

# SECURITY CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION DURING NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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## *Abstract*

*The study investigated the challenges of security and national integration in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The question of insecurity was not unconnected with the increasing ethnic rivalries, religious bigotry and political upheavals by some citizens who in parts of the country felt cheated as they were denied access to the common patrimony. The objective of the study was to examine if the primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence had posed any challenge to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic. The survey research design was adopted, and questionnaire served as the major research instrument. Taro Yamane formula was used to determine the sample size of 400 from a population of three million, nine hundred and twenty thousand, two hundred and eight seven (3,920,208). The instrumentality of purposive random sampling technique was also relied upon, while frustration-aggression theory by Dollard, Doob, Mowrer, Miller and Sear (1939) was adopted to substantiate the research. The findings showed that there had been effects of political upheavals on security and national integration during the Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Based on the findings, it was recommended among others, that the Federal Government should continue to encourage and strengthen the measures that will check a repeat of political upheavals in the country; DSS, CCB, ICPC and EFCC and other anti-graft agencies were to be made more active in carrying out their duties to ensure that the upheavals that arose as a result of corruption are brought to the barest minimum, if not totally exterminated; and, finally, the Federal Government, as a matter of urgency was to re-orientate Nigerians towards religious tolerance, if the country must remain as one indivisible and integrated nation.*

**Keywords:** *Security, Challenges, National, Integration, Fourth-Republic.*

## **Introduction:**

The issue of security of lives and property in Nigeria has been in the front burner in recent times and have attracted global attention mostly in this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Every now and then, cases of security, like: threats, killings, kidnappings, bombings, etc. are heard in parts of the country. Some other security issues manifest themselves in form of terrorism, insurgency, banditry, protests, or civil unrest/strife. Lately, Nigerians as well as foreigners, resident in Nigeria have been enmeshed in a firebox of insecurity leading to a score of deaths in the country.

Since 2009, Imhonopi and Urim, (2012) opined that the government has tried everything from “force for force” to “carrot and stick” approach to “diplomacy” but

the problem seems to arise with greater intensity by the day, rather than finding solutions to it. Government were never right in using “force for force” as well as “carrot and stick” to tame the tide of insecurity in the country, as that could bring adverse effects to the general public, in terms of stray bullets, etc. Or, on the other hand, some other members of the general public may also want to get involved in crime-related activities in order for them to also be settled by government through amnesty, which may refer to the Imhonopi *et al* ‘carrot’. But, while diplomacy is considered here as an appropriate measure to have been used by the government to contain with insecurity in the country, the best approach would be dialogue.

There has also been strong advocacy for a multi-stakeholder intervention to the insecurity question rather than learn on military options alone [Imhonopi and Urim, (2013); Open Society (2012); Uyomu, (2001)], but the problem has defied the present medication it is getting. This may not be unconnected with increasing ethnic hate, religious bigotry, political rivalry, and a growing population of disgruntled citizens in the country who feel that they have been short-changed and given very limited or no access to the common patrimony.

However, the problem of Nigeria, which is basically that of security seem to have assumed a worrisome dimension that requires a multi-stakeholder approach, as it is being touted in various quarters in quelling this conflagration threatening Nigeria’s statehood. By multi-stakeholder approach, it means that everybody in society should be involved and make surety his business. When all hands are on deck, the problem of insecurity gradually reduces and is exterminated. It also necessitates a revival and reinforcement of moral values and virtues.

As such, the thirst for blood and the preference for violence in expressing built-up frustrations and disenchantments on the state, its citizens and national totems may be a pointer to the need to revive moral values and virtues within the socio-economic, political, religious and educational institutions in the country. Nigerian leaders, (whether political, cultural, religious, etc.) must be forced to prove and uphold moral values and virtues in all their conducts in order to lead by example and to avoid heating up the polity unnecessarily by their conducts and comments which sometimes incite violence in their followers.

Government cannot be said to be right by using “force for force” as well as “carrot and stick” to tame the tide of insecurity in the country, as that could bring adverse effects to the general public, in terms of stray bullets, etc. Or, on the other hand, some other members of the general public may also want to get involved in crime-related activities in order for them to also be settled by government through amnesty, which may refer to the Imhonopi *et al* ‘carrot’. But, while diplomacy is considered here as an appropriate measure to have been used by the government to contain with insecurity in the country, the best approach would be dialogue.

