

# Two Nations, Different Regions, Same Challenges: Legal and Political Analysis of Internal Security Threats in Nigeria and Pakistan\*

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## Abstract

This study is a modest but objective comparative evaluation of internal security threats facing two sub-regional large countries of Africa and South Asia-Nigeria and Pakistan. Considering the fact that ethnicity, sectarianism and economic instability are fundamental variables of internal security threats in both countries, the study argued that religious extremism has created an unenviable image of both nations in the eyes of the rest of the world, undoubtedly, this has affected both nations adversely. The study also identified inter-regional grievances as potential causes of damages to both federations. Also identified is an ethno-sectarian problem as a major security threat to both nations. This is in the opinion of the authors will remain a huge impediment to the goals of economic prosperity to both nations. Consequently, the focus of this study is to examine the interdependence of these multifaceted challenges and their overall impact on internal security in both countries. To achieve this, the study employed a qualitative research method in which an analytical approach was used to examine the similarities in the security challenges in Nigeria and Pakistan. A structural questionnaire was used as the instrument for data collection. The employment of thematic analytic approach was adopted to analyse data collected for the study. The study concludes among others, the need for both countries to individually address these national security threats and find viable solutions to the problems of socio-economic and political reforms and unemployment within a reasonable timeframe to mitigate future threats.

**Keywords:** Internal Security; Ethnicity; Sectarianism; Challenges

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## **Dua Bangsa Satu Tantangan: Analisis Politik dan Hukum pada Ancaman Keamanan dalam Negeri (*Internal Security*) di Nigeria dan Pakistan**

### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini merupakan evaluasi komparatif sederhana namun objektif terhadap ancaman keamanan internal yang dihadapi dua negara besar sub-regional Afrika dan Asia Selatan-Nigeria dan Pakistan. Mempertimbangkan fakta bahwa etnisitas, sektarianisme, dan ketidakstabilan ekonomi adalah variabel fundamental dari ancaman keamanan internal di kedua negara. Penelitian ini berpendapat bahwa ekstremisme agama telah menciptakan citra yang tidak baik dari kedua negara di mata dunia. Tidak diragukan lagi, ini telah mempengaruhi kedua negara secara merugikan. Penelitian ini juga mengidentifikasi kasus-kasus antar-regional sebagai penyebab potensial kerusakan pada kedua federasi. Juga diidentifikasi masalah etno-sektarian sebagai ancaman keamanan utama bagi kedua negara, dimana akan tetap menjadi hambatan besar bagi tujuan kemakmuran ekonomi kedua negara. Fokus penelitian ini adalah untuk menguji saling ketergantungan dari tantangan beragam ini dan dampaknya secara keseluruhan terhadap keamanan internal di kedua negara. Untuk mendapatkan data tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dimana pendekatan analitik digunakan untuk menguji kesamaan dalam tantangan keamanan di Nigeria dan Pakistan. Kuesioner struktural digunakan sebagai instrumen pengumpulan data. Penggunaan pendekatan analitik tematik diadopsi untuk menganalisis data yang dikumpulkan untuk penelitian ini. Studi ini menyimpulkan antara lain, perlunya kedua negara untuk secara individual mengatasi ancaman keamanan nasional ini dan menemukan solusi yang layak untuk masalah reformasi sosial-ekonomi dan politik dan pengangguran dalam jangka waktu yang wajar untuk mengurangi ancaman di masa depan.

**Kata Kunci:** Keamanan dalam Negeri; Etnisitas; Sektarianisme; Tantangan

### **Две нации, разные регионы, одинаковые вызовы: правовой и политический анализ угроз внутренней безопасности в Нигерии и Пакистане**

#### **Абстрактный**

Это исследование представляет собой скромную, но объективную сравнительную оценку угроз внутренней безопасности, с которыми сталкиваются две субрегиональные крупные страны Африки и Южной Азии - Нигерия и Пакистан. Учитывая тот факт, что этническая принадлежность, сектантство и экономическая нестабильность являются фундаментальными переменными угроз внутренней безопасности в обеих странах, в исследовании утверждается, что религиозный экстремизм создал незавидный имидж обеих стран в глазах остального мира, несомненно, это повлияло на обе нации неблагоприятно. Исследование также определило межрегиональные жалобы как потенциальные причины ущерба для обеих федераций. Также определена этно-сектантская проблема как серьезная угроза безопасности для обеих стран. Это, по мнению авторов, останется огромным препятствием на пути достижения целей экономического процветания обеих стран. Следовательно, целью данного исследования является изучение взаимозависимости этих многогранных вызовов и их общего воздействия на внутреннюю безопасность в обеих странах. Для достижения этой цели в исследовании использовался качественный метод исследования, в котором использовался аналитический подход для изучения сходства проблем безопасности в Нигерии и Пакистане. Структурная анкета использовалась в качестве инструмента для сбора данных. Для анализа данных, собранных для исследования, был использован тематический аналитический подход. В исследовании, среди прочего, делается вывод о необходимости для обеих стран индивидуально противодействовать этим угрозам национальной безопасности и находить жизнеспособные решения проблем социально-экономических и политических реформ и безработицы в разумные сроки для смягчения будущих угроз.

