



Drug Trafficking and National Security in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of The Jonathan and Buhari Administrations (2010-2019).

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Abstract: This study examines the issue of illicit drug trafficking and its implications on national security in Nigeria by comparing the strategies taken by the Jonathan and Buhari administrations from 2010 to 2019 to eradicate illicit drug intake and the threats of drug trafficking. This study relies on a qualitative research method for the investigation, utilizing both primary and secondary sources for data collection. The primary data was supplemented with relevant secondary data to achieve the study's objectives. The instrument for data collection includes fourteen carefully selected key informants, including drug enforcement officers, immigration officers, customs officers, consultants, Airport staff, community leaders, and academics. Also, three focus group discussions were conducted in Lagos, one was conducted in Abuja, and document content analysis and personal observations were utilized. The importance of this study is to gain insight into the efforts made by each administration to address the problem of illicit drug trafficking by examining the strategies, measures, and activities of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations while implementing national security. The study adopted Rational Choice Theory to better understand social issues and crime prevention in the context of illicit drug trafficking. The theory posits that criminals consider their actions, potential benefits, and consequences before engaging in criminal behaviours. RCT offers valuable insights into human behaviour in different situations. The research findings highlight poverty, unemployment, weak border controls, and inadequate law enforcement resources as the main drivers of drug trafficking in Nigeria. The results also indicated that both administrations had both positive and negative impacts on curbing drug trafficking and enhancing national security. The Jonathan administration introduced the National Drug Control Master Plan and revised existing laws and enforcement policies, but its efforts only eradicated petty drug dealers and drug production. On the other hand, the Buhari government implemented reforms in drug control mechanisms and collaborated with international partners, resulting in improved coordination among various agencies and a significant reduction in drug trafficking cases. Based on these findings, the study recommends that the government should invest adequate resources in public education and awareness campaigns about the dangers of drug trafficking as it makes effort to dismantle criminal networks of illicit drug activities.

1. Introduction

Drug trafficking poses a severe threat to national security because drug traffickers are responsible for the illegal movement of drugs, weapons, and money across international borders, which undermines peace and security in countries worldwide (United Nations Office of Drug and Crime, 2017). Drug trafficking is an essential funding source for criminal organisations and terrorist groups. These groups use the proceeds of drug trafficking to fund their operations, which can undermine the law and weaken national security (Oluabunwa, 2019). In addition, violence related to drug trafficking has had a destabilising effect on national security and led to the disruption of public peace (UNODC, 2019). Furthermore, it was estimated that Nigeria had 2.4 million people living with drug use disorders (Yunusa & Aldebes, 2019). It directly impacted national security as the increased addiction leads to higher levels of violent and property crime, which strains security services, diverting resources and the workforce from security needs. For instance, research by Hussaini et al. (2019) found that drug abusers with a history of homicide, robbery, and assault had double the rate of recidivism compared to non-degraded drug abusers. The financial burden of treating drug-related diseases is also a significant concern as the government must divert resources from other security sectors, such as educational requirements, leading to more enormous deficits in the budget and supporting this view was the finding of the West African Drug Commission (2014) that Nigeria is one of the countries most affected by the problem of illicit drug use and addiction. Likewise, Usman (2015) noted that the rate of drug abuse among young Nigerians is increasing because drugs are manufactured and made available for consumption today, unlike when the country was just a drug trafficking route. Although previous studies have also identified the non-medical use of various drugs among Nigerian youth, particularly students, a study by Onyencho et al. (2015) noted that tramadol, Rohypnol, diazepam and codeine were among the top ten drugs abused by young Nigerians. Novoga et al. (2019) also reported that codeine-containing cough syrup and tramadol are among the top five (5) drugs abused by young people in Nigeria. Regardless of the type of drug or the reason for its use, many researchers, professionals, educators, regulators, and parents talk about the growing problem of drug abuse and the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria (Oluabunwa, 2019). In these circumstances, Nigerian security agencies often attempt to disrupt and dismantle drug trafficking networks to protect the country's security; a significant threat, if not eliminated, will endanger national security. (Gobir, Sambo, Bashir, Olorukoba, Ezech & Bello, 2017). Drug trafficking groups in various drug-producing and transit regions worldwide undermine national security and the rule of law by fostering corruption, undermining democratic processes, and posing a potential obstacle to security and national development (Nwannenaya, 2021). For example, the United States, Britain, and Germany have long viewed drug trafficking and transnational crimes as national security threats (Haddad & Adamu, 2017).

From a global perspective, drug trafficking has increased violent crime in the United States, as drug users commit crimes to fund drug habits. The cost of drug abuse in the USA is \$272 billion, considering drug related-crime, healthcare needs, lost productivity, and other impacts on society (NIDA, 2019). About \$193 billion was incurred in costs for illegal drugs and \$78.5 billion for prescription opioids (NIDA, 2018). Upon these effects, the US government has increasingly relied on its law enforcement and international cooperation to counter illicit drug threats to improve security. The illegal trade of drugs is a complex problem facing the UK government today. It is a significant concern for the UK government as it significantly impacts public health, crime levels and social cohesion. About 90% of these costs go to rehabilitated drug crimes committed by problematic drug users, which endanger security (Bean, 1988). Similarly, the African continent faces complex and multifaceted challenges related to the cultivation, manufacturing, trafficking, and use of several types of illicit drugs. In Egypt, the effect of drug trafficking has resulted in many drug addicts, with the rising insecurity of drug-related problems estimated at 8.5% of Egyptians using the narcotic drug (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2016). More so, in South Africa, there has been an increase in drug trafficking, leading to an increase in drug consumption (Kibble, 1988). Since the early 1990s, access to and use of illicit drugs in South Africa have become common and have increased slowly but steadily, including marijuana, cocaine, heroin, LSD, amphetamine, and ecstasy (Atkins, 1997). In Nigeria, drug abuse does not just influence individuals' health but also directly impacts national security in Nigeria. In 2018, the National Bureau of Statistics reported that about ₦14,041,130,000 was spent on drug abuse cases in Nigeria (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). This amount was incurred due to hospital bills, salaries for medical personnel, and rehabilitation costs. Additionally, costs were incurred due to enforcement and managing the courts related to drug-related cases. Drug abuse can lead to the commission of serious crimes, such as kidnapping, armed robbery, and prostitution (Okonjo-Iweala & Onagoruwa, 2016). These

criminal activities undermine the national security of Nigeria. For example, drug abuse has been linked to kidnappings in Nigeria and has contributed to the increased insurgency. Thus, it creates insecurity among the citizenry and can harm the nation's development. Additionally, young people are more likely to become drug abusers, which can lead to the emergence of drug gangs and drug cartels that negatively affect national security (Okonjo-Iweala & Onagoruwa, 2016).

Under the Jonathan administration, understanding the magnitude and gravity of the drug problem, increased the budget of the NDLEA in 2011 to N633,008,502,00 from N52,3300.000.00 in 2010 (NDLEA Budget, 2010 & 2011) to strengthen law enforcement through training, surveillance technology, intelligence, and international assistance in drug matters so institutions such as NDLEA can respond to illicit drug demand and supply. He assisted in creating a drug control and crime prevention mechanism. He facilitated the formation of the Network of Drug Law Enforcement Agencies/Units within the West African Joint Operations framework to coordinate efforts to combat illicit drug trafficking and related transnational organised crime within the ECOWAS. While assuming office as a democratically elected president, Muhammadu Buhari reaffirmed his commitment to fighting illicit drug trafficking, insecurity and corruption in Nigeria in a Foreword note in the National Anti-Corruption Strategy (2017-2020). The administration has canvassed regional cooperation in the war on illicit drug trafficking in the West African sub-region. In 2018 the president established the Presidential Advisory Committee on the Elimination of Drug Abuse (PACEDA) to identify operational gaps and develop effective frameworks to address drug control issues. As a matter of government policy, the Government of Nigeria does not encourage or facilitate the illicit production or distribution of narcotics or the laundering of proceeds from illegal drug transactions. However, the market for marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, and heroin in Nigeria has grown exceptionally higher, with increases of 53,878,194.52 in the illegal production, distribution, and sale of different types of drugs such as Cocaine, Heroin, Methamphetamine, and Indian hemp, which has led to rising drug addiction, as well as an increase in drug-related crimes (NDLEA annual report, 2014 & 2015). Against this background, this research evaluates the strategies Jonathan and Buhari administrations utilised to curb illicit drug trafficking threats while maintaining national security in Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The menace of drug trafficking had posed a grave threat to national security under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. An analysis of the NDLEA's annual reports from 2010 to 2019 reveals that seizures and arrests made by the Agency have not been able to keep pace with the growing scale of the problem. Likewise, the Agency's budget allocations have been inadequate, while implementing appropriate policies to combat drug trafficking and abuse remains nebulous. As such, the outcomes of the efforts of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations have been less than successful.

The research problem that this study seeks to address is the strategies the Jonathan and Buhari administrations adopted in maintaining national security in the face of drug trafficking threats. Specifically, this research attempts to compare the strategies implemented by each administration to reduce drug-related crime. In a study conducted to evaluate Nigeria's drug control policies, the authors who reviewed relevant literature to determine the effectiveness of Nigeria's drug control policies and the challenges faced by the government in their implementation, indicate that Nigeria lacks adequate drug control policies and that there is a need for more stringent measures to curb the drug trafficking and abuse problem in the country (Smith & Holman, 2006). This agrees with Liu & Zhang (2013), who found out that the international drug control system is currently fragmented, resulting in fragmented responses and weak enforcement mechanisms, as well as limited cooperation between states. The authors concluded that, while the global drug problem requires a coordinated response, the lack of a unified international drug control system makes it difficult to achieve this goal. This study examines the strategies of the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations by analysing the NDLEA Annual Report of arrests and seizures, prosecution scored card, Budget allocation, the Agency's Condition of Service, the workforce of the Agency, and the general level of insecurity from 2010 to 2019 with a view to identify the successes, challenges, and areas that need improvement to achieve adequate drug control in the country.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in terms of their strategies to counter illicit drug trafficking:

- I. To examine the causes of drug trafficking under Jonathan and Buhari administrations in Nigeria.
- II. To investigate the effects of drug trafficking on Nigeria's national security under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in Nigeria.
- III. To examine the efforts made by Jonathan and Buhari administrations in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria.
- IV. To identify the challenges Jonathan and Buhari administrations encountered in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria.
- V. To suggest strategies that can be used to combat illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria.

1.3 Research Assumptions

The study is predicated on the following assumptions:

- I. The lack of political will on the part of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations to curb the proliferation of hard drugs is a major cause of insecurity in Nigeria.
- II. In fighting drug trafficking and insecurity in Nigeria, the Jonathan administration played a more significant role than the Buhari administration.
- III. Terrorism and border control challenges are the major issues in the fight against drug trafficking under Nigeria's Jonathan and Buhari administrations.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Garry Becker, the American economist is the proponent of Rational Choice Theory (RCT) deemed the New Economics of Human Behavior. This profound theory proclaims the power of rational decision-making, highlighting the importance of convenience and utility as driving forces behind human conduct. Becker's theory asserts that individuals, in their quest for personal gain, engage in a deliberate cost-benefit analysis (Becker, 1976).

This theory is based on the basic principles of classical criminology that individuals can choose their behaviour freely and are motivated to avoid pain and pursue pleasure (Akers & Jensen, 2003). Individuals evaluate their decisions based on the profitability of each option to act. Reasonable decisions provide information about why individual criminals choose certain crimes. People participate in crime because it can be helpful, simple, fun, and enjoyable (Andrews, 2007). The theory's central premise is that human beings are intelligent, and their behaviour can be controlled or changed by fear of punishment. Rational decisions are based on the utilitarian belief that actions are based on a conscious assessment of the effectiveness of specific actions (Dowding, 1991). This view assumes that crime is a personal choice resulting from a decision-making process. Responsible for their decisions; therefore, individual criminals will be held responsible for their crimes (Green, 2002). From the perspective of crime, rational decision-making assumes that criminals weigh all the potential benefits and consequences of crime and then make rational decisions based on this assessment. Therefore, before committing the crime, the well-founded offender will weigh the possibility of arrest, the severity of the expected punishment, and the value that can be obtained from the act (South, 1998). If criminals think the cost is too high, the action must be too risky, or the reward is too low, they will choose not to commit the crime.

Although, the principles of this theory are based on many assumptions about decision-making and behavioural motivations (Cornish & Clarke, 2014). It, however, focuses on the possibility of crime and how social environment and situational variables constitute criminal choice. Some studies support the rationality of crime. However, this support is mainly limited to instrumental crimes, such as property and drug crimes (Green, 2002; Hedstorm & Stern, 2008). Drug dealers seem to adjust their transactions in this way because they tend to conduct business in places where people can be seen approaching, and the decision to traffic drugs or use drugs is related to the benefits of doing so. According to Petraitis et al. (1995), the benefits of using banned substances outweigh their potential costs. Regarding the distribution of drugs, MacCoun and Reuter (1992) found that it is related to trade economics. Drug traffickers often

use the pursuit of additional income as their primary motivation for engaging in drug trafficking. The perceived risk of punishment has a small but significant impact. Such claims reinforce the belief that drug traffickers exercise their free will to make an informed, rational decision to violate the law (Felson & Clarke, 1998; Wilson, 1975).

After all, neo-conservative criminologists such as Wilson argue that crimes such as drug trafficking occur because 'wicked people exist' (Wilson, 1975, p. 233). It is argued that drug traffickers can weigh up the long-term costs of perpetrating the crime (i.e., a prison sentence or, in some countries, the death penalty) against its immediate benefits (i.e., economic security) (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994, p. 1; Benson & Decker, 2010). As such, it is assumed within the legal discourse inherent in the global criminal justice systems that the trafficker conducted a cost-benefit analysis before the act and thus deserved the punishment handed down. With rational choice theory maintaining prominence, no other causal factors that may have mitigated the trafficker are considered.

2..2 Relevance of the Rational Choice Theory

This theory is instrumental, as drug trafficking is a significant source of revenue for organised crime syndicates. By understanding the motivations, costs, and benefits of drug trafficking, it is possible to develop strategies to reduce its impact on the nation's security. For example, increased law enforcement efforts, increased penalties for drug-related offences, and increased public awareness campaigns can reduce the incentive to engage in drug trafficking and make it more challenging. This can have a positive effect on the security of the nation.

Understandably, Rational Choice Theory can be applied to drug trafficking and national security in Nigeria in several ways. First, it can help explain why individuals engage in drug trafficking despite the risks involved. Rational choice theory suggests that individuals make choices based on the expected costs and benefits of those choices. Thus, individuals who engage in drug trafficking may perceive that the potential benefits outweigh the costs. Additionally, rational choice theory can help explain why specific drug trafficking organisations choose to operate in some regions of Nigeria. For example, it could be argued that drug trafficking organisations choose to operate in areas with high levels of poverty and weak law enforcement due to the potential for high profits and low risks of being caught. Thus, rational choice theory can inform policies and strategies for combating drug trafficking and improving national security in Nigeria. By understanding the motivations behind drug trafficking, policymakers can create strategies to reduce the incentives for individuals to engage in such activities.

More importantly, the theory is based on the idea that individuals make decisions based on a cost-benefit analysis of their options. It asserts that individuals will weigh the costs and benefits of their actions and make decisions that maximise their expected utility. In the context of drug trafficking and national security in Nigeria, people are likely to make decisions that maximise their gains and minimise their losses. For example, someone might weigh the cost of getting caught for drug trafficking against the expected profits and decide to engage in the activity if the expected benefits outweigh the risks. As such, the rational choice theory explains why people engage in drug trafficking and other activities that may be detrimental to national security.

Furthermore, the theory posits that people make decisions based on a cost-benefit analysis of the current situation and the likely results of their actions. This means that people will engage in activities that bring them the most significant benefit or reward, even if that reward is illegal. In the case of drug trafficking in Nigeria, individuals may be motivated to engage in such activities due to the potential for financial gain or other rewards, regardless of the potential consequences of their actions. The rational choice theory also suggests that individuals weigh the risks of engaging in an activity against the potential benefit and may still choose to proceed if the benefits outweigh the risks. Even in the face of potential legal and financial consequences, individuals may still engage in drug trafficking and other activities that threaten national security if they believe the potential reward is worth the risk.

2.3 Criticism of the Rational Choice Theory

The weakness of the rational choice theory of drug trafficking and national security in Nigeria is that it fails to account for the complexity of the problem. This theory only considers the economic aspects of drug trafficking and ignores the social and cultural factors that influence decisions. It also ignores the influence of organised crime and other external factors on drug trafficking and national security. Additionally, it does not account for the effects of poor governance, corruption, and inadequate law enforcement, which can all contribute to increased drug trafficking. However, this theory needs to account for the overall context of the issue, such as the history of the country, its economic situation, and the geopolitical landscape. All these factors can contribute to the drug trafficking problem and ignoring them can lead to an inadequate understanding. In addition, Olaya, Selinas and Beltrán (2010) argue that the theoretical framework for understanding what motivates traffickers needs to be less universal because it does not encompass the experiences of diversity, or the Indigenous peoples caught up in the system. Ultimately, a rational choice theory is by no means a one-size-fits-all theory, despite the rigid adherence to it by criminal justice systems across the globe (Olaya et al., 2010). The theory was developed in the late 1950s by American sociologist George Homans and British economist and philosopher Gary Becker. It is an approach to understanding human behaviour that holds that individuals make decisions by weighing the cost and benefit of their options and acting in ways that maximise their benefit. The theory has since been applied to various fields, including economics, psychology, law, and political science. It has been used to explain why people commit crimes, such as drug dealing, burglary, and robbery. However, this theory has been criticised for not considering the psychological, economic, and social factors that may influence criminal behaviour.

Methodology of the Study

3.1 Population of study Area

The study population is the universe, or the total size of people, problems, entities, objects, and organisms being studied or described in the study. It concerns all units of analysis and the totality of all subjects belonging to and comprising all groups of persons/entities the study identifies as relevant elements that will contribute to the research results (Polit & Hungler, 1999). Understandably, the general population of this study is Nigeria, while the target population constitutes the individuals sampled in Abuja and Lagos. According to the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics' Population projection of 2016, Abuja has a population of 3,067,500, while Lagos has 13,491,800. The sample category of the study includes men, women and those who have been engaged in drug abuse and trafficking. The sample frame also includes the staff of NDLEA, Custom Services, Criminologists, Airport staff, Immigration services, professionals who work on drug prevention, and other participants considered essential stakeholders in drug prevention and rehabilitation in Nigeria.

3.2 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

To gain an in-depth understanding of a particular individual's experience and viewpoint. Fourteen (14) key informants, such as drug enforcement officers, professionals and consultants in drug matters, community leaders, and academics, were deliberately chosen given the fundamental objectives of this work; there are undoubtedly specific individuals who can provide the relevant answers to the research questions. Therefore, the study adopted purposeful sampling, a nonprobability sampling technique used to select members of a population that meets specific criteria. In selecting individuals for study, the researcher considers different backgrounds, experiences, and locations.

The study used this technique because the researcher wanted to make intentional choices about which population members to include in the study. In other words, purposeful sampling is used when selecting a sample for a research study that focuses on strategic participants for answering the research question (Oncel et al., 2017). This type of sampling often involves choosing people who have specific expertise and/or experience related to the topic or research question (Khan, 2019). Purposeful sampling allows the researcher to focus on individuals with unique knowledge and insights that can be used to inform the study. The chosen members should then be representative of the population, and their selection should not be based on chance. A small part of the total population is selected as representative of

the whole (Ndagi, 1999). Logically, sampling reduces the time and money spent on assessing the entire population while generating data that accurately represents the entire study population. It selects a portion (subset) of a population (called a sample) to conclude the population. It is pertinent to understand that since it is quite impossible to study the entire population, it is necessary to select from the population to be studied.

