

State Power, Governance, and National Security in Africa: The Nigerian Experience

¹Stella Embelakpo Ogroh

& ²Warri, Tare-Ebi

^{1&2}Department of Political Science,
Faculty of Social Sciences
Niger Delta University, Wilberforce
Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

Article DOI:

10.48028/iiprds/ssljprds.v11.i1.22

Keywords:

State Power,
Governance, National
security, Terrorism,
Corruption, Conflict

Abstract

The interplay between state power, governance, and national security in Africa presents a complex web of challenges that continue to undermine development and stability across the continent. This paper critically examines the Nigerian experience, focusing on how the exercise of state power and the quality of governance influence the country's national security landscape. It identifies terrorism and insurgency, ethno-religious conflict, and systemic corruption as key issues undermining state authority and national cohesion. Adopting a qualitative research approach, the study relies on secondary data from scholarly journals, policy reports, books, and credible media sources. Through content analysis, the findings reveal that weak institutional governance, widespread corruption, and identity-based conflicts have fuelled insecurity, arms proliferation, human trafficking, and large-scale internal displacement. These developments have not only destabilised Nigeria but also threaten regional peace and security. The paper concludes by advocating for an integrated, multi-sectoral response that addresses the political, economic, and social root causes of insecurity to strengthen state legitimacy and promote sustainable governance in Nigeria and Africa at large.

Corresponding Author:

Stella Embelakpo Ogroh

Background to the Study

The trajectory of governance and security in Africa, particularly Nigeria, has remained turbulent over the years. Persistent insecurity has severely impeded the continent's quest for sustainable development and good governance. Governance and national security are complex and contentious issues, deeply rooted in the political evolution of African states. This study concentrates on three critical concerns that continue to undermine stability in Nigeria: terrorism and insurgency, ethno-religious conflicts, and corruption.

Following the wave of independence in the 1960s, many African nations succumbed to internal instability, leading to military coups and authoritarian regimes. From the 1960s through the 1980s, Africa witnessed widespread military interventions, a trend that has resurfaced in recent years, as evidenced in Niger (2023), Burkina Faso (2022), Chad (2021), Sudan (2021), Guinea (2021), and Mali (2020). These coups reflect a decline in democratic governance across the continent (Abdulrasheed, 2023).

Poor governance has often catalysed insecurity, encouraging terrorism, insurgency, and ethno-religious violence. Political corruption exacerbates these issues by weakening institutions and widening societal grievances. Nigeria's experience in dealing with these interconnected problems is particularly instructive. Terrorist activities in Nigeria and West Africa include bombings, suicide attacks, kidnappings, piracy, and the desecration of sacred sites (ECOWAS, 2013 as cited in Akanji, 2019). Ethno-religious conflicts have further strained national unity, particularly in diverse societies such as Nigeria. These crises have resulted in loss of lives, displacement, and economic hardship. Nwagwu (2018) observes that ethnic and religious identities are potent social forces, often manipulated for political ends. The unequal distribution of political and economic opportunities fosters resentment and fuels identity-based conflicts.

Corruption, another critical issue, remains deeply entrenched in many African states. Nigeria, despite legal prohibitions, struggles with systemic corruption across all sectors. Anti-corruption agencies themselves are not immune from allegations, leading to what Rufus and David (2017) describe as "corruption fighting corruption". Against this backdrop, this study seeks to:

1. Examine the challenges of terrorism, ethno-religious conflict, and corruption in Nigeria;
2. Analyse their implications for state power, governance and national security; and
3. Propose actionable policy measures to address these challenges.

The study employs a qualitative, historical research design, using secondary sources including academic literature, official publications, and digital content. Content analysis facilitated the interpretation and discussion of data.

Conceptual Literature

State power: Refers to the capacity of a government to regulate, control, and enforce authority over its territory and population, including the ability to implement laws, maintain

order, defend sovereignty, and provide public goods. It encompasses political, legal, coercive, and administrative mechanisms through which the state asserts its dominance and legitimacy. According to Max Weber (1947), the state is “a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.” Thus, state power is fundamentally linked to the state's ability to exercise this legitimate force through institutions such as the military, police, and judiciary, as well as its capacity to govern effectively. In political science, state power is often analysed in terms of *internal* sovereignty (control over domestic affairs) and *external* sovereignty (recognition and influence in the international system), both of which are crucial to national security and governance.