**Ключевые слова:** внутренняя безопасность; Этническая принадлежность; Сектантство; Вызовы

## A. INTRODUCTION

Since the birth of Nigeria and Pakistan as independent states, both states have experienced one form of crisis or insurgency to the other. While Nigeria gained her independence from Britain on October 1, 1960, and Pakistan which was initially under India became an independent state after her separation from India on August 15, 1947, inarguably, stand high among the most vulnerable and unsecured states in the world alongside some of the states of the Middle East, Asia, North-America and Africa, including Yemen, Myanmar, Haiti, Sierra Leone, Sudan, among others. Judging from two principal dimensions; freedom from fear cum freedom from wants, one has no option but to infer that both countries are heading to a failed state status since both countries are characterised by weak, fragile and unstable political institutions as well as ethnic cum sectarian violence (Singh, 2014; Asrar, 2019).

Like Nigeria, Pakistan is a *heterogeneous society* divided along with geographical, tribal and cultural diversity, but *religiously homogeneous* unlike its Nigerian counterpart. In addition to these challenges, domestic or internal confrontations from terrorist groups cum criminal gangs are synonymous with both nations which in no small measure threatened the security of lives and properties in the last decades (Ganguly, Scobell & Liow, 2009). However, the phenomena of conflict and violence have been the defining factors undermining the security of lives and properties in both nations. This has been complicated by intra-state relations that is characterised by widespread mutual distrust, tribal and ethnic consciousness, especially in Nigeria (Chari & Gupta, 2003). Scholars, analysts and commentators have argued that despite the recent economic recovery and sound macro policies, the absence of genuine socio-economic development has provided ethno-sectarian elements and regional forces grounds to exploit and weaken both Pakistan and Nigeria internally.

Apart from intra-state or domestic challenges confronting Nigeria and Pakistan respectively, there are also threats occasioned by external phenomena, especially from terrorist groups said to have affiliations with transnational terrorist organisations such as Osama Bin Laden Al-Qaeda and ISIS. In Nigeria, there is the presence of Boko Haram, and Islamic State West African (ISWA), and in Pakistan, there is Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashkar-e-Taliba, Jamaat-ud-Dawa, and Haqqani Network respectively. Independently, Pakistan challenges or threats have gone beyond domestic but also external threats from India and Afghanistan which are Pakistan immediate neighbouring countries. Since Pakistan withdrew from India till date, both nations have fought three major wars, in 1947, 1965 and 1971; two border conflicts -Ram of Kutch in 1967 and

Kargil in 1999, as well as three major crises- Brasstack in 1987, Kashmir in 1990 and troops confrontation in 2001 and 2002 respectively. These have resulted to obvious suspicion, mutual distrust and grievous antagonism between the two nations of South Asia. Of all these differences, the Kashmir dispute has been the main source of antagonism between the two nations in recent years (Pervaiz, 2013).

Having been battling with internal security challenges, Nigeria on the other hand has more internally induced challenges than external threats. For decades now, the country has been battling multi-dimensional security challenges, including threats from Boko Haram Islamic extremism, militancy in the Niger Delta, rampaging kidnapping, armed robbery, ritual killings, banditry and other forms of organised crimes. According to Chukwu and Chiemeka (2015) cited in Kalu, Ajuzie and Chukwu (2018:1), one of the basic difficulties confronting Nigerian society presently is insecurity arising mainly from the fears and despairs the citizens face on daily basis. As they try to make sense out of these perturbing challenges, they are confronted with hopelessness since the security agencies seem to be comatose.

In the affirmative, Oladiran (2014) cited in Kalu et al. (2018) argued that the pattern of insecurity, particularly in Nigeria has been regionalised, with terrorism in the northern part of the country with Boko Haram and ISWA precisely unleashing mayhem on unsuspecting citizens and attacks on government installations, while kidnappings, armed robbery; and Fulani herdsmen attacks on farmers, towns and villages occupied the front line in the Middle Belt and in the Southern part of the country. In the Niger Delta, security challenges emanated from the threat of militancy, pipeline vandalism and kidnapping for ransom. And in the South-Western part of the country, there are security issues emanating from politically motivated killings, assassinations, ritual killings and kidnapping, and in the Eastern part which is also not left out, though, with peculiar circumstances that include armed robbery, kidnapping and most importantly, agitation for the State of Biafra Republic from a *secessionist group* or *separatist organisation* known as the *Indigenous People of Biafra* (IPOB). However, these vulnerabilities in both countries of Africa and Asia is what necessitated the need for a comparative analysis of the similarities in the internal security threats facing the two countries in recent times with ethnicity, sectarianism and economic instabilities as fundamental variables for comparison.

The issue of insecurity in Nigeria and Pakistan, respectively, have generated domestic and international concerns in recent times. As a consequence, insecurity issue has become the very first thought that comes to the mind of any

scholar, analyst and commentator whenever any topical issue concerning the two nations is raised for discussion. Put differently, both countries have been plagued by unconquerable threats accentuated by ethnic consciousness and religious extremism. In the case of Nigeria, insecurity issues have been made worse by religious pluralism, intolerance, fatal ideologies and extremism, as well as unemployment on the one hand, and the worse scenario, corruption by the ruling class and unguided democratic rule on the other hand (Kalu et al., 2018:1).