3.3 Sources of Data

This refers to the information or facts contained in the research context. Such evidence is readily available, reliable, persuasive, accurate, relevant, and specific to the research problem because it is concrete on the ground. Based on the purposeful method of sampling techniques, data from interviews and focus group discussions were the main instrument for data collection for this study. The study utilised both primary and secondary data for sourcing information. Primary data were collected through Key Informant Interviews (KII), Focus Group Discussions (FGD), and personal observation. The locations for sourcing this data were restricted to Abuja and Lagos. According to Olorunfemi (2004), the degree of reliability of primary sources is considered high in the social sciences because of their unprocessed nature. Secondary data, on the other hand, refers to facts gleaned from the problem outside the environment of the research that is necessary to support or counteract the primary data, e.g., data obtained from books, journals, magazines, unpublished papers, conference resources, seminar papers, reports, archival documents/files (Adamu & Johnson, 1985). Annual reports, including memoranda, reports, and white papers, from the investigative team and inter-ministerial committee of inquiry into drug trafficking, drug abuse and national security in Nigeria were cited. Reports from local and international organisations such as UNODC that have conducted independent research on the subject were also consulted. This study was partly based on secondary data, as massive facts about the problem of the study have been documented in books, articles, journals and magazines. These documents were easily accessible, collected and analysed with relative ease. It also provided a variety of viewpoints, which were analysed and interpreted.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

The qualitative data collection method was adopted to collect data for this study. In achieving key informant interviews, focus group discussions, personal observation, and existing literature were utilised to generate field data. Key informant interviews involve interviewing a few people in a target population who are considered to have more excellent knowledge or insight into the topic of the study than the average person (Gubrium & Holstein, 2011).

Hence, Focus Group Discussions are conducted with a group of people, between 6-10, with questions about a particular issue, such as drug trafficking (Gubrium & Holstein, 2011). Both key informant interviews and focus group discussions were employed in the study to provide an effective way to explore the topic in-depth, which would result in valuable insights that could not be found through other methods.

3.5 Method of Data Collection Analysis

This study was based on an unstructured interview that was conducted with interviewees selected using the purposeful method, as it only allowed for the participation of strategic individuals who added value to the study. Additionally, the unstructured interview method was appropriate for allowing participants to provide any information they wished. This is often referred to as an informal, non-directive or clinical interview (Mbachu, 2013) and allows what May (1993) called "flexibility" and the discovery of meaning. The main difficulties encountered during the interview process in this study were obtaining interview appointments, obtaining consent for the use of the photograph and tape recorder, and explaining to the people interviewed to ensure their safety and security. Consequently, the study conducted four (4) FGDs, comprising (33) thirty-three persons, and while one (1) FGDs was conducted in Abuja, three (3) FGDs were conducted in Lagos, as shown in Table 1.2. This is in line with the position of Ndiyo (2005), which holds that Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is an informal conversation with a carefully selected target group with a similar background aimed at gathering data relevant to the research topic. Meanwhile, regarding the sampling technique, the study adopted the purposive sampling technique, in which both interviewed vital informants and FGD participants were selected based on their understanding of the subject matter. Each of the FGDs lasted for not more than two hours. Finally, the key informants and FGD participants were allowed to ask further questions and contribute more.

Discussion and Analysis: Drug Trafficking and National Security in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations

4.2 Causes of Drug Trafficking under the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in Nigeria.

Under the Jonathan Administration, the major causes of drug trafficking were attributed to the country's weak security infrastructure, inefficient governance, and enforcement of existing laws. Evidence of this can be seen in the large-scale prevalence of drug trafficking in Nigeria, with reports from the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA, 2013) estimating that around N900 million worth of illicit drugs were trafficked in Nigeria in 2013. Under the Buhari Administration, the major causes of drug trafficking are high insecurity and lack of economic opportunities. The government has been implementing various strategies to combat drug trafficking, including investing in the Nigeria Customs Service to strengthen border security and aiding communities affected by drug trafficking through the National Drug Control Strategy (NDCS). According to (NDLEA, 2016 & 2017) reports, the number of drugs trafficked in the country decreased by almost 50% between 2016 and 2017.

However, the significant causes of drug trafficking are under Nigeria's Jonathan and Buhari administrations. Firstly, Nigeria's proximity to major drug trafficking routes in West Africa, the Middle East and North Africa has made it a convenient destination for drug traffickers. This has been exacerbated by porous borders and a lack of effective border control, allowing traffickers to bring drugs into the country quickly. Secondly, Nigeria's high levels of poverty and unemployment have created a vulnerable population that is often willing to participate in illegal and dangerous activities, such as drug trafficking, to make money. However, poverty as a significant cause is underpinned by the National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria (NBS, 2019), which showed that the poverty level in Nigeria increased from 40.1 per cent in 2010 to 46.3 per cent in 2017. The report also indicated that the poverty rate was highest in the country's northeast region, with a rate of 63.7 per cent. In addition, the World Bank estimates that about 71.5% of Nigerians lived below the poverty line in 2018. This is a sharp increase from the 59.6% of Nigerians living in poverty in 2010. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimates that the extreme poverty rate in Nigeria is 45.1%. This means that half of the population lives in extreme poverty. It estimates that the country has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world, with as many as 40.2% of Nigerians unemployed. This is particularly alarming, as unemployment can contribute significantly to poverty.

Additionally, the UNODC noted that the number of drug traffickers arrested in Nigeria rose from 8,000 in 2018 to 11,000 in 2019. It highlighted that the number of drug-related offences in Nigeria increased from 77,198 in 2013 to 86,941 in 2014. The most common drug-related offences in 2014 were drug trafficking, which accounted for 83.6% of all drug-related offences, followed by drug use (7.4%), drug possession (4%), and drug production (4%). Cannabis was the most trafficked drug in 2014, accounting for 59% of all drug-related offences. Furthermore, the report revealed that the number of drug-related convictions in Nigeria increased from 2,664 in 2013 to 4,444 in 2014. The most common drug-related convictions in 2014 were drug trafficking (77.8%), followed by drug use (18.5%), drug possession (2.5%), and drug production (1.2%). The report has shown that the number of drug-related convictions involving cannabis in 2014 increased from 1,792 in 2013 to 3,427 in 2014. The report also showed that cannabis was the most trafficked drug in the country and the most common drug-related conviction. In 2018, 8,846 persons were arrested for drug trafficking in Nigeria, representing an increase of 10.7% from the 8,011 persons arrested in 2017. In terms of geographical distribution, the highest number of arrests for drug trafficking in Nigeria was recorded in Lagos State (3,959), followed by Rivers State (1,844) and Abuja (1,161).

In the same view, the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates Nigeria's infant mortality rate was 57.9 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2019. This rate is one of the highest in the world, with the global average being 36.9 deaths per 1,000 live births. Also, UNESCO estimates that the adult literacy rate in Nigeria was 61.2 per cent in 2020. This rate is one of the lowest in the world, with the global average being 86.3 per cent. According to the Nigeria Multidimensional Poverty Index (2022), using 2018 data, 46.4% of Nigerians (90.9 million people in 2018) were multi-dimensionally poor, while an additional 19.2% were classified as vulnerable to multidimensional poverty (37.6 million people). The intensity of deprivation in Nigeria, which measures average deprivation among people living in multidimensional poverty, was 54.8%. The MPI value, which is the share of the multi-dimensionally poor population adjusted by the intensity of the deprivations, was 0.254 (MPI, 2022). Although, in 2021, an analysis of the global MPI

looked back at 2013–18 and found that over the five years, Nigeria had reduced the incidence of MPI from 51.3% to 46.4%, and it is MPI from 0.287 to 0.254. This reflected reductions in deprivations in 8 of the ten indicators—nutrition and sanitation did not improve. Children were the poorest group by age, but their poverty reduced the fastest, from 57.4% to 50.9% (compared to adults, down from 45.0% to 41.1%).

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates that the unemployment rate in Nigeria is 15.6%, which is higher than the global unemployment rate of 5.8%. According to UNESCO, there are currently 13.2 million out-of-school children in Nigeria, the most significant in any country. The 2018 Global Education Monitoring Report shows that almost half of all children in Nigeria have never attended school, with a higher proportion of girls than boys being out of school (52% and 47%, respectively). The Nigerian federal government spends just 6.7% of its total budget on education, far below the 26% recommended by the United Nations. The 2019 Education for All Global Monitoring Report indicates that the literacy rate in Nigeria is just 57.4% and that the country has the most significant number of illiterate adults in the world, with over 19 million people aged 15 and above not being able to read or write. According to the 2015 National Demographic and Health Survey, only 66.2% of children aged 5–14 attended school in Nigeria, with girls accounting for a lower proportion of those attending school.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2017) explained that approximately 10.5 million Nigerian children were out of school, making Nigeria the country with the most out-of-school children globally. The literacy rate among 15- to 24-year-olds in Nigeria is 59.6%, with a gender gap favouring males (66.9%) over females (52.6%). In Nigeria, only 58% of primary school children complete their education, and only 21% of students enrolled in secondary school complete their education. Approximately 25% of Nigerian children aged 5-14 are engaged in child labour, while 17.6% engage in hazardous work. In 2018, the Nigerian government allocated 7.4% of its budget to education, far below the 15% recommended by the United Nations. Following this thinking, on 17th October 2022, UN Secretary-General António Guterres, in his message to commemorate the 30th International Day for the Eradication of Poverty (IDEP) established by the UN, stated, "As we mark the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, we face a harsh truth: the world is moving backwards. Nigeria has a 'serious' hunger level, ranking 103 out of 121 countries (Guardian, 17th October 2022).

On the other hand, according to the report of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2010) Nigeria is a transit point for heroin and cocaine trafficking from South America to Europe, as well as a significant producer of cannabis. The report also highlighted other factors that contribute to drug trafficking in Nigeria, such as poverty, corruption, and the availability of drug precursors used to manufacture illicit drugs. Additionally, the report found that organised crime networks are increasingly involved in drug trafficking in Nigeria and other parts of West Africa. As of 2019, the Nigerian National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) reported that cannabis is the most widely trafficked drug in the country, accounting for 80.6% of all drug arrests. Cocaine and heroin accounted for 8.2% and 0.7% of arrests, respectively. In addition, the NDLEA reported that 23.9% of all drug arrests in Nigeria were related to drug trafficking. In 2010, 21,055 people were arrested in Nigeria for drug-related offences. Of those, 16,855 were arrested for the possession of drugs, 4,081 for drug trafficking, and 119 for drug production.

As such, poverty is one of the primary factors driving the prevalence of drug trafficking in Nigeria. In the 2019 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime report, many individuals in Nigeria turn to drug trafficking to make money to support themselves and their families. With the high unemployment rate in Nigeria, many people are unable to find formal employment and are forced to look to the informal economy for income. Drug trafficking is an attractive option for many individuals, as it offers a low-risk opportunity to make a high return on investment. Furthermore, the prevalence of poverty-related issues such as malnutrition, poor education, and social exclusion also contribute to drug trafficking, leaving individuals more vulnerable to exploitation by criminal groups. Nigeria's weak law enforcement and corrupt judicial system also provide an environment where drug trafficking can thrive. Unemployment is a significant contributor to drug trafficking in Nigeria. High unemployment rates lead to poverty, which often forces young people to turn to crime, including drug trafficking, to survive. People may also become involved in the drug trade due to the economic stability and financial opportunity that it provides. Additionally, drugs can be seen as a means of escaping from the harsh reality of poverty, creating a market for illegal substances. This extreme poverty has led to a lack of job opportunities and resources, leaving many individuals with limited options for providing for themselves and their families. This has resulted in many people turning to illegal activities such as drug trafficking to make ends meet.

The UNODC (2015) report further stated that drug trafficking is a significant problem in Nigeria, with drug seizures totalling over 2,700 metric tons, including cannabis, cocaine, heroin, and psychotropic substances. The most trafficked drugs in Nigeria are cannabis (marijuana), cocaine, and heroin. Cannabis is the most widely trafficked drug in Nigeria and is mainly grown domestically, while cocaine and heroin are imported from other countries. In addition, the number of people arrested for drug-related offences in Nigeria increased by almost 50% in 2019 compared to 2018. The North-West zone recorded the highest drug-related convictions at 6,327, followed by the South-South zone at 1,544 convictions. The report further revealed that cannabis was the most common drug trafficked in Nigeria, accounting for 77.2% of drug-related arrests. Cocaine was the second most trafficked drug, accounting for 8.1% of the total arrests, followed by heroin (6.3%), methamphetamine (3.6%), and other drugs (4.8%). In terms of drug-related convictions, cannabis again accounted for the highest proportion (74.2%), followed by cocaine (9.9%), heroin (7.0%), methamphetamine (3.8%), and other drugs (4.1%).

In supporting the secondary data presented above, Obinna (not his real name), a suspect in NDLEA correctional facilities, stated that:

I confess to being involved in drug trafficking in Nigeria. I began my involvement in the illegal drug trade in Nigeria when I was first exposed to it through a friend. At first, I was only involved in the transportation of the drugs from one location to another, but I soon realised that I was making a lot of money.

Obinna further holds that: “This motivated me to become more deeply involved in the business, and I eventually started to buy, sell, and distribute drugs myself. Since then, I have been a major contributor to the drug trafficking problem in Nigeria. I understand that this is a severe problem and that it affects the lives of many people in the country. I am terribly sorry for my part in it. I was first introduced to drug trafficking by a group of people I was associating with. I was promised quick money and a better lifestyle if I participated in the activity. I was initially scared, but the lure of easy money was too much to resist. I became involved in the process of smuggling and distributing drugs in Nigeria, and I participated in the sale of these drugs to people in my community. I was aware that these activities are illegal, and that I could face severe punishment if caught. However, I was blinded by the money I was making and the prospect of a better lifestyle. I now regret my decision and accept full responsibility for my actions. I am deeply sorry for the harm I have caused, and I promise that I will never be involved in such activities again. I hope that I can be given a second chance so that I can make amends for my wrong doings.” (Suspect in correctional facility).

During KII, Ameh James Peter explained that:

The major causes of drug trafficking under the two administrations in Nigeria were clearly noted in a study conducted about two years ago. The hopeless nature of the people in Nigeria drives some into this act. Most of them are of the opinion that even if they go to school, after graduation getting a job is not that easy.

Supporting this view, Buba Ahmed: “From the confessions of most of those that were arrested, money is the major driver. Some of them try to justify it by saying that it is lack of employment.”

In the opinion of Dr Raymond, Akomaye, Barr Anthony and Dr Okafor explained that.

Nigeria is a country that has been beset by poverty, inequality, and economic marginalization. Despite having a wealth of natural resources, Nigeria is one of the world’s poorest countries, with more than half of the population living below the poverty line. Deliberate government neglect has resulted in a lack of effective law enforcement and regulation. The country’s justice system is weak, and policing is limited. This lack of oversight has enabled drug traffickers to flourish.

But Johnson Caleb (not his real name), a retired customs officer, stated that: There are many causes of drug trafficking, but some of the most common include high demand for drugs. One of the main drivers of drug trafficking is the high demand for drugs, both in Nigeria and around the world. This demand creates a market for illegal drugs, which traffickers can exploit for profit.

The above submission is in line with the fact that, in Nigeria poverty and a lack of economic opportunities can drive people to engage in drug trafficking. This is because drug trafficking can be a profitable way to earn money, and it may be seen as one of the few options available to people who are struggling financially. In some cases, drug trafficking can thrive because law enforcement is weak or ineffective. This can create an environment where traffickers are able to operate with relative impunity, making it easier for them to transport and sell drugs. In some cases, a country's geography can make it more susceptible to drug trafficking. For example, in Nigeria with long, unpatrolled borders or a coastline that is difficult to monitor may be more attractive to traffickers.

Segun Babalola (not his real name), NDLEA Commander, holds that:

The high levels of poverty in Nigeria have driven many people to seek an alternative source of income and drug trafficking is one of the most lucrative activities. Drug trafficking is a highly profitable activity, and the Nigerian government has been unable to effectively combat it due to a lack of resources, corruption, and weak law enforcement.

In line with what Babalola further said, the demand for drugs in Nigeria is high, and traffickers take advantage of this to make a profit. Furthermore, Nigeria's borders are porous and weakly regulated, making it easy for traffickers to smuggle drugs into the country. The ongoing political instability in Nigeria has created an environment conducive to drug trafficking. Rising levels of drug abuse in Nigeria have created a demand for illicit drugs, providing a market for drug traffickers to exploit.

Hamisu Dauda (not his real name), a retired immigration officer noted that:

Nigeria's economic situation has made it difficult for many people to find legitimate employment and earn a living wage, forcing them to turn to drug trafficking as a source of income. Also, Nigeria's high unemployment rate has left many people desperate for work and willing to do whatever it takes to make money.

Hamisu Dauda added that, "this has made drug trafficking an attractive option. The rampant corruption in Nigeria's government has allowed drug traffickers to operate with relative impunity. The lack of enforcement of existing drug laws has allowed drug trafficking to thrive in Nigeria. Nigeria's porous borders make it easy for traffickers to smuggle drugs into the country. Also, many Nigerians lack access to educational opportunities, leaving them vulnerable to the false promises of drug traffickers."

However, most of the participants at the Mushin Focus Group Discussion agreed that poverty is one of the major causes of drug trafficking in Nigeria. However, Nyoreme Mabamidge looks at unemployment as the major cause of drug trafficking. According to him: "When someone is gainfully employed, it will be exceedingly difficult for such a person to be lured into drug trafficking. When people are not gainfully employed, there will always be that quest for wealth."

According to Paul Jiyaba, "the major causes of drug trafficking under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations are poverty and unemployment." Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil also agreed that poverty and unemployment are some of the major causes of drug trafficking in Nigeria. According to him:

Poverty is one of the tools that push one into many things including drug dealing and other criminal activities in the country. Furthermore, youths who have graduated from high schools and institutions with the hope of finding a better life find that nothing comes their way at the end of the day. At that moment, anything that comes to them, they take it.

According to Chiekezie Emeka, who is a suspect from a correctional facility, "the financial gains motivated us into drug trafficking, because of the high demand for drugs, lack of effective drug policies, and limited access to education and opportunities in drug-producing regions."

Akaolisa Aku, who is also a suspect from a correctional facility, stated that "corruption and organised crime play a significant role in facilitating the production and distribution of illegal drugs and their operations otherwise drug cannot be moved from one country to another, this is where we have the strength."

During FGD, Ogunmade Adetayo, who is a community leader in Mushin, noted that:

Political will refers to the determination and commitment of government leaders to act on a particular issue. In the case of drug trafficking, a lack of political will on the part of government leaders is preventing effective measures from being put in place to combat the problem and protect national security.

The lack of political will to tackle drug trafficking has been a major problem in both the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. While the Jonathan administration did make efforts to tackle drug trafficking, notably there were still major gaps in the enforcement of existing laws and regulations. This was largely due to a lack of resources, inadequate interagency coordination, and a lack of political will. The Buhari administration has taken a stronger stance on drug trafficking, strengthening initiatives such as the National Drug Control Programme (NDCP) in 2015, and increasing the number of NDLEA personnel. However, there is still a lack of political will to effectively tackle drug trafficking, as evidenced by a lack of progress in reducing the number of drug-related arrests and convictions. This is likely due to a lack of resources and a lack of political willpower to tackle the issue.

Comrade Julius Tobi said that:

Lack of funding for law enforcement and other agencies that are responsible for addressing drug trafficking, as well as lack of support for policies and strategies that have been shown to be effective in reducing drug trafficking. There is an emphasis on the fact that governments and law enforcement agencies often have limited resources, which can make it difficult to effectively combat drug trafficking and protect national security.

In line with the above opinion, there are several measures that the Jonathan and Buhari administrations have taken to combat drug trafficking despite lack of funding for law enforcement. These measures include increased border security, increased intelligence gathering, and increased collaboration with international partners. The Nigerian government has also implemented a National Drug Control Strategy, which focuses on prevention, treatment, law enforcement, and international cooperation. Additionally, the government has increased surveillance along known drug trafficking routes, increased the number of drug interdiction units, and enhanced maritime security. All these efforts have been undertaken to reduce the prevalence of drug trafficking and other illicit activities in the country but have not achieved the desired results.

Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Chidi stated that:

One of the primary factors driving the illegal drug trade is a lack of education and employment opportunities. Lack of education and employment opportunities in Nigeria can also be a major factor in the growth of the illegal drug trade. Without access to jobs that pay a living wage and provide a steady income, individuals may turn to drug trafficking to make money.

Under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations, the lack of education and employment opportunities has been identified as one of the key factors contributing to the rise of drug trafficking in Nigeria. The lack of access to formal education and job opportunities has left many young people with few viable options to earn a living. This has made them vulnerable to exploitation by organised criminal networks, leading to an increase in drug trafficking.