Governance: Governance, though as old as human society, gained renewed academic and policy interest in the 1980s and 1990s (Thomas, 2000). It is often conflated with government, though the two are distinct. Governance refers to the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which authority is exercised and decisions are made and implemented. The Commission on Global Governance (1995) defines it as the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions manage their common affairs. Stoker (1999) sees it as the interaction of public and private actors in steering society. Good governance emphasises transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, and effectiveness. Its absence in Nigeria is evident in persistent security challenges and political instability.

National Security: National security denotes a state's ability to protect its territorial integrity and maintain peace and order. Singh (2015) defines it as the condition of safety free from external aggression and internal upheaval. It encompasses political stability, economic development, and societal harmony—factors essential for national cohesion and progress.

Terrorism: Terrorism involves the strategic use of violence, often directed at civilians, to instil fear and advance political, religious, or ideological goals (Schmid, 1988 as cited in Leonard, Ami, & Sivan, 2004). In Nigeria, terrorism gained prominence with the rise of Boko Haram, a group founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002. It began as a religious movement and evolved into a formidable terrorist organisation (Mustafa & Aboubakar, 2023).

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on David Easton's Systems Theory, a foundational model in political science that conceptualises the political system as an open, adaptive, and interdependent structure. According to Easton (1953, 1965), a political system functions within a larger environment and continuously interacts with it through the processes of inputs and outputs. Inputs include demands (e.g., calls for improved security, governance, and justice) and support (e.g., compliance with laws, participation in elections), which the political system processes and responds to by generating outputs, such as policies, laws, and institutional reforms.

Crucially, Easton (1965) posits that the effectiveness of a political system depends on a continuous feedback loop—the mechanism through which the system assesses the outcomes of its policies and readjusts accordingly. When this loop breaks down due to institutional

weaknesses, elite capture, or poor responsiveness to citizen needs, the system may suffer from systemic stress or instability, which could manifest as public discontent, violent conflict, or political breakdown.

In the Nigerian context, this model offers a useful lens for understanding the interconnection between poor governance and the proliferation of terrorism, ethno-religious conflict, and corruption. The systemic failure to adequately process demands from marginalised groups (such as calls for inclusion, equity, or basic services) represents a failure in the input stage. Similarly, ineffective or exclusionary government responses (such as repressive security measures or corrupt practices) constitute flawed outputs, which in turn generate negative feedback, fuelling further instability.

As Omotola (2010) observes, Nigeria's political system is characterised by weak institutions, elite dominance, and a limited capacity to respond to the socio-economic needs of its diverse population. These systemic deficiencies have led to a proliferation of non-state actors (e.g., Boko Haram, ethnic militias), who often capitalise on the state's failures to fill governance and security vacuums. Easton's Systems Theory helps to frame this scenario as a result of systemic imbalance—where the inability of the state to convert legitimate demands into effective outputs undermines its legitimacy and fuels insecurity.

Moreover, Easton's theory emphasises that the environmental context—which includes economic conditions, international pressures, and societal norms—plays a significant role in shaping political dynamics. In Nigeria, widespread poverty, youth unemployment, weak rule of law, and ethnic fragmentation contribute to the environmental stressors that overwhelm the system's capacity to respond adequately.

By applying Easton's model, this study underscores the need for a holistic governance approach that strengthens institutional capacity, enhances feedback mechanisms (such as civic engagement and accountability), and addresses the structural drivers of insecurity. Only through systemic reforms that improve both the quality of inputs (inclusive and participatory governance) and outputs (effective and equitable policies) can the Nigerian state restore stability and enhance national security.

State Power, Governance and National Security Challenges in Africa

Terrorism and insurgency pose substantial threats to Nigeria's national security. These phenomena are rooted in political, economic, and religious grievances (Ogbonnaya & Ehigiamusoe, 2013). (2008) argues that terrorism is a form of asymmetrical violence aimed at a more powerful adversary. The UN (1992) defines terrorism as a clandestine method involving repeated acts of violence for political or criminal reasons.

The U.S. Department of Defense (2007) defines insurgency as an organised movement seeking to overthrow a government through subversion and armed conflict. Terrorism stems from diverse motivations. Simonsen and Jeremy (2000) identify rational, psychological, and cultural sources. Rational terrorists assess risks and benefits; psychological drivers include

trauma and ideological indoctrination; cultural terrorism is linked to perceived historical or religious injustices.

