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ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF BORDER MANAGEMENT INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

Grace Mutfwang, Ph. D

Nigeria Immigration Service, Nasarawa State command

Abstract

The study investigates the impact of border management institutional framework on national security in Nigeria. Mixed research approach was used following descriptive design strategy. Coordinated border management theory was used as framework. A population of 90,214 was used for this study while a sample size of 398 respondents cutting across the Seme border posts and Nigeria-Cameroun border Gurin in Adamawa State and officers from the establishments designated for this study. The study employed purposive sampling and simple random techniques. The study used interview and structured questionnaire as instrument for data collection, frequency table and simple percentages were used as for data analysis. The findings revealed Nigeria's land borders are traced to colonialism making them poorly defined and demarcated, vast, lengthy, and mountainous in nature thereby making it difficult for security agents to effectively control and manage. The results revealed that the ECOWAS Building and ECOWAS protocol, Migrant Information Data Analysis System (MIDAS) and visa permit are border management institutional framework that have been implemented in Nigeria. The study found porosity of border, inadequate manpower and logistic, poor motivation of security agencies, ineffective administrative structures and facilities, inadequate transportation facilities such as patrol van and power-bikes for security agencies at the borders of Seme and Gurin borders as common challenges. The study concluded that Nigeria's land borders are a challenge to national security in Nigeria. The study recommends among others that the Nigerian Immigration Service should collaborate with the National Boundary Commission to ensure that Nigeria's Land borders are well demarcated for effective border management through the setting up of boundary commission sub-offices at all borders in Nigeria, Nigerian Immigration Service should strengthen its institutional capacity by collaborating with International Organization for Migration (IOM) to ensure proper implementation of the MIDAS on all border check points and that Government should provide special allowances for security personnel deployed to Nigeria's borders through budgetary provisions so as to curb the challenges hampering effective border management for enhanced National Security in Nigeria.

Keywords: Borders, Institutional Framework, Border Management, National Security

1. Introduction

Since the beginning of human history, there has been the need for self and group preservation which has made people to carve out empires and dominate their environment. Prior to the advent of modern state systems in the 17th century, people were organised into political units such as clans, chiefdoms, empires and states. One means of security of these political units was the construction of city walls, such as the walls of Jericho in 1400 BC and the great walls of China built in 221 BC. These walls served as borders and as

barriers to ward off invaders (Rosenberg, 2019). Borders are intrinsic elements of human life and are elements of the relations between individuals and society. The realisation that borders represent complex social and territorial phenomena has had a profound impact on the study of borders. At one level, borders serve to satisfy two basic needs of the people and that is: being protected from external and internal threats and determining the territories which belong to particular political, cultural and social groups (Kolossoff, 2012). Borders have become more

important as interdependence offers new and enhanced opportunities for the mobility and global distribution of conventional and new threats such as military threats, diplomatic threats or any force as a means of coercion. Borders continue to define the state as the ultimate actor in dealing with threat to justice, rights, freedom and national security.

National security goes beyond human security which focuses on the protection of lives and properties; it encompasses factors such as social and economic challenges which are capable of affecting the security of a nation or state. In the overall security architecture of a nation, effective management of borders is important due to the far-reaching implications that illegal cross-border activities could have for national security. In order to achieve a nation's security interest, borders deserve all the possible attention a nation can give. The events of September 11, 2001 terrorist attack served as a wakeup call for the United States of America to consider border management a top priority in its national security policies (Anderson, 2019). Stunned by the terrorist attack of 9/11, the Department of Homeland Security was created in New York, Washington D.C. The lack of coordination and intelligence sharing among government agencies was also a central concern that led to the cabinet department's creation of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 which became a law on November 25, 2002 (Anderson, 2019).

Nigeria is a country vulnerable to the threat of trans-border crimes in Africa. Nigeria's borders are ill-defined and poorly demarcated making them vulnerable to frequent violations such as smuggling and irregular migration amongst others. Proper and effective border management in Nigeria has for a long time remained a serious challenge. The country has sea, air and land borders with land entry points which constitute over 99% of the borders and followed by airports (Danfulani, 2016). Several security and law enforcement agencies have been put in place to curtail the growing menace of insecurity at the borders but all such efforts have not been able to tackle the challenges of efficient and effective border management. The country's borders are vast and as a way of managing these land borders, successive governments came up

with different policies. Nigeria shares common borders with her neighbours and most of these borders are poorly demarcated and poorly manned making it easy for willing migrants and sundry offenders such as smugglers, peddlers, traffickers troop into the country. Nigeria is also in the throes of bloody upheavals orchestrated by herdsmen, who are believed to be foreigners from neighbouring Mali and Chad. The activities of this group have negatively affected the socio-economic development of the nation and threatened national security in a fundamental sense (Jonathan, 2016).