Iregbenu and Uzonwanne (2015:172) argued that the security situation particularly in Nigeria, inarguably, has gone beyond imagination to the extent that one hardly wake up to good news but it is either that one has been abducted or killed, especially in states like Bornu, Yobe, Kano and Bauchi; or senseless massacres in the name of protecting for unsatisfactory election results, or invasion of some communities in Zamfara by unknown violent gunmen, or occasional disturbances of the Odua People's Congress (OPC), MASSOB, Niger Delta militancy, religious/ethnic conflicts in the southern part of the country; or Boko Haram insurgency transversing the borders of Benue, Nasarawa, Adamawa, Plateau, Taraba and Kogi states.

Rather than confronting these challenges the government and its security agencies seem to be helpless, hence, aggravating the fear that the country would be overrun by these anti-social elements. Some analysts of Nigeria's situation have argued that *corruption* on the part of the government official and in the security circle has not helped matters. There were instances where the money meant to fight insurgency and other forms of crimes in the country were alleged to have been diverted to private accounts. These circumstances have bedevilled Nigeria's situation and need to be urgently addressed internally by the present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari. Unfortunately, the administration seem not to have done enough to curb all forms of security challenges in the country, a problem that still baffle Nigerians till date.

On the other hand, scholars and analysts that have studied Pakistanis' challenges and the consequences on the security and development of the country tied the country's security problems to the complex security challenges in the entire South Asia region. Some have argued that violence, unresolved conflicts and war have been the defining phenomena or characteristics in the South Asia region for decades now. According to Chari and Gupta (2003) the worse scenario and the most perturbing of all is the widespread mistrust, threat perceptions, sustained confrontation and recurrent hostilities that characterised inter-state relations in the South Asia region, and which have also complicated the problems of Pakistan.

Extending this line of argument Singh (2014:83) argued that, “apart from the domestic challenges confronting Pakistan, its problems have been complicated by inter-state relations which have remained locked in stiff rivalries among the nations of the South Asia region”. Furthermore, he argued that, “right from India and Pakistan independence in August 1947 both states have remained rivals, the consequences of which complicated Pakistan’s internal security problems and encourages military confrontations, cum arms race- both conventional and nuclear”. Morris Jones (1993) cited in Singh (2014:82) refers to the South Asia region generally as, *a fractured region of fractured states, an unenticing world of little cohesion*. In a similar manner, Wagner and Richter (1998) cited in Singh (2014) reiterating the security challenges of the South Asia region and consequential effects to diplomatic relations in the region, refer to the region as *a region of chronic instability*.

Zakaria, Jun and Ahmed (2019:1797) argued that terrorism in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan originated during the Soviet-Afghan war in the 1980s in the name of Jihad. As a consequence, the Mujahedeen trained by the American CIA and western intelligence agencies to carry out insurgencies in Afghanistan returned to found safe haven in Pakistan-Afghan border from where they regrouped and began to propagate their devilish act of terrorism in Pakistan and the region. The post-colonial states of the region, thus, are in perpetual difficulties in terms of security challenges which Pakistan in particular has so far suffered the most. This has increased the magnitude and impact of the conflicts on the qualities of governance, development and interstate relations between Pakistan and India in particular.

Naveed (2004) noted that Pakistan’s internal security challenges which include ethnicity, sectarianism and economic instability have been the major problems of the nation, the consequence of which is the creation of an unenviable image of the country in the eyes of the rest of the world. Like Pakistan, Nigeria followed the same trend in security challenges but with *Islamic extremism* and *chronic corruption* as her major challenges and which have caused serious damages to the country’s socio-economic growth and development. In essence, internal security concerns caused by resurgence of *Islamic extremism* have been the point of similarity in the challenges of both nations in recent times, though, with same ideologies and tactics but different locations and targets. While that of Nigeria is internally motivated, that of Pakistan is externally motivated. This forms the part of departure in their security challenges in both nations’ contemporary security challenges.

The characterisation of the South Asia sub-region, undoubtedly, portrays the region as one of the most volatile and crisis prone regions in the contemporary civilised world where there are transnational cohesions through diplomatic relations between and among nations of the world. It is against this background that this study is posed to draw a comprehensive comparative analysis in terms of internal security challenges or threats synonymous with Nigeria and Pakistan, two nations of different regions but similar colonial historical origin, experiences and same challenges. However, these phenomena similarities are so realistic to the extent that we have a realist perception toward the two nations. In other words, this study is dominated by this perception that the security problems in both nations are similar and need to be juxtaposed extensively.

The general objective of the study is to modestly examine the challenges of internal security threats facing Nigeria and Pakistan, two nations with different religions but the same challenges occasioned by ethnicity, sectarianism and economic instability. While the specific objectives are to: 1). Identify the major sources of security threats in Nigeria and Pakistan; 2). Examine the extent to which these security challenges affected both nations internally, and 3). Proffers solutions and make recommendations that are likely to eliminate these threats and promote socio-economic growth and development in both countries.

The research questions of this article is; 1). What are the major sources of security threats in Nigeria and Pakistan? 2). To what extent has these threats or challenges affected both nations internally? 3). What are the probable solutions and recommendations that could eliminate these security threats or challenges in both countries?

