The influx of irregular migrants as a challenge to security in Nigeria

Ismaila A. Danjuma,

Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto

Abstract: The challenge of irregular migration has been a source of concerns to different countries, regional bodies and some international organizations. There is no doubt about the fact that irregular migration has political and security implications for host or destination countries. In most cases, irregular migration generates cross border crimes. This is essentially because the activities of individuals who engage in cross border crimes have been causing threats to the security of different nations. In Nigeria, it has been established that the porous borders and its relative economic prosperity compared to other West African countries have continued to attract many irregular migrants from the neighbouring countries. Over the years, in Nigeria, the government has been concerned on the effects of the high rate of cross border crimes in West Africa. Thus, the argument is that as a result of irregular migration Nigeria is witnessing cross border crimes, such as human trafficking, drugs trafficking, arms trafficking, child slavery, armed robbery, armed banditry, insurgency and other forms of conflicts. Also, it can be stated that as long as irregular migration continues to increase in Nigeria it will affect socio-economic and political development of the country. It is against this backdrop that this paper interrogates the influx of irregular migrants as a challenge to security in Nigeria.

Keywords: irregular migrants, challenge, security, Nigeria, West Africa etc

Introduction

All over the world, the phenomenon of migration has been part of human activities for centuries. Even today, the trends in human migration continue to dominate debates in the media, academics and even among policy makers in different countries. Migration which is considered to be movement of people from one place to another has different dimensions. Migration could take the form of movement of an individual or group of individuals either within the territorial boundary of a state or across an international border. In other words, migration could be internal or international in nature. Based on this, Adeola and Oluyemi (2012:1) maintain that "migration is a most dynamic feature of population distribution. It is a process which has been from the creation of the universe." The main motive for migration is quite different for different individuals. This is essentially because migration is a process that depends on circumstances in both the place of origin and receiving destination. It is perhaps on this basis that, Adesina (2019:30) avers that "migration is a global phenomenon. It can be classified as forced, voluntary, or imposed on migrants by circumstances. The decision to migrate is complex but can usually be conceptualized as the result of two factors: the push factors and the pull factors." Fundamentally, push factors can be seen as unfavourable conditions that make people to migrate, while the pull factors are the favourable conditions that attract people to a new place.

Also, in a study on internal and international migration, Sjaastad (1962) explains that migration is based on individual decision making. According to him, before deciding to migrate, individuals examine the costs and benefits of migrating. Sjaastad sees migration as an investment that increases the productivity of human resources. This implies that migration has costs and also renders returns. Significantly, individual migrants have to weigh both the advantages and disadvantages before deciding to move to another location. For all intent and purposes, it can be said that migration is the result of an individual calculation based on positive factors at destination and negative factors at origin (Lee, 1966). Thus, migration involves the process of human mobility transition (Zelinsky, 1971). For this reason, migration has been linked with factors such as trade, the search for greener pasture, urbanization, industrialization, agriculture, mining, armed conflict, war, famine, drought, and rural poverty (Yaro,

2008).

However, in contemporary period, one of the much talked about issues is the upsurge of irregular migration around the world. By irregular migration, it is meant a situation where people cross the border of another country without valid documents or following the normal process (Adetula, 2010). Also, irregular migration is seen as movement of people across national borders in a way that breaks the immigration law of the receiving country (Joshua and Makama, 2017). Significantly, the authorities of countries of destination of individuals who engage on irregular migration in a clandestine manner have been feeling concerned with the issues of how to contain their activities. It is perhaps for this reason that Koser (2005:10) argues that:

> In political and media discourses, irregular migration is often described as constituting a threat to state sovereignty. Put simply, the argument is that states have sovereignty right to control who crosses their borders, and that by undermining that control irregular migrants therefore threaten sovereignty. It follows that stopping irregular migration is fundamental to reasserting full sovereignty. In certain most extreme discourses, irregular migration has also been perceived as a threat to state security.

In recent times, the problem of irregular migration is accentuated as a result of massive movement of people or refugees from troubled spots in some African and Asian countries to the advanced industrialized nations. The problem mostly affects the continental Europe and the United States (US). Based on this, Adesina (2019:35) maintains that "irregular migration is one aspect of the general phenomenon of migration and it is a huge global issue." Indeed, within the West African sub-region, Nigeria has been contending with the challenge of irregular migrants from the neighbouring West African countries. Over the years, the influx of irregular migrants into Nigeria has continued to generate concerns in official circles. Therefore, it is on the basis of this preamble that this paper examines the influx of irregular migrants as a challenge to Nigeria's security. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section is the introduction and it is followed by the second section that discusses the nature of migration into Nigeria from West African countries. The third section focuses on irregular migration and threats to Nigeria's security and the fourth section concludes the work.