In order to address the challenges of the management of Nigerian borders, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) put in place some institutional frameworks aimed at improving border management structure for enhanced national security. Some of these border management policies and institutional framework include the establishment of Nigeria Immigration Service which is the organisation solely mandated with the responsibility of managing Nigeria's borders, the introduction of Migrants Information Data Analysis System (MIDAS), introduction of Border Corps as Special Unit of NIS and Border Drill as a Joint Task Force saddled with the task of securing the borders and a two-face ECOWAS building at Seme border. Furthermore, the border closure policy which came into effect on 20th of August 2019 was also adopted by the Buhari led Federal Government to curtail the high rate of smuggling of goods into the country from neighbouring countries and to prevent other illegal activities (Heyman & Ahmed, 2021).

More so, Nigeria has peacefully resolved the Bakassi issue and entered into various trans-border cooperation agreements with her neighbours. The security and law enforcement agents participated in numerous peace summits in order to find a lasting solution to Boko Haram insurgency. A regional security summit was held under the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) which was aimed at reviewing the current security situation arising from the activities of Boko Haram across Nigeria's common borders such as Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Benin (Bokeriya & Omo-Ogbebor, 2015). The government appoint

relocated its military command headquarters from the seat of power in Abuja to Maiduguri (Bokeriya & Omo-Ogbebor, 2015).

Despite all these measures put in place, irregular border routes still facilitate access into the country which aid trans-border crimes as well as terrorism with adverse effects on national security. Evidences from literatures revealed that scholars like (Agbebaku & Osimen, 2022; Idoniboye-Obu, 2022; Ola & Fabiyi, 2020; Isyaku, 2019) among others have studied border management and national security related variables. However, these scholars either employed the quantitative or qualitative method, rather than the mixed approach used in this work. Furthermore, none of the studies assessed captured the migrant information data analysis system as an institutional framework for border management. The study is motivated by the desire that in spite of having the institutional frameworks for border management, the country is still witnessing some insecurity challenges on a daily basis. It is in view of this scenario that this study investigated the impact of border management institutional framework on national security in Nigeria.

The aim of the study is to assess the impact of border management institutional framework on national security in Nigeria.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Definitions

2.1.1 Border Management

Border, identity, territory, and human security are generally the cornerstones of national security. Ullah and Kumpoh (2018) opined that the border is one of the primary factors that determine the geopolitical landscape of a nation. The concept of border management entails the whole systems, processes and procedures followed by or guiding a country's border agencies in ensuring the flow of traffic across the country's border with other countries. Osimen *et.al.*, (2017) state that border management also includes maintenance of boundary beacons that mark the physical limits of the country's territory. Border management is a collaborative process between a country and its neighbours. This implies that when

borders cease to function effectively, different forms of crimes prevail and the security of a state or region is put in serious jeopardy because borders constitute the most visible sign of the sovereignty of a state on its territory. Border agencies are responsible for the processing of people and goods at points of entry and exit, as well as for the detection and regulation of people and goods attempting to illegally cross borders. Suday and Okon (2020) defined border management as the facilitation of authorised flows of persons including business people, tourists, migrants and refugees across a border and the detection and prevention of irregular entry of non-nationals into a given country.

It is the responsibility of every government to put the interest, security and well-being of its country and citizens first and above other interests. Border security is one of the means through which national security is maintained. No nation can be truly safe without border security because open borders make citizens vulnerable to harmful people and actions. border management is conducted through certain agencies in a bid to control the activities at the border such as facilitating trade and services, imports and exports and protecting Nigerian and foreign nationals (Isa, 2018). Deducing from literatures, border management in the context of this work refers to all the efforts, policies, strategies and institutional framework the federal government through relevant agencies employed to effectively manage the nation's borders for effective national security.

2.1.2 National Security

Security is a contested concept; it means different things to different people. Hence, war, terrorism, ethnic conflicts, environment, hunger and poverty have been identified as some of the security concerns of the present world but the security problems or concerns of near past were a bit different in nature. Security is a process of assuaging any kind of threat to people and their values (Security-Counter Terrorism, 2017). Generally, the concept of national security is also more than territorial defence and should focus on the political, social, economic equality of life of a society and its members both in the domestic setting

and within the large regional and global system. Johnson (2014) stated that the concept of national security is construed in terms of the sum total of a country's effort to promote, preserve, maintain itself, its core values, contain instability and enhance development thereby boosting the welfare, well-being and quality of life of the citizens by enhancing consumption patterns.