## **Literature Review**

### **1. Internal Security Threats**

The term “internal Security” threat or otherwise known as “National security” threat has attracted several explanations from different scholars, institutions and organisations, some of which narrowed it down to means just the threats emanating from religious extremism, terrorism, insurgent groups. Some have also limited themselves to ethnic and socio-political factors as the bases of their definition of internal security threat, maybe, because there is virtually no part of the world or nation that have not experienced any form of threat or the other. Some have also misconstrued the term to mean threats emanating from all forms of crimes including armed robbery, kidnapping,

banditry, communal or boundary disputes, youth restiveness, etc. But the concept is more than the seemingly narrowed definitions intercalating academic literature on internal security threats. We therefore posit that internal security threat is all encompassing because internal or national security challenges can possibly emanate from all these factors, including ethnic, religious and political consciousness; socio-economic deprivation and marginalisation; as well as induced by climate change and otherwise natural phenomenon such as excessive rain fall, flooding, pollution, erosion, earthquake, deforestation, desertification and ozone layer depletion (Adishi & Oluka, 2018).

Complementing this stand point, Satish and Rahul (2015) argued that, “the concept of national security has often been taken to merely connote the preservation of a nation’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal stability with emphasis on the coercive power of the state, but considering the complex and interdependent world with lots of non traditional threats such as pandemic, climate change, etc., national security embraces more than protection and preservation of a nation’s sovereignty and territorial integrity”. Following this stand point, they see national security beyond the use of military or coercive elements of state powers but the use of its comprehensive national power with the later being a composite of many other factors across all facets of national life.

However, the Maintenance of internal security is sacrosanct and should not be compromised by the government and the governed in any organised nation-state, including Nigeria and Pakistan that their major security challenges are self induced, though, with some externally induced factors such as transnational Islamic jihad induced insurgencies and terrorism. Essentially, respect for the provisions of the rule of law including reservation and respect for human rights and dignity are significant phenomenon for the maintenance of national cohesion ad security (Pogoson, 2013). Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) cited in Ekpo (2016) argued that, “security generally is not alien; it has been a central phenomenon even in the ancient times”.

In the vein, Romm (1993) argued that the concept of internal security remains ambiguous since some scholars, institutions and organisation defined the term by emphasising freedom from military threat and from political coercion. For McNamara (1968) cited in Nweke (2011:4) opines that, “in any modern society what should be the priority of the government at all levels should be security of lives and properties of its citizens. McNamara, therefore, argued that, “security in its entirety, does not only means military force or enough hardware a nation possesses but should be all inclusive, development also as factor,.....in order worlds, the security of any nation lies not solely in its military



strength but also in its development stride, economic and political stability and growth”.

In the affirmative, Ekpo (2016) sees security generally as, “liberation from uneasiness” or “a peaceful situation without no risk or threat of any kind”. This definition of security is criticised because there is hardly a society or nation without some forms of internal security challenges. It is also criticised for its failure to recognise the fact that it is difficult for an existing or a functional society to exist without any form of internally or externally induced conflict or crisis. For the Singapore Government Security Department (2019) internal security is the act of keeping peace within the national borders of a state, and which is the duty of the government to provide to the citizens through its security departments such as the police force, among others. This definition is also not encompassing because it, failed to provide a detailed definition of internal security which include both socio-economic securities such as food, shelter, and infrastructure such as health care facilities, schools, water supplies, roads, steady source of power supply, and housing.

Sarkesian, Williams and Cimbale (2008: 7) perception of internal or national security based on US National Security on Policy Makers, Processes and Politics argued that, “national security means more than a state’s capability to conduct international war but to also have the capacity to deter nuclear war and wage conventional conflicts, all of which are essential to the US national security policy even in the twenty-first century”. This means that United States’ dimension to national security is to wage international terrorism, weapons of mass destruction (WMD) including chemical and biological warfare, and information warfare that have increasingly become more frightening. By implication, the United States’ definition is one sided which emphasizes dimension to internal security.

Romm (1993) argued that a nation can only have security when it does not have to sacrifice her legitimacy in any manner that will be detrimental to her internal security. For Paleri (2008) national security means the absence of threats in order to acquire values, and ensure there is the absence of fear that such values will be attracted. Brown (1983) sees national security, “as the ability to preserve a nation’s physical integrity and territory to maintain her economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; and to preserve her nature, institutions, and government from external influences”. Maier (1990) described the concept as the ability of a state to control her domestic and foreign conditions that the entire citizens believe are necessary for them to enjoy self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing. This definition as been able to provide us

with a better insight to what internal security, national security or national defence entails. We therefore define internal security as that which requires the immediate responses of the national government to ensure the citizens enjoy all facets of security of lives and properties, as well as protections from internal and external aggressions, enjoy socio-economic, political and physical benefits of lives, such as provision of infrastructures necessary for the provision of standardised modern pattern of livelihood, and human rights and dignities.