To address this issue, the Nigerian government has taken various actions. Programs such as You Win! Initiative have been launched to foster entrepreneurship and create jobs. The Federal Ministry of Education has also implemented initiatives to improve access to education, including the introduction of free primary education and the expansion of secondary school access. The government has also increased its efforts to crack down on drug trafficking by strengthening the country's law enforcement capacity. Finally, the government has also increased its efforts to raise public awareness about the risks of participating in drug trafficking.

Hon. Dr. Dele Olamide explains that:

Organised crime is another major factor driving the illegal drug trade. Drug cartels and other criminal organisations can use violence and intimidation to control drug trafficking routes and maintain their operations. Political and economic instability can also lead to an increase in illegal drug trafficking.

Under the Jonathan administration, the government took several steps to combat the issue of drug trafficking, including increasing interagency and international collaboration with law enforcement, strengthening border security, and enhancing drug control and prevention efforts. In addition, the government established a National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) in 1989 to coordinate and strengthen the country's response to the drug trade.

Under the Buhari administration, the government has continued to prioritize the fight against organised crime and drug trafficking. The government has increased collaboration with international partners, including the United States and United Kingdom, to improve intelligence sharing, enhance border security and strengthen the Nigerian legal system. The government has also launched several initiatives, including the National Drug Control Strategy, the National Drug Control Master Plan and the Presidential Advisory Committee on drug control and trafficking. In addition to the above, when a country is in turmoil, it can be difficult for law enforcement to effectively combat the drug trade. This can create an environment where drug cartels can thrive.

Furthermore, Capt. Ismail Bankole, a retired Army officer is of the opinion that:

Weak governance and corruption in some countries can create a conducive environment for illicit drug trafficking. In many cases, government officials are either involved in or ignore drug trafficking activities. Poverty can force some people to turn to illicit drug trafficking as a means of income. Demand for illicit drugs in Nigeria and other countries fuels the drug trade.

They are building on the additional statement by Capt. Bankole says these organisations have access to resources and networks that allow them to facilitate the movement of drugs across borders to engage in crime. The availability of drugs in source countries, such as Mexico and Colombia, makes it easier for drug traffickers to acquire and transport drugs. The profits of illicit drug trafficking make it an attractive option for criminal organisations. The high profits can make it difficult for law enforcement to disrupt the drug trade.

In this regard, drug trafficking is a major problem in Nigeria and a significant contributor to the country's elevated levels of crime and insecurity. Several factors drive it, including drug demand, weak law enforcement and pervasive corruption. Profit maximisation is one of the critical drivers of drug trafficking in Nigeria. The illegal drug trade is highly lucrative, with profits from the sale of drugs reaching millions of dollars. This profit potential is a significant attraction for traffickers and other organised crime groups, often using violence and intimidation to control the market and protect their profits. In addition, drug trafficking networks can expand and diversify their operations, allowing them to maximise profits and minimise risks. As such, profit maximisation is a major cause of drug trafficking in Nigeria. Traffickers are often motivated by the promise of large profits and are willing to risk being caught to make much money. Drug trafficking is a highly lucrative business that can generate much money in a noticeably abbreviated period. As a result, it can be desirable to people looking for a quick way to make money.

4.3 The Avenues through which Illicit Drugs Come to Nigeria

Drugs come to Nigeria via different avenues; these include smuggling, importation, and some of the drugs originate from countries such as India, China, and Pakistan, while some are smuggled from other West African countries (Okeke et al., 2019). Additionally, drug trafficking syndicates have been known to use cargo flights, public transportation, and other means of transport to bring drugs into the country (Okeke et al., 2019). The smuggling of drugs, such as cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamine, is the primary source of illicit drugs in the country, facilitated by its proximity to the source countries of Latin America, West Africa, and the Caribbean (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2020). Transnational criminal organisations have been known to transport drugs through the country's many air and maritime routes (García-Pelayo & Manger, 2016). Additionally, domestic production of illicit drugs such as cannabis is rising.

Nigeria has the most prominent cannabis production and distribution network in West Africa (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2020).

Regarding the avenues through which drugs come to Nigeria, Micheal Eten stated that "the drugs come into Nigeria through the airports, seaports, and land borders, as well as courier/mail companies. Meanwhile, cannabis and methamphetamine are locally produced." Supporting the above opinion, Akomaye, Dr Raymond, Dr Okafor, and Barr, Anthony in KII opined that airport and seaport are the most frequent ways in which illicit drug comes to Nigeria; they further stated that security personnel need to take proactive measures to halt this entry and exit points.

But Buba Ahmed stated that:

Apart from Cannabis sativa that is being cultivated in commercial quantities, in recent times. NDLEA has been able to locate and dismantle several laboratories for the manufacture of meta-vitamins. From my experience, if you look at the quantity of drugs that come in through the sea and compare it to the quantity that comes in through the air and the border ways, you will discover that they mostly come in through the water.

The majority of the FGD members, including Nyoreme Mabamidge, hold that "most of them are imported, most at times through seaports and airports. According to Paul Jiyaba, "it is through the entry and exit points of the country, which include the sea, land, and air. Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil agreed to that, saying, "The avenues through which drugs come to Nigeria are airports, seaports, and land borders. Similarly, to the above views, Aisha Umar also stated that "the avenue comprises seas, borders, and airplanes. However, Janet Donald is of the opinion that "the avenues include outward/inward borders comprising of air, sea, and land. Cultivation of cannabis sativa in Nigeria, and laboratories for methamphetamine

The majority of suspect in NDLEA correctional facilities stated that illegal importation is the most common avenue through which drugs enter Nigeria. Large shipments of drugs are smuggled through the country's porous borders, often from neighbouring countries such as Benin, Cameroon, and Niger. Also, drugs are also smuggled into Nigeria through the mail, particularly through international express mail services. Again, pharmaceutical companies both local and foreign are also smuggling drugs into Nigeria. They further stated that prescription drugs such as opioids and other sedatives, are sometimes diverted from medical facilities and sold in the underground economy.

Specifically, Chiekezie Emeka, Akaolisa Aku, Benjamin Udemezue and Patrick Okoli in correctional facilities explain that drugs come to Nigeria through a variety of avenues, including smuggling, illegal importation, and pharmaceutical distribution. Smuggling is the most popular and lucrative option, and it is often facilitated by the highest-level cartels. The illegal importation of pharmaceuticals, which is usually done without the necessary permits and licenses, is also a major source of drugs in Nigeria. Pharmaceutical distribution, while legal, can be a source of drugs when appropriate regulatory measures are not in place to prevent the sale of drugs. Additionally, drugs may be acquired through online sales.

To further buttress the primary data, it was gathered that drugs come into Nigeria mostly through seaports and airports. And that one of the factors is the national and international domain, where relationships between the drug trafficking structures in various countries in the region and in the world are established, based on knowledge of trafficking routes and the availability of logistics chains for the distribution of illegal drugs. To do so, they use external trade transport infrastructures, such as seaports, and airports, by means of the contamination of goods or human couriers. However, the security check points in this area force drug trafficking organisations to use clandestine landing strips and sites for the departure of airplanes and vessels. This factor is associated with the continent's strategic location on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, which makes it possible for vessels and aircraft to depart, carrying large drug volumes. In addition, fuel supply spots are made available at sea and on landing strips in other countries (FIIAPP, 2013). From the foregoing, it can be deduced that drugs come into Nigeria through the airports, seaports, land borders, courier/mail companies, among others. But it is worthy of note that they mostly come in through the water and aircraft.

4.4 Effects of Drug Trafficking on Nigeria's National Security under the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in Nigeria (objective 2)

The effects of drug trafficking on Nigeria's national security have hurt the country since the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. Drug trafficking has been a major security concern in Nigeria, as the country has become a transit point for foreign drug traffickers and a destination for drug traffickers transporting drugs to Europe and other parts of the world. The country has also become a major producer of some circulating drugs, such as cannabis and codeine.

Drug trafficking has increased organised crime networks, including gangs, drug cartels and extremist groups. These groups have exploited the porous borders and weak security forces to engage in illegal activities, such as smuggling of drugs, weapons, and humans. This has created a nexus between drug trafficking, organised crime, and terrorism, as the extremist groups use drug money to finance their operations. The activities of drug traffickers also have a direct impact on the security of the country. The proliferation of drugs has led to a rise in drug-related violence and crime and increased incidences of drug addiction. This has further weakened the security forces, as they cannot adequately respond to the threats posed by drug traffickers.

Jonathan and Buhari's governments have both faced the challenge of addressing the increasing prevalence of drug trafficking in Nigeria. This problem has had a negative impact on the country's security and stability, as drug traffickers have been linked to several criminal activities, including organised crime, money laundering, terrorism, and other forms of illegal activities. Under the Jonathan administration, the government took several steps to combat drug trafficking, including the establishment of the National Drug Law Control Master Plan (NDCMP) and other law enforcement agencies, as well as increasing collaboration with international partners. These efforts, however, have not eliminated drug trafficking in Nigeria.

Under the Buhari administration, the government has continued to tackle the issue of drug trafficking in Nigeria. In addition to the measures taken by the Jonathan administration, the Buhari government has also implemented stricter laws and regulations to address the problem. The government has also increased the capacity of the NDLEA to better detect and seize illegal drugs. Moreover, the government has also conducted raids on drug trafficking networks and arrested dozens of suspected traffickers. Despite these efforts, the problem of drug trafficking in Nigeria remains a serious issue. The trafficking of drugs has harmed the country's national security.

Nigeria has long been a major transit point for illegal drugs from South America and Asia to Europe and North America (Kruglov, 2016). Drug trafficking has significantly affected the country's national security and has been a major concern for both the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. During Jonathan's administration, there was an increase in violence associated with drug trafficking and drug-related crime, including the kidnapping and murder of citizens as well as the disruption of legitimate economic activities (Kruglov, 2016).

Despite the government's efforts, drug trafficking threatens Nigeria's national security. This is because drug trafficking has been linked to several social and economic issues, including poverty, unemployment, crime, and corruption (Kruglov, 2016). Under the Jonathan administration (2010-2015), the Nigerian government failed to effectively address drug trafficking and its associated threats to national security. While some efforts were made to curb drug trafficking, these measures proved largely ineffective (Udo, 2018).

Under the Buhari administration (2015-present), the government has adopted a more comprehensive approach to combatting drug trafficking. Furthermore, the government has also increased resources for drug treatment and rehabilitation services and implemented stricter penalties for drug-related offenses (Adesina, 2017).

During KII with Buba Ahmed, Assistant Commander, NDLEA, he stated that.

It is difficult to quantify the level of drug trafficking under either President Jonathan or President Buhari as reliable data on the subject is scarce. However, in a report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, drug trafficking in Nigeria increased between 2014 and 2018. This indicates that drug trafficking increased during the Jonathan administration and has not decreased significantly under the Buhari administration.

Similarly, Ameh James Peter in KII agrees that drug trafficking has increased in Nigeria in recent years and has not decreased significantly under Buhari's administration. About (7) seven members of FGD held at Abuja international airport explained that the demand for illicit drugs in Nigeria in 2014 was high. Nigeria has a long history of drug trafficking and illegal use, which has only increased in recent years. In 2014, Nigeria was the leading source of heroin and cannabis and served as the major port for cocaine and other illicit drugs.

During KII, Akomaye, Dr Raymond, Dr Okafor and Barr, Anthony believed the consequences of illicit drug and trafficking a devastating impact on physical and mental health, causing a wide range of serious problems in both the short-term and long-term. In the short-term, substance abuse can impair motor skills and judgement, leading to poor performance in school or work, negative interactions with family and peers, and increased risk of injury or death due to accidents or violence.

In the long-term, regular drug abuse can lead to physical health problems such as liver damage, increased risk of heart attack or stroke, various forms of cancer, and increased vulnerability to diseases such as HIV, hepatitis, and other infections. In addition to physical health problems, drug abuse can also heavily affect mental health. Anxiety, depression, and paranoia are just a few mental health issues that substance abuse can cause or exacerbate. Some people become so dependent on their drug of choice that mental illness ensues without the drug. This is especially true for those who abuse stimulants, such as cocaine and methamphetamine, which imitate certain brain chemicals to illicit feelings of euphoria and confidence. These drugs can cause a person to become dangerously manic-depressive and suffer psychotic symptoms and hallucinations. Not only does drug abuse affect one's internal well-being, but also the physical and mental health of those around them. Drug use can lead to physical and mental health problems ranging from mild to life-threatening. As such, it is crucial to understand the potential adverse consequences of drug abuse to protect oneself and loved ones (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2019).

Physically, drug abuse can have severe consequences on the body. Long-term abuse can cause significant organ damage, especially to the liver and heart. Drug abuse may also cause malnutrition, sexual health complications, and sleep disruption (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2019). In addition, misuse of certain prescription drugs can lead to overdose or death. With opioid use on the rise, it is vital to be aware of the effects on physical health and take medications properly (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2019).

Mentally, drug abuse can lead to significant changes in mood, behaviour, and thought processes. Users may exhibit changes in mental alertness, memory, and motivation. Additionally, substance abuse can lead to psychiatric disorders, such as depression or anxiety, and can prevent users from making sound decisions (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2019). A person abusing drugs may feel isolated from their social environment, affecting interpersonal relationships and making it hard to trust others. At the same time, substance use can lead to an increased risk of developing psychosis, a severe mental disorder in which the user cannot distinguish between reality and his or her thoughts (Jauhar, 2019).

Physically, the user may suffer severe damage to organs, such as the liver, heart, and kidneys. These organs can be severely affected by the toxic chemicals contained in drugs, leading to long-term health issues (Drugabuse.gov, n.d.). With these health problems, users may experience blood clots, stroke, heart attack, reduced immunity to infections, and an increased risk of contracting HIV or hepatitis C (Jauhar, 2019). Furthermore, drug abuse is linked to developing cancer, as some substances contain carcinogens that can increase the risk of cancer (Leverment, 2019). People under the influence of drugs are more likely to engage in unprotected sex. They may do this because they are less aware of the risks or cannot make good decisions. NIDA (n.d.) states that people who misuse drugs and alcohol are also more likely to engage in different sexual practices due to diminished inhibitions or an increased desire for novelty, which can increase their risk of contracting a sexually transmitted disease (STI).

Driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol significantly increases the risk of accidents and injury to the user and others (NIDA, n.d.). When people are high, they often overestimate their abilities or take risks they would not take when sober. Additionally, drugs and alcohol can impair motor coordination, reaction time, and judgement. From driving under the influence on risky or unsafe behaviours, drug abuse has the potential to cause significant damage to individuals and their well-being. Risky or Unsafe Behaviors: When under the influence of drugs or alcohol, it can lead to increased risk-taking behaviours such as unprotected sex, driving while intoxicated and violence.

In terms of risky or unsafe behaviours, drug abuse can lead to feelings of decreased inhibition and impair one's ability to make sound decisions. This can often lead to situations in which behaviours are more likely to be dangerous. Those engaging in drug abuse are more likely to engage in unprotected sex, driving while intoxicated and in acts of violence. For example, a 2020 survey of Nigerian adolescents found that 40% of the respondents who had ever used drugs engaged in risky sexual behaviour in the past year (Aina et al., 2020). In addition, research has demonstrated that driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol is associated with an increased likelihood of a road accident (Tanko et al., 2019). These dangerous behaviours can have serious consequences that can be long-lasting, both for the individual engaging in them and those who are affected by them. Another perilous consequence of drug abuse is driving while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Operating a motorised vehicle while substantially impaired impairs one's ability to drive safely and increases the risk of motor vehicle accidents (Okafor & Eyimofe, 2014). According to research by the United States National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, drugs are involved in more than 17% of all motor vehicle crashes (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2019).

Drug use is a considerable factor in potentially fatal motor vehicle incidents. Other potentially risky behaviours induced by drug use include increased aggression, violence, and criminal behaviour. In addition, drug users are also more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviours, such as not using protection or having unprotected sex (Chia et al., 2020).

In Nigeria, a recent increase in drug abuse has adversely impacted people's financial situation. It is observed that many are diverting their hard-earned money from necessities, such as food, rent, and other living expenses, to buy substances such as drugs or alcohol (Afolabi, 2018). Moreover, substance addiction can cause job loss, resulting in financial burdens. Oral drug consumption can cause speech difficulty, which can impede the ability to perform at work and remain employed (Adesiyani & Umeora, 2014). Another potential problem is that taking drugs for recreational purposes can lead to higher prices, as expensive drugs are available in the market (Afolabi, 2018).

Furthermore, spending on substances may lead to impaired savings and household expenditure, no interest in investments or inheritance, and a decrease in the production of goods. It could even increase poverty among people using drugs (Adeseyi, 2015). Drugs can be expensive, and individuals often forget essential needs such as food, rent or other necessary items while their funds are diverted to obtain drugs or alcohol (Bankole & Oladele, 2015). While due to the addictiveness of some substances, there may be a lack of control or understanding of this issue; it could reduce income, cause financial debt and cause more long-term economic suffering. Therefore, it is essential for effective prevention strategies to be implemented at all levels to provide guidance and support to reduce the number of individuals engaging in substance abuse, the prevalence of addiction and, in turn, the economic implications.

The effects of drug addiction on a nation's workforce can be significant; disturbing reports from the Annual Reports of the Director-General of the Nigeria National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) indicated that Nigeria had an estimated one million drug addicts of working age as of 2018 (NDLEA, 2018). This results in fewer individuals being productive to their nation's economy, and the costs of treating the addictions, combined with the loss of productivity, can devastate any affected country.

Societally, the effects of drug abuse are numerous (Chinweuba, 2018) because illicit drug intake increases crime rates, as it leads to an increase in violent and non-violent crime, murders, burglaries, and car-jackings, all of which can destroy a nation's social fabric. Drug addiction can also lead to increased homelessness and poverty rates, further weakening a country's social welfare system (Chinweuba, 2018). In addition, drug abuse has been linked to an increased prevalence of diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, and mental health issues, which can cause severe psychological and emotional distress in society. Other than the social effects, drug abuse also has profound economic implications. Addicts are often unreliable and absent in the workforce, which reduces productivity and efficiency in companies and hinders economic growth (Chinweuba, 2018). Moreover, with the increased criminal activity resulting from drug use, governments must expend more money to ensure public safety and justice and cover the costs of treating drug addicts (Chinweuba, 2018).

Moreover, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2018) estimated that 2.3 million Nigerians aged 15-64 used an illicit substance in the past year, representing 5.3% of the total population. The report further highlighted that drug trafficking and abuse are estimated to be 20-30 per cent of frequent violent crimes in Nigeria. It then emphasised that the annual economic loss due to drug trafficking and abuse in Nigeria has also been estimated to be between \$2 billion and \$3 billion.

Central to this, the World Health Organisation (2019) reported that Nigeria was the second-largest consumer of illicit drugs in Africa and the sixth largest in the world. It stresses that Nigeria has the highest drug-related deaths in West Africa, with an estimated 6,000 deaths in 2018 alone. It also valued drug abuse and trafficking costs Nigeria up to ₦200 billion annually in health care, costs of about 11.4 per cent of Nigerians aged 15-64 using drugs.

In FGD at Mushin, about 6 participants said:

drug prevalence remains in the South-West. For instance, Erhurhi Otega Urhievweda asserts that: “We have most of the incidence in South-West, and I think because most of the production of such drugs in Nigeria is done in that area. If you go to places like Ondo, you will find cannabis everywhere.

Supporting this view, Nyoreme Mabamidge stated that in those days, codeine was for coughs, but now it is for intoxication. People even take coke and sweets like Tom-tom, and Coca-Cola and seasonings like Maggi in search of intoxication.

These things are common in the South-West. If you go to even our motor parks, you will see people selling illicit drugs openly” Aisha Umar also holds that: “We have the highest incidence of drug abuse in Ondo, Ekiti, and Lagos.

But Martha Agbomiyeri has a different view and stated that:

Although it is not only in Lagos or the South, however it takes place in the North. For instance, in places like Kano, even married women take drugs. So, it is very rampant there, and it means they also have sources where they are buying it from around their area. The government needs to do something about it.