National security refers to the totality of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups and political entities security interests in order to ensure the safety and security as well as the prosperity of persons and institutions within a country. National security is the ability of a country's government to protect its citizens, economy and other institutions (Longley, 2021).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study was anchored on the coordinated border management Theory developed by John Angew in the 1990s. The concepts of CBN had their antecedents in key WCO (World Customs Organisations). The term coordinated border management has been introduced in view of its encompassing nature, it is described as better coordinated border management which entails coordination and cooperation among all the relevant authorities and agencies involved in border security and regulatory requirements that apply to passengers, goods and conveyances that are moved across the borders (Polner, 2019).

Coordinated border management is viewed as a guiding principle for border agencies thus establishing the interactive relationship between security and law enforcement agents and also facilitates strategies for combating cross-border criminal activities and incursions at borders through coordination. The theory can also be useful in analysing important policies or decisions to border management key policy makers and security and law enforcement agents. The theory represents an approach to manage borders involving public service agencies particularly security agencies in a coordinated manner to achieve a shared goal thus providing a cohesive government response to the challenges of border

management. CBM is a logical way to manage border operations to ensure efficient, effective processes and procedures used by all regulatory agencies who are involved in border security. The objective of a coordinated border management system is to facilitate trade and the clearance of travelers at the same time ensuring secure borders.

2.3 Empirical Review

The relationship between border management and national security had been studied in extant literatures, but what are obvious are the differences that exist on the basis of choices in variables and methodological issues. Agbebaku and Osimen (2022) investigated border security management and ECOWAS Protocol of free movement in West Africa. Data were obtained using secondary sources and the data were analysed qualitatively. The study observed that the prospect of achieving effective border security was truncated due to unrestricted free movement of people and improper implementation of ECOWAS protocol in the sub-region, and that this uncontrolled and unmanaged border has resulted in infiltration of terrorists and insurgencies, loss of government revenue, smuggling or trafficking of illegal goods among others. The study revealed that the issue of corruption, poor technological gadgets, and porous nature of the borders among others serve as strong challenge to effective border management in the region.

Idoniboye-Obu (2022) carried out a study on public policy and border management in Nigeria with focus on the implications of Buhari's 2019 policy of land borders closure. The study employed descriptive survey design and a sample size of 40 respondents purposively selected from Seme, Idiroko and Mfun border areas. The study used both primary and secondary data while analyses were made using simple percentage and content analytical model; the study found that the policy on land borders closure has neither improved border management nor reduced the rate of smuggling and insecurity in Nigeria. It was also found that the policy has not significantly improved the national development of the country. The study concluded that the policy on land borders closure

posed negative impacts on both Nigeria and her neighboring countries and recommended among others that the Nigerian government should draft a proper plan on how to improve border management in Nigeria. The closure of land borders in the Buhari government was considered a strategy for border management in Nigeria that aimed at enhancing national security, hence is relevant to this present research. However, this study focuses more on the nature of Seme and Gurin borders and how these borders are best managed by relevant agencies of government as a way of promoting national security in Nigeria.

Ifeanyi-Aneke, Ifedi and Aga (2021) investigated the Nigeria Immigration Service and the challenge of cross border human trafficking in Nigeria from 2011-2019. Using structural functionalism theory as analytical framework and data generated from secondary sources covering 2011-2019. This study revealed that there are about 1400 unknown footpaths by security agencies, the borders are not manned and protected, and it was also found that inadequate personnel's have equally contributed to poor border management.

Ola and Fabiyi (2020) explored bordering on Nigerian foreign policy and economic development. It was principally a critical assessment of President Olusegun Obasanjo's partial land border closure. The study was conducted to find out the implication of land border closure policy on economic development of Nigeria. The study found out that land border closure policy has increased unemployment rate, skyrocketed food prices, increased rate of smugglers and crimes in Nigeria. This study is relevant to the present research since it focused on borders in Nigeria, However, while the study centers on how bordering affects Nigeria's relations with other countries of the World, this study focused on how the management of borders can impact national security in Nigeria. More so, the scholars delimited their study to the Obasanjo's partial land border closure while this study extended the period to 2018 looking at the level of insecurity the country has experienced. This study sees the need for a significant presence of military and physical barriers to prevent unauthorised crossings along borders.