## 2. The Birth of Nigeria and Pakistan

### a. Nigeria

The birth of Nigeria as a sovereign state follows European incursion and subsequent conquest of the vast territories of Africa in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, first with the Portuguese under Henry the Navigator and followed by the appearance of Bartolomeu Dias on March 12, 1488 (Alan, 1975, 1977, 1988). Following the demarcation or partitioning of African territories by the European powers including Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Portugal and Spain, under the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885, Nigeria became a British protectorate. It was argued that several reasons and events led to Europeans venture into the exploration of the rest of the world, including Africa.

Obiajulu, Obi and Iwuoha (2016:16) noted that the primary reason for European venture into the discovery of the rest of the world, first, was geographical factor following the debates as to whether the world was flat, round or spherical in nature. They argued that the desire to ascertain the real state of the world led them to, first, the discovery of *America* which they called the *New World* and subsequently the rest of the world including Asia and Africa territories. It was believed that the discovery of America's rich, fertile and unexploited land but insufficient and strong labour force led the European invaders to shift attention to the other parts of the world for the search for man powers to cultivate the rich and fertile soil. The consequence of which led to the *Atlantic Slave trade* with Africans as the best alternative to the fragile American natives. This therefore became another reason for the exploration of the world including Africa. This was what the scholars interpreted as economic reason, and what is today regarded as the reason for the Balkanisation of Africa (Obiajulu et al., 2016; Paul, 2016).

As a consequence, Africans, including the then Niger and Benue rivers, now Nigeria became the major target and were subjected to all sorts of hard labour and used for production without wages until the advent of European

industrial revolution with England as the first nation to become industrialised. It was argued that with the advent of industrialisation it became imperative for the European slave masters to abolish slave trade and slavery and thus resort to Christian religion to teach Nigerians in particular about what was then known as the European Jesus Christ. Some scholars have had to argue that this was the impetus to a full brown conquest called *colonialism* which its consequences are still felt up to the recent times.

Paul (2016) cited in Okereka, Oluka and Igbini (2020:50) argued that the consequence of the fusion or force marriage called amalgamation of the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria in 1914 by Sir Frederick Lord Lugard is deeply felt in the country's post-colonial socio-political lives. Obiajulu et al. (2016) opined that the greater consequences of Britain's colonial contact with Nigeria which began, first, with the end of slave trade and commencement of legitimate trade with the indigenous people, and secondly, with the occupation of Lagos in 1851 and the subsequent amalgamation of the protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 without the consents of the diverse ethnic nationalities, and complicated by religious and cultural diversity, is the root cause of the country's contemporary problems.

Akinola (2013) cited in Oluwatobi (2018:36) situates the root causes of Nigeria's problems to the political structure and superstructure built and left behind by the British colonial masters. Furthermore, he argued that the occasional political, ethnic and religious conflicts among the ethnic groups and that which threaten the unity of the country in recent years are consequences of the force marriage called *amalgamation*. Ewetan and Urhie (2014:45) argued that, "the alarming trend of violent crimes in Nigeria, inarguably, is traced to the 1960s to 1970s, the period between independence to early period of post-independence federalism experimentation, a federal structure imposed by Britain, and situation that up to date resulted to several conflicts in the history of the country. Awotayo, Sakiru and Ilelah (2013) cited in Ewetan and Urhie (2014:45) argued that, "the federal structure inherited from the colonial masters at independence did not conform to the major tenets of true federalism, hence, the major causes of unrests in the history of the country. Bankong-Obi (2012) cited in Iregbenu and Uzonwanne (2015:169) attributed the country's intractable security challenges to the federal government apathy and inefficiency of the security chiefs and personnel to counter Boko Haram insurgency and other organised crimes in the country, a situation that has made it very difficult to carryout effective counterinsurgency campaign in the country over the years.

## **b. Pakistan**

Unlike Nigeria which was directly colonised by Britain, Pakistan was part of India under the British rule that gained her independence when India was later partitioned in 1947 with King George VI as her first head of state and became a Republic in 1956. Nigeria on the other hand became a Republic in 1961 after her independence on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1960. However, the literatures on the history of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan which began on 14 August 1947 revealed that the country's internal problems or national issues began thereafter with the West Pakistan, now Pakistan, and East Pakistan, now Bangladesh secession from Pakistan. Following the graft constitution of 1957 which made Pakistan Islamic democratic country and the outbreak of a civil war and which attracted Indian military intervention in 1971, the East Pakistan seceded to form the country known as Bangladesh, the consequence of which is linked to the contemporary rivalries in the sub-region (Pakistan Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2010; Rizvi, 2015; Ashraf, 2016).

Rizvi (2015) argued that, the inability of the leadership of Pakistan to maintain a stable and viable political system in the country's post-independence era informed the debate about the root causes of the nation's contemporary national issues. While some scholars argued that the root cause of the nation's problems is the inability of the post-colonial leadership to have consensus political institutions, others traces the nation's problems to the nature and dynamics of her domestic movements, particularly, that of religion and the subsequent failure of the leadership to articulate these problems and find final solutions to them. Inarguably, the seemingly ineptitude of the government to effectively resolve the grievances in the country has worsen the nation's domestic challenges with different group seeking violence as a last resort and legitimate alternative to their demands for lasting social cohesion, tolerance and democratic institutions and governance (USIP, 2019).