The nature of migration into Nigeria from neighbouring West African countries

Basically, the nature and dimensions of immigration into Nigeria can be classified into three historical epochs. These include pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. In the pre-colonial era, migrants move from one place to another in search of new and fertile land for farming, security and safety (Yaro, 2008). During the time there was no issue of closed boundary demarcation as people were allowed to move from one place to another. However, the establishment of colonial domination and administration changed the patterns of migration because the white colonialists established and demarcated territorial boundaries, and introduced their political and economic structures in the colonies (Adepoju, 2005). The colonialists created co-existent and interdependent borderlands in Africa. With this development people across territorial borders in different countries continued to maintain some levels of cooperation and friendship (Asiwaju, 2010). In the colonial era, the development in rail and road construction, infrastructures, as well as growth of cities, such as Accra, Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Abidjan, Lome, Dakar, and Cotounou triggered in different countries major rural-rural migration of farm workers and rural-urban migration of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, traders and students (Yaro, 2008). Apart from the internal nature of this migratory pattern it also recorded its international dimension, where the relatively prosperous economies like Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire attracted large number of immigrants from other West African countries. For example, mining sector and cocoa production in Ghana have continued to serve as magnet or source of attraction for migrants from countries like Nigeria, Mali, Niger etc (Arthur, 1991). This pattern of international migration continued up to post-colonial era. In the post-independence era, the pattern of migration in West Africa was based on movement of people from less endowed countries to the relatively rich countries. This has been appropriately captured by Yaro (2008:4) thus:

> Intra-regional mobility in West Africa has been generally dominated by a predominantly North-South movement from landlocked countries of Sahel West Africa (Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad) to the more prosperous

plantations, mines and cities of coastal West Africa (predominantly Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and The Gambia). Senegal played the role of both receiving and sending country.

With the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in Nigeria in 1958, the country suddenly became the economic hub in West Africa. However, in the early 1970s, Nigeria witnessed the phenomenon of oil boom with more money accruing to the country from the sales of oil. This attracted many foreigners from neighbouring West African countries to Nigeria. Thus, in the period of 1970s, Nigeria became a major receiving country of immigrants. According to Imobighe (1990:230) "alien influx into Nigeria recorded an unprecedented increase in the seventies due to the oil boom which opened up many job opportunities in the country." Significantly, with the economic prosperity in Nigeria during the time, the need for both professional and low skilled workers increased in the country. Also, the income of workers witnessed a corresponding increase. The action of the Nigerian government together with some other members of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) of signing the protocol on free movement of persons and goods was said to give impetus to citizens of less prosperous states in West Africa to migrate to countries like Nigeria, and Cote d'Ivoire. The protocol has over the years, affected Nigeria more than any other country in the sub-region. This is because it sprouted the number of irregular migrants into the country. It is on this basis that, Ikwuyatum (2012:17) argues that:

> Furthermore, the immigration of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria took another dimension after the Protocol on Free Movement of Goods, Capital and People which was ratified in 1980. This almost coincided with the period of economic buoyancy in Nigeria, such that many ECOWAS citizens immigrated into Nigeria.

Another factor responsible for irregular migration into Nigeria is associated with natural disasters, such as drought and famine in some neighbouring West African states. Essentially, the effect of drought or shortage of rainfall in countries like Niger, Chad and Mali Republics has been aggravating the problem of irregular migration into Nigeria. Based on this, Ikwuyatum (2012:17) maintains that "climatic and seasonal variability are the primary factors of seasonal migration, while severe drought and periodic environmental hazards are factors for irregular movement." To this extent, people in the most affected places normally move to countries like Nigeria either on temporary or permanent basis as a means of securing land to engage in farming or to secure job opportunities.

In the recent past especially during the 1990s and 2000s, the issue of political instability in some neighbouring West African countries, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, and Cote d'Ivoire has led to the problem of influx of refugees and irregular migrants into Nigeria. The civilians who were victims of the conflicts normally move to secure neighbouring countries for safety. Nigeria, being the leading economy in the sub-region and couple with its policy of good neighbourliness as well as playing leadership role in West Africa has been accepting refugees from war torn countries (Adebajo, 2002; Alli, 2012).