Adesoji (2020) investigated the implication of major General Muhammadu Buhari's policy of land border closure on economic development of West African countries". The study found out that Buhari's policy of land border closure has badly affected the economy of neighbouring countries. The study concluded that most neighbouring countries such as Benin Republic, Mali, Niger and Cameroun solidly depend on trans-border trade with Nigeria to improve their economies. The strength on this study lies on the fact that it captured land border as a variable of interest, but the major weakness of the work is that it concentrated on how land border closure affects economic development, not national security that holistically covers the human, social, economic and political life of a generality of people.

Alake (2020) carried out a study on border closure policy and national development during Major General Muhammadu Buhari's regime in 1985. The study was conducted to find out the reason for border closure. The study found out that border was closed due to severe human trafficking, smuggling of drugs, agricultural produce, prostitution, child labour and insurgency. The study concluded that the land border closure policy did not achieve its aim of enhancing national development as a result of corruption, smugglers' activities and porous border in Nigeria. The relevance of this research is predicated on the fact that it captures border management as an important strategy for managing borders but failed to assess the extent of its impact on national security. More so, looking at the dynamic nature of the society especially with globalisation, the previous study concentrated on 1985, while this research is delimited to period 2007 to 2018 which is more current and also accommodates different democratic administrations.

Idris (2020) carried out a permeable borders and insecurity: The ECOWAS protocol on free movement and trans-border banditry on the Nigeria-Niger Republic Frontier." The study adopted the economic integration theory and questionnaire was used to generate quantitative data from the sample of 400 respondents and analysis done using simple percentage and chi-square techniques to interpret each table. This study revealed that continuous

implementation of the ECOWAS protocol has contributed immensely to the porosity of the Nigeria-Niger Republic borders, which warrants undocumented migration of ECOWAS citizens, thereby making the border a gateway for arms and trans-border banditry.

Isyaku (2019) investigated the impact of land border closure policy in the economic development of China. The findings of the study revealed that land border closure policy has helped China to reorganise and grow their economy. The study concluded that it took China thirty-five years and more to improve on their local production and industries in order to compete with other developed countries. This study is relevant to the present research because it concentrated on land borders, but its major weakness is that it was delimited to China, while this research focuses on how border management affects national security in Nigeria.

Chinedu (2019) examined migration and national security based on a study of Nigeria's porous borders. The study adopted content analysis techniques and comparative analysis. While data collected through secondary sources were analysed through expository mechanism. Rational decision theory provided the theoretical framework for the study as panacea to mitigate the inflows of migrants and curtail the challenges posed by Nigeria's porous border.

Osimen *et al.*, (2017) studied the nature of Nigeria's borders using analytical framework to assess the emerging trans-border crimes and the causes and sources of insecurity of lives and property in Nigeria. The study revealed that the major criminal activities in Nigeria's borders are smuggling of contraband goods and illegal immigrants, trafficking in weapons and human parts, drug trafficking, vehicle crime, trafficking of illegally exploited natural resources, including the illicit trade in timber, oil and diamond among others. The study found that much of the conventional wisdom regarding how best to address Nigeria's border crime and security is not only enacting a law but also creating proper national security awareness.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This study adopts descriptive survey as the research design. This design was considered the most appropriate for the analysis of the impact of institutional framework for Border Management on national security in Nigeria because and the research aimed at describing the problem in its physical setting. Descriptive survey design allows the researcher to collect large amount of data from a sizeable population using primary collection instruments like the structured questionnaire and semi-structured.

3.2 Population and Sample

A population of 90,214 comprising of 23,000 personnel of Nigeria Customs Service, 22,000 personnel of the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), 43,200 personnel of the State Security Service (SSS), 2,000 personnel of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and 14 interviewees from border communities. The study used Seme border in Lagos State and Gurin border in the Nigeria-Cameroun border in the north-east of Adamawa State. These borders were chosen for this study because they are commonly used for illegal cross-border activities and criminals' troop into the country through these borders. The sample size selected for this study was 398 respondents cutting across the Seme border posts and Nigeria-Cameroun border Gurin in Adamawa State and officers from the establishments designated for this study. The sample size for this study is generated relying on the Yamane (1967) formula. The formular is expressed as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n = Signifies the sample size,

N = Signifies population under study,

e = Signifies the margin error (0.05)

$$n = \frac{90214}{1+90,214(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{90,214}{1+90,214 (0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{90,214}{1+90,214 (0.0025)}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 & 1+225.535 \\
 n &= \frac{90,214}{226.535} \\
 n &= 398.234 \\
 n &= 398
 \end{aligned}$$

3.3 Sampling Techniques

The study used the purposive sampling and the simple random techniques in selecting its sampled respondents from the study population. The idea behind purposive sampling is that it concentrates on people with particular characteristics who possess adequate knowledge of the phenomenon being studied such as security agencies, border communities and traditional rulers in the selected borders for the study (Palinkas, 2015). Simple random sampling is the basic sampling technique where we select a group of subjects (a sample) for study from a larger group (a population). Each individual is chosen entirely by chance and each member of the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample.