But, notwithstanding the various measures that Nigeria has put in place to address the issues of diversity, and to provide for national security and integration, the country has

witnessed myriads of security challenges. The primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence during the Fourth Republic have even appeared to be recurrent decimal in Nigeria democracy. And, this study has the objective to examine if the primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence had posed any challenge to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

Therefore, the objective of the research will be to examine if the primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence had posed any challenge to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic. Based on the objective, a research question was also asked to adduce answers to enhance the empirical calculations of the hypothesis. The question was “were there primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence that posed any challenge to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic”?

One hypothesis was formulated in **Null** ( $H_0$ ) and **Alternate** ( $H_1$ ) forms to enhance the findings of this research. The hypothesis was as follows:

- $H_0$ : There may not have been clear primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence that had posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.
- $H_1$ : There may have been clear primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence that had posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

## **2. Research Methodology:**

The methodology adopted in this study was a blend of historical, descriptive and analytical research methods. The historical research will allow us to describe the antecedence and precedence from the past and present and learn from them which can be purely factual and descriptive. This means invariably the source of the data will be mainly library research and content analysis. This library will involve the use of relevant textbooks on security challenges and national integration in Nigeria and other relevant books on the study. In other words, the research of data for this research will be both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include: textbook, learned journal, newspaper, magazines, internet etc. whereas the secondary sources will basically be based on personal prepared questionnaire to be distributed to target respondents to elicit answers to the questions that will be written in simple English to their understanding and approved by the project supervisor.

Typing of the work required so much money which was hardly available.

The research design adopted for this study is the survey research design. The survey research design involves asking questions of a representative/cross-section of the population at a single point in time (Mboho, 2015). This was found suitable for a

research of this kind where respondents' opinions are sought and evaluated for possible inferences.

### 3. Population of the Study

Population in research is a collection of all items whether of people or of objects or of events, that are to be considered in a given problem situation (Udofia, 2005). This item refers to the total objects needed for the purpose of drawing conclusion. Therefore, the target population of this study constitutes residents of Akwa Ibom State which are three million, nine hundred and twenty thousand, two hundred and eight seven (3,920,208) (National Population Census, 2006).

### 4. Sample and Sampling Technique

A sample is a small portion of the population observed for the purpose of making inferences about the population (Udofia, 2005). Since the whole population cannot be studied, the sample size will be determined using Taro Yamane formula at 0.05% level of significance. The formula for Taro Yamane is thus:

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

where;

n = Sample size  
 N = Population of study  
 e = Level of significance (0.05)

given that;  
 n = Sample size unknown  
 N = 3,920,208  
 e = 0.05

To determine the sample size

$$n = \frac{3,920,208}{1 + 3,920,208(0.05)^2}$$

$$= \frac{3,920,208}{1 + 3,920,208 \times 0.0025}$$

$$= \frac{3,920,208}{9801.9}$$

= 399.9  $\cong$  400 residents of Akwa Ibom State

Senatorial District		
Uyo	Itu	85
	Uyo	50
IkotEkpene	Abak	65
	Ikono	75
Eket	IkotAbasi	60
	Eket	65

The purposive technique was used in selecting the sample size. This technique focused on the local government where purposively selected areas were taken into cognizance the places that have clusters of Northerners resident there. It also helped the researcher to guide against bias.

#### **5. Method of Data Collection**

In carrying out this research the researcher made use of survey design. A survey design is a process, tool or technique that you can use to gather information in research by asking question to a predefined group of people. Typically, it facilitates the exchange of information between research participant and the person or organization carrying out the research.

#### **6. Method of Data Analysis**

In analyzing the data, simple percentage was used and chi-square computations to test the research hypothesis. The formula for calculating chi-square is

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

Where

$X^2$  = calculated value of chi-square

fo = observed frequency

fe = expected frequency

$\Sigma$  = summation

#### **DECISION RULE:**

Where the calculated value is greater than the critical table value, the null hypotheses will be rejected and where the calculated value is less than the critical table value, the alternate hypotheses will be rejected.