## **B. METHODS**

The study employed qualitative research method which means that analytical approach was used to examine the similarities in the causes of the security threats in Nigeria and Pakistan. It implies that structural questionnaire was used as its instrument in gathering of data for the study. The population of the study comprises of scholars in these related fields of study, political science, history and international studies, and intelligence and security studies from Nigerian universities. Thematic data approach which is used to organise, analyse

and describe set of data explicitly was utilised to analyse data collected for the study.

## C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Respondents were randomly selected but limited to scholars who have knowledge on the research area among whom are scholars in the following fields of study: political science; history and international studies; and intelligence and security studies.

### 1. Security Threats in Nigeria and Pakistan: The Major Causes

From the data collected from respondents, their responses show consensus view of the similarities in Nigeria's and Pakistan's national issues with emphasises on British colonial legacies as one of the root causes of the contemporary challenges in both countries of Africa and Asia. Notably also are the link of insurgencies in both countries to transnational terrorism of Islamic jihad movements, al-Qaeda organisation with Boko Haram and ISWAP domesticated in Nigeria, and Tehrik-e Taleban Pakistan (TTP) in the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Daesh domesticated in Pakistan. Findings also revealed that funding and technical training of these terrorist groups domesticated in Nigeria and Pakistan are traceable to the transnational or international terrorist organisation of al-Qaeda terrorist organisation.

Majority of the respondents believed that the persistence or continued invasions of insurgents of the Islamic extremists are traceable to these global jihadist movements of the al-Qaeda complicated with the link with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in the past and the network of Islamic rascality in the Middle East. Some of the respondents have argued that the upsurges of terrorism and rivalries in the South Asian regions also have links with Pakistanis domestic challenges and upshot of insurgencies, although, the recent administration has been able to curtail the upsurge of these terrorist groups to a commendable extent. Nigeria on the other hand, unlike Pakistan, has not been able to counter the upsurge of terrorism which is in increase in recent time. The Nigerian case is complicated by the emerging banditry in the North East, North Central and North West Nigeria respectively; and Fulani herdsman/farmers conflict in virtually all parts of the country, a situation that is yet to be curtailed by the seemingly incompetent and disorganised security agencies particularly the armed forces of the federation.

A number of the respondents opined that the Nigeria's major problem is hereditary corruption and insincerity on the part of the leaders and the security chiefs who are alleged to be religiously biased. Essentially too is the general belief that the security agencies are ill equipped to fight Boko Haram, ISWAP and other forms criminal gangs in the country due to chronic corruption. It was however argued that there were instances in which money meant for procurement of equipments and logistics for the security agencies fighting and watching over border towns, villages; and in the Sambisa forest (the clandestine home of the Boko Haram terrorist organisation) were left stranded leading to the death of several military personnel deployed by the Military Headquarters to fight the insurgent groups in the north east region of Nigeria. This no doubt has bedevilled the operations and the capability of the armed forces to combat the Boko Haram insurgency and other forms of criminality in the nation.

Responses also revealed that Pakistan on the other hands has her own shares of challenges while countering insurgencies and terrorism in her domain. A number of the respondents were of the opinion that there is no nation of the world with lots of national issues such as the case in Nigeria and Pakistan without some forms of setbacks. Those abreast with the Pakistanis national issues agreed that the nation's major challenge is excessive deployment of personnel, logistics and material resources to the fights against insurgencies and keeping watch over the national borders often surrounded by enemy states; a situation that has consequential effects on her finances and has affected her economy. Extant literature on Pakistan's internal security challenges or national defence issues have severally enumerated and emphasised the challenges that confronted and still confronting the government of Pakistan over the years.

A comparative analysis thus shows that the responses of the selected respondents are in conformity with literatures on the major causes of Pakistan's and Nigeria's internal challenges. This is reflective on the positions and opinions of some of the literatures consulted in the course of this discourse. For instance, Ewetan and Urhie (2014:40) argued that, "the alarming level of the country's insecurity has fuelled crime rate, especially terrorist attacks in northern part of the country, thus, leaving unpalatable consequences for the country's economic growth over the years. Furthermore, the federal government attempts to address and combat these national security challenge and the increasing waves of other forms of crimes, huge amount of money was allocated to security leading to underfunding of other sectors of the nation's economy. Despite this effort, the central government and security agents seem to be perplexed and comatose, they argued.

Ismail and Amjad (2014), Khan, Estrada and Yusof (2016) and Syed, Saeed and Martin (2015) cited in Zakaria, Jun and Ahmed (2019:1795) identified ethnicity, illiteracy, inflation, high population growth and income inequality as the major reasons for terrorism in Pakistan. However, like Pakistan, the above mentioned factors are also identified by scholars including corruption and unemployment as the reasons for unrest or insurgency in Nigeria. Khan (2005) stated that the nation of Pakistan is majorly affected by two terrorist groups: the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-Fiqah-e-Jaffria (*Movement for the Imposition of Shia Law*) now commonly known as Tehrik-e-Jaffria Pakistan (*Shia Movement of Pakistan*); and Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (*Army of the Companions of the Prophet, Pakistan*) and its affiliate group commonly known as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (*Army of Jhangvi*). Nigeria on the other hand has Boko Haram and ISWA as the two major terrorist groups in the country in recent time since the likes of Fulani herders and bandits have not been declared as such by the Federal government.