3.4 Instrument for Data Collection

The study employed the both quantitative and qualitative approaches (mixed method), as such, self-developed structured questionnaire and semi structured interview were used as instruments for data collection. The study used a 5-point Likert scale structured questionnaire rated as strongly agree (SA=5), agree (A=4), Undecided (U=3), disagree (D=2) and strongly disagree (SD=1) respectively as instrument for collecting the quantitative data. Furthermore, the semi structure questionnaire was used as instrument for collecting the qualitative data, while documents such as journal articles, textbooks, publications of organizations like the Nigerian Immigration Service and other online materials were used as secondary sources of information.

3.5 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

The construct validity was used to determine the validity of the instrument used for the research. Validity explains how well the collected data covers the actual area of investigation or measures what is intended to be measured (Taherdoost, 2016). The construct validity determines how well a test measures what it is supposed to measure and it compares tests to other tests. Reliability of internal consistency test was used for this study. The Cronbach Alpha Coefficient Technique was used to measure the reliability of the instrument. Applying this technique, the instrument was administered to a sample respondent once after which the reliability coefficient was determined. The findings revealed a reliability coefficient of 0.96 which is higher than the 0.7 benchmark for reliability testing. This implies that the instrument was statistically reliable.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

This study used frequency table and simple percentages as descriptive statistics for data analysis. The data generated from the semi-structured interview were analysed using content and thematic analysis. The analysis therefore was done based on the method of triangulation. Bans-Akutey and Tiimub (2021) stated triangulation describes how the researcher used multiple approaches in the study to extract the required information as well as critically analysing findings, thus establishing validity and credibility. Therefore, using these techniques, opinions of interviewees were categorised under different themes based on the research questions. This analysis involved a detailed descriptive analysis of data from interviews through recording (phone or tape recorder), transcribing verbatim, as well as data obtained from published literature. The percentages of the responses obtained using the questionnaire were subjected to statistical analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 27.

4. Results and Discussion

Table 1: Simple Percentages of Nature of Nigeria's Land Borders

SN	Statement of Items	SA (%)	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)	SD (%)
1	The nature of Nigeria's land borders undermines its national security.	114 (40.7)	106 (37.9)	2 (0.7)	8 (2.9)	50 (17.5)
2	Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa are artificial creation of colonialism.	228 (81.4)	40 (14.3)	2 (0.7)	3 (1.1)	7 (2.5)
3	The quality of Nigeria's land border management is ineffective	224 (80.0)	7 (2.5)	16 (5.7)	2 (0.7)	12 (4.3)
4	Borders are well demarcated between Nigeria and her neighbours.	144 (40.7)	78 (27.9)	18 (6.4)	38 (13.6)	32 (11.4)
5	Nigerian borders are characterised by forest which limits the effectiveness of patrol.	172 (61.4)	54 (19.3)	20 (7.1)	22 (7.9)	12 (4.3)
6	Nigerian borders are vast and lengthy in nature.	172 (61.4)	60 (21.4)	16 (5.7)	22 (7.9)	10 (3.6)
7	Nigerian borders are poorly defined/demarcated	228 (81.4)	32 (11.4)	4 (1.4)	11 (3.9)	5 (1.8)

The findings from the analysis of the nature of border management in Seme and Gurin borders in Nigeria in Table 1 revealed that 40.7 % of the respondents strongly agreed that the nature of border management in Nigeria undermines its national security, 37.9 % agreed, 0.7 % were undecided, 2.9 % disagreed and 17.5 % strongly disagreed. The results showed that 81.4% strongly agreed that Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa are artificial creation of colonialism, 14.3 % agreed, 0.7% were undecided, 1.1% disagreed and 2.5% also strongly disagreed. It was also found that 80.0% strongly agreed that the quality of Nigeria's land border management is ineffective, 2.5 % agreed, 5.7% were undecided, 0.7%

disagreed and 4.3 % on the other hand strongly disagreed.

The findings revealed that 40.7% strongly agreed that borders are well demarcated between Nigeria and her Neighbours, 27.95 agreed, 6.4 were undecided, 13.65 disagreed and 11.4% strongly disagreed respectively. The results also revealed that 61.4% strongly agreed that Nigerian borders are characterised by forest which limits the effectiveness of patrol, 19.3% agreed, 7.1% were undecided, 7.9% disagreed and 4.3% strongly disagreed. More so, 61.4% strongly agreed that Nigerian borders are vast and lengthy in nature, 21.4% agreed, 5.7% were undecided, 7.9% disagreed and 3.6% on the other hand strongly disagreed.