#### **7. Review of Related Literature and Theoretical Framework**

##### **General Literature:**

Nigeria's return to civil rule on May 29, 1999 was with pumps and pageantries accompanied with fresh hopes and latent optimism (Punch, 1999). This optimism was predicated on the fact that democracy would guarantee freedom, liberty and equity to enhance security of lives and property, which would indeed reposition development trajectories to sustainability. Regrettably, this optimism seems to be a mirage. Nigeria is presently rated as one of the poorest Nations in the world with debilitating youth's unemployment. For instance, Aganga (2009) observed that over ten million Nigerians were unemployed by March 2009 and unemployment is running at around 19.7 percent on average (see National Bureau of Statistics Report, 2009). This figure geometrically increases yearly with less realistic efforts by the managers of the state to abate the rampaging unemployment problem. In Nigeria, like many other developing countries, about 70% of the population lives in poverty (Otto and Ukpere 2012: 67). Majority of the population seem to lack access to pipe borne water, health care facilities, electricity and affordable quality education.

Amidst these development challenges, the security situation in the country deteriorated drastically. Nigeria's return to democratic rule is threatened by insecurity disaster. Arguably, considerable progress has been achieved in the areas of freedom of speech and liberty, but series of resource based conflict (Niger Delta), ethno-religious crisis (Jos crisis), and communal conflicts persisted. Needed urgent attention especially now that Nigeria is struggling to be among twentieth world developed countries in 2020.

To ably define insecurity, it is pertinent to have a brief discussion on what security is. The first duty of a government is to keep its citizens safe because like Hobbes observed, only the state has the wherewithal to guarantee security and save society from anarchy (and since government represents the state), the state through its government should provide adequate security to justify its *raison d'être* (Gaskin, 1996). In this wise, Omede (2012) sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests. McGrew (1988) holds that the security of a nation hinges on two important pillars which are:

- (1) The maintenance and protection of the socio-economic order in the face of internal and external threat.
- (2) The promotion of a preferred international order, which minimizes the threat to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order.

### **1. Governance and National Security in the Fourth Republic**

With the commencement of the fourth republic on May 29, 1999, most Nigerians were full of great hopes that the democratic experiment would enhance and entrench constitutionalism, respect for human rights, the rule of law, accountability, transparency, popular participation, and improve the economic wellbeing of the people (Bello-Imam, 2004; Inokoba and Kumokor, 2011). Implicit in the expectations is the recognition that the country's previous experience with democratic governance failed to respond to the yearnings of majority of Nigerians. However, the fourth republic appears to be a replica of the previous republics in terms of the failure of the state to guarantee minimum conditions of governance, deliver democratic dividends, and development.

However, there is a strong link between the failure of governance in Nigeria's fourth republic to deliver democratic dividends and the raging state of instability and insecurity in the nation. Specifically, the absence of strong institutions of accountability and transparency and the penchant for the political leadership to undermine the existing ones has weakened the ability of the state to deliver public goods and services. This has deepened political corruption and the politics of pre-bendalism and patrimonialism (Lewis, 2011). The devastating impact of extensive political corruption evident in the fourth republic is well discussed in the literature.

Furthermore, governance in Nigeria's fourth republic has been plagued by what Omatseye (2012) succinctly captures as 'the stormy waters of ethnic and sectarian malice'. The elevation of identity politics to the level of state craft by the political leadership and their inability to manage properly the diverse socio-economic cleavages has breed resentment and frustration among social groups in the country. The ensuing dangerous competition among various social groups and forces for scarce political and economic resources is crucial to the ethno-religious conflicts that have negatively affected the security, peace and stability of the country since 1999. Such conflicts which have become recurrent in states like Kaduna and Plateau have resulted in the death of about 18,000 Nigerians since 1999 (Lewis, 2011).