Religious extremism has become a dominant force in African terrorism. Hoffman (2006) and Gurr & Cole (2005) highlight the rise of religiously motivated terrorist groups. The percentage of such groups rose from 4% in 1980 to 42% by the mid-20th century. Zalman (2014) argues that fanaticism provides fertile ground for extremist violence. The proliferation of weapons, especially CBRN types, has exacerbated terrorism. Neumann (2009) posits that sensationalist media coverage has encouraged more violent tactics. Conversely, Zalman (2014) contends that political and social grievances—such as land dispossession and inequality—are the core drivers.

Terrorism, Insurgency and National Security Challenges in Nigeria

Terrorism, insurgency, and national security challenges in Nigeria pose significant threats to the country's stability and development. The Nigerian experience exemplifies the complexities and deep-rooted issues associated with these phenomena. Rufus and David (2017) theorise that the prevailing lawlessness, judicial inconsistencies, double standards, and executive overreach make it seem as though Nigeria was the very society Locke had in mind when postulating his *State of War*. The trajectory of violent events in Nigeria serves as a stark reminder that the nation is gradually regressing into the hypothetical state of war envisioned by the social contract theorist, John Locke. The emergence and operations of various terrorist and insurgent groups, such as Boko Haram, the Niger Delta Avengers, and Fulani herdsmen, reflect the pervasive insecurity plaguing the country (Rufus & David, 2017). Among these, Boko Haram stands out as the most notorious, having seriously challenged Nigeria's national security, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and unity.

Terrorist attacks in Northern Nigeria continue to exact a heavy toll on the population. Boko Haram and the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) have remained active for over a decade. The sect's history dates back to 2002 when grievances emerged among Northern youths who believed that Islam had been corrupted by Western influences, leading to widespread government corruption and persistent poverty. In response, Mohammed Ali, the group's leader, advanced an anti-state ideology and called upon fellow Muslims to adopt 'true' Islamic law, aiming to establish a puritanical society distinct from the prevailing corrupt order (Walker, 2012; McGraw & Bergema, 2020). The group's initial steps included undertaking *Hijra*, symbolising a spiritual and physical retreat akin to Prophet Muhammad's migration from Mecca to Medina.

Boko Haram's ideology has found resonance among disenfranchised youths in Northern Nigeria, where poverty, corruption, and marginalisation have created fertile ground for recruitment. The group has launched a brutal campaign of violence, including bombings, shootings, and abductions, targeting government institutions, security agencies, and civilians (Maza, Koldas & Aksit, 2020). The Nigerian government has struggled to effectively contain the insurgency, with military forces facing significant operational and logistical challenges. The conflict has resulted in extensive displacement, loss of lives, and infrastructure

destruction, further aggravating developmental challenges in the region (Walker, 2012). Boko Haram's insurgency has also exposed Nigeria's weak governance structures, corruption, and inadequate capacity to provide security and essential services. The group's attacks have underscored fundamental flaws in the national security architecture and raised serious concerns about the state's ability to maintain law and order. In response, the government has initiated military operations, sought international support, and attempted dialogue. Nevertheless, Boko Haram remains a persistent threat to national security, illustrating the complex nexus between governance failure, insecurity, and extremism in Africa (Walker, 2012).

Ethno-religious conflicts constitute another pressing issue that has profoundly impacted governance and national security in Nigeria. With over 250 ethnic groups and multiple religious sects, Nigeria has, since independence, grappled with the challenges of managing ethnic diversity and religious pluralism. Over the years, ethnicity and religious intolerance have led to recurrent ethno-religious conflicts and the emergence of ethnic militias, such as the O'odua People's Congress (OPC), Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys, Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Others include the Arewa People's Congress (APC), the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), and Ohanaeze Ndigbo (Daily Trust, 2002).

The increasing frequency of these conflicts makes them a pressing issue in contemporary Nigeria and a cautionary lesson for other multi-ethnic, multi-religious states. The violent nature of these conflicts—manifesting in riots, sabotage, assassinations, armed struggles, guerrilla warfare, and secessionist agitations—has serious implications for Nigeria's political and economic development. The recurrence of such crises has heightened general insecurity, especially in previously affected areas (Faksh, 1997; Daily Trust, 2002).