Table 2: Simple Percentages of Border Management Institutional Framework

SN	Statement of Items	SA (%)	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)	SD (%)
1	ECOWAS protocol of free movement of persons is an institutional framework for managing Nigeria's land borders.	90 (32.1)	136 (48.6)	5 (1.8)	36 (2.9)	13 (4.6)
2	Visa permit is not an institutional framework for managing Nigeria's land border.	21 (7.5)	40 (14.3)	24 (8.6)	120 (42.9)	75 (26.8)
3	There are national policies that govern border security and management.	121 (46.1)	86 (30.7)	14 (5.0)	38 (13.6)	13 (4.6)
4	Policy frameworks for border management are unclear and ambiguous in nature.	141 (50.4)	85 (30.4)	11 (3.9)	22 (7.9)	21 (7.5)
5	The construction of ECOWAS building in Seme border is a framework for effective border management.	145 (51.8)	85 (30.5)	12 (4.3)	14 (5.0)	24 (8.6)
6	Introduction of migration information data analysis system is an institutional framework for effective border management.	124 (44.3)	103 (36.8)	14 (5.0)	18 (6.4)	21 (7.5)

The findings from the results of analysis of border management institutional framework for Nigeria's land borders in Table 2 indicated that 32.1% of the respondents strongly agreed that ECOWAS protocol of free movement of persons is an institutional framework for managing Nigeria's land borders, 48.6% agreed, 1.8% were undecided, 2.9% disagreed and 4.6% strongly disagreed. The results showed that 7.5% strongly agreed that Visa permit is not an institutional framework for managing Nigeria's land border, 14.3% agreed, 8.6% were undecided, 42.9% disagreed and 26.8% also strongly disagreed. It was found that 46.1% strongly agreed that there are national policies that govern border security and management, 30.7% agreed, 5.0% were undecided, 13.6% disagreed and 4.6% on the other hand strongly disagreed.

The findings also indicated that 50.4% strongly agreed that policy framework for border management

are unclear and ambiguous in nature, 30.4% agreed, 3.9% were undecided, 7.9% disagreed and 7.5% strongly disagreed. The finding revealed that 51.8% of the respondents strongly agreed that the construction of ECOWAS building in Seme border is a framework for effective border management, 30.4% agreed, while 44.3% strongly agreed that the introduction of migration information data analysis system is an institutional framework for effective border management, 36.8% agreed, 5.0% were undecided, 6.4% disagreed and 7.5% on the other hand strongly disagreed. The means that the construction of ECOWAS building in Seme border, introduction of migration information data analysis system are border management institutional framework in Nigeria, the challenge is that these policies are not clearly specified and worst of it all, successive leaders in Nigeria have not effectively managed the Nigerian borders as a way of enhancing national security in Nigeria.

Table 3: Simple Percentages Challenges of Norder Management in Nigeria

SN	Statement of Items	SA (%)	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)	SD (%)
1	There are many challenges of border management in Nigeria.	170 (60.7)	59 (21.1)	7 (2.5)	27 (9.6)	17 (6.1)
2	Lack of policy framework constitutes a challenge to border management in Nigeria	116 (41.4)	99 (35.4)	16 (5.7)	30 (10.7)	19 (6.8)
3	The porosity of borders affects border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States.	129 (46.1)	78 (27.9)	15 (5.4)	21 (7.5)	37 (13.2)
4	Inadequate manpower and logistic affect border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States.	122 (43.6)	76 (27.1)	29 (10.4)	24 (8.6)	29 (10.4)
5	Free movement of people in member states protocol developed by ECOWAS affects border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States.	29 (10.4)	33 (11.8)	131 (46.8)	33 (11.8)	54 (19.3)
6	There are adequate transportation facilities such as patrol van, power-bikes etc for security agencies at the borders.	29 (10.4)	30 (10.7)	17 (6.1)	92 (32.8)	112 (40.0)
7	Communication facilities at Seme and Gurin borders of Nigeria are said to be adequate and effective.	30 (10.7)	27 (9.6)	4 (1.4)	95 (33.9)	124 (44.3)
8	There are adequate administrative structures and facilities for security personnel at Seme and Gurin borders of Nigeria.	25 (8.9)	34 (12.1)	14 (5.0)	107 (38.2)	100 (35.7)
9	Security agencies are well motivated to carry out comprehensive border management to enhance national security in Nigeria	32 (11.4)	23 (8.2)	8 (2.9)	84 (30.0)	133 (47.5)