The problematic nature of governance in the fourth republic has contributed to the crisis of legitimacy pervasive in Nigeria. The decline in popular trust in government and widespread mutual distrust among Nigerians provides a favorable environment for 'communal groups to organize for their own security or political aims, creating dangerous competition that can easily erupt into violence' (Lewis, 2011: 10). The proliferation of ethnic militia movements, the problem of militancy and insurgency pervasive in the fourth republic can be located in this context. The emergence of ethno-regional groups like the O'odua People's Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Arewa People's Congress (APC), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), and Ohaneze Ndi Igbo among others beside undermining the legitimacy of the state in terms of its monopoly of the instrument of force, contest citizen's loyalty and obedience with the state and exacerbate social divisions and conflicts (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007, Aliu and Egwemi, 2011). The ethnic conflict between the Yorubas and Hausa/Fulani resident in Sagamu, Ogun State on July 22, 1999, and the Yelwan Shendam crisis of May 1, 2004 in Plateau state are among the numerous spates of such violence and conflicts which have resulted in massive loss of lives and property (Abdullahi and Saka, 2007).

The Niger Delta crisis is another reference point in the exploration of the numerous security threats that are rooted in the failure of governance in the fourth republic. The persistent failure of the state to ensure equitable distribution of economic resources, coupled with political corruption, marginalization and the sense of neglect and alienation on the part of Niger Delta people culminated into high level militancy in the fourth republic (Akpan, 2010). The Niger Delta provides most of the wealth of the country. However, the poverty and degradation among the people of the Niger Delta is cataclysmic. This is the major background to the militancy in the Niger Delta. The resort to violence by the Niger Delta Militants to seek redress from the state undermined security and development in the country.

The incessant religious conflicts situated in the North represented another major threat to national security and stability in Nigeria's fourth republic. The manipulation of religion by politicians in the North for their own political survival and the tendency for such actions to fuel social tensions and violence reflect the norm at the national level.

## 2. *National Integration*

The concept, nation can be defined as a human group whose member hold loyalty to the groups as a while over any other conflicting loyalty. Ogunsanya (1984) defined a nation as a large group of people who live in the same country and who share similar cultural traits irrespective of ethnic diversity. He went ahead to say that Nigeria is an example of a nation. This is because according to him, there are many ethnics group lie the Igbo, Yoruba, Fulani, and Hausa etc. with diverse cultural traits, the Nigerian people still believe that they can live together as a nation under a single federal government.

To others, a nation is a large group of people living in an area and having the following features in common ancestor, descent language, history, physical boundary. They went ahead to say that unless people have those things in common, they cannot be called a nation. For example, the Yoruba occupying southwestern states of Nigeria constitute a nation, so also do the Igbo who live in the south eastern part and Hausas of the northern part of Nigeria all constitute different nations. They conclude that what we refer to as ethnic groups or tribes in Nigeria are nations in the real sense.

Belongings and share identity. Where there are difficulties in the characteristics of a nation among the people of the country, then building may be difficult.  
National integration

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study adopts the **Frustration-Aggression theory** as the theoretical framework to support this work.

Postulated by Dollard, Doob, Mowrer, Miller and Seare (1939) the frustration aggression theory argues that people are motivated to act aggressively by a drive conducted by frustration. In proposing their frustration aggression theory, Dollord *et al.*, (1939) suggested that aggression is always a consequence of frustration... the existence of frustration always lead to some form of aggression, thus the central thrust of the theory is that aggression is always the result of frustration and anger, especially when we feel thwarted in our attempt to get our ambitions and objectives.

The concept of frustration denotes conditions that arises when goal attainment is blocked while aggression constitutes actions aimed at harming perceived stumbling blocks (Jegade and Ajayi, 2008.) It is implied that frustration will inevitably lead to some form of aggression. When the aggrieved do not have easy access to the stumbling block, they take out their violent response on



symbolic representation of the imagined enemy and express in an indirect way (Hewstone and Stroebe; 2001, Citadel in Jegede and Ajayi, 2008).

### **Application of Frustration Theory**

The relevance of the frustration-aggression theoretical framework to the insurgency of Boko Haram is better appreciated when viewed against the backdrop of widespread poverty in Northern Nigeria. Poverty though endemic throughout Nigeria, the rate is highest in the north. The three northern regions have the highest incidence of poverty having an average poverty incidence of 70.1% compared to 34.9% of the three geographical regions of the South. Ten states in Nigeria with the highest incidence of poverty are all in the north, while ten states with the lowest incidence of poverty are in the south (Lukeman, 2012). This means that about 70% of people in the north live below poverty line with an income of less than one dollar per day.