In contrast, Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil stated that: “Between 2010 and 2019, Kano and Lagos have the highest incidents of drug abuse”. Kwala Jona also holds that: “We have the highest incidence in Oyo, Lagos, and Gombe.” Whereas, Micheal Eten, Assistant Commander of Narcotics with the NDLEA in an interview stated that:

These can be health-related physical or psychological, social, economic, and legal. Health relates to damage to body organs, risk of contracting HIV and other blood-borne diseases, overdose, and premature death. Social effects include the effect of drug use on relationships, dropping out of school, destitution, divorce, etc. Economic deals with job loss, the cost of treatment/ rehabilitation, and expenses resulting from a drug induced accident. Legal involves having problems with the law by driving under the influence of drugs, violating traffic rules, etc.

Similarly, The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2018) has the same opinion. It reports that drug abuse is a significant issue in Nigeria, with about 10.7 million Nigerians using it in the past 12 months. This showed an increase from 9.8 million in 2017 from the previous year. The most used drug was cannabis, followed by alcohol, cocaine, and amphetamines.

The NBS also reported that drug abuse is linked to several social and economic problems in Nigeria, including increases in crime rate, unemployment, and poverty. The annual cost of drug abuse in Nigeria was estimated to be over US\$1 billion in 2018.

This agrees with the NDLEA (2018) findings on the seizures of over 8 tons of illicit drugs, with an estimated street value of over \$2 billion. Furthermore, the NDLEA also reported that in 2018 Nigeria witnessed a 50% increase in drug abuse. In 2019, the NDLEA reported that 20% of Nigerian youth engaged in drug trafficking and abuse. In 2017, the NDLEA reported that it seized 16 tons of drugs with a street value of more than ₦1 billion. This corroborates the

United Nations 2016 report that Nigeria has the highest drug users in West Africa, with 2.3 million people using illicit drugs.

The Global Burden of Disease Study (2017) estimated that substance use disorders, including drug abuse and trafficking, were responsible for 5.2 million deaths in 2017. This accounted for approximately 8.4% of all deaths globally. Most of these deaths (3.8 million) were attributed to the harmful use of alcohol. Other substances, such as opioids (1.4 million) and other drugs (0.7 million), were responsible for significant deaths. Drug abuse and trafficking are also major public health problems in many countries, with an estimated 200 million people aged 15–64 globally having used an illicit substance at least once in the past year.

In an FGD conducted in Mushin, about five (5) members explained that the demand for illicit drugs in 2019 was high. This is due to the increase in population, poverty, and lack of economic opportunities, making it a target for drug trafficking. The group maintained that under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in Nigeria, drug trafficking significantly impacted national security. The illicit drug trade has enabled organised crime networks to expand their activities, leading to increased availability of drugs and a surge in drug abuse among Nigerian youth, increasing criminal activity. Furthermore, drug trafficking has been linked to the financing of terrorism, with some groups using profits from the trade to purchase weapons and fund their activities.

Meanwhile, Kwala Johna, a Customs Officer, Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil and Aisha Umar:

Drug trafficking has affected our national security by destroying a lot of families and the terrorist's used drugs in most of their operations. According to Kwala Jona: President Muhammadu Buhari once emphasised that, the drug war is more deadly, as it is a war that is destroying three generations – grandparents, parents, and children.

On the other hand, about five (5) participants at the international airport Abuja during an interview session explained that drug trafficking endangers national security in a few ways. For example, the illegal drug trade often involves organised crime groups, which can use their wealth and power to corrupt law enforcement and other government officials, undermining the rule of law and destabilising the government. In addition, the violence and crime associated with the drug trade can create a sense of insecurity and instability within a country, which can lead to social unrest and instability.

But Ogunmade Adetayo and Rev. Dr. Emmanuel explain that:

Drug abuse and addiction have negative impacts on a country's social and economic well-being. Drug abuse can lead to decreased productivity, increased healthcare costs, and other negative consequences that can damage a country's economy and social fabric. This can have a long-term impact on the nation's security and stability.

In line with the above submission, drug trafficking can generate substantial amounts of money for criminal organisations, which can be used to finance terrorist activities and other illegal activities that pose a threat to national security. They further explained that the illegal drug trade is often linked to organised crime and terrorism, which can pose a direct threat to national security. Second, the illegal drug trade can also generate significant amounts of money for criminal organisations, which can be used to finance other illegal activities such as terrorism, human trafficking, and arms trafficking. This further threatens a country's security by enabling these organisations to conduct their criminal activities more easily.

In the UNODC (2018) report, it indicated that Nigeria leads the list with the highest maximum number of traffickers and drug users in West Africa. Lagos, the commercial capital of Nigeria, emerged as the liveliest centre for air trafficking of cocaine. This argument was further reinforced by the NDLEA annual report of 2018, considering the total quantity of drugs seized which stood at 342,962 kilogrammes, while in the previous year, it stood at 730.45 kg. Cannabis topped the list of drugs by weight with a total of 209,261 kg. Psychotropic drugs followed at 130,670 kg, methamphetamine 340.2 kg, cocaine 287.1kg, and heroine 24.52kg.

It further reveals in its threat assessment of transnational organised crime in West Africa between 2016 and 2017 that Nigeria trafficking syndicates are quite active in cocaine, remain a thriving business and have become a profoundly serious issue in Nigeria.

The report further highlights NDLEA's arrests of over 9,600 suspected drug offenders. The total quantity of drugs seized stood at 441,461 kg. Psychotropic drugs seized stood at 152,641 kg, methamphetamine 480.4kg, cocaine 300.1kg, heroin 22.51kg, among others.

One quarter of high-risk drug users had been arrested for drug-related offences during their drug use, while the majority representing 73 per cent had been arrested for possession of drugs. In addition, many high-risk drug users had also been arrested for theft, comprising 12 per cent. Also, five per cent had been arrested for manslaughter, four per cent for burglary and two per cent for shoplifting (UNODC 2017, 2018, 2019). The British Law Report (2012) (cited in Mbachu, 2011) views crime as any omission that violates a law or act that results in punishment. The punishments can vary from the payment of a fine to incarceration in jail (British Law Report, 2012). Mbachu (2011) asserts that substance abuse will subject an individual to a state of guilt, which can most often lead to the commission of crime.

According to the 2018 report of the Federal Ministry of Health on drug abuse, an estimated 16.3 million Nigerians, representing 8.9 percent of the population aged 15-64 years, were found to have used psychoactive substances in the last 12 months. This includes 10.0 million people who used alcohol, 2.7 million who used cannabis, 2.6 million who used opioids and 0.7 million who used stimulants such as cocaine and methamphetamine. The report also indicated that the use of drugs such as opioids, cannabis and stimulants is more prevalent among males than females, with the highest prevalence among young adults aged 25-34 years. It was then found that the effects of drugs are associated with a range of social and health problems, including mental health issues, physical health problems, an increased risk of HIV infection and drug-related deaths. The findings of Abdulaziz (2018) on the effects of drug trafficking and abuse brought forward the attention given to mental health disorders in Nigeria to be inadequate. According to the report, the Nigerian public's awareness of mental health issues is low, with many misconceptions. It stressed that there was no outline of what the government was doing or would do in terms of policy options and strategies to be adopted to address the present scary reality (FMH report, 2018 cited in Abdulaziz, 2018). A breakdown of these addicted users shows that over 3 million mental health patients were treated including 45 per cent female, 43 per cent male, while two per cent are children. The nature of mental illness that patients are commonly diagnosed of include schizophrenia 52 per cent and mood affected disorder 31 per cent (FMH report, 2018 cited in Abdulaziz, 2018) arising from drug misuse.

While MS. Catherine Adeoye holds that:

Drug abuse can affect national security in several ways. For example, drug abuse can lead to a decrease in overall productivity and an increase in crime, which can strain a country's resources and weaken its ability to defend itself. Additionally, drug abuse can lead to a decrease in the number of people available to serve in the military and can impair the judgement and decision-making abilities of those who are serving. This can negatively impact a country's ability to respond to threats and protect its national interests.

Besides, Mohammed (2019) claims that the NDLEA policy framework's shortcomings have resulted in a health risk among Nigerians. This constitutes an ample number of high-risk drug users in Nigeria. It stated that 1 out of 5 users are injecting drugs. The most common of them in the past few years were opioids, followed by heroin. Furthermore, users of tranquilizers, heroin and methamphetamine were more likely to report chronic health conditions and a poorer health status. The report stressed that access to services to reduce the adverse effects of drug use is limited because less than half of high-risk drug users had received HIV testing and counseling while in treatment. A health hazard is referred to as a danger to health due to exposure to environmental pollution, such as ionizing radiation or asbestos, or to a lifestyle choice, such as drug abuse and cigarette smoking.

However, between 2010 and 2015, NDLEA provided counselling and rehabilitation services to more than 100,000 people with substance abuse issues. The agency also provided training to over 2,000 officials working in the field of drug control, as well as awareness campaigns to reduce the prevalence of drug abuse. The agency also helped set up

and run rehabilitation centers in various states across the country. Additionally, the agency has conducted numerous research studies to evaluate the effectiveness of their interventions (Olugbenga, 2017).

4.5 Geographical distribution of Incidence of Drug Abuse between 2010-2019

According to the NDLEA report, between 2010-2019 the highest incidence of trafficking and drug abuse in Nigeria was found in the south-western region of the country. This agrees with the earlier finding of the United Nations Drug Control Programmes (UNDCP) that highest incidence of drug trafficking and abuse in Nigeria during the period of 2010-2015 was the Southwest region, which includes the states of Lagos, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, and Ekiti (UNDCP, 2019). It further reported that the region with the highest incidence of drug abuse in Nigeria between 2015-2019 was the Northwest Zone. This region comprises the states of Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Jigawa, Sokoto, Kebbi, and Zamfara. It then states that poverty and lack of economic opportunities in these areas make these people particularly vulnerable to exploitation.

During interviews (8) participants including Dr Raymond, Okafor and Barr Anthony observed that:

In Nigeria, the rates of drug abuse are highest in the southern states, with the states of Lagos and Benin recording the highest rates of drug abuse. The northern states, however, have seen a rising trend in recent years, with Kano State recording the second-highest drug abuse rate in the country in 2019. Other states with high rates of drug abuse include Akwa Ibom, Kaduna, Ondo, Oyo, and Rivers. The federal capital, Abuja, has also seen an increase in illicit drug use in recent years.

On the other hand, UNODC (2017), reported that geographically, prevalence of drug use was found in the southern geopolitical zones (past year prevalence ranging between 13.8 per cent and 22.4 per cent) compared to the northern geopolitical zones (past year prevalence ranging between 10 per cent and 13.6 per cent). Almost 80,000 people are estimated to inject drugs. Many of those injecting drugs are men, which represent 78 percent. In addition, an estimated 4.7 percent of the population, i.e., 4.6 million people, had used opioids, such as tramadol, codeine, or morphine for non-medical purposes.

In FGD, about six members observed that.

The incidence of drug abuse in Nigeria increased between 2010 and 2019; in recent years, the greatest increases have been seen in the northern states such as Kano, Kaduna, Borno and Yobe. This is likely due to the rise in insurgent activities in the north of the country, as well as to a lack of effective drug control policies. The south of Nigeria also reported an increase in drug abuse in recent years, with the highest rates of drug abuse noted in Enugu, Rivers, and Delta states. Other states with comparatively high incidence of drug abuse include Abia, Anambra, and Edo states.

Evidence of the geographical distribution of incidence of drug abuse in Nigeria shows that it is a problem across the country but is most pronounced in certain regions.

According to the 2015 National Survey on Drug Use and Health conducted by the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics, the prevalence of drug abuse in Nigeria was found to be higher among people living in urban areas than among those living in rural areas. The survey showed a higher prevalence of substance abuse in the Southwest region, where 20.5 percent of the population reported using drugs, followed by the Southeast (16.4 percent), North Central (13.2 percent), Northeast (12.9 percent) and South South (10.9 percent).

In addition, more men reported using drugs than women in all regions of the country. This gender disparity was particularly pronounced in the Southwest, North Central and Northeast regions, where men reported using drugs at a rate of more than double that of women. These results suggest that drug abuse is a nationwide problem in Nigeria, although its scale can vary significantly from region to region. Drug abuse prevention efforts, therefore, must be tailored to the needs of each region, with an emphasis on high-risk populations, such as men living in urban areas.

Hence, it can be deduced that, the South-West Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria has the highest incidence of drug abuse between 2010-2019. This is because Lagos has both an international airport and seaports. And as established earlier, drugs mostly come into Nigeria through seaports and international airports. Drug trafficking in Lagos State has resulted in an increase in the number of drug-related crimes. The rate of drug abuse has also increased in the state, with more individuals aged 18-35 years being found to have used drugs. Drug use in Lagos and Oyo States is characterised by a high past year prevalence of cannabis use (20.0 and 15.3 per cent respectively), and use of opioids (11.3 and 8.3 per cent respectively).

The non-medical use of cough syrups is equally spread over the states in the South-West zone (UNODC 2017, 2018, 2019).

From the above analysis, it can be established that drug trafficking has had a major negative effect on Nigeria's national security under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. Some of the effects are related to health, social, economic, crime and insecurity. This is because the increase in drug trafficking has created an environment where organised crime, drug-related violence, and corruption have become endemic. This has led to a weakening of the rule of law and has enabled a variety of criminal activities such as money laundering, human trafficking, and terrorism to flourish. In addition, the proceeds of drug trafficking have been used to purchase weapons and finance other criminal activities, further compromising the security of the nation. The presence of drug traffickers and their activities have also caused a breakdown in social cohesion and created a feeling of mistrust and fear in the population. The illegal trade in drugs has had a devastating impact on the country and its citizens, leading to increased crime rates, violence, poverty, and instability. Drug trafficking has fueled the growth of organised crime networks in Nigeria that participate in a variety of illegal activities, including money laundering, human trafficking, arms trafficking, and other illicit activities. These criminal networks also pose a direct threat to national security, as they often seek to destabilise the government and undermine the rule of law.

Finally, drug trafficking has led to increased drug abuse in Nigeria, which has had a damaging effect on public health and safety. Drug abuse has been linked to increased rates of HIV/AIDS, depression, and other mental health issues. It has also been linked to domestic violence, child abuse, and other social problems. The illegal trade in drugs has provided a steady source of income for organised crime networks, which has allowed them to increase their influence and power. This, in turn, has had a negative effect on the economy, as it has reduced investment and economic growth. The prevalence of drug trafficking has made it difficult for law enforcement to effectively tackle the problem and has undermined the legitimacy of the government. This has led to a general weakening of the rule of law, making it harder for the government to enforce its laws and protect the people. As such, drug trafficking, perpetrated by transnational criminal networks, poses serious implications for Nigeria's national security.

4.6 Strategies Employed by the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in Countering Illicit Drug Trafficking in Nigeria (objective 3)

According to the United States Office of International Narcotics Control Strategy Report INCSR (2016), one of the factors behind Nigeria's illicit solid drug trade is its position in international drug-related crime. Nigeria is a transit country and one of the most populous countries in Africa as well as a destination for trafficking in drugs, particularly methamphetamines, marijuana, and heroin. The same applies to the results of a study by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2017,2019) that Nigeria is one of the leading destination countries for drug trafficking due to its large population, especially working-aged people. This situation suggests that Nigeria remains a country eyed by organised crime groups across the globe that requires effective strategies to curtail drug trafficking threats (Latschan, 2015).

During KII, Buba Ahmed, Ameh James Peter and Micheal Eten who are senior officers of the NDLEA, observed that:

Some of the strategies utilised by the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria were derived from the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, where Nigeria is a signatory to the convention and actively involved in international cooperation to combat drug trafficking and abuse.

They further held that Nigeria signed several bilateral and multilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding with countries in Africa and countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and other countries, to facilitate cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking and abuse. It has participated in several regional and international initiatives aimed at curtailing the illicit drug trade, including the West African Coast Initiative (WACI), the Central African Initiative (CAI), and the Southern African Initiative (SAI). Nigeria is also a member of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (IDCP), which works to reduce the illicit manufacture, trafficking, and abuse of drugs. They further explained that another strategy of both administrations is to strengthen government institutions such as the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) through training, research, and funding. The NDLEA is responsible for combating the trafficking and abuse of drugs in Nigeria. It conducts seizures, arrests, investigations, and prosecutions of drug offenders. The agency has also set up numerous prevention, education, and treatment programmes to help reduce the number of drug-related incidents in the country.

Researchers argued that Nigeria's drug control policies are known for their ineffectiveness and links to Boko Haram, terrorism, and other organised crimes (Gyong & Tanimu, 2009; Obot, 2004; Otu, 2013). Though several factors hinder these strategies, one of them is the dwindling resources that leave the drug law enforcement institution with chronic underfunding, lack of equipment, poor working environment, the weak resource base of NDLEA and a lack of recruitment to increase the workforce and provide training opportunities to staff (Gaspar, 2014).

In a similar finding by Smith and Holman (2006), which provides a comprehensive overview of international drug control policies and practises in the developing world, the authors outline the general framework of global drug control, focusing on the role of international organisations, multilateral agreements, and regional initiatives. The authors also explore the impact of drug control policies on public health, human rights, and economic development. The study concludes that drug control policies in the developing world have had mixed results and that further research is needed to determine the effectiveness and appropriateness of the current strategies.

Supporting the above findings, Dr Okafor in a FGD explained that.

There is no one-size-fits-all strategic solution to the problem of drug trafficking, and it will require a combination of law enforcement, prevention, and social and economic measures to effectively combat this global issue. There are several potential socioeconomic policies that could be implemented to combat drug trafficking in Nigeria. One approach would be to focus on reducing the demand for illegal drugs, through education campaigns and prevention programmes targeted at young people and other high-risk populations.

However, some researchers such as Gyong and Tanimu (2009) Obot (2004) Otu (2013) argued that Nigeria's drug prohibition strategy, which came into effect in 1990, was a national programme aimed at counteracting both the twin challenges of non-medical abuse and illicit trafficking of psychoactive substances in the country and to comply with the obligation of the tamest international drug conventions against narcotics and psychotropic substances.

Also, in a FGD Adewale noted that.

Supporting research and development of new technologies and techniques that can help law enforcement agencies to more effectively identify and track drug traffickers and their networks. This can include the use of advanced analytical tools and techniques, as well as new forms of surveillance and intelligence gathering. Eradicating drug trafficking in Nigeria would require a comprehensive approach that addresses both the supply and demand sides of the issue.

He further stated that on the supply side, this could involve implementing stricter law enforcement measures to crack down on drug traffickers and disrupt their operations. This could involve increasing funding for law enforcement agencies, providing them with the necessary resources and training to effectively combat drug trafficking, and strengthening international cooperation to target transnational criminal networks.

Similarly, Barr Joseph in FGD stated that.

On the demand side, it is important to address the underlying societal factors that drive individuals to use drugs in the first place. This could involve implementing policies that address poverty, unemployment, and inequality, as well as investing in education and public health programs to prevent drug abuse and provide support for those struggling with addiction.

The above view agrees with what some researchers advocated that implementing policies that address poverty, unemployment, and inequality can have a few positive impacts. These policies can help reduce poverty and inequality by increasing the income and job opportunities available to the most disadvantaged people in society, while also helping to create more equitable societies (Blomquist & Williams, 2020). Additionally, investing in education and public health programmes to prevent drug abuse can help to reduce the prevalence of drug addiction and the associated health and social problems (Byrne & Raffaelli, 2019). This can lead to improved educational outcomes, improved public health, and a reduction in the negative effects of drug abuse. By addressing poverty, unemployment, and inequality, as well as investing in education and public health programmes to prevent drug abuse, governments can help create a more equitable, healthy, and prosperous society (Sowell, 2020).

In the same way, Adewale in FGD emphasised that providing alternative economic opportunities for those involved in the drug trade, such as job training and access to microfinance loans, could help reduce the incentive to engage in drug trafficking. According to UNODC (2018) reported that the key to successfully combating drug trafficking in Nigeria will be to implement a comprehensive, multi-faceted approach that addresses both the supply and demand sides of the issue, and involves the participation and cooperation of various stakeholders, including law enforcement agencies, the government, civil society organisations, and the community at large.