The findings on the analysis of challenges of Nigeria's land borders in Table 3 revealed that 60.7 % of the respondents strongly agreed that there are many challenges of border management in Nigeria, 21.1 % agreed, 2.5 % were undecided, 9.6 % disagreed and 6.1 % strongly disagreed. The results revealed that 76.8 % of the respondents agreed that lack of policy framework constitutes a challenge to border management in Nigeria, while 17.5 % disagreed and

5.7 % were undecided. Also, 74.0 % of the respondents agreed that the porosity of borders affect border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States, and 70.7 % of the respondents also agreed that inadequate manpower and logistic affect border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States. It was found that only 23.2 % of the respondents agreed that free movement of member states protocol developed by

ECOWAS affects border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States, 31.1% disagreed, while 46.8% were undecided.

More so, majority of the respondents, that is 72.8% disagreed that there are adequate transportation facilities such as patrol van, power-bikes etc for security agencies at the borders, at Seme and Gurin borders of Nigeria. Furthermore, 8.9% strongly agreed that there are adequate administrative structures and facilities for security personnel at Seme and Gurin Borders of Nigeria, 12.1% agreed, 5.0% were undecided, 38.2% agreed and 35.7% strongly disagreed. The results also revealed that 47.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed that security agencies are well motivated to carry out comprehensive border management to enhance national security in Nigeria. This implies that the porous nature of the borders, inadequate manpower and logistic, limited means of transportation and communication as well as poor motivation of security agencies are the major challenges border management in Nigeria that need to be tackled.

4.1 Discussion of Findings

The findings from the analysis of the nature of border management in Seme and Gurin borders of Lagos and Adamawa States revealed that the management of both borders is ineffective because they are poorly defined and demarcated. The findings further showed that Nigerian borders are characterised by forest, mountains, deserts and water which limit the effectiveness of patrol. They are vast and lengthy which agreed with the main assumption of the coordinated border management theory, that collective efforts by security agents should be used as measures for dealing with insecurity. This agreed with the view Okeke, Orji and Richard (2014) that Nigeria's borders have been described as porous allowing all sorts of cross-border or trans-border criminal activities such as human trafficking, smuggling, drug trafficking, arm robbery, money laundering and illicit arms trafficking resulting in the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. This view was expressed by a respondent during the semi-structured interview (male between 55 and 60 years of age. Interview, 2019) who stated that:

The nature of Nigerian borders undermines its national security due to its poor demarcation. The Seme border is partly demarcated by water and makes it difficult to control criminals because they gain access into the country through the waterways. I bemoan the absence of the Navy in the management of borders their presence is of important to the management of borders.

This view was also corroborated by the District Head of Gurin (Ma Dawaki, male between 50-65 years old) of Adamawa state stated that the boundary separating Nigeria and Cameroun is demarcated by River Benue which makes effective security patrol and surveillance extremely difficult and in turn making the borders porous. In this line, respondent 5 (male, 30 and 40 years of age Interview 2020) opines that:

You know! Gurin has a very expansive borderline and ah! So it's kind of a flat line area but it has a thick forest. There is Moninga side on the other hand and then, that is from the northern side of the Gurin part. We have Moninga and from the southern side, there is Sahur, so these two areas have a thick forest or what will I call it? Ah! In terms of geographical area, some part of it is mountainous as well.

The analysis of the implementation of border management institutional framework revealed that the construction of ECOWAS building in Seme border is an effective institutional strategy for effective border management, but the building is a single border post amongst the multiple borders in Nigeria and the policy framework for border management in Nigeria is unclear and ambiguous in nature. Ate (2011) noted that with a viable, active institutional framework for organising trans-border relations in place, the detrimental aspects of border incursions will become neutralised which can cultivate an integrated trans-border community as the basis for development and security in the immediate interest of the people that live in that area. The results showed that there are viable institutional frameworks for enhanced border management. These strategies include the formation of ECOWAS building in Seme border, introduction of MIDAS and Visa permit. The Nigerian Immigration Service report (2023) revealed that in 2022 a total of

1,993 regular migrants and 1,422 irregular migrants representing 58 percent and 42 percent respectively were successfully registered, signifying that MIDAS has contributed significantly in providing reliable data on all forms of migrants which hitherto was a challenge. Linking these findings to the coordinated border management theory, it can be argued that interaction amongst security operatives is relevant especially with the inability to stretch these policies to other border points. This suggests that member states interaction on insecurity will have positive multiplier effects on the security of ECOWAS member states and in Nigerian borders in particular. In an interview with the former Comptroller General of Immigration, David Shikfu Parradang (2020),

The ECOWAS policy and free movement protocol is quite important because even ah! Let's say, it was initiated by Nigeria, Gowon was there that time they started the whole policy in the 70s, late 70s. Let's say our people do not respect the conditions of the protocol very well, now the free protocol doesn't say that anybody can just walk into another country; you must have a recognised travel document before you walk into another country, so people on free movement should not come anyhow into the country. People do not respect the conditions for free movement protocol, which is supposed to be a good policy but most of our people don't respect it by coming without documents or without registration.

