasters such as the Great Depression. These were organizations whose principles  
230 were based on classical liberal capitalist doctrines of Keynesian economics. John Maynard Kenes was a British  
231 economist and one of the closest economic advisors of Franklin Roosevelt.

232 between anti-terrorist army and imperialist army; of \$452.0 million. In 1989 the second SAP loan of \$600  
233 million was approved for Nigerian and it continued until Nigeria then became the 12th largest borrowers of  
234 the Bank in the World (Alkali, 1997). The acquisition of World Bank Loan and adoption of the Structural  
235 Adjustment Programme in Nigeria became a turning point in the history of Nigerian Political Economy. The  
236 whole Corporations and Western Governments. It became policy agents for the two. It was in that capacity that  
237 countries like Nigeria had no choice but to adopt the economic policies of a neo-colonial character.

238 The Structural Adjustment Programme basically include political and economic policy measures such as  
239 privatization, deregulation, Austerity Measures, devaluation of currency, massive reduction in social welfare  
240 programmes and state expenditure retrenchment of workers and wage freeze. It include also introduction of  
241 repressive laws curtailing political liberty ??Mbu, 1992).

242 The consequences of the SAP Programme both economically and socially can be seen in terms of the insecurity  
243 it created in the country. The programme lacked human face such that at the Khortuum Conference organised  
244 by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, SAP was criticized seriously for not meeting urgent  
245 human needs' (Iyoha, 1992).

246 Since the 1980s, the living conditions of Nigerians has continuously deteriorated. The real incomes of most  
247 households declined sharply and the rate of underemployment worsened. World Bank reports that since the  
248 commencement of the SAP programme the living standard of the Nigerians masses fell drastically. The per  
249 capita income reduced from \$800 to less than \$400 in the 1990s ??World Bank, 1994) Thus it put the lives of  
250 Nigerians into serious food insecurity and it eroded genuine nationalist feelings leading many into their ethnic  
251 and religious shells, from which they started series of violence against the state, leading to National insecurity.

252 At the dawn of the present millennium, Nigeria entered a period of serious problem of socio-economic and  
253 political instability and insecurity. The harsheconomic policies enforced by the World Bank, IMF and WTO -the  
254 so-called International Development Partners have the effects of deepening poverty, aggravating food insecurity  
255 environmental destruction, neglect of social infrastructure and population dislocation and displacement. The  
256 purchasing power of Nigerian declined so much that most Nigerians live below poverty line.

257 Removal of subsidy from petroleum resources, health and education further pushed Nigerians into abject  
258 poverty. Debt servicing took priority over social services. Young people suffer under-employment and  
259 unemployment. Removal of subsidy from the Agricultural sector reduced the purchasing power of peasant farmers  
260 and their capacity utilization.

261 In terms of statistics that shows incidence of poverty, by 1980, using the rate of US\$1 per day it increased from  
262 28.1% to 46.2% in 1985 and by 1996 it increased to 68.6%. While using US\$2 per day to measure the poverty  
263 level the percentage of people living below poverty line increased to about 93.4% (Igbuzor, 2006).

264 Poverty, instability, corruption, food insecurity, national insecurity therefore became consequences of the  
265 precarious and fragile economy and social conditions, which was engendered by decades of neglect, and  
266 exploitation by the so-called International Development Partners.

267 The Niger Delta where the major source of national income is been derived suffered untold ecological  
268 devastation, due to the exploration and exploitation of oil resources. This put the people of Niger Delta into  
269 precarious social health and economic conditions. Any efforts by the Government to cushion the effects could  
270 not succeed due to hyper corruption in higher places. It is in this context that we can historically understand the  
271 Niger Delta militancy and the birth of Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) as a major source of  
272 insecurity in Nigeria. MEND's method of bombing of government and oil companies installations clearly indicate  
273 their grievances.

274 But the insecurity caused by the Boko Haram bombing cannot be so simply understood. The sect which called  
275 itself Society for propagation of Islam and Holy War have been involved in series of bombings that seems to be  
276 indiscriminate, Muslims and non-Muslims were targeted. But the Christians Churches seems to attract their  
277 special focus of attack, thereby giving suggestions of a religious war.

278 Therefore when the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) views it as a religious war against the Nigerian  
279 Christians, (Nigerian Tribune 13, April, 2012) one cannot really challenge that view. However, other activities of  
280 the group becloud their real focus. They have not only been attacking government departments but also Muslims  
281 seems to be the largest victims of bombings in terms of number of deaths due to Boko Haram bombings.

282 Perhaps that was the reasons why Dr.

## 13 Year

283 Before the SAP programme in 1980, Nigeria was among the middle income nations, but by the early 1990s  
284 Nigerian had joined the leading poorest and most corrupt nations in the World (Nwoko,1992). Although Nigeria  
285 ranked among the richest 50 countries in preearly 1970s but by the turn of this millennium, she became one of the  
286 25 poorest countries and the second most corrupt country in the World. (Igbuzor, 2006). The Nigerian President,  
287 Jonathan Goodluck also admits that 'Politics of bitterness is promoting Boko Haram' (Nigerian Tribune, 26th  
288 June, 2012).

289 Thus we may deduce that in spite of the seeming religious clothings the real reason behind the indiscriminate  
290 bombings of Boko Haram group could be found within the political economic conflicts.

291 The United States of America asserts that it is due to the serious decline in the standard of living of Nigerian  
292 especially Northern Nigeria. Is more devastated by poverty and neglect (Nigerian Tribune April 19, 2012).

293 Consequently, we may argue that the Boko Haram saga as well as the militancy in the South cannot be divorced  
294 from the economic woes initiated by the economic hardship caused by the neo-colonial status of Nigeria. But the  
295 political and economic corruption of Nigeria's comprador Bongeorsive is definitely part of the reason. Boko Haran  
296 saga has led to serious loss of lives, state of panic, loss of billions of Nara worth of property on daily basis and it  
297 has threatened the foundation of Nigeria statehood.

298 By and large, I have attempted to use neo-Marxian paradigm to explain the historical roots of global insecurity.  
299 I have traced it to the global capitalist economic system and its inherent contradictions.

300 And I have argued that human security as a people centred approach to Global security must recognise that  
301 lasting peace and social justice cannot be achieved unless people are protected from threats to their rights and  
302 basic needs. Among the human security threats are violence and abuse of human rights, corruption and bad  
303 governance, disasters and climate change, poverty and poor access to basic services. <sup>1 2 3 4 5</sup>



Figure 1: The

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Figure 2:



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