In the KII session with retired customs officers, Bamidele and Raul, an immigration officer who have worked at the international airport, maintained that:

Adequate laws and policies to reduce the menace of the illicit drug trade, as well as increasing funding for drug education and prevention programmes are important. By investing in programmes that instruct people about the dangers of drug use and provide support for those who want to quit using drugs, governments can help reduce demand for illegal drugs. Strengthening law enforcement efforts: Governments can work to improve their law enforcement capabilities and tactics to disrupt drug trafficking networks more effectively.

In line with this view, this may involve increasing the number of law enforcement officers dedicated to combating drug trafficking, providing them with advanced training and equipment, and improving intelligence gathering and analysis. Improving international cooperation. They further stated that drug trafficking is a global problem and addressing it will require cooperation between different countries. Governments can work to improve coordination and information sharing with other nations to better target and disrupt drug trafficking networks.

Also, Dr Raymond, Dr, Okafor Akomaye and Barr, Anthony stated that reducing the profitability of drug trafficking: Governments can take steps to reduce the profitability of drug trafficking by increasing penalties for drug offences, seizing the assets of drug traffickers, and disrupting the money laundering networks that support the illegal drug trade. Providing support for those affected by drug addiction in addition to addressing the supply of drugs, governments can also focus on providing support for those who are affected by drug addiction. This may involve providing access to health facilities. Governments can also work with other countries and international organisations to address the global problem of drug trafficking. Additionally, addressing the root causes of drug abuse, such as poverty and lack of access to education and job opportunities, can also help reduce the demand for illegal drugs.

In spite of that, Alemika (2018) argues that governments strategies are failing despite continued arrests of drug dealers, and producers, with the relentless confiscation of their drugs, the illicit cultivation of cannabis has continued to rise, as evidenced by the rapid expansion of drug cultivation from the seven traditional cannabis-growing states (Delta, Edo, Ondo, Ekiti, Ogun, Osun, and Oyo) to all parts of Nigeria (National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA, 2015). Considering the views of the multi-faceted and costly narcotics prohibition policy, it has been negatively impacted and nearly paralyzed by low domestic budgetary allocations and reduced external allocations, due to chronic donor fatigue (Alemika, 2018; Carrier & Klantschnig, 2016; NDLEA, 2017).

However, during the interview with Buba Ahmed, Ameh James Peter and Micheal Eten explained that:

the Jonathan administration had a strong focus on drug control policy by subscribing to the National Drug Control Master Plan (NDCMP) in 2012, which provided a comprehensive framework for the development of an effective and sustainable drug control system in Nigeria. The NDCMP focused on the prevention, enforcement, and treatment of drug use. Jonathan supported the establishment of the West African Drug Control Programme (WADCP) to coordinate regional efforts to combat drug trafficking in the region. The National Drug Control Strategy (NDCS) was launched in 2014 to provide a roadmap for the implementation of the national drug control policy.

They emphasised that the National Drug Control Policy (NDCP) was launched in 2011 to set out the guiding principles and strategies for the drug control programme in Nigeria. The policy aims to reduce the supply and demand of drugs, promote public health, and enhance public safety. It is also designed to encourage international cooperation to strengthen the country's counter-narcotics efforts. The policy focuses on prevention, and increased funding for drug control efforts, including rehabilitation, treatment programmes, law enforcement initiatives, and public awareness campaigns.

On the other hand, the Buhari Administration strengthens preventive measures to promote public awareness campaigns, drug testing in schools, and more stringent penalties for drug-related offences. To address enforcement gaps, the Buhari administration has strengthened its border controls and developed new laws that target drug trafficking and money laundering. It also addresses treatment with a policy to encourage the use of alternative therapies and community-based rehabilitation services. The National Drug Control Action Plan (NDCAP) was launched in 2016 to provide a detailed implementation plan for the NDCMP. The National Drug Control Framework (NDCF) was launched in 2017 to provide guidance for the implementation of the NDCMP. However, during FGD, six (6) members of the group in Abuja Airport explained that the differences in drug-related problems result in different approaches to policies and interventions being promoted in the country. While drug markets are international, policy efforts, including resource allocation decisions on potential interventions, are local.

Accordingly, seven (7) members of the FGD in Mushin, Lagos, who are associated with drug preventive education and rehabilitation services are of the opinion that the interest of the International Society of Substance Use Professionals (ISSUP) has further exposed practitioners to international knowledge of the provision of evidence-based research/services that will help to promote sound policies and strategies. The association has also increased the participation of universities in the development of academic programmes on substance use prevention. For example, prior to the implementation of ISSUP in Nigeria in 2018, no university in Nigeria offered an academic programme, from certificate/diploma to postgraduate degree, with a focus on drug issues (Ola, Olibamoyo & Audu, 2021).

4.7 The Level of Drug Trafficking and Seizures in Abuja and Lagos

According to the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA, 2020), there has been an increase in drug trafficking and seizures in Abuja and Lagos since 2010. From 2010 to 2014, the agency reported a total of 10,255 drug-related arrests and 11,971 drug seizures in Abuja and Lagos. In 2015, this figure increased to 13,077 arrests and 12,818 seizures. During 2016 to 2018, the NDLEA reported a total of 15,971 arrests and 14,528 seizures. In 2019, the figures further increased to 17,405 arrests and 15,643 seizures. The level of drug trafficking and seizures in Lagos and Abuja has increased significantly between 2010 and 2019 and has been a major cause of concern. According to the

National Drug Law Enforcement Agency's (NDLEA, 2010, 2015) report, the number of seizures, arrests, and drug-related convictions has steadily increased in Lagos and Abuja since 2010.

During KII about nine (9) participants agreed that the level of arrest and seizure is higher in Lagos than in Abuja. For instance, according to Buba Ahmed; "Of course, we have more cases in Lagos than Abuja; if you look at the numbers of the international flights that come into Lagos from source countries, you will notice that there is a huge traffic of passengers every day in Lagos than in Abuja." Similarly, Ameh James Peter and Micheal Eten during KII holds that:

In terms of statistics, Lagos airport used to have more passengers than Abuja airport. The reason for this is that Lagos is the commercial capital of Nigeria, while Abuja is the administrative capital. So, for this reason, there are more international flights in Lagos than in Abuja. So naturally, you will expect that the drug issues should be higher in Lagos.

During KII, Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil expressed the opinion that "the level of drug trafficking and seizure in Abuja is low, while it is extremely high in Lagos. The level of arrests of drug traffickers in the Lagos State Command, airports, and seaports is remarkably high.

From the above, it can be deduced that, in comparison between Abuja and Lagos, the level of drug trafficking and seizure is higher in Lagos.

This is because there are more passengers and international flights in Lagos. The presence of seaports in Lagos also contributes to making it a commercial capital, while Abuja is the administrative seat of power. Also, Lagos has better scanning facilities due to the number of goods and foreigners coming into the country by water and air. Nevertheless, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reported the number of drug seizures in Nigeria increased from 6,898 in 2010 to 10,977 in 2015. Many of these seizures were cannabis, cocaine, and heroin. Most of the arrests were for possession and trafficking of cannabis, cocaine, and heroin. In a similar way, findings from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), observed that the amount of cocaine trafficked through Nigeria has increased from four tons in 2015 to 15 tons in 2019. In addition, the amount of cannabis trafficked through Nigeria has also increased from about 9,000 tons to almost 11,000 tons over the same period.

The data suggest that drug trafficking and consumption are increasing in Nigeria. However, more research is needed to understand better the problem's scope and the impact of drug policies in the country. The Jonathan administration adopted a multi-faceted approach to combating drug trafficking, including increased law enforcement, international cooperation, and improved intelligence gathering. The Buhari administration has adopted a more battle-ready approach to combating drug trafficking, with the strengthening of the National Drug Control Master Plan aimed at developing a comprehensive strategy to combat drug trafficking and its related activities.

The plan includes:

- the development of a National Drug Control Strategy,
- the creation of a National Drug Control Commission, and
- the development of a National Drug Control Programme.

Considering these notable strategies, the study draws its comparison of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria. In comparing the strategies adopted by the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations, the study utilised the statistics of the NDLEA annual report of arrests and seizures; prosecution scored card, Budget allocation, the Agency's Condition of Service, the workforce of the Agency, and the general level of insecurity from 2010-2019 respectively. The comparative analysis allows for a comprehensive assessment of the successes and failures of both administrations, providing the evidence needed to inform future policy decisions. Because it is essential to understand the progress and challenges encountered in the fight against illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria, as this can provide insight into the effectiveness of the different approaches taken by the two administrations, Moreso, it is possible to identify areas for improvement and practical strategies to combat drug

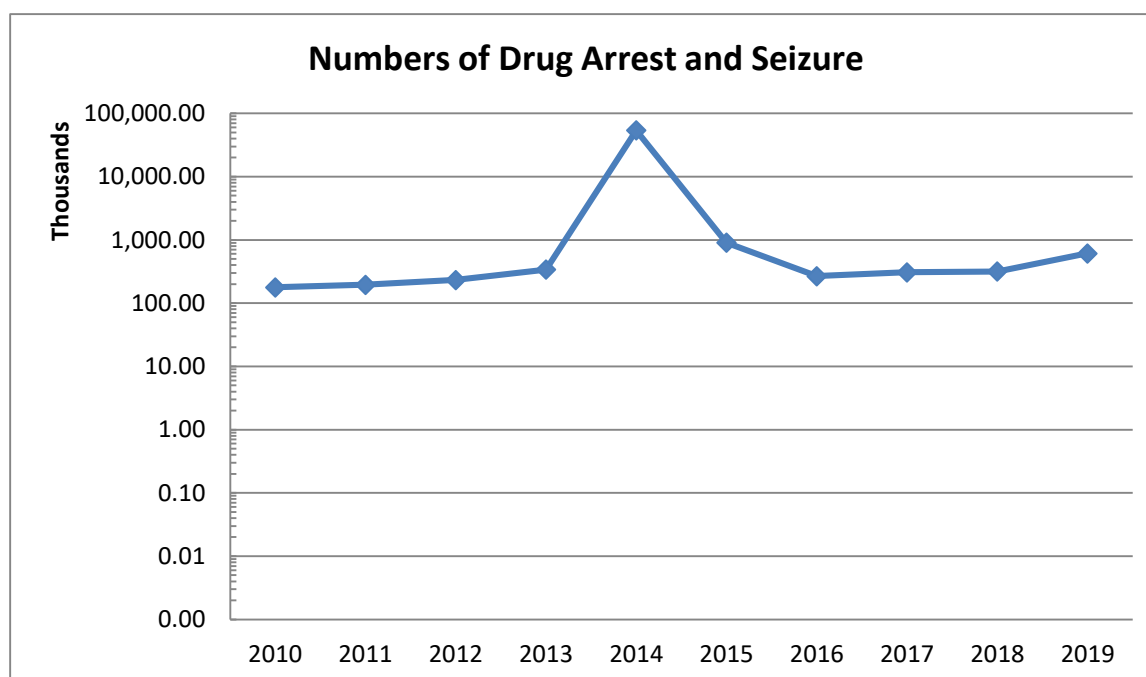
trafficking and improve national security. This analysis can also help inform policy decisions and develop efficient and effective interventions to address the problem of illicit drug trafficking.

Table 5.1: The Comparative Analysis of the Statistics of Drug Arrest and Seizure, 2010-2019

Year	Cannabis	Cocaine	Heroin	Others	Total
2010	174,661.59	706.43	202.08	2,550.62	178,120.72
2011	191,847.91	410.81	39.75	2,985.45	195,283.92
2012	228,794.13	131.89	211.03	3,905.45	233,042.50
2013	205,373	290.20	24.53	134,280.38	339,968.11
2014	53,878,194.52	226.04	56.45	7562.49	53,886,039.5
2015	871,480.32	260.47	30.09	31,442.86	903,213.74
2016	187,394	305.17	66.28	79,600.685	267,366.135
2017	191,084.19	92.26	85.36	117,114.20	308,376.01
2018	273,249.08.	124.86	59.62	44,331.29	317,764.85
2019	602,654.49	113.00	23.89	10,112.10	612,903.48
TOTAL	56,531,484.15	2661.1	799.08	433,885.53	57,242,078.97

Source: NDLEA Annual Report, 2010-2019

Figure 5.1 Graph showing the Drug Arrest and Seizure, 2010-2019



Source: NDLEA Annual Report, 2010-2019

Table 5.1 and figure 5.1, show that the trend indicates a sharp increase in drug seizures between 2014 and 2015, followed by a sharp decrease in 2016. This trend continued with a slight increase in 2017 and 2018, before another slight increase in 2019. The trend shows an overall increase in the number of drugs seized and arrests made in Nigeria over the past ten years. The number of drugs seized has increased by about 4.4 times from 2010 to 2019. This suggests that drug syndicates operating in the country are becoming more active and successful in their efforts to smuggle drugs. The increase in seizures is also likely due to increased efforts by law enforcement to crack down on drug trafficking.

In specific response to this question during the interview Micheal Eten asserts that:

The Jonathan administration was faced with the challenge of containing the activities of drug traffickers. He undertook several initiatives to combat drug trafficking, including the adoption of National Drug Law Enforcement Strategy (NDLES) in 2011. The drug trade has grown increasingly lucrative and powerful, with organised crime groups and terrorist organisations using the proceeds to finance their operations.

Eten further explained that the Jonathan administration tackled drug threats by strengthening law enforcement and making efforts to reduce drug demand through public health and education initiatives, as well as the launch of campaigns to raise public awareness about the dangers of drug use. He then stated that the Buhari administration took a more aggressive approach and launched initiatives such as the National Drug Control Programme (NDCP) to strengthen the country's anti-narcotics efforts. The NDLEA has been given the power to conduct intelligence gathering and investigations, arrest and prosecute drug offenders, trace, and confiscate drug proceeds, and destroy seized illicit drugs. The NDCP has been tasked with creating an effective and coordinated national strategy for drug control, as well as developing and implementing a comprehensive set of policies and programmes to address the problem of drug trafficking in Nigeria.

In comparison, Dr Raymond, Dr Okafor Akomaye and Eten opined that the Jonathan administration took a less aggressive approach to tackling drug trafficking and its threats to national security. The government's efforts focused on addressing the supply side of the problem by increasing law enforcement and interdiction activities. The Jonathan administration's launch of the National Drug Control Programme (NDCP) in 2011 was seen as a failure due to a lack of coordination and adequate resources. The government also failed to address the demand side of the problem, such as improving access to treatment and rehabilitation services.

Bar Anthony and Eten explained that the Buhari administration has taken a more pragmatic approach to tackling drug trafficking and protecting national security than the Jonathan administration did. The Buhari Administration also increased cooperation with international partners to combat drug trafficking and enhance border security. Moreover, the Buhari government has also increased its collaboration with other countries to tackle drug trafficking, both through law enforcement and diplomacy. In addition, Buhari has also implemented new policies to reduce the availability of illicit drugs, including stricter controls on the import and export of drugs and precursor chemicals.

Supporting Eten's opinion, (5) five members of the FGD at Mushin Lagos explained that Jonathan's administration was more focused on prosecuting drug traffickers than preventing the trafficking in the first place. The Buhari administration has also taken steps to strengthen national security by increasing intelligence capacity, improving border security, and engaging in more cross-border collaboration with neighbouring countries to protect national security. These operations have led to the arrest and conviction of numerous drug traffickers, as well as the seizure of large quantities of drugs. Buhari has engaged in meaningful diplomatic efforts with neighbouring countries, such as Benin, Cameroon, Niger, and Chad, to increase regional cooperation in tackling the drug trafficking issue. Buhari has implemented several legislative reforms to strengthen the existing laws related to drug trafficking and national security. These reforms have made it easier for the government to investigate and prosecute drug traffickers and have helped to ensure that those responsible for drug trafficking activities are held accountable.

In the FGD held at Abuja Airport, eight (8) members of the group agreed that the Jonathan administration did not engage in robust diplomatic collaboration with neighbouring countries to crack down on drug trafficking and reduce the number of illicit drugs that were entering the country. On the other hand, Buhari prioritized the use of intelligence and surveillance operations to effectively target drug traffickers. The drug institution has worked closely with various security agencies, such as the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) and other federal security agencies, to combat drug trafficking. The NDLEA has also implemented several initiatives to disrupt drug trafficking activities. This includes the establishment of a national database of drug traffickers and the interception of drug shipments. The agency has also conducted public awareness campaigns to educate the public about the dangers of drug abuse and the importance of reporting any suspicious activity to the authorities.

Under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations, measures were taken to address the issue of drug trafficking and its impact on national security. While both administrations have made similar efforts to increase the capacity of law enforcement and intelligence agencies to investigate and prosecute drug trafficking offences. The two administrations have taken different approaches.

The Jonathan administration focused on building capacity and strengthening the criminal justice system. To this end, they increased funding for anti-drug trafficking initiatives and implemented a national drug control strategy. They also established a "zero tolerance" policy for drug trafficking and introduced stricter penalties for offenders. Furthermore, they have increased cooperation with other countries to address regional and international drug trafficking networks.

The Buhari administration has taken a more proactive approach to tackle the problem. This has included establishing a Presidential Anti-Narcotics Committee and implementing new drug control policies and legislation. While the Jonathan administration took steps to improve the capacity of law enforcement and intelligence agencies, the government made efforts to strengthen the capacity of law enforcement and intelligence agencies. This included establishing and implementing the National Strategic Plan for Drug Control (NSPDC). These efforts aimed to improve the capacity of law enforcement and intelligence agencies to detect, prevent, and respond to drug trafficking. The Buhari administration has taken various measures to address the issue, from improving the legal framework and strengthening law enforcement and intelligence agencies to promoting public awareness and education and helping victims of drug trafficking.

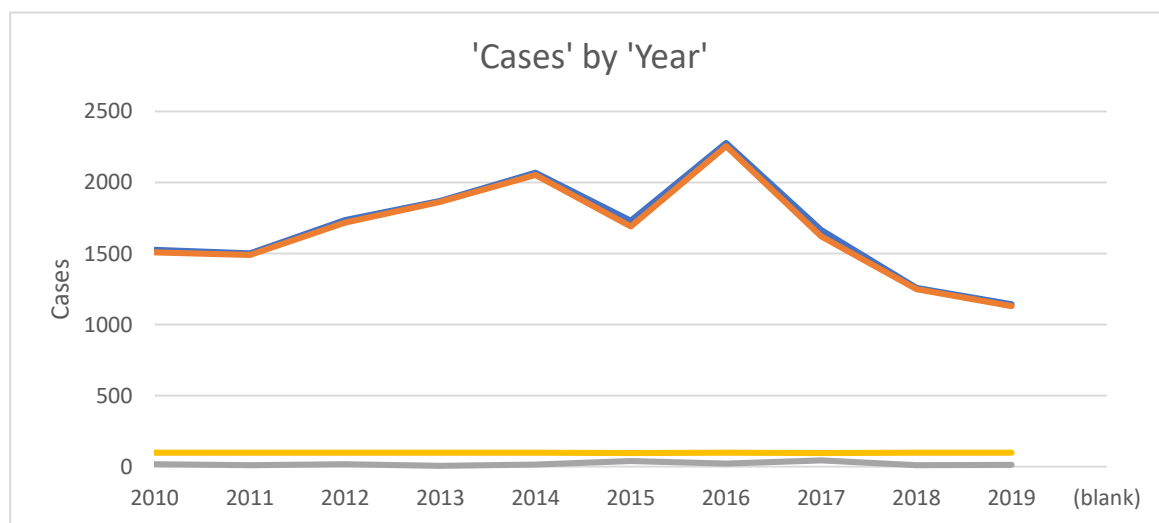
Also, the sharp increase in 2014 under the Jonathan administration is due to the increased presence of Boko Haram groups, who are known to facilitate the trafficking of drugs. The subsequent decrease in 2016 is due to the Buhari administration's ability to combat the Boko Haram group and the trafficking of drugs. Factors such as the increase in drug trafficking, the increased insecurity in the country, the increased presence of security forces, and improved drug detection capabilities could have contributed to the increase in seizures. Under the Jonathan administration, drug trafficking was much more prevalent, as evidenced by the significantly higher figures in 2014 compared to the other years. On the other hand, the Buhari administration has implemented much stricter policies against drug trafficking, as evidenced by the lower figures in all other years from 2016. (UNODC,2015, 2016, &2017).

In general, the cause of the increase or decrease in drug seizures under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations over the years can be attributed to several factors, including changes in law enforcement strategies, changes in drug trafficking routes, and changes in the availability of drugs in the country. Additionally, changes in the economic situation in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries, such as increased poverty, can contribute to the changes in drug seizures.