The porous nature of many Nigeria's borders has been contributing to the problem of irregular migration of people into this country. Certainly, there are cases of the influx of immigrants into Nigeria on daily basis through the porous borders. To this extent, citizens of neighbouring countries like Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Benin Republic and others find it very easy to enter or cross into Nigeria through the porous borders of this country (Adetula, 2010). The problem of porous border is compounded by shortage or inadequate personnel of Nigeria Immigration Service. Over the years, the inadequacy of immigration personnel as well as insufficient equipment has made effective border management to be difficult in Nigeria. According to Ikwuyatum (2012:28) "currently, the enforcement agencies, such as, the Immigration and Customs services, lack the necessary capacity in several areas of migration measures and controls."

Finally, there is difficulty and problem of identifying and differentiating between Nigerian citizens and citizens of other neighbouring countries residing in the international border areas. Certainly, the sharing of similar ethnic background, culture, and religion between two neighbouring border communities has for example been creating the problem of differentiating between the citizens of Nigeria and Niger in Illela border in Sokoto state, Jibia border in Katsina state. Similarly, the same problem exists in identifying and differentiating between the citizens of Nigeria and Benin Republic in Seme border in Lagos state. Based on this, Imobighe (1990:231) argues that "the

truth is that every ethnic group identified on one side of Nigeria's international boundary is virtually duplicated on the opposite side." Therefore, it is because of close affinity of people of different international border communities that it is usually difficult to control irregular migration of people not only in Nigeria but in the entire West African sub-region.

Irregular migration and threats to Nigeria's security

Basically, security refers to safety and absence of threats to a nation (Imobighe, 1990). The centrality of security to the protection and wellbeing of a nation is uncontested and unparalleled. It is unparalleled because security ensures the promotion of social harmony and peaceful co-existence among the people living in a country (Danjuma, 2014). It is therefore, the responsibility of government in any given nation to protect and promote the security of its entity so as to guarantee the safety of the citizens. The prevalence of security ensures the condition for individuals in a society to pursue their legitimate endeavours. Thus, a secure society enables people to engage in meaningful and productive activities to meet their needs. In practical terms, security affects not only the attainment of human aspirations but also promotes the national interests of a nation. It is perhaps for this reason that Nweke cited in Bassey (2010:39) argues that "state security is conceived as involving national integration, maintenance of congenial domestic ethnic and class order as well as protection of territorial integrity and defense against external intervention."

In the same vein, Raji (2017:384) avers that "security is important to every successful society, as it engenders peace, progress, and tranquility, and boosts the economy and social cohesion." This implies that no responsible government will allow the security of a state to be undermined by enemies from within or outside the country. Significantly, security is all encompassing as it embodies the core values of a society. According to Adetula (2010: 296) "Nigeria's security interest covers all the strategic factors that affect the country's development, and include law and order questions, development efforts, political and social stability etc."

It is noticeable that migration is one of the complex activities that are being carried out by human beings across the ages. It is a matter of fact that migration is a universal phenomenon that occurs on daily basis. One cannot stop it but can only resist it by having some level of control over it. Even the official policies of different states around the world can only regulate and control it through the process of effective migration management. Certainly, the basic apprehension or fear in official circles in a number of countries around the world is the danger of insecurity pose by immigrants. It is in line with this type of thinking that, Sachs (2018: 202) argues that:

> Of course, the United States isn't alone in its focus on the supposed danger of new arrivals to the country. In Europe as well, immigration is the number one political issue. Passions are high, dangerously so. The stakes are high as well. Migrants are risking their lives, and dying, to escape from violence, poverty, and joblessness. How can we reconcile the flood of migrants with the stiff backlash in the receiving societies?

Therefore, it is necessary for the government in any given country to put in place some measures that will help in establishing borders and border posts for the purpose of monitoring and controlling migration. Border control is not necessarily about preventing cross border movement rather it is a mechanism for regulating the orderly movement of people across international boundaries (Ochefu and Kpoghul, 2010). Furthermore, in practical terms, migration management is not something that can be reduced to punitive measures but it is something that can be regulated because by nature human mobility is inevitable (Ikwuyatum, 2012). Over a period of time, the effects of migration have been affecting both the sending and receiving places in different dimensions. The rising wave of insecurity and conflicts in Nigeria have been partly fueled and attributed to the activities of some foreigners. To be able to unravel the role of some foreigners in breeding security challenges in Nigeria, a systemic analysis of some conflict cases will be done.