One of the main drivers of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria is the perception of neglect, oppression, marginalisation, discrimination, nepotism, and bigotry. There is no national consensus on how wealth, power, and resources should be distributed or how reforms should be implemented. Different groups pursue divergent interests, often resulting in the exclusion of some and the dominance of others. Ethno-religious conflicts thus arise when disadvantaged groups seek to alter the status quo or demand a greater share of political and economic power (Ayubi, 1991). Consequently, Nigeria has witnessed the rise of ethnically and religiously motivated movements fuelled by perceived injustice and exclusion. These conflicts are symptomatic of deeper political, social, and economic divisions within the state.

Ethno-religious conflicts significantly undermine national security. Ineffective governance, weak institutions, and pervasive corruption exacerbate these tensions, creating a breeding ground for extremist groups. The rise of Boko Haram illustrates how unresolved ethno-religious grievances can evolve into full-scale insurgencies (Faksh, 1997). Such conflicts result in mass casualties, internal displacement, economic stagnation, and the erosion of social cohesion. Furthermore, the breakdown of trust between communities severely impedes nation-building efforts.

The Nigerian leadership's failure to promote good governance, national integration, and unity through inclusive policies has contributed to widespread poverty and unemployment. These socio-economic deprivations have become the breeding grounds for communal, ethnic, religious, and class-based conflicts. Poverty and unemployment, in particular, have created a reservoir of disillusioned individuals—many of whom become mercenaries for violence. Theoretically, this suggests that impoverishment increases the number of people willing to kill or be killed for meagre rewards (Clark, 2005; Faksh, 1997; Dekmejian, 1993). This dynamic is evident in the high number of youth (including minors) involved in Nigeria's numerous ethno-religious crises.

Corruption also remains a central challenge in Nigeria's governance crisis. According to reports from Transparency International, Nigeria is among the African countries with high levels of corruption, alongside Cameroon, Zaire, and Angola (Transparency International, 1998). Although legally condemned, corruption permeates every facet of Nigerian life. Efforts to curb it have largely been ineffective. Alarmingly, even anti-corruption agencies have been implicated in major scandals—resulting in the paradox of "corruption fighting corruption".

There is general agreement among scholars that corruption is inherently detrimental. Though difficult to define precisely, Tanzi (1998) asserts that corruption is usually recognisable in practice. The World Bank defines it as the abuse of public power for private benefit (Tanzi, 1998; Gray & Kaufmann, 1998). Lipset and Lenz (2000) describe it as the effort to gain wealth or power through illegal means. Alatas et al. (2006) define it as a situation in which two parties collude to increase their benefits at the expense of a third. Although corruption can be committed by individuals, most instances involve collusion between two or more actors. Gray and Kaufmann (1998) include bribery, extortion, fraud, and embezzlement within the scope of corrupt practices.

Corruption often manifests in the misuse of public resources, embezzlement of state funds, and abuse of office by public officials. Tanzi (1998) further defines corruption as the deliberate circumvention of procedures to gain undue advantages for oneself or associates. These practices often go unnoticed because they occur behind closed doors. Structuralist scholars attribute corruption in developing countries to weak institutions, lack of accountability, and ineffective governance. Olson (1993) argues that the absence of democratic accountability fosters corruption. Gruber (1987) identifies opaque and inefficient bureaucracies as key contributors. Similarly, Klitgaard (1988) observes that corruption thrives in political systems that lack robust integrity safeguards across institutions such as the judiciary, executive, legislature, media, and civil society. Ackerman (1998) provides a comprehensive structural analysis linking corruption to systemic weaknesses in state institutions.

Forms of political corruption include bribery, extortion, patronage, nepotism, embezzlement, influence-peddling, and general misrule (Nwoye, 2000). Authoritarian regimes in post-independence Africa are notorious for using state power for personal gain and

enabling cronies to do likewise. Despotism leaders have frequently manipulated state structures to maintain rent-seeking systems, thereby deepening socio-economic inequalities. Corruption directly fuels terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria. Terrorist groups such as Boko Haram have exploited corruption to secure funding, weapons, and safe havens. Corruption within security agencies—manifesting in bribery and collusion with criminal elements—weakens the state's ability to combat terrorism (Gruber, 1987). Moreover, corruption erodes state legitimacy and undermines efforts to address the root causes of extremism, such as poverty, inequality, and poor service delivery. When state actors prioritise personal gain over public service, disenfranchised populations become more susceptible to radicalisation. Tackling corruption is therefore essential to strengthening governance, enhancing national security, and defeating terrorism in Nigeria (Ackerman, 1998). This requires a multi-pronged strategy focused on promoting transparency, enforcing accountability, empowering anti-corruption institutions, and reforming the security sector. Only through such comprehensive measures can Nigeria and other African countries overcome the threat of insecurity and lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.