Table 5.2: The Comparative Analysis of the number of Cases Prosecuted for 2010-2019

Year	Cases	Won	Lost/struck out	Success Rate
2010	1,526	1,509	17	98.89
2011	1,501	1,491	10	99.33
2012	1,736	1,718	18	98.96
2013	1,871	1,865	6	99.67
2014	2,070	2,054	16	99.22
2015	1,731	1,690	41	97.63
2016	2,278	2,256	22	99.03
2017	1,666	1,621	45	97.30
2018	1,259	1,249	10	99.21
2019	1,143	1,130	13	98.86

Source: NDLEA Annual Report, 2010-2019

Figure 5.2: Graph showing the cases prosecuted 2010-2019

Source: NDLEA Annual Report, 2010-2019

Table 5.2 and Figure 5.2 show the number of cases won, lost/struck out, and the success rate of drug prosecution from 2010 to 2019. It shows that the success rate of prosecution generally remained consistently high over the past years, with an average success rate of 98.8%, under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. The chart above shows the number of drug cases, the number of cases won, the number of cases lost or struck out, and the success rate of those cases for ten years. In 2010, there were 1,526 cases, of which 1,509 were won, resulting in a success rate of 98.89%. This success rate increased slightly over the next two years, with 1,491 cases won out of 1,501 cases in 2011, and 1,718 cases won out of 1,736 in 2012. The success rate peaked at 99.67% in 2013, with 1,865 cases won out of 1,871 cases. The success rate dropped slightly in 2014, with 2,054 cases won out of 2,070 under the Jonathan administration.

In 2015, under the Buhari administration, the success rate dropped significantly to 97.63%, with 1,690 cases won out of 1,731 cases. The success rate increased again in 2016, with 2,256 cases won out of 2,278 cases, and continued to increase in 2017, with 1,621 cases won out of 1,666 cases. The success rate then dropped slightly in 2018, with 1,249 cases won out of 1,259 cases, and dropped again in 2019, with a success rate of 98.86%. This indicates fewer cases were won in 2019 than prior years, but the overall success rate remained high. The data also shows that the success

rate stayed around 98-99%, indicating that the cases of drug prosecution achieved favourable outcomes for the cases overseen.

In comparing the two administrations using the primary data, Buba Ahmed and Ameh James peter believed: the manpower of NDLEA under both administrations. Under Jonathan, our workforce was just about 5,000 nationwide. And how can you police a country like Nigeria with such workforce? The Buhari administration has doubled that number, which is a 100 percent increase in the workforce. In terms of budget, NDLEA was a weeping baby under the Jonathan administration. There has been an increase under Buhari. These improvements are what you can see translating to the arrests and seizures. In other words, there is also an improvement in arrests and seizures due to an increase in the workforce, planning, etc.

Ameh James Peter and Dr Raymond noted that: From experience we know that Jonathan's administration tried to support the NDLEA, but because things are changing, when Buhari came, he has done better. For instance, our workforce has doubled. Considering other things, I think Buhari's administration has done more. Another thing that I would like us to always consider in a matter like this is, the problem is not only with the leaders, but the ability of the people who headed the agencies to push their requests to the political leaders also matters.

Meanwhile, Maryam Danna Mohammed in the Focus Group Discussion stated that: "I believe that the NDLEA and other security agencies have more support from the government now than may be at the time of Jonathan."

Dr. Afolabi Abiodun Ademola maintains that: "To me, it is not that the level of trafficking is too high now, but because NDLEA and the government are now doing better than before. That is why everyone is now praising General Buba Marwa. If I need to relate it to the issue of JAMB, it was reported when the JAMB changed leadership to Prof. Oloyede. They investigated one woman in Benue State; they said a snake stole some money. But if some people in the media want to report it, they will say it happened under the Buhari government, whereas that case happened under Jonathan."

According to Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil:

Drug trafficking is more during the Buhari administration, looking at the current security challenges. Although the government of Buhari is giving more support in combating the menace, making more arrests and seizures during the Buhari administration shows that we still have an excessively big problem in the country. The government needs to do something fast to arrest the situation, or else it will be worse. In addition to the above, KwalaJona maintains that "drug trafficking is higher under the Buhari administration, because of the high rate of kidnappings, terrorism and banditry in the country."

Erhurhi Otega Urhievweda is of the position that: "I think the level of drug trafficking under the Buhari administration is higher than that of Jonathan. Also, more arrests are made now than in the Jonathan administration, which is why we are having more cases of criminality such as Yahoo Boys, so drug trafficking is higher under the Buhari Administration."

But Sunday Ugbede Oguche and Ameh James Peter explained that:

To begin to tackle the issue, the government needs to invest in prevention and enforcement initiatives that are evidence-based and target the sources of the drugs. This includes increased collaboration between law enforcement agencies, health professionals, and community organisations to ensure that the most effective strategies are utilised.

The collaboration is good, although Nigeria's law enforcement agencies have their own friction, because of superiority and interagency rivalry. But there is a conscious effort now by the government and the people in charge to make sure that they come together. In terms of our relationship with Custom, I can say we are working closely together. And that does not mean there are no issues. I can boldly tell you that Custom, Immigration, and even the military is now working together with the NDLEA.

According to Idiaghe (2019) who asserts that, adequate provisions of logistics support accelerated operational efficiency in every organisation, while poor logical preparedness leads to operational failure, as was the case of the failed 16 February 2019 presidential election in Nigeria (Idiaghe, 2019). Thus, poor logistics arrangement is an impediment to drug trafficking control thereby impinging on national security in Nigeria.

Furthermore, Micheál Eten and Ameh James Peter posits that:

NDLEA is the lead agency in drug control in Nigeria. Others are to collaborate and share intelligence with the agency, and they are all doing well in discharging their duties. However, broadly speaking, individuals, agencies, and the government have roles to play because effective drug control thrives on the principle of collective responsibility. Only one person or institution cannot solve the problem of drugs.

The level of constructive collaboration is very satisfactory. There is really a significant improvement in constructive interaction. By way of ranking those working with NDLEA, I think I will rank Customs higher than Immigration because I did not have a chance to work with Immigration in the airport, but I worked with Customs. But in all, there is a constructive collaboration among all the agencies, particularly under this administration. According to Martha Agbomiyeri: “NDLEA has been doing well since Gen. Buba Marwa came on board. All the security agencies are trying, even though sometimes people are accusing them.

During FGD, Aisha Umar maintained that drug control efforts are made through counselling, rehabilitation, and reintegration of treated clients back into society. Also, institutions such as the Nigeria Customs Service have been playing a major role in preventing the proliferation of illicit drugs in Nigeria by checking what comes in and goes out of the country. Kwala Jona observes that they are trying in terms of training security operatives, as well as educating the youth on the use of illicit drugs. Also, they safeguard society through border, sea, and air control.” Furthermore, Janet Donald during FGD stated that: “They check the statistics of arrest and seizure across all commands in Nigeria, drug demand reduction activities in the federation, and the National Drug Control Master Plan Programme.”

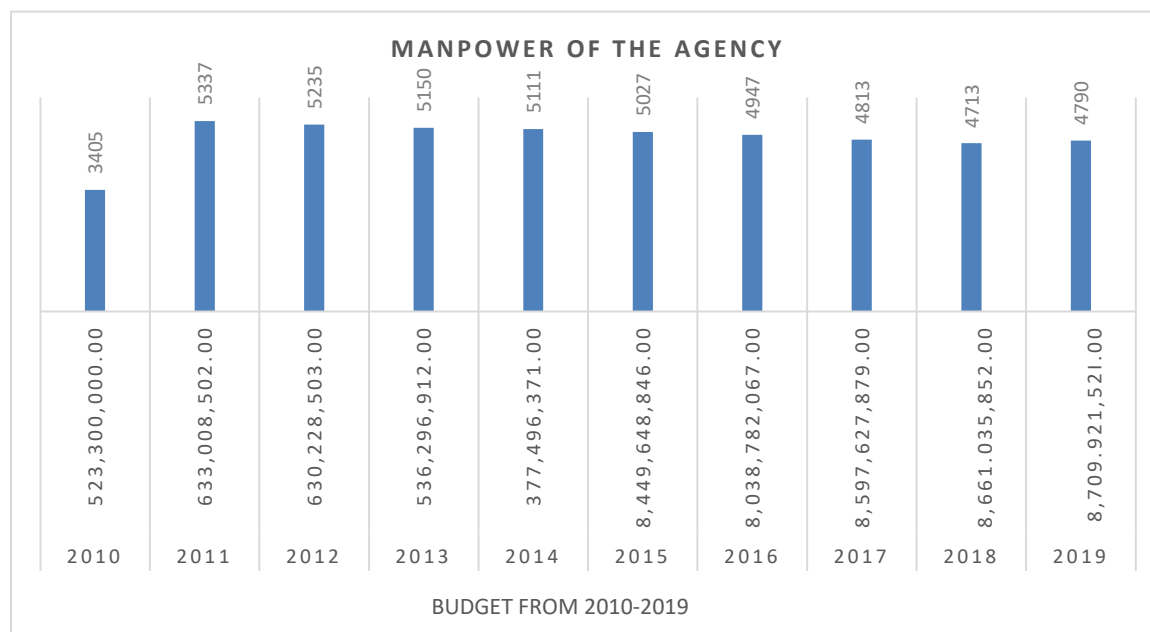
Overall, under the Jonathan administration, efforts were made to strengthen the criminal justice system, including the establishment of the National Drug Control Council and a National Drug Control Strategy. The Buhari administration, on the other hand, has focused more on prevention and awareness, including the establishment of the National Drug Control Commission (NDCC) and the launch of the National Drug Control Strategy. This strategy focuses on creating awareness of the dangers of drug trafficking and encouraging voluntary surrender and rehabilitation of those involved in the illegal drug trade. The NDCC has also been tasked with developing and implementing drug control policies and strategies, as well as coordinating drug control activities among various agencies and stakeholders with the establishment of the Nigerian Drug Control Working Group (NDCWG).

Under the Buhari administration, the National Drug Control Master Plan has been revised and expanded to include a new emphasis on public education and awareness, as well as a greater emphasis on inter-agency coordination and collaboration. The government has also taken steps to boost law enforcement efforts, including the establishment of the Nigeria Inter-Agency Drug Enforcement Agency (NIADA), which is aimed at facilitating increased communication, coordination, and collaboration among Nigerian law enforcement agencies in the fight against drug trafficking. Furthermore, the agency collaborates closely with the Nigerian Police Force, the Immigration Service, and the Department of State Services (DSS) to combat drug trafficking. The agency also worked towards reducing the demand and supply of illicit drugs through education and awareness campaigns.

Table 4.3:1 Comparative Analysis of both Administrations on Appropriation for the Agency for 2010-2019

Year	Appropriation	Workforce
2010	523,300,000.00	3405
2011	633,008,502.00	5337
2012	630,228,503.00	5235
2013	536,296,912.00	5150
2014	377,496,371.00	5111
2015	8,449,648,846.00	5027
2016	8,038,782,067.00	4947
2017	8,597,627,879.00	4813
2018	8,661,035,852.00	4713
2019	8,709,921,521.00	4790

Source: NDLEA Annual Report, 2010-2019

Figure 4.3:2 Graph showing Appropriations and workforce of NDLEA from 2010-2019

Source: NDLEA Annual Report, 2010-2019

Table 5.3 and figure 5.3 show the appropriation and workforce of the Nigerian Drug Agency from 2010 to 2019. It shows a general increase in the appropriation of funds for the agency over the years, with a peak in 2015. This increase in funding has allowed the agency to increase its workforce from 3405 in 2010 to 4790 in 2019. This increase in workforce has had a positive effect on the agency's ability to combat drug-related issues in Nigeria. The chart also shows a decrease in workforce from 2016 to 2019, despite an increase in appropriation. This is likely that the decrease in the workforce has had a negative effect on the agency's ability to combat drug-related issues in Nigeria. The overall trend is an increase in funding over the years, with the highest amounts in 2015 and 2019. This indicates that the agency's budget has increased, which could mean that they are better equipped to tackle drug-related issues. The agency's budget has increased significantly over the years, with an increase of over 8 billion between 2015 and 2016, and then again between 2017 and 2018 under the Buhari administration than the Jonathan administration.

This indicates that Buhari is investing more in the agency, which is a positive sign for its future. The increase in funding allows the agency to expand its operations and better develop new strategies to combat drug abuse and increase public awareness of the dangers of drug use. However, it is important to note that the budget increase has not been uniform across all years. Under the Jonathan administration from 2010 and 2014, the budget was low, indicating that the agency would have difficulty funding during that period. The increase in funding occurred in 2016, under the Buhari administration, and the budget has continued to increase steadily each year, indicating that the government is committed to investing in the drug agency and its initiatives. This increased funding could be used to fund new drug-prevention programmes and develop better strategies for combating the illicit drug trade in the country. The increased funding could also be used to hire more personnel for the agency and provide them with better training and equipment to better tackle the drug problem.

4.8 The Agency's Condition of Service from 2010-2019

The Nigeria Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) offers competitive salaries, health insurance benefits and other fringe benefits to its staff. Employees of the NDLEA can expect to enjoy a wide range of benefits and entitlements, including:

- Job security
- Group life insurance
- Medical benefits
- Pension scheme
- Annual salary increment
- Housing and transportation allowances
- Career development opportunities
- Educational and training opportunities
- Quality of the working environment

Under Jonathan's administration, the condition of service of staff in the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency was far from satisfactory. The agency was plagued by laxity in the enforcement of regulations, and the staff were often given inadequate resources to perform their duties. There were long delays in the payment of salaries and other benefits, as well as a lack of job security. The agency's management was also criticised for failing to properly address grievances and complaints from staff, leading to a lack of motivation and enthusiasm among employees. Salaries and wages for the agency's staff were not competitive when compared to other government agencies with similar job roles, and there was no health insurance. Also, the agency's recruitment process was often slow and bureaucratic, leading to high staff turnover. In addition, the agency's resources were inadequate, and its infrastructure was in disrepair, with limited access to modern technologies and equipment. Finally, there was no clear career progression path for staff, with promotions and job advancements.

Under President Buhari's administration, the Nigeria Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) has made significant strides in improving the conditions of service for its staff. The Agency has implemented a range of initiatives aimed at providing better salaries, decent working conditions, and improved access to training and development opportunities. These initiatives have been put in place to attract and retain highly qualified personnel as well as improve the overall productivity of the agency. In addition, NDLEA has also invested in the development of its information technology infrastructure, which has enabled the agency to become more efficient and better able to respond to the challenges that arise within organisations.

Therefore, from the foregoing, it is obvious that several efforts were made by both administrations including the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency and other related institutions, to fight against drug abuse and trafficking in Nigeria. Some of the efforts include the arrest of drug traffickers, seizures of drugs and prosecution of drug traffickers, counselling, rehabilitation, and reintegration of drug-dependent individuals into society. Others include the sharing of intelligence among the agencies as well as educating the youth on the use of illicit drugs.

The Jonathan and Buhari administrations have both employed a few strategies to counter illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria. Despite the challenges the nation has faced in terms of general insecurity, both administrations have taken proactive measures to reduce drug trafficking, although with varying levels of success.

4.9 General Level of Insecurity under the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in Countering Illicit Drug Trafficking Threats 2010-2019

The Jonathan and Buhari administrations have both faced the issue of general insecurity in the face of drug trafficking threat in Nigeria. Although both administrations have attempted to tackle the issue of insecurity, their approaches and levels of success have varied (Akinyemi & Okojie, 2020). Under the Jonathan administration, there was an increase in the prevalence of drug trafficking, which contributed to general insecurity. Nigeria is both a transit and destination country for illicit drug trafficking, including the trafficking of cannabis, cocaine, and heroin (Mikuriya, 2016).

This illicit drug trade has been linked to a few destabilizing activities in Nigeria, such as organised crime, money laundering, and terrorism (Mikuriya, 2016). In addition, the illicit drug trade has enabled the growth of criminal networks, which have been known to target vulnerable populations, such as women and children, to exploit them for their services (Mikuriya, 2016). In 2018, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reported that Nigeria had the highest prevalence of cocaine trafficking in West Africa, with an estimated 2.3 tons of cocaine seized in 2015 and 2016. This figure suggests that cocaine trafficking in the country is growing and is becoming a growing concern.

According to the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) of Nigeria, the number of drug traffickers arrested in 2011 and 2015 under the Jonathan Administration increased by 17% (NDLEA, 2016). Furthermore, the number of drug seizures by the NDLEA increased by 23% over the same period (NDLEA, 2016). The Jonathan administration (2010-2015) employed a comprehensive approach to tackling the problem of drug trafficking in Nigeria. This approach involved the implementation of the National Drug Control Master Plan in 2008 and establishment of the National Drug Abuse Advisory Committee in 2010 (Lamorde, 2013).

The Buhari administration (2015-present) has placed a greater emphasis on tackling the problem of drug trafficking in Nigeria. The Buhari administration has increased the resources devoted to drug enforcement and sought to strengthen the legal framework, such as the money laundering and Prohibition Act of 2022 and the Proceed of Crime Act of 2022, to tackle drug trafficking. The government has also signed several international agreements to strengthen international cooperation.

During FGD Oshodi and Mushin about (8) eight members emphasised that

On the security front, the government has intensified its fight against terrorism and drug trafficking. This has included the deployment of additional security forces to the northeast of Nigeria, where the militant group Boko Haram has been active. The government has also increased its intelligence-gathering activities to identify and disrupt drug trafficking networks. In addition, the government has sought to strengthen its border control measures, including the introduction of new technologies to detect illegal contraband.

They stated that Jonathan administration, did not take an active approach and in tackling insecurity through a multi-pronged approach involving dialogue, military operations, and other measures. On the other hand, the Buhari administration focused mainly on military operations, while also introducing reforms to the security sector. But Okon & Ayeni (2019) suggest that while both administrations have seen some successes in reducing the levels of insecurity, the Buhari administration has had more successes in this regard.

Although, there has been an increase in the number of drug traffickers arrested and drug seizures by the NDLEA in both the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations. According to the NDLEA's Annual Drug Report, from 2015 to 2019, the number of drug trafficking cases and drug seizures in Nigeria increased by 35% and 41%, respectively (National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), 2020). Similarly, the number of drug-related crimes reported in the country rose by 17% under the Buhari Administration, compared to the Jonathan Administration (National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), 2020). This suggests that, despite the efforts made by the NDLEA, drug traffickers and drug-related crimes remain a major security threat in Nigeria. During KII, Ameh peter James, Buba Ahmed and Micheal Eten stated that.

Insecurity was a major problem under Jonathan and Buhari Administrations. In the Buhari Administration, insecurity has been particularly acute due to a rise in terrorist attacks, inter-communal violence, banditry, and kidnapping. The bulk of this violence is concentrated in the northeast, where Boko Haram has been active for many years. The government has responded with a military campaign against the terrorists, but the violence has not been eliminated. In addition, the government has been criticized for its perceived lack of action in addressing the underlying causes of insecurity, such as poverty, lack of educational opportunities, and inequality.

The above submission is reinforced by Rigby (2020) who said that government has failed to adequately address the underlying economic, social, and political factors that contribute to insecurity such as poverty, unemployment, and weak governance structures.

While Dr Raymond and Bar Anthony agreed that:

under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations both faced the challenges of addressing general insecurity in the face of drug trafficking threats. While the Jonathan administration focused more on law enforcement and military operations, the Buhari administration has employed a more comprehensive approach, which includes improved border security, increased intelligence gathering, and drug education campaigns.

The illicit drug trade in Nigeria has been a significant security concern since the early 2000s, and both the Jonathan and Buhari administrations have taken measures to counter the threat (Mccauley & Njoku, 2018; Fahim, 2017). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2018), the trafficking of illicit drugs is a major source of revenue for terrorist groups, including Boko Haram, and the money generated from this activity is used to finance their operations and purchase weapons. This has further exacerbated the security challenges faced by Nigerians with negative implications for the nation's security.