Pervaiz, (2013) argued that Pakistan government's efforts to curtail insurgencies within the nation's borders was never without challenges ranging from excessive deployment of manpower and material resources, the consequence of which is a blowback effect on her economic and national cohesion in recent time. And which was also complicated by the rivalries between Pakistan and its neighbouring states particularly India and Bangladesh. Furthermore, he argued that India in particular has been a foremost threat to Pakistan's government, and this has always caused challenges to the government's defence policies towards its neighbouring countries. By implication, it is obvious that Pakistan is currently surrounded by aggressors and unfriendly nations.

Findings also revealed that there are distinct dimensions to counterterrorism mechanisms in Pakistan and Nigeria. While Pakistan, though, a nation with similar challenges of Islamic insurgency like her Nigeria counterpart has been able to manage her internal security threats, Nigeria on the other hand, has not been able to effectively manage her security challenges. Putting this question before the respondents, majority of them agreed that both nations of different regions but similar challenges have been terrorised by distinct insurgent groups but with traceable links with Osama Bin Ladin's al-Qaeda terrorist organisation. Unfortunately, both nations have similar security challenges posed by Islamic extremists but both have distinct impacts and counterterrorism priorities, they argued.

Significantly, findings also revealed that one of the major challenges of post-colonial nations of the world is their inability to enforce effective, efficient and workable national integration and nation building programmes, particularly

to those of Africa including Nigeria. As a consequence, the tasks of enforcing unified national identity and pride; linguistic, religious and cultural identities; equal rights and development for all the communities, as well as respect for ethnic nationalities; and most importantly, enthronement of equal rights for all socio-ethnic and religious groups, and the federating units, etc., have been identified as the major tasks confronting post-colonial states of Africa and their leadership over the years. Complementing this stand point, the respondents on consensus agreed that these issues have in several ways affected national cohesion in Nigeria's post-colonial society in particular.

Similarly, there are also traces of the reflection of these challenges in Pakistan in her recent past. Jawad and Waseem (2017) argued that Pakistan which commenced her life from infancy after disintegration from India on unpalatable manners, has up to date confronted with the extreme and unfavourable challenging circumstances, including the struggle for consolidation and survival, and struggle for cordial diplomatic intercourse with her neighbouring countries in the South Asia sub-region. Essentially also, the task of establishing efficient programme for national integration and building a strong national identity proved to be a very difficult process for the leadership following the early deaths of her central leadership, financial and administrative ripped, political instability and military interventions in power, and all of which were complicated by India aggressions in 1947 and 1965, and finally, the disintegration of the country in 1971, and national integration process with its numerous challenges that pushed the nation into identity crises (Jawad & Waseem, 2017:46).

## **2. The Impact of Security Threats: A Case of Nigeria and Pakistan**

### **a. Nigeria**

From the review of literature on internal security above, it was established that the concept does not in any way mean the capability of the state to protect lives and properties of her citizens alone but to also provide the enabling environment conducive enough for infrastructure sector development. Unfortunately, since Nigeria return to democratic rule in May 1999, the leadership of the country over the years have not been able to maintain stable security environment, safe enough to protect lives and properties and attract sufficient foreign investments into the country, particularly now the country is enmeshed by insurgency. Directing this question as to what the consequences are to the country's socio-economic and political developments to the respondents respectively, a number of the respondents agreed that the government of Nigeria



at all levels have failed to adequately protect lives and properties, as well as provide environment conducive enough for national cohesion, as evidenced in several political and electoral violence; ethnic and communal conflicts; religious and sectarian violence; agitations, protests and unrests such as the Niger Delta militancy; and grievous crimes such as kidnapping, armed robbery, banditry and terrorism.

Accordingly, the respondents agreed that that insurgency in Nigeria complicated by bad governance, hereditary corruption, poor policy implementation, among several other factors, have plunged the country into socio-economic backwardness. A number of the respondents also agreed that the emerging internal security challenges such as banditry, herders/farmers conflict, Kidnapping for ransom, etc., seems to complement Boko Haram and ISWA insurgency in recent times. Notably also, is the consensus agreement that the government of the federation effort to control the menace orchestrated by Boko Haram insurgency has crippled the countries socio-economic and infrastructure sector development, particularly in the north east region, this they attributed to the allocation of the chunk of money meant for socio-economic development to the fight against Boko Haram and other forms of crimes.

Extant literature consulted in the course of this discourse revealed severally, the consequences or effects of insurgency and other forms of criminalities in the country in recent times, especially now the country is under civilian rule. Accordingly, Iregbenu and Uzonwanne (2015:170) analysing security challenges in Nigeria in recent times, argued that the rate of insecurity in the country has undeniably affected every facet of the citizens' life and posed serious challenges and menace to the country's macroeconomic environment. Furthermore, they argued that the country has not only suffered colossal losses in infrastructure sector development, declines in property and human capital development and economic development, but also retardation in all the sectors of her economy. Epron and Nwokeoma (2019:145) argued that the emerging threats such as kidnapping, banditry, herders/farmers conflict and cybercrime (yahoo boys) seems to complicate the already volatile and threatened socio-economic development. Relying on the 2019 report by the National Communication Commission (NCC), they also opined that the security threats in Nigeria has affected foreign direct investment (FDI) into the country even with the introduction of cashless policy and electronic banking (e-banking) for business transactions, this they attributed to cyber-attacks on foreign investors in the country and which has created a bad image for the country.