The poverty profile is exacerbated by the problem of unemployment and hopelessness. A negative condition caused not by the unwillingness of the people to work but by bad governance that creates capability gap. The capability gap portrays the inability of governance to effectively utilize the resources of the state to better the lots of its citizenry through the provision of job opportunities, infrastructural development and initiation of potent or viable poverty alleviation and eradication programmes. This failure of governance breeds frustrated expectations. Under this pathetic condition, members of this sect and other frustrated persons are readily available to be recruited under the auspice of Boko Haram as a destructive political agent for indiscriminate and sporadic suicide bombings in northern Nigeria.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

This section deals with the results of the analyses and interpretations in line with the objectives and research questions postulated for the study. Out of the 400 copies of the questionnaire administered on respondents, 375 were duly completed and returned. Hence, the analyses are based on the responses of 375 respondents.

**Table 1: Educational Qualification of Respondents**

<b>Educational status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
WASC	104	27.7
OND	34	9.1
HND	90	24
B.A/B.Sc	112	29.9
M.A/M.Sc	30	8
Ph.D	5	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** *Field Survey, 2022.*

Table 1 indicates respondents which possess WASC were 104(27.7%), OND were 34(9.1%), HND were 90(24%), B.A/BSc were 112(29.9%), M.A./MSc were 30(8%) while PhD holders were 5(1.3%).

**Table 2: Occupation of Respondents**

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Civil servant	53	14.1
Public servant	100	26.7
Student	90	24
Farmer	57	15.2
Trader	75	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** *Field Survey, 2022.*

Table 2 indicated that fifty-three (53) of the sampled respondents representing 14.1% were civil servants, 100(26.7%) were public servants, 90(24%) were students, 57(15.2%) were farmers while 75(20%) were traders.

### Section B

**Table 3: Respondents' Views on if there Have Been Primordial Tendencies of Various Ethnic Groups Towards Violence which Might have Posed any Challenge to Security and National Integration During the Fourth Republic**

Response	Frequency	Percentage %
Yes	269	71.7
No	106	28.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** *Field Survey, 2022.*

Table 3 shows that two hundred and sixty-nine (269) respondent's representing 71.7% said yes that there have been primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence which may have posed any challenge to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic. While one hundred and six (106) respondents representing 28.3% said no.

### Testing of Hypotheses

The chi- square statistical method was used in testing the hypotheses. In calculating the chi-square, the level of significance is given as 0.05

The degree of freedom (df) is calculated as

$$df = (R-1) (C-1)$$

Number of row minus 1

Number of column minus 1

To calculate the chi square, the following formula is used;

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

Where  $X^2$  = chi square

o = observed frequency

fe = expected frequency

$\sum$  = summation

The expected frequency is calculated as

$$E = \frac{\text{Row Total} \times \text{column Total}}{\text{Grand total}}$$

### Hypothesis One

H<sub>0</sub>: There may not have been clear primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence which might have posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

H<sub>1</sub>: There may have been clear primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence which might have posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

Question one was used in testing the hypotheses

**Table 4: Responses from Question One**

Responses category	YES	NO	TOTAL
Male	89	43	132
Female	180	66	243
<b>Total</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>375</b>

**Source:** *Field Survey, 2022.*

To calculate for expected frequency

Fe =  $\frac{\text{Row Total} \times \text{Column Total}}{\text{Grand Total}}$

$$\text{Cell a} = \frac{132 \times 269}{375} = 94.78$$

$$\text{Cell b} = \frac{43 \times 269}{375} = 40$$

$$\text{Cell c} = \frac{180 \times 113}{375} = 174.3$$

$$\text{Cell d} = \frac{66 \times 113}{375} = 73.2$$

Grand Total                      375

### Chi-Square Distribution Table

Cell	fo	Fe	fo - fe	(fo - fe) <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe}$
A	89	94.7	-5.7	-2.2	1.019
B	43	40	3	2.2	1.049
C	180	174.3	5.7	2.2	1.013
D	63	73.2	-10.2	-2.2	1.031
					$\sum x^2 = 4.112$