There is no doubt that the increasingly rates of irregular migration of aliens is posing threats to Nigeria's security. Over the years, in Nigeria, the government has been concerned on the effects of the high rate of cross border crimes in West Africa. Since the 1980s when many countries in West Africa witnessed economic crisis cross border crimes such as drug trafficking, arms trafficking, child slavery have continued to increase. Nigeria's porous

borders and its relative economic prosperity compared to other West African countries have continued to attract many irregular migrants from the neighbouring countries (Adetula, 2010). In a study carried out by Adeola and Oluyemi (2012:6-7), it was specifically narrated that the borders between Nigeria and Benin have been causing threats to security. Accordingly, they argue that:

> Despite the spirit of enterprising and promising neighbourliness, the borders linking the two are the most problematic because of the activities of internationally reputed criminals engaging in smuggling and trafficking of virtually everything from human trafficking, ammunition, arms, manufactured goods, agricultural produce, prostitution, child labour to religious fanaticism, terrorist attacks and insurgency.

At another level, since the return to democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999, there have been upsurge of domestic conflicts in the country that have connection or being aggravated by the activities of irregular migrants. These conflicts include farmers-herdsmen clashes, cattle rustling, rural banditry, kidnapping, Boko Haram insurgency, ethno-religious conflicts, communal clashes, etc. The trans-humane border crossing by herders and their animals from foreign countries like Niger, Chad, Cameroon, and Mali have been responsible for violent clashes between farmers and herdsmen in different places, especially in northern states in Nigeria. It was partly because of this development that the Federal Government of Nigeria gave a directive for the temporary closure of Nigeria's borders in August 2019. To enforce the directive the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), and Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) in collaboration with the Armed Forces of Nigeria (AFN) as well as the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and other security and intelligence agencies commenced a joint border security exercise called "EX-SWIFT RESPONSE" in four geo-political zones of the country, namely South-South, South West, North Central and North West. It was reported that just within two weeks the joint task force arrested 296 illegal immigrants and discovered that 95% of illegal arms and ammunition come through the shut borders (Vanguard, 26/11/2019:5-41). Based on this, the Nigeria's Minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed (Punch, 26/11/2019:2) maintains that:

> It is important to note that 95 per cent of illicit drugs and weapons that are being used for acts of terrorism and kidnapping in Nigeria today come in through our porous borders. However, since this partial closure, the acts have been drastically reduced. Our conclusion is that, the arms and ammunition these terrorists and criminal elements were using no longer gain access into the country. In addition, the drugs which affect the health and wellbeing of Nigerians have equally been reduced.

Also, the Boko Haram insurgency that started in 2009 in Borno state and gradually spread to some states in the northern region in Nigeria as well as neighbouring countries, such as Niger, Chad, and Cameroon is said to be having the involvement of foreigners. Based on this, Ibrahim and Obeds (2017:9) maintain that "the porous nature of the Nigerian borders within the North-East, together with cultural affinity of border communities, ensured the presence of BH activities in Cameroon especially and occasionally in Niger and Chad." It is common knowledge to observers of events in Nigeria that the members of Boko Haram group have been carrying out coordinated attacks in some places or cities in Nigeria and take refuge or quickly move to other neighbouring countries for hide-out so as to plan for the next round of attacks.

Right from inception, the leaders of the Boko Haram have turned some states in the North-East as well as neighbouring countries like Chad, Camerron, and Niger as centres for the recruitment of members. Based on this, Danjuma (2014:227) maintains that:

> … Some investigations have revealed that some members of the Boko Haram are foreigners who reside in Nigeria. Some of the members of the group are said to be citizens of neighbouring countries who perpetuate terror in Nigeria in order to destabilize the country. Evidently, there are several cases of influx of immigrants into this country on daily basis through the porous borders. According to reports the influx of illegal immigrants from Niger, Chad, Mali

and other countries to Nigeria has been responsible for fuelling Boko Haram insurgency in some parts of the country.

The Boko Haram has established linkage with some international terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and/or in the Middle East. Also, it has been reported that the Boko Haram has been receiving foreign funding and training from some terrorist groups around the worl (Nigerian Tribune, 13th February, 2012:2). Thus, the activities of the Boko Haram group has continued to pose security challenges to Nigeria because of the spates of attacks through bombing on individuals and property that it has been carrying out by making use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and other dangerous weapons since 2009 (Onuoha, 2014). In some estimation, the Boko Haram insurgency has led to the death of about seventeen thousand (17,000) people in Nigeria (Ibrahim and Hamman-Obed, 2017; Danjuma, 2018).