Moreover, the country is a transit point for illicit drugs from South America, Europe, and Asia destined for other African countries and Europe. The presence of drug traffickers in Nigeria has increased organised crime and terrorism. The involvement of organised crime syndicates in drug trafficking has severe implications for the nation's security. These syndicates are well-equipped, well-funded and highly organised, making them difficult to combat. This view is supported by Wood (2014), who stated that drug trafficking syndicates are well-equipped with the latest technology and resources to facilitate their operations. They have access to large amounts of money from illicit activities, which allows them to pay for high-tech equipment and resources.

They tend to have well-developed networks and contacts across borders, which makes it easier for them to move drugs, money, and people. Additionally, they use sophisticated communication methods to stay in contact with their members and avoid detection. Furthermore, syndicates are often hierarchical and highly organised, making it difficult for law enforcement to locate and disrupt their operations. For example, drug trafficking is linked to violent extremism because they rely on drugs to stay awake and energized. They also rely on illicit drug proceeds in some countries to fund acts of terror. Groups such as AQIM engaged in drug trafficking in the Malian desert by protecting the smuggling rackets of Tuaregs conveying drugs from Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia towards North Africa to Europe (Aning & Pokoo, 2013). It was estimated that AQIM has accumulated between \$40 to 65 million since 2008 through drug trafficking and kidnapping ransoms to become a major regional political and military force.

A key aspect of comparison using the NDLEA's annual report has revealed that the Buhari Administration's dedication to combatting drug use has increased based on statistical data and analysis. The Agency's budget and workforce have been augmented by the Administration, along with a rise in the frequency of drug law enforcement activities. The number of drug offences resulted in successful prosecutions, as shown in the figures for 2016. Moreover, the Administration has introduced a more efficient supervision system to guarantee adherence to its anti-narcotics regulations and implement improved compensation plans for its staff. By contrast, the Jonathan Government was perceived as relatively lenient in combating drug-related issues since it did not boost funding or personnel numbers, and no significant advances were introduced to enhance the Agency's effectiveness.

In this way, the Buhari Administration has been more successful in combatting drug use than its predecessor, the Jonathan Administration, due to intelligent drug control measures and enhanced support for personnel. The situation has contributed to a rise in drug-related law enforcement interventions, which, in turn, has enhanced the general level of security within the nation.

4.10 Challenges Encountered by the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in Countering Illicit Drug Trafficking in Nigeria.

One major challenge faced by the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria has been the lack of coordination and collaboration between law enforcement agencies. In particular, the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) has been criticized for its lack of coordination with other agencies, including the Nigerian Police Force, the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and other state law enforcement agencies (Ojukwu, 2018). Additionally, inadequate resources have been allocated to these agencies, which has hindered their ability to combat drug trafficking effectively (Ugochukwu, 2019). Another challenge faced by the two administrations has been the lack of public awareness about the dangers of illicit drug trafficking. This lack of awareness has resulted in inadequate public support for the government's efforts to reduce drug trafficking in Nigeria (Ojukwu, 2018). Additionally, there has been a lack of effort to address the underlying socioeconomic issues that contribute to the problem of drug trafficking, such as poverty and unemployment (Ugochukwu, 2019).

Although, the two administrations have also faced challenges regarding the limited capacity of law enforcement agencies to detect and intercept drug shipments effectively. This has been exacerbated by inadequate resources, including personnel and equipment, and corruption within the agencies (Onah, 2016). Additionally, Nigeria is a transit point for illicit drugs from other countries, making it difficult to track and interdict shipments of drugs (Onah, 2016). Furthermore, traditional organised criminal networks involved in the trafficking of drugs have become increasingly sophisticated and are using increasingly complex methods to disguise their activities (Onah, 2016). Moreover, the lack of coordination and cooperation between Nigeria's law enforcement agencies, as well as the lack of regional and international cooperation, has hindered the efforts to effectively combat the trafficking of illicit drugs (Onah, 2016).

During FGD at Mushin, Lagos, seven (7) members of the group stated that.

some of the challenges facing the government despite its efforts were due to unemployment, poverty, corruption, and weak policies that contributed to the growth of drug trafficking in the country. Furthermore, the presence of armed groups, such as the insurgent groups, has created a favourable environment for drug trafficking activities to take place.

On the above opinions, Ibrahim (2018) agrees that unemployment is one of the significant problems. Data from the NBS indicate that youth unemployment was 18 million in 2006, which later rose to 32 million in 2013. This figure eventually increased to over 70 million, representing 36 per cent of unemployed youth in Nigeria in 2014. At the end of 2018, unemployment was measured at 23 per cent, which saw the emergence of Nigeria as harbouring the poorest people on earth (NBS & World Bank, 2019).

Similarly, a 2018 BBC report estimated that 61 per cent of Nigeria's population lives on less than \$1 a day, which is \$0.25 less than the UN poverty line of \$1.25 a day. Also, groups in the South-East and the Niger Delta have persistently been at daggers drawn with the FGN over perceived inequality. At the same time, the activities of non-state actors,

such as Boko Haram, cattle rustlers, and kidnappers. All have an economic undertone to overcome poverty. Thus, poverty and inequality create a mass of underemployed and jobless youths who now gravitate towards crime, using the swathes of ungoverned spaces as their sanctuaries.

These views were supported by the 2018 UNODC report, which states that the challenges governments face have led to increased substance abuse among disillusioned youth in Nigeria. For instance, 2016, the NDLEA arrested 2,205 persons in Nigeria over substance abuse. In 2017, 3.5 million bottles of codeine were consumed daily nationwide, with Kano State recording a rate of over 36 per cent. This has resulted in 14.4 million people aged 15–54 addicted to cocaine and tramadol in Nigeria (UNODC, 2018).

Both Dr Raymond, Akomaye, Barr Anthony and Martha Agbomiyeri stated in an interview that drug trafficking activities in Nigeria are caused by the several ungoverned spaces within Nigeria that could threaten national security. Thus, ungoverned spaces in Nigeria hinder efforts to combat drug trafficking, undermining security.

In a KII session, Buba Ahmed, David Kelly and Tijani stated that:

Drugs from Latin America usually arrive in West Africa via the maritime borders in the Atlantic Ocean, especially through Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, owing to their unpoliced waters. Some illicit drugs are also trafficked via air into privately owned airstrips in Guinea Bissau. Thereafter, these drugs are trafficked across the land borders of West African States to Europe and other destinations due to the porous state of these borders. In other words, a porous border is a challenge.

Under the Buhari Administration, porous borders have been a major challenge due to the increased smuggling of illicit goods, such as drugs, weapons, and people, across borders. This has had a negative impact on the Nigerian economy, as it has led to a decrease in government revenue from taxes, as well as the circulation of counterfeit products. Furthermore, porous borders have also contributed to the rise of insecurity in the country, as well as an increase in the number of illegal immigrants and refugees entering Nigeria (Ahmed, 2018).

Being specific, Ameh James Peter asserts that:

The challenges range from inadequate equipment managed by the drug enforcement institution that cannot match the sophistication of drug trafficking cartels. Drug enforcement agencies still conduct most of their operations based on a reactive approach, that is, purely on profiling or hearsay instead of adopting a proactive, intelligence-led approach.

From experience, inadequate funding has been a major challenge for the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in their efforts to tackle drug trafficking in Nigeria. While the governments have allocated funds to counter the issue, they have been insufficient to adequately address the problem. Additionally, the funds allocated are often misappropriated or diverted due to corruption (Rajab & Jega, 2019). A lack of resources and personnel has also hindered the efforts of the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in countering drug trafficking in Nigeria. There is an insufficient number of police officers and personnel to adequately patrol and monitor the country's borders. Furthermore, the lack of resources has made it difficult for the government to investigate and prosecute drug traffickers (Uwakwe, 2018). Idiaghe (2019) agrees that adequate provisions of logistical support accelerate operational efficiency in every organisation, while poor logistical preparedness leads to operational failure. Thus, poor logistic arrangements pose an impediment to drug trafficking control policies, thereby impinging on national security in Nigeria.

Similarly, the NDLEA Annual Report (2017) reveals that the logistics within its zonal offices in the Northwest, North Central, and Federal Capital Territory are inadequate to guarantee operational efficiency. The Agency currently has 187 functional and 5 non-functional vehicles across its zonal offices in the Northwest, North Central, and Federal Capital Territory (FCT), with an annual purchase of 16 vehicles (NDLEA, 2017). However, it is estimated that the agency needs more than 30 vehicles annually. This means the current purchase within the agency, which represents a total of 33 percent, falls short of the required operational logistics.

In a KII session with Prof. Moses Audu, a Professor of Criminology from the University of Lagos, he opines that:

Nonetheless, the challenges confronting drug trafficking are attributed to inefficiencies within the system, including inter-agency rivalry, destructive practices amongst law enforcement operatives, and poor inter-agency collaboration at national, regional, and international levels. Lastly, the lack of a national drug intelligence database that could be accessed on a need-to-know basis by all relevant agencies posed a major challenge to the policy framework.

From experience, the challenges faced by the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria include a lack of resources, corruption, and inadequate infrastructure (Adesina, 2015). Inadequate resources and funding have made it difficult to effectively implement anti-narcotics policies and initiatives. Furthermore, the lack of coordination between federal and state agencies has resulted in a lack of unified enforcement of drug laws (Ogboji, 2019).

Dr Mary Yusuf, Dr Raymond and Akomaye stated during the KII session that:

The responsibility of providing the enabling environment for wealth creation through sound economic policies lies squarely with the government. However, in Nigeria, this has not been the case. Unemployment is the major reason the youth indulge in substance abuse in Nigeria, a factor that impinges on national security. Therefore, youth unemployment is a major consideration in curbing substance abuse for enhanced national security in Nigeria.

Also, in FGD held in Abuja, six (6) group members stated that the Jonathan administration had made significant strides in combating drug trafficking in Nigeria. However, it faced several challenges in tackling the issue effectively. Insufficient resources are one of the critical challenges that the Jonathan administration faced in its efforts to combat drug trafficking. The lack of adequate resources hampered the government's ability to mount effective public awareness campaigns and provide treatment and rehabilitation programmes for drug abusers. Without adequate resources, the government cannot adequately tackle the root causes of drug trafficking and its associated problems.

They further stated that poverty is one of the critical challenges facing the Jonathan administration because it is a significant driver of drug trafficking in Nigeria as it forces people to engage in illegal activities to make a living.

People facing financial hardship are often more likely to take risks to survive, including participating in drug trafficking.

It also stated that, under the Buhari administration, weak border control is one of the critical challenges in effectively tackling drug trafficking because Nigeria's porous borders, long coastlines, and unsecured air and seaports make it an attractive hub for international drug traffickers. The lack of adequate border control infrastructure, personnel, and technology makes it easy for drug traffickers to move, store, and transport drugs across the borders. In addition, the lack of coordination between law enforcement and other government agencies, both at the federal and state levels, makes it challenging to monitor and track the activities of drug traffickers. Also, the lack of resources and funding for drug control operations further undermines the ability of the government to tackle the problem of drug trafficking in Nigeria effectively.

In this, Olugbenga (2017) opined that the West African sub-region is characterised by several ungoverned spaces due to the large expanse of the Sahel, rain forests, mountainous areas, and prevailing conflicts, thus leading to the inability of Member States to police them effectively. These ungoverned spaces within the sub-region serve as safe havens for drug traffickers. These ungoverned spaces also increase the cultivation and trafficking of illicit drugs, which could pose serious security threats. For instance, in 2013, about four large-scale methamphetamine labs were discovered in a remote part of Nigeria, and shipments of precursor chemicals were seized in the border fringes of Benin and Togo. In support of this view, Somerville (2013) stated that within the country lie inter-state borders characterised by mountain ranges such as the Adamawa Highland between Nigeria-Cameroon, the Fouta Djallon Mountain along Guinea-Mali and the Guinea Highland along Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Cote d'Ivoire borders.

Additionally, border security agencies within the region are weak, ill-equipped, and poorly funded to manage the borders effectively.

Okumu (2016) agrees that porous borders engender the uncontrolled movement of persons, goods, and services across territories, thus producing transnational, national crimes such as drug trafficking. Coastal states such as Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ghana, among others, have intricate networks of creeks and estuaries that are difficult to police and exploited by desperate drug traffickers. These multiple challenges have resulted in the porosity of borders within West Africa, with many countries having unmanned and illegal entry and exit points along their borders. This situation makes detecting the movement of illicit drugs across the region difficult, thus encouraging drug trafficking and adversely affecting security in countries such as Nigeria. Schultze-Kraft (2014) states that, between 2008 and 2010, about 62 tons of cocaine from Latin America were trafficked through West Africa to Europe due to the porous borders within the region. This figure excludes other illicit drugs such as heroin, methamphetamine, and cannabis. Therefore, porous borders hinder curbing drug trafficking for enhanced security in Nigeria. Another challenge, according to the ECOWAS Commission (2016), is the lack of harmonised drug laws, which are vital in combating drug trafficking within any region, as no country would be seen as a haven for traffickers. Against this background, the ECOWAS Drug Action Plan Outcome 3 advocates for harmonised and updated regional legal instruments and institutions in member states. Despite this provision of the Action Plan, drug laws in ECOWAS member states are yet to be harmonised (Anne & Bridge, 2017). Consequently, there are wide variations in the scale of punishment among various countries in West Africa. A careful study of these punishments reveals that while the punishment for drug trafficking in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Mali ranges from life imprisonment to the death penalty, no penalty is defined in Guinea, while it is between one- and 12 years imprisonment in Guinea Bissau. The unharmonised nature of the drug laws in West Africa has led to some countries with weak punishments that serve as safe havens for drug traffickers, thus adversely affecting regional security. Thus, explains why drug trafficking networks flourish in Nigeria.

In KII, Muazu Idris and Akomaye observed that.

The media are reliable organs and tools in their efforts to combat the illicit drug trade and addiction. It stressed that they have realised the importance of the media as a highly effective instrument in the fight against drug crimes; hence, the need to utilise those essential tools to tackle the menace and this approach has assisted the command in achieving a prominent level of progress in the past years by having more addicts accept to be counselled and rehabilitated.

The media has been an important tool in the fight against illicit drug trade and addiction in Nigeria. The media has been used to raise awareness about the dangers of drug use, educate the public about preventive measures, and help to establish effective drug control policies. For example, in 2018, the Nigerian government launched a nationwide media campaign to raise awareness about the dangers of drug abuse and encourage the public to take preventive measures against drug use (The Guardian, 2018).

The media has also helped to connect those suffering from addiction with support services, and has been used to encourage dialogue and collaboration between local and national government agencies, non-profits, and other stakeholders in the fight against drugs (National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, 2019)

According to Michael and Dr Okafor in KII

Since the establishment of the NDLEA, it can only boast of 5,100 staff across the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. This falls below the standard for a country like Nigeria with a population of over 200 million. Although the officers are educated in different disciplines, there is no strategic training or manpower development policy. This led to a situation where officers could not attend a refresher course after over 15 years of service.

From experience, it is therefore important to conduct modern training and continuous capacity building for officers to enable them to compete favourably with their colleagues around the globe. This will help to gain the adequate knowledge needed to conduct protracted narcotic investigations necessary to dismantle drug trafficking cartels. In

addition, there is an urgent need for aggressive recruitment of officers and men for effective coverage of the entire country. Some other challenges can be addressed through the payment of a good salary package, improved funding, and the provision of logistics, such as operational vehicles, arms, ammunition, decent office accommodation, and the provision of standard rehabilitation centers in all six geopolitical zones of the country.

In FGD, Yakubu Ibrahim Walhil, Lawrence Alonge and Dr Chinyere Okafor noted that:

The challenges are the same in both administrations. There is a lack of government commitment in terms of providing logistics and welfare to the officers saddled with the responsibilities of combating drug trafficking in the country. The challenges are lack of operational vehicles, inadequate training and re-training, inadequate modern equipment, lack of barracks for officers, inadequate budgetary allocation for capital and recurrent expenditure, inadequate communication gadgets, weak welfare and remunerations for officers, and lack of official vehicles for the principal officers.

There are many challenges that can be encountered when it comes to countering drug trafficking and maintaining national security. Some of these challenges include limited resources. Law enforcement agencies often have limited resources, such as funding, personnel, and technology, which can make it difficult for them to effectively combat drug trafficking and protect national security. She further states that there is a lack of cooperation among law enforcement because drug trafficking networks are often highly organised and operate across national borders, which can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to cooperate and share information. Drug trafficking is a complex issue that involves many distinct factors, such as supply and demand, the involvement of organised crime, and the potential for violence. This complexity can make it difficult to develop effective strategies for countering drug trafficking and protecting national security. In some cases, the public may not fully support law enforcement efforts to combat drug trafficking and protect national security. This lack of support can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to conduct their work effectively.

Barr. Joseph Wale stated that:

Drug traffickers and other national security threats are often highly adaptable and may change their tactics in response to law enforcement efforts. This can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to stay ahead of these groups and protect national security due to the cross-border nature of drug trafficking. Drug trafficking is a global problem that involves the movement of drugs across national borders.

Furthermore, Joseph asserts that this can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to identify and track drug traffickers and can also make it easier for traffickers to evade detection. Drug trafficking is often conducted by organised crime groups, such as drug cartels, which can be highly sophisticated and well-funded. These groups often have access to advanced technologies and weapons and can pose a significant challenge to law enforcement efforts.

However, Akomaye and Tijani Oladipo stated that:

One major challenge is the significant financial resources and sophisticated networks that are often involved in drug trafficking, which can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to disrupt and dismantle these organisations. Additionally, the illegal nature of drug trafficking means that it often operates in secrecy, making it difficult to track and monitor the activities of traffickers. Lack of political will is a significant factor in the ability of the government to curb drug trafficking and address national security issues under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations.

From these views, researchers such as McHugh and Patel suggest that political will and proper funding for law enforcement are essential elements in preventing drug trafficking and abuse. The commitment of policymakers to invest in law enforcement initiatives and resources, such as utilising advanced technology, increasing the number of specialized drug enforcement units, and improving training for law enforcement personnel, has led to significant declines in drug trafficking and abuse.

It has also helped create a deterrent effect, as criminal organisations are less likely to operate in areas where law enforcement is strong and well-funded (McHugh et al., 2020). Additionally, increased funding for education and prevention programmes, such as providing resources to individuals at risk of drug abuse and providing access to treatment for those already suffering from addiction, can help reduce drug-related crime and the spread of addiction (Patel et al., 2020). In FGD six drug suspects in the NDLEA correctional facilities stated that in Nigeria they employ various methods to evade government control, arrest, and punishment. These include bribery, corruption, false identities, money laundering, and the use of sophisticated technology. They also make use of front companies, secret locations, and couriers to move drugs and money across borders. Additionally, drug traffickers take advantage of Nigeria's porous borders to smuggle drugs without being detected. They also rely on their links with organised crime and gangs to avoid detection and prosecution. Finally, drug traffickers also use their financial resources to purchase legal and illegal documents that allow them to cross borders and avoid prosecution. Other challenges, according to the NDLEA annual report (NDLEA, 2014, 2015, 2017, and 2019), are the issue of the limited capacity of law enforcement operatives in most aspects of intelligence collection and analysis, where illicit substance investigation employs retroactive rather than proactive techniques. Conversely, this has led to operational deficiencies in curbing substance abuse, thus impacting negatively on national security. This submission reinforces the position of the UNODC report of 2018, which frowns at the poor human capacity within NDLEA. Though an additional 2,000 personnel have been added during the Jonathan administration, this is still inadequate when considered against the backdrop of the size and population of Nigeria. Thus, manpower requirements are a major consideration in curbing drug trafficking for enhanced security in Nigeria. From the presented and analysed data, this study takes the position that the Jonathan and Buhari administrations have encountered several challenges in countering illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria. The main challenges of drug trafficking in Nigeria from 2010 to 2019 are poverty, lack of education, unemployment, and weak law enforcement, which make people vulnerable to engaging in drug trafficking and other criminal activities. Furthermore, the lack of an effective drug policy in Nigeria has contributed to the prevalence of drug trafficking in the country. Other challenges encountered in curbing drug trafficking include non-harmonization of drug laws, ungoverned spaces, porous borders, inadequate equipment, delays in the promotion and payment of allowances, a lack of recruitment and training opportunities, and a lack of proper constructive collaboration among the security agencies.