**Source:** *Field Survey, 2022.*

$$\text{Degree of freedom} = (R-1)(C-1)$$

$$= (2-1)(2-1)$$

$$= 1 \times 1$$

$$= 1$$

$$\text{The level of significance} = 0.05$$

$$\text{Calculated value} = 4.112$$

$$\text{Critical table value} = 3.84$$

**Decision:** Since the calculated chi-square value of 4.112 is greater than the critical table value of 3.84, the null hypothesis is therefore rejected. From the above, it was found that there have been effect of primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups

towards violence which might have posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Cell b} &= \frac{101 \times 50}{375} = 13.5 \\ \text{Cell c} &= \frac{2 \times 375}{375} = 237.5 \\ \text{Cell d} &= \frac{2 \times 375}{375} = 36.5 \end{aligned}$$

### Chi-Square Distribution Table

Cell	fo	Fe	fo – fe	(fo – fe) <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe}$
A	75	87.5	12.5	156.25	1.79
B	26	13.5	12.5	156.25	11.57
C	250	237.5	12.5	156.25	0.66
D	24	36.5	12.5	156.25	4.28
					$\sum x^2 = 18.3$

**Source:** *Field Survey, 2022.*

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Degree of freedom} &= (R-1) (C-1) \\ &= (2-1) (2-1) \\ &= 1 \times 1 \\ &= 1 \end{aligned}$$

The level of significance = 0.05

Calculated value = 18.3

Critical table value = 3.84

**Decision:** Since the calculated chi-square value of 18.3 is greater than the critical table value of 3.84, the null hypothesis  $H_0$  will be rejected.

From the above, it was found that there have been effect of primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence which might have posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

### Discussion on Findings

Based on the results and the analyses of the tested hypothesis, it was found that there had been clear primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence which might have posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic.

The question one (1) from the questionnaire which was used in testing the hypothesis confirmed this as majority of respondents representing 73.7% said yes, that ethnic violence did not just start from Nigeria's Fourth Republic, but long before the Fourth Republic, there had been tendencies of ethnic violence in the country. This led to accepting the alternate hypothesis and rejecting the null hypothesis.

### Summary

The objective of the study was to determine if the primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence had posed any challenge to security and national integration in the Fourth Republic. Literature from various scholars as related to the

subject matter was drawn as secondary source of data in carrying out this research. The theoretical framework adopted for this work was frustration-aggression theory whose major assumption is that aggression is always the result of frustration and anger, especially when we feel thwarted in our attempt to get our ambitions and objectives.

The study adopted survey research design. In analyzing the data generated through questionnaire, simple percentage and chi-square were used. The data were computed and presented in tabular formats including discussion on findings. The stated hypothesis was tested and empirically proven that security challenges was a threat to national integration during Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the security challenges in the country during the period under review, had posed serious threat to Nigeria's integration. Nigeria's Fourth Republic had witnessed lots of such challenges which had caused several ethnic militia groups to emerge, such as O'odua People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Arewa People's Congress (APC), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), and Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, among others. Beside their formations undermining the legitimacy of the state in terms of their monopoly of the instrument of force, they contest citizen's loyalty and obedience to the state and exacerbate social divisions and conflicts. The persistent failure of the state to ensure equitable distribution of economic resources, coupled with political corruption, marginalization and the sense of neglect and alienation on the part of Niger Delta people culminated into high level militancy in the Fourth Republic.

In a nutshell, insecurity had posed a conundrum for the Nigerian government and appears intractable. In the face of apparent insecurity, the Nigerian government has wobbled in its responsibility. The state of insecurity as found in Nigeria now is unwanted and thus, calls for urgent attention, an attention that is not just urgent but rapt. This is so because the security challenges Nigeria is facing, are threatening the fabrics of its national integration.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings and analyses carried out in this research, the following recommendations were put forward:

- i. The Federal Government should put in place measures that will check a repeat of primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups in the country. This is based on the finding that, "there had been a clear primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence which had posed some challenges to security and national integration during the Fourth Republic."
- ii. The Federal Government should retain Nigeria security/anti-graft agencies, especially the intelligence services such as DSS, CCB, ICPC, EFCC, etc. on sophisticated and combative method of restoring security than a complete overhaul of the agencies.

- iii. The Federal Government should as a matter of urgency re-orientate Nigerians towards religious tolerance if this country must continue as one indivisible and integrated nation.

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