In another development, Awumbila et al (2016) link the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol on free movement persons and goods in the West African sub-region to the increasingly level of insecurity in some countries. They maintain that despite the huge benefits of ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons, there are challenges inherent in it. For Awumbila, the influx of migrants into countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire etc has been blamed for rising criminal activities and conflicts, such as kidnapping, armed robbery, money laundering, flow of fake and dangerous drugs, cattle rustling, terrorism and so on. In the specific case of Nigeria, the Federal Government under President Muhammadu Buhari perceived the activities of some neighbouring countries as circumventing the ECOWAS protocol on transit which led to the partial closure of Nigeria's borders. It is for this reason that the Minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed (Punch, 26/11/2019:2) states that "the magnitude of seizures and the number of illegal immigrants recorded in the last two weeks alone indicate that nothing is being done yet by both countries, the Benin and Niger, to address the challenges." Similarly, Adetula (2010:302) maintains that:

> Generally, illegal immigrants from neighbouring pose a perennial security problem. Clandestine, illegal or undocumented migration is rampant in West Africa. Nigeria is a major receptionist of labours migrants especially from neighbouring countries. Media reports have implicated the migrants from neighbouring West African countries in civil disturbance, urban and rural violence, theft, armed robbery and general insecurity of lives and property. Nigeria's porous borders as well as buoyancy of its economy relative to the neighbouring countries are bound to attract migrants from the sub-region especially from the less developed countries.

It is necessary to state that while opening up for trade among neighbouring countries and enhancing cross border movements, strict control at the borders remain critical so as to control irregular movement of aliens or foreigners, refugees, smuggling of goods, human trafficking, money laundering, cross border crimes and violence etc. Therefore, for Nigeria to curtail the challenges of insecurity, it is necessary for its security agencies to observe relevant legal frameworks and international obligations that would promote free and secure movement of persons, goods and investments across borders.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has focused on irregular migration as a challenge to security in Nigeria. It is undeniable that Migration of people is part and parcel of population dynamics that dates back to the beginning of history of human beings. However, it is important to make distinction between the effects of regular and irregular migrants. Therefore, it can be stated on the one hand, that regular migrants do not in most cases constitute security threat to a nation because their entry and exit from a country are usually documented. On the other, the issue of security challenges is in most cases associated with irregular migrants because they do not normally get the legal documents before entering or exiting another foreign country. As such, their activities in another country are usually carried out in clandestine manner.

It is a matter fact that the movement of undocumented foreigners into Nigeria from the neighbouring countries has been constituting security threats to Nigeria. Therefore, it can be argued that for the Nigerian state to succeed

in controlling the threats coming from foreign nationals that are migrating to this country, there is the need for the Nigerian security agencies to strengthen their capacity and capability in ensuring effective borders control. This will help in achieving the goal of effective control of cross-border crimes in not only Nigeria but in the entire West African sub-region. In addition to this the task of undertaking effective migration management rests with the Nigeria Immigration Service. Effective migration management is intended to enhance border security. Thus, border security management connotes controlling and regulating the flow of people, goods and services across a country's borders so as to protect its national interests. Furthermore, effective migration management encourages smooth trade relationship among nation-states in the international system. It also has the potential of slowing down or removing the negative effects of migration on the side of receiving country. Significantly, effective migration management helps to maintain peace and security of a nation. Finally, it is important to state that apart from unilateral action by the Nigerian state, there is the need for the country to promote international cooperation with other West African countries in enforcing the laws of migration so as to enhance sub-regional, regional and international security.