Conclusion

The Nigerian experience demonstrates how the erosion of state power, weak governance structures, and pervasive insecurity have collectively undermined national stability and regional peace in Africa. Ethno-religious conflicts, terrorism, insurgency, and systemic corruption remain deeply entrenched and mutually reinforcing challenges. These factors not only threaten political authority and territorial integrity but also diminish the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Nigerian state.

Ethno-religious violence—often rooted in historical grievances, perceived marginalisation, and competition over land and resources—continues to fragment national identity and foster deep social divisions. Simultaneously, terrorism and insurgency, particularly in the form of Boko Haram and affiliated groups, have exploited governance gaps and disillusionment with the state to entrench violence and disorder. These dynamics expose the fragility of Nigeria's security institutions and their limited capacity to respond decisively to asymmetric threats.

Corruption further weakens the foundations of state power by undermining public trust, distorting governance priorities, and enabling illicit networks that sustain insecurity. The systemic nature of corruption—especially when anti-corruption agencies themselves are compromised—reflects a profound crisis of accountability and institutional decay. This entrenched corruption has contributed to a cycle of impunity that hampers national development and democratic consolidation.

Ultimately, the Nigerian case underscores the urgent need for a comprehensive reassessment of governance frameworks and the restoration of state authority rooted in legitimacy, accountability, and citizen inclusion. Strengthening state power in Africa must involve building capable institutions, fostering social justice, and addressing the root causes of insecurity. Only through such holistic and sustained efforts can Nigeria—and other African

states—overcome the governance-security nexus and lay the foundation for lasting peace, development, and democratic resilience.

Recommendations

By implementing these recommendations with political will, transparency, and inclusiveness, Nigeria and other African states can address the multidimensional crises of governance and national security, thereby laying the foundation for a more peaceful, resilient, and prosperous future.

i. **Prioritise Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding:**

The Nigerian government must adopt a proactive approach to conflict prevention by addressing root causes such as poverty, social exclusion, marginalisation, and poor governance. This includes investing in early warning systems, community-based peace initiatives, and interfaith/interethnic dialogue platforms. Reconciliation efforts should be institutionalised through truth commissions, restorative justice mechanisms, and inclusive national conversations.

ii. **Strengthen National Security Institutions:**

It is imperative to reform and adequately equip Nigeria's security architecture to effectively counter terrorism and insurgency. This involves improving operational capabilities, providing modern equipment, and enhancing the welfare and professionalism of security personnel. Intelligence gathering and sharing must be improved, with greater collaboration between federal, state, and local authorities, as well as with international partners.

iii. **Promote Inclusive Governance and National Integration:**

Efforts should be made to promote equitable representation and participation of all ethnic and religious groups in governance processes. Constitutional reforms aimed at restructuring federal arrangements and promoting decentralisation may foster a greater sense of belonging among diverse groups. Civic education programmes that promote national identity and peaceful coexistence should also be prioritised.

iv. **Implement Comprehensive Anti-Corruption Reforms:**

The Nigerian government must adopt a robust and independent legal framework to tackle corruption. This should include strengthening the autonomy of anti-corruption agencies, ensuring the impartiality of the judiciary, and enhancing whistleblower protections. Public procurement processes should be transparent, and audits must be conducted regularly. Asset recovery and repatriation mechanisms should also be enforced rigorously.

v. **Strengthen Institutional Capacity and Democratic Governance:**

Building strong institutions that uphold the rule of law, transparency, and accountability is essential. This includes reforming the civil service, improving public sector efficiency, and enforcing performance-based governance. Electoral reforms that ensure credible elections and empower citizens to hold leaders accountable are also vital for long-term democratic stability.

vi. **Address Youth Unemployment and Empower Marginalised Groups:**

High levels of youth unemployment and economic disenfranchisement fuel insecurity and radicalisation. The government should invest in education, vocational

training, entrepreneurship support, and social protection programmes targeted at vulnerable populations. Inclusive economic policies that create opportunities for all segments of society will reduce the incentives for joining violent groups.

vii. **Foster Regional and International Cooperation:**

Given the transnational nature of terrorism and organised crime, Nigeria should continue to strengthen ties with regional bodies such as ECOWAS and the African Union, as well as with global partners. Intelligence sharing, joint operations, and coordinated policy frameworks are essential for tackling cross-border threats effectively.