The results of analysis of the challenges of Nigeria's land border management along Seme and Gurin borders indicated that there are many challenges of border management in Nigeria such as the porosity of border, inadequate manpower and logistic and lack of a clear and sustained policy framework. The findings established that security agencies are not well motivated to carry out comprehensive border management as a way of enhancing national security because communication facilities are inadequate and ineffective, administrative structures and facilities for security personnel as well as transportation facilities such as patrol van, power-bikes etc for security agencies at the borders of Seme and Gurin borders are inadequate. Wealth Igbe (male Corp member between 20 and 25 years old: Interview 2019) has this to say:

The corruption amongst security operatives is obnoxious that even when you submit your relevant travelling document for stamping, you will still be required to pay extra charges which they termed revenue. Failure to comply will make them delay you unnecessarily or keep your belongings; sometimes they can also charge high rates on your luggage or items. This also happens at check points where security operatives mount up numerous check points just to seize goods or extort money from people and not to check passports.

Thus, linking this finding to the coordinated border management theory, the problem of porosity of Nigerian borders, inadequate manpower and logistics imply that to effectively manage the Seme and Gurin borders, Nigerian security agencies need to collaborate with the security agencies of neighbouring countries since insecurity along Nigerian border constitutes serious threat to the national security of neighbouring countries. Saleh (2015) stated that due to the porous nature of Nigerian borders that even guns are openly displayed for sale in border areas along Niger and Chad Republics as baskets of tomatoes are still finding their way into the country in large quantities and an AK-47 gun with 20 rounds of ammunition goes for ₦10,000 on Nigeria's borders. Zik (2016) reported that the porous nature of Nigerian borders is a major factor of insecurity in the country which is a matter to be treated with urgency because many illegal immigrants come through illegal routes (be it land, sea or air), while some who gain entry through any channel of the designated border posts possibly bribe their way in. In a response to an interview, a respondent 3 (male between 40 and 45 years old: Interview 2019) stated that:

The greatest challenge of border management is poor facilities for patrolling borders. Sometimes it is impossible to patrol these vast borders without adequate facilities such as helicopters, communication gadgets and surveillance equipment; the absence of these facilities has made it possible for criminals to sometimes outplay security operatives.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The study set out to carry out an investigation in Nigeria's land borders and national security in Nigeria. the study revealed that the nature of Nigeria's land borders is traced to colonialism making them poorly defined and demarcated, vast, lengthy and mountainous in nature thereby making it difficult for security agents to effectively control and manage. The porosity of border, inadequate manpower and logistic and lack of a clear and sustained policy framework, poor motivation of security agencies, ineffective administrative structures and facilities for security personnel as well as transportation facilities such as patrol van, power-bikes and a host of others for security agencies at the borders of Seme and Gurin borders are common challenges. The results revealed that the introduction of ECOWAS Building and Protocol, Migrant Information Data Analysis System (MIDAS) and visa permit are border management institutional framework that have been implemented in Nigeria. The findings further indicated that there are border management challenges that constitute threats to national security such as the rising of Boko Haram insurgents, terrorism, smuggling of goods and illicit drugs, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, irregular migrants, banditry and kidnapping amongst

others. The study concluded that Nigeria's land borders are a challenge to national security in Nigeria.

The following have been recommended based on the findings and conclusion drawn:

- i. The Nigerian Immigration Service as lead agency in Nigeria's land border management should collaborate with the National Boundary Commission to ensure that Nigeria's Land borders are well demarcated for effective border management through the setting up of boundary commission sub-offices at all borders in Nigeria.
- ii. The Nigerian Immigration Service should strengthen its institutional capacity by collaborating with International Organization for Migration (IOM) to ensure proper implementation of the MIDAS on all border check points so as to enhance National Security.
- iii. Government should make provision for special allowances for security personnel deployed to Nigeria's borders through budgetary provisions as a way of motivation so as to curb the challenge of endemic corruption responsible for challenges hampering effective border patrol and management.

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