References

1. Adebajo, A. (2002). Liberia's civil war: Nigeria, ECOMOG and regional security in West Africa. Boulder, Colarodo: Lynne Reinner publishers.
2. Adeola, L. G., and Oluyemi, F. (2012). The Political and Security Implications of Cross-Border Migration between Nigeria and her Francophone Neighbours. International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow (IJSST). Publication of Society for Promoting International Research and Innovation (SPIRI). www.ijsst.com.
3. Adepoju, A. (2005). "Migration in West Africa." A paper prepared for the policy analysis and research programme of the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM).
4. Adesina, A.O. (2019). "Nigeria and irregular migration to Germany." In Nigerian-German relations in modern times: A reflection." Reflections on Nigeria's foreign policy: Volume VIII – Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Abuja: Society for international relations awareness.
5. Adetula, A. O. V. (2010). "Between national security considerations and good neighbourliness: Nigeria and the challenges of cross border crime in West Africa." In Bassey, C. and Oshita, O.O. (eds.) Governance and border security in Africa. Calabar: Malthouse press limited.
6. Alli, O. W. (2012). The role of Nigeria in regional security policy. Abuja: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
7. Arthur, J.A. (1991). "International labour migration patterns in West Africa." African studies review. Number 34.
8. Asiwaju, I. A. (2010). "Cross border relations in Africa." In Bassey, O.C. and Oshita, O. (eds.) Governance and border security in Africa. Lagos: Malthouse press ltd.
9. Awumbila, M., Boakye-Yiadom, L., Egger, E.M., Litohfield, J., Teye, J.K., and Yeboah, C. (2016). "Gains and losses from international migration: evidence from migrant- sending households in Ghana." Migration out of poverty working Paper 44. University of Sussex.
10. Bassey, O.C. (2010). "Security governance in Africa." In Bassey, O.C. and Oshita, O. (eds.) Governance and border security in Africa. Lagos: Malthouse press ltd.
11. Danjuma, A. I. (2014). "National security and the challenges of terrorism in Nigeria." In Nwoke, N.C. and Oche, O. (eds.) Contemporary challenges in Nigeria, Africa and the World. Lagos: National institute of international affairs.
12. Danjuma, A. I. (2018). "Conflict management and resolution under democracy in Nigeria, 1999-2016." In Lawan, M.M. (ed.) Reflections on democratic governance in Nigeria. Kano: Hallmark publishing Nigeria ltd.
13. Ibrahim, J. and Hamman-Obeds, P. (2017). "Introduction: community resilience and the Boko haram insurgency." In Ibrhim, J., Bagu, C. and Ya'u, Y.Z. (eds.) Understanding community resilience in the context of Boko haram insurgency in Nigeria. Kano: publication of centre for information technology and development (CITAD).
14. Ikwuyatum, O. G. (2012). "The changing face of migration in West Africa: The case of Nigeria. https://www.researcgate.net/publication/326571633.
15. Imobighe, A.T. (1990). "Doctrines for and threats to internal security." In Ekoko, E.A. and Vogt, A.M. (eds.) Nigerian defense policy: issues and problems. Lagos: Malthouse press limited.
16. Joshua, A.I. and Makama, G.J. (2017). "Is illegal migration on the rise among Nigerians? a wake-up call.

Archives of medicine and surgery. 2 (2). http://www.archms.org/text.asp?2017/2/2/35/231626.

17. Koser, K. (2005). Irregular Migration, State Security and Human Security. A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration. Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM). www.gcim.org.

18. Lee, S. E. (1966). "A theory of migration." Population association of America. http://www.jostor.org/stable/2060063.

19. Nweke, G.A. (1985). African security in the nuclear age. Enugu: Fourth dimension publishers.

20. Ochefu, Y. and Kpoghul, M. (2010). "Border policing and trans-border cooperation in Africa." In Bassey, C and Oshita, O. O. (eds.) Governance and border security in Africa. Lagos: Malthouse press limited.

21. Onuoha, C.F. (2014). "Boko Haram and suicide terrorism in Nigeria: current mode and extrapolations." In Nwoke, N.C. and Oche, O. (eds.) Contemporary challenges in Nigeria, Africa and the World. Lagos: National institute of international affairs.

22. Punch (2019). "Border closure: Benin, Niger have not met our conditions - FG." 26th November. Lagos.

23. Raji, B.R. (2017). "Boko haram, resilience and communities in Yobe State." In Ibrhim, J., Bagu, C. and Ya'u, Y.Z. (eds.) Understanding community resilience in the context of Boko haram insurgency in Nigeria. Kano: Publication of centre for information technology and development (CITAD).

24. Sachs, D.J. (2018). A new foreign policy: beyond American exceptionalism. New York: Columbia University press.

25. Sjaastad, L. (1962). "The costs and returns of human migration." Journal of political economy. Volume 70, Number 5.

26. Nigerian Tribune (2012). "Boko haram's funding traced to UK, S/Arabia." 13th February. Lagos.

27. Vanguard (2019). "Why land borders will remain closed – FG." 26th November. Lagos.

28. Yaro, A. J. (2008). "Migration in West Africa: patterns, issues and challenges." ResearchGate. https://www.researcgate.net/publication/242096940.

29. Zelinsky, W. (1971). "The hypothesis of mobility transition." The Geographical review. Number 61.