References

- Abdulrasheed, A. (2023). Democracy and development in Africa: Contending issues and prospect for the 21st century. *Jurnal Penegakan Hukum Dan Keadilan*, 4(1), 30–58. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jphk.v4i1.14406>
- Akanji, O. O. (2019). Sub-regional security challenges: ECOWAS and the war on terrorism in West Africa. *Insight on Africa*, 11(1), 94–112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087818805842>
- Easton, D. (1953). *The political system: An inquiry into the state of political science*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Easton, D. (1965). *A systems analysis of political life*, New York: Wiley.
- Ekaterina, A. S. (2008). *Terrorism in asymmetrical conflict: Ideological and structural aspects*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gurr, N., & Cole, B. (2005). *The new face of terrorism: Threats from weapons of mass destruction*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside terrorism* (Rev. ed.), New York: Columbia University Press.
- Klitgaard, R. (1988). *Controlling corruption*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Leonard, W., Ami, P., & Sivan, H. (2004). The challenges of conceptualizing terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(4), 777–794.
- Lipset, S. M., & Lenz, G. S. (2000). Corruption, culture, and markets. In L. E. Harrison & S. P. Huntington (Eds.), *Culture matters: How values shape human progress* (pp. 112–124). New York: Basic Books.
- Maza, K. D. U., & Aksit, S. (2020). Challenges of combating terrorist financing in the Lake Chad region: A case of Boko Haram. *SAGE Open*, 10(2), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244020924371>

- McGraw, M., & Bergema, R. (2020). Understanding Boko Haram's trajectory. *Journal of Deradicalization*, 22, 1–25.
- Mustafa, Y., & Aboubakar, Y. (2023). Boko Haram and terrorism in Nigeria: Reflections on the origins, impact and government response. *International Journal of Economics, Politics, Humanities & Social Sciences*, 6(2), 106–121.
- Nwagwu, E. J. (2018). Ethno-religious conflicts, political instability and Africa's dilemma in sustaining democracy. *Political South East Journal of Science*, 4(1), 242–257.
- Nwoye, K. O. (2000). *Corruption, leadership and the dialectics of development in Africa: An exploratory perspective*. Enugu: Associated Printing and Litho Company Ltd.
- Ogbonnaya, U. M., & Ehigiamusoe, U. K. (2013). Niger Delta militancy and Boko Haram insurgency: National security in Nigeria. *Global Security Studies*, 4(3), 46–60.
- Rufus, A., & David, E. E. (2017). The Lockean state of war and the Nigerian state: A comparative analysis, *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science*, 17(3), 249–460.
- Simonsen, C., & Jeremy, R. (2000). *Terrorism today: The past, the players, the future*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Singh, A. K. (2015). Concept of national security: An overview, *Journal of Emerging Technologies and Innovative Research*, 2(12), 59–70.
- Stoker, G. (1999). Governance as theory: Five propositions. *International Social Science Journal*, 1(5), 17–28.
- Tanzi, V. (1995). *Corruption, arm's-length relationships and markets*. In G. Fiorentini & S. Peltzman (Eds.), *The economics of organized crime* (pp. 161–180). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanzi, V. (1998). Corruption around the world: Causes, consequences, scope, and cures, *IMF Staff Papers*, 45(4). <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/FT/staffp/1998/12-98/pdf/tanzi.pdf>
- Thomas, G. W. (2000). Governance, good governance and global governance: Conceptual and actual challenges, *Third World Quarterly*, 21(5), 795–814.
- Walker, A. (2012). *What is Boko Haram?* United States Institute of Peace Special Report 308, June 2012, 1–16.
- Zalman, A. (2014). *Causes of terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press.