In another development, Epron et al. (2019) argued that inability of the government of the federation to control the migration of Fulani herders have also affected the socio-economic development of the country in diverse ways, especially in Zamfara and other neighbouring states in the country. Onuah and Akwagyram (2019) cited in Epron et al. (2019) argued that the activities of the Fulani herders has also affected mining activities in Zamfara due to the frequent attacks by armed bandits; the implication of which is a drop in revenue generation through mining in the state. Most importantly, the activities of these insurgent groups in the country complicated by global economic recession has also affected socio-economic development in the country; the consequence of which is mass unemployment and retrenchment of the labour force both in public and private sectors.

Adebajo (2008) cited in Musa and Ajibade (2018:1) argued that the four major areas of emphasises and interests in Nigeria's foreign policy objective; that is, domestic security, sustenance of the nation's independence and prosperity of her immediate neighbours such as Benin republic, Cameroon, Chad and Niger; relations with West African neighbours; prioritisation of continental African issues, particularly those concerning peace, development and democratisation; and finally, those involving Nigeria's relations with domestic and international organisations, institutions and states outside Africa, have in one way or the other affected by the upsurge of terrorism and other forms of crimes in the country over the years. Undoubtedly, the pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy has been affected by insecurities in the north east in particular and other parts of the country in general leading to ill equip institutions, low life expectancy, low quality of life and death, destruction of businesses, relocation and closing down of businesses, among others. What amazes every one today is that the present administration of President Muhammadu Buhari seems to lack ideas of what best to do to solve these perturbing circumstances.

#### **b. Pakistan**

Findings from respondents revealed that like Nigeria, Pakistan's socio-economic development and growth is also affected by upsurge of terrorist groups. Domestic investment, government annual budget and foreign direct investment are also affected by emerging challenges from terrorist organisations. Also of pertinence are external aggressions from transnational terrorism that have infiltrated the ranks and files of the home grown terrorist leaders, and external rivalry, especially from India. Responses also revealed that human and financial resource development shifted abroad within the period of terrorist attacks in the country, the consequence of this is a drastic decline in domestic

socio-economic growth. Domestic and international trade in the country was also disrupted by insurgency or terrorism over the years. As a consequence, FDI has drastically dropped and foreign investors find it very difficult to invest in the country and those already have investments diverted their resource to peaceful and safe countries across the region and to other parts of the world. Like Nigeria, this has also affected infrastructure sector development and annual financial budgeting of the government of Pakistan over the years.

Scholars who have studied the impact of terrorism in Pakistan have severally blamed terrorism for the country's economic woe over the years. Though unlike Nigeria, Pakistan was able to manage her internal security threats to an exponential extent but the impacts of these threats are still very felt in recent time. According to Sami and Khattak (2017:34) increase in terrorist activities has affected the country's annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Roberts (2009) cited in Sami and Khattak (2017) noted that terrorist attacks has impacted negatively to the nation's exchange rate, unemployment levels, inflation rate, GDP, interest rates, consumption, trade and investment. Vaughn, Carter, Sheikh and Johnson (2010: 17) among other factors identified cross-border dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir and water resources as one of the major causes of unrest in Pakistan. They argued that, Pakistan and India, historically, are enemies that have fought three wars and several other issues that have heightened tension over their disputed area, Kashmir, since their independence from Great Britain in 1947, and which as a consequence affected their foreign policy relations toward each other, and Pakistan's foreign policy posture towards its other neighbouring countries of Afghanistan, China, India, and Iran,.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

This work attempted to do a modest comparative analysis of internal security threats facing two large countries in Asia and Africa-Pakistan and Nigeria. This is against the backdrop of the strategic importance of these two countries to both regional and global security. The study found out that in Pakistan and Nigeria, ethnicity, sectarianism and economic instability are fundamental variables of internal security threats to Pakistan. Religious extremism has created an unenviable image of Pakistan and Nigeria in the eyes of the rest of the world and has affected the countries adversely. At the same time inter-regional grievances could potentially cause serious damage to the federations. Despite recent economic recovery and sound macro policies, the absence of genuine socio-economic development has provided ethno-sectarian

elements and regional forces grounds to exploit and weaken both Pakistan and Nigeria internally.

This paper argues that ethno-sectarian problems are major security threats to both Pakistan and Nigeria, and will remain a huge impediment to the goals of economic prosperity. Interdependence of these multifaceted threats and their overall impact on internal security is the focus of this analysis. Both countries need to address these national security threats and find a viable solution in a reasonable timeframe to find its rightful place in the community of modern nations. The immediate requirement is to introduce political, economic and education reforms and take bold initiatives to obviate present and future threats. This paper therefore recommends a three-pronged strategy to counter ethno-sectarian threats to Pakistan and Nigeria: halt then reverse present trends, enforce rule of law, and lastly introduce fresh incentives for socio-economic development.

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