4.11 The External Dimension of Drug Trafficking under the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in

Nigeria

Drug abuse and drug trafficking have been major concerns in Nigeria for many years and have especially come into focus during the three-term reign of President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015) and the current term of Muhammadu Buhari (2015-present). There are several external dimensions to drug abuse and drug trafficking in Nigeria and the surrounding region that must be examined to understand the societal impacts of illegal narcotics properly. Nigeria, particularly its northwest region, has seen growth in Nigerian domestic drug production and mass trafficking from neighbouring countries such as Benin and Cameroon (Anomemu et al., 2015). Drugs are trafficked into Nigeria and other countries from the Middle East, Asia, and Mexico (Ekwunife & Ogar, 2017). The supply lines are often carefully protected by organised crime syndicates within Nigeria, who hire corrupt law enforcement and other informants to secure drug safe passage (Kadiri & Abdulmajeed, 2019). The well-established criminal networks are also adept at avoiding international sanctions, as well as stigmatizing drug trafficking and thus limiting law enforcement's ability to prosecute those involved successfully (Olusola & Clement, 2009). In addition to the international smuggling of narcotics, Ni has several internal contributing factors to the drug abuse and drug trafficking epidemic. Nigeria's porous borders, lack of effective drug laws, expansive coastline, and lax government monitoring of imports and exports allow for relatively simple access to illegal drugs (Kadiri & Abdulmajeed, 2019).

Additionally, Nigeria's and the region's corruption-based economy allows for the bribery of law enforcement officials, customs agents, and other officials to facilitate the movement of narcotics (Anomemu et al., 2015). The country's limited economic access often leads to poverty, which, in turn, encourages citizens to become potential traffickers for drug networks hoping to capitalize on Nigeria's strategic geopolitical positioning near major drug-producing countries (Olusola & Clement, 2009). The combination of these factors creates a perfect storm that enables criminal networks to flourish and quickly move drugs around the country within the region.

Several concerted laws and programmes have been enacted to counter the narcotics epidemic throughout the Jonathan and Buhari administrations. Jonathan created a new drug masterplan initiative under the umbrella of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, which sought to coordinate domestic and regional efforts directed at traffickers (Kadiri & Abdulmajeed, 2019). The program also funded training for law enforcement and programs to raise drug awareness for citizens and those vulnerable to the influence of narcotics (Kadiri & Abdulmajeed, 2019). Buhari renewed the previous administration's efforts, broadening the scope of the drug masterplan, amending drug laws, and providing additional resources to law enforcement (Ekwunife & Ogar, 2017). The causes and effects of drug abuse and drug trafficking have created a multifaceted crisis in Nigeria—international smuggling of illegal narcotics and the internal facilitators of drug trafficking. The Jonathan and Buhari administrations have worked to combat these forces in various ways, mainly through coordinated law enforcement actions and awareness programmes. While progress has certainly been made to address the drug trafficking crisis, there is still much to be done in Nigeria to address the epidemic fully.

In FGD conducted Abuja about (6) members observed that.

there is a drug trafficking crisis in Nigeria. The country has long been a hub for drug trafficking between West African countries and Europe and has become increasingly important in recent years as traffickers seek to transport drugs across Africa and into the global market. The Nigerian government has taken steps to curb drug trafficking, including increased border surveillance and attempting to disrupt the transport routes commonly used by traffickers.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2017) indicates that Nigerian traffickers are a major supplier of cocaine to Europe and have an active presence in the global trade of heroin. In recent years, Nigeria has become a transit country for various illicit drugs trafficked from West and Central Africa, including cocaine and heroin. Additionally, the distribution of drugs in Nigeria has been an issue of growing concern and has led to increased levels of substance addiction and related harms.

While the FGD Abuja, about five (5) explained that Nigeria has experienced a crisis in drug trafficking in recent years. In response, the Nigerian government has taken aggressive action to try to reduce the supply of drugs and prosecute those responsible for trafficking them. The government has also created programmes to educate the public about the dangers of illegal drugs. From these opinions, but the Nigerian government has taken aggressive action to try to reduce the supply of drugs and prosecute those responsible for trafficking them. In 2018, President Buhari approved the establishment of a Presidential Advisory Committee on the Elimination of Drug Abuse (PACA) to "strengthen existing structures and systems in the fight against drug abuse and illicit trafficking and to create new ones where necessary" (Daily Trust, 2018). The committee is empowered to recommend policies to the president regarding drug abuse prevention, as well as law enforcement and prosecution of those responsible for the trafficking of drugs.

In KII session, Dr Raymond, professor, Audu, and Dr Okofor observed that.

to address the drug crisis in Nigeria, it is necessary to focus on education and prevention initiatives to inform citizens of the risks posed by drug use, as well as the implementation of harm reduction and medication-assisted treatment programs. There needs to be increased funding of research-backed initiatives to target the underlying causes of drug use, coupled with an increase in access to mental health services. Moreover, policies must be regularly evaluated in terms of their effectiveness, and involvement of both local and national level governments is needed to ensure best practices.

They further stated that preventive services and resources must be provided to impoverished communities to reduce poverty, which has been correlated to increased drug use. It can become an effective system if monitoring drug use and addiction is essential to effectively deliver solutions. This is supported by Hussain who stated that one critical measure that could be implemented to help reduce the drug crisis in Nigeria is strengthening the enforcement of laws related to prevention, policing, and treatment. Improved access to treatment, rehabilitation, and mental health services for people facing substance abuse could also help to reduce drug use in the country (Hussain et al., 2018). Additionally, raising awareness about the consequences of drug use, conducting educational campaigns about the prevention and

treatment of drug use problems, and providing adequate social support for people in recovery from drug addiction could help to further reduce the prevalence of drug use in Nigeria (Gerasimchuk, 2020).

Furthermore, explained that Immigration and customs officers have an important role to play in the fight against drugs abuse and trafficking in Nigeria. Nigeria is one of the countries at the highest risk for drug trafficking due to its strategic geographical position between West Africa and the Middle East. Because of this, its borders offer a wide avenue for the illegal trafficking of drugs. Customs officers are responsible for monitoring the in-flows and out-flows of these drugs in and out of the country and for investigating any potential cases of drug trafficking.

These views were reinforced by (Udore, 2018). To effectively monitor and enforce drug abuse laws, Nigeria has adopted the International Police (INTERPOL) framework. This framework allows the Immigration and Customs Services (ICE) to cooperate with its foreign counterparts to control and contain drugs crossing national boundaries (Haruna &Ladan, 2019). Nigerian ICE officers also participate in training exercises with foreign counterparts, including the United States Coast Guard, to hone their skills for detection and prevention of drug trafficking (Udore, 2018). Customs and immigration officers also have major role to play in the prevention of drug abuse as traffickers rely on fake identification documents to infiltrate their networks.

4.12 Strategies That Can Used in The Fight Against Drug Trafficking in Nigeria

Researchers such as Uduoka and others revealed that political will is a fundamental factor in improving the fight against drug trafficking in Nigeria. It is essential that the government creates a robust institutional framework and allocates sufficient resources to combat the illicit drug trade. This includes providing adequate funding, personnel, and equipment to security forces, enacting effective legislation, and supporting public health and social services (Udoka et al., 2019). Furthermore, the government should strive to create greater public awareness and engagement to reduce the demand and supply of drugs. This could include public education campaigns and awareness-raising initiatives around the dangers of drug trafficking, as well as engaging in capacity-building activities and collaborating with other countries in the region to improve regional security (Udoka et al., 2019). In a study by Okafor, he suggested that the Nigerian government should increase its efforts to combat drug trafficking by increasing its law enforcement efforts, such as increasing funding for police officers, increasing surveillance and intelligence gathering, and increasing resources for federal and local law enforcement agencies (Okafor, 2017). In a similar suggestion, Kanu put forward the idea that public education campaigns can be used to raise awareness about the dangers of drug trafficking and the consequences for those caught engaging in it. This can help reduce the demand for drugs and discourage people from engaging in drug trafficking activities (Kanu, 2018).

Also, Ipaye opines that the Nigerian government should implement strict laws that punish those caught engaging in drug trafficking activities. This will deter those thinking of engaging in such activities (Ipaye, 2019). While Adebisi maintains that to combat drug trafficking effectively, the Nigerian government must improve its border security. This can be done by increasing the number of security personnel at the borders and implementing more advanced technologies, such as motion sensors and X-ray machines (Adebisi, 2020). Improving access to treatment and rehabilitation services for those addicted to drugs is another important strategy for fighting drug trafficking in Nigeria.

This could involve providing access to affordable and quality treatment and rehabilitation services and psychosocial support to those in need of help. This could be achieved through collaboration between the government, non-governmental organisations, and private healthcare providers (Nnaji et al., 2019).

According to Nnaji et al. (2019), increasing public awareness about the dangers of drug trafficking is also a critical strategy for combating the issue. This could involve campaigns to raise awareness about the dangers of drug trafficking, its impact on society, and the need for prevention efforts. It could also involve educating the public on the various forms of drug trafficking and the consequences of participating in such activities (Nnaji et al., 2019). Strengthening law enforcement is an essential strategy for fighting drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve enhancing the capacity of law enforcement agencies to respond to and investigate drug trafficking activities effectively. This could include capacity building for law enforcement personnel and improved intelligence gathering and analysis (Nnaji et al., 2019). The UNODC emphasised that enhancing international cooperation is also a critical strategy for fighting drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve working with other countries in the region to share

information, intelligence, and best practices to combat drug trafficking activities more effectively. It could also involve working with international organisations such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to support the efforts of Nigeria and other countries in the region to combat drug trafficking (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, n.d.).

But Adeleye (2018) holds that increasing public awareness is also essential to fight drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve educating the public about the dangers of drug trafficking and the need to report any suspicious activities related to drug trafficking. It could also involve providing resources and support to victims of drug trafficking so they can better understand their rights and seek help when needed (Adeleye, 2018). Strengthening law enforcement is also essential for fighting drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve training and equipping law enforcement officials so they can more effectively investigate and prosecute drug trafficking activities. It could also involve creating specialised units or task forces to focus on drug trafficking activities to disrupt and dismantle drug trafficking networks more effectively (Adeleye, 2018). It is also suggested that implementing prevention programmes is also an important strategy for fighting drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve providing educational programmes for young people to reduce the risk of them becoming involved in drug trafficking. Prevention programmes could also include community-based initiatives to reduce drug access and support those affected by drug trafficking (Nwankwo, 2019).

Again, the government should take steps to strengthen the law enforcement system to better combat drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve increasing the number of police officers and providing them with the necessary training and resources to effectively investigate and prosecute drug traffickers (Oluwatosin, 2019). It is also argued that it is important to raise public awareness about the dangers of drug trafficking in Nigeria. This could involve launching media campaigns and organising public events to educate people about the risks associated with drug trafficking (Oladipupo et al., 2019).

In the KII session, the UNODC project head,

Explained that some of the strategies are to increase public awareness campaigns about the consequences of drug trafficking and the risks of being involved in it. This includes increasing funding for law enforcement agencies to enable them to tackle drug trafficking more effectively. Implementing border control measures such as the installation of surveillance cameras, infrared detectors, and increased patrols in areas where drug trafficking is known to occur.

He then commented on enlisting international cooperation, which according to him involves working with other countries to exchange information regarding drug trafficking and coordinate efforts to combat it. Creating and maintaining rehabilitation centres to provide treatment and counselling services to those who have been involved in drug trafficking and are looking to turn their lives around.

In FGD at Mushin, about seven (7) members of the group are in agreement that strengthening of law enforcement and border security: Increasing the resources available to law enforcement and border security agencies to fight drug trafficking in Nigeria can help reduce trafficking activities.: Strengthening the Nigerian criminal justice system by improving legal procedures, increasing the capacity of the courts, and providing access to legal aid for those charged with drug offenses can help to deter traffickers and reduce the demand for drugs. Developing and implementing prevention and rehabilitation programmes can help reduce the demand for drugs and provide support to vulnerable individuals who may be at risk of getting involved in drug trafficking.

They further stated that raising public awareness of the dangers of drug trafficking and the potential consequences can help reduce the demand for drugs, as well as discourage people from getting involved in trafficking activities. Enhancing cooperation between Nigeria and other countries in the region can help to disrupt drug trafficking activities by sharing information and intelligence, and by providing resources to target traffickers operating across borders. The administration should ensure that those found guilty of drug trafficking are given strict punishments, including lengthy prison sentences and heavy fines. This will be a deterrent to potential drug traffickers. The administration should strengthen law enforcement by increasing the number of personnel dedicated to combating drug trafficking, as well as providing them with the necessary resources and training. The administration should create a drug-free workplace by

implementing drug testing programmes and providing educational programs to inform employees about the dangers of drug use. The administration should also provide alternative economic opportunities for those who participate in drug trafficking, to give them a viable way to make a living without resorting to criminal activities. The administration should increase funding for initiatives that aim to reduce drug use and drug trafficking, such as public health campaigns, research, and development of new treatments, and providing access to drug treatment services.

Also, Ojukwu opines that increasing the presence of police officers in areas known for drug trafficking could be a useful way to help combat the problem. This would involve the deployment of more police officers to areas where drug trafficking is known to occur and increasing the number of patrols conducted in those areas. Additionally, greater cooperation between police forces in different states could be beneficial in deterring drug trafficking (Ojukwu, 2020).

He further stated that improving security measures at the borders of Nigeria is another potential way to help reduce drug trafficking. This could involve increasing surveillance and the use of modern technology to detect and prevent the smuggling of drugs into the country. Additionally, increasing the penalties for those caught smuggling drugs could also help to deter potential traffickers (Ojukwu, 2020). He suggested that education and awareness efforts could be a useful way to help reduce drug trafficking in Nigeria. These efforts could involve educating people about the dangers of drug trafficking and providing information about available support services for those struggling with addiction. Additionally, providing resources for people looking to get involved in drug prevention efforts could help to raise awareness and reduce the demand for drugs (Ojukwu, 2020).

In a KII session with community leaders at Mushin, (6) six members of the group unanimously stated that:

Jonathan and Buhari administrations have taken several initiatives to tackle drug problems. They also increased penalties for drug traffickers, increased public awareness campaigns to discourage drug use, and improved the judiciary's capacity to prosecute drug traffickers. They have implemented several drug control and prevention initiatives, such as the National Drug Control Master Plan and the National Drug Demand Reduction Strategy. However, drug trafficking remains an issue in Nigeria, and the administrations have yet to fully address the root causes of the problem, such as poverty, corruption, and lack of access to education and employment.

The Jonathan and Buhari Administrations have faced several challenges in their efforts to counter illicit drug trafficking in Nigeria. These challenges include inadequate funding, corruption, lack of resources and personnel, weak enforcement, and inadequate regional and international cooperation (Rajab & Jega, 2019; Uwakwe, 2018). The inadequate regional and international cooperation has been a major challenge for both administrations. The lack of a coordinated response to drug trafficking has hindered the ability of the Nigerian government to effectively counter the problem (Uwakwe, 2018). This has hindered the implementation of regional and international laws and protocols to combat drug trafficking.

Supporting this view in KII Micheal Eten, Buba Ahmed and James peter stated that:

The administration has also increased its resources and manpower, as well as improved coordination among law enforcement and intelligence agencies. As a result of these efforts, there has been a decrease in drug trafficking activities in the country, with fewer arrests and seizures occurring in recent years. However, the challenge remains: many drug traffickers are still able to evade law enforcement and continue to operate in the country, meaning there is still much work to be done to maintain security in the face of drug trafficking.

Weak enforcement has been another challenge for the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in countering drug trafficking in Nigeria. The lack of enforcement of existing laws and regulations has allowed drug trafficking to continue to take place in the country (Rajab & Jega, 2019). Furthermore, the lack of coordination between federal and state law enforcement agencies has hindered the effectiveness of anti-drug initiatives (Uwakwe, 2018). This has allowed drug traffickers to continue to operate with impunity.

From experience, Inadequate funding and resources have also been challenges for the Jonathan and Buhari Administrations in countering drug trafficking in Nigeria. The lack of sufficient funding and resources has hindered the effectiveness of anti-drug initiatives, as there is not enough money and personnel to support such initiatives (Rajab & Jega, 2019). Furthermore, the lack of resources has also made it difficult for law enforcement agencies to pursue and prosecute drug traffickers (Uwakwe, 2018). However, Ogunbiyi and Adedimeji strengthening the legal framework and instituting more robust anti-corruption measures can help reduce demand for illicit substances, as well as improve transparency and accountability in the criminal justice system (Ogunbiyi & Adedimeji, 2018). This can lead to more effective enforcement of drug laws and reduce the risk of corruption, which can facilitate the prosecution of drug traffickers and reduce the availability of drugs on the streets. Finally, strengthening the legal framework and instituting more robust anti-corruption measures can help reduce demand for illicit substances, as well as improve transparency and accountability in the criminal justice system (Ogunbiyi & Adedimeji, 2018). This can lead to more effective enforcement of drug laws and reduce the risk of corruption, which can facilitate the prosecution of drug traffickers and reduce the availability of drugs on the streets.

In a FGD at Abuja airport, seven (7) members of the group stated that improving laws and institutional frameworks will help in the fight against drug trafficking in Nigeria by strengthening existing legal mechanisms and creating new ones that will increase the capacity of the country to effectively combat drug trafficking. This includes strengthening the capacity of law enforcement and regulatory agencies, including the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), to detect and prosecute drug traffickers, as well as providing resources for drug prevention and addiction treatment programmes. Additionally, laws and frameworks can be used to establish and implement effective border control measures to prevent the illegal importation of drugs, as well as to improve international cooperation between countries to combat the global drug trade. Furthermore, laws and frameworks can be used to create measures that will address the root causes of drug trafficking, such as poverty, inequality, and lack of economic opportunities in the country, to reduce the incentive to turn to drug trafficking as a means of income.

According to Malik, Shehu & Onwudike (2015) suggested that reform criminal justice system ensure that drug traffickers are held accountable for their actions. This can be done by improving the speed and efficiency of investigations and prosecutions, as well as providing more resources and training for police and prosecutors. Finally, the government should work to ensure that Nigeria has a well-equipped and professionally trained police force. This would enable them to respond quickly and effectively to instances of drug trafficking and abuse. Additionally, police officers should be given specialised training in drug crime investigation and prosecution. This would enable them to identify and apprehend suspects, as well as prosecute those found guilty of drug crimes more effectively. The government should also work to ensure that the judicial system is properly equipped to try drug-related cases. This would include providing adequate facilities for the storage and processing of evidence, as well as for the testimony of witnesses. This would enable the judiciary to bring justice more effectively to those convicted of drug-related offences. The government should also work to ensure that the legal system is well-equipped to oversee drug-related cases. This would involve providing adequate resources for the legal representation of those accused of drug offenses, as well as ensuring that they have access to a fair and impartial trial. This would ensure that those accused of drug-related crimes are able to receive a fair and just trial.

From all these, one key policy that could help in the fight against drug trafficking in Nigeria is the strengthening of border control. This can be achieved by increasing the number of law enforcement personnel and implementing advanced technologies such as surveillance systems and biometric scanners (Dawodu, 2020). Additionally, the Nigerian government should develop effective information sharing mechanisms with other countries in the region to better coordinate their efforts and combat the cross-border trafficking of drugs (O'Rourke, 2020). These measures would help reduce the availability of drugs on the streets and make it more difficult for traffickers to move them across borders. Increase the number of law enforcement personnel involved in the fight against drug trafficking: Nigeria should increase the number of law enforcement personnel, including the police, customs, immigration, and other relevant agencies, to monitor the trafficking of drugs. This would help strengthen the fight against drug trafficking in the country. Increase intelligence gathering and information sharing:

Nigeria should increase its intelligence gathering and information sharing between the relevant agencies. This would help to identify and disrupt drug trafficking networks operating in the country. Nigeria should strengthen its border security to help prevent the trafficking of drugs into the country. This should include increased surveillance, better training for personnel and improved technology. Increase access to education and employment opportunities: Nigeria should increase access to education and employment opportunities for young people, as well as create economic incentives for them to remain engaged in legitimate activities. This would help reduce the appeal of drug trafficking for vulnerable individuals. Nigeria has seen tremendous increases in the rate of drug trafficking and abuse over the past decade. This is due to a variety of factors, including a weak criminal justice system, lack of resources and education, and the availability of drugs in the country. To combat the increasing problem of drug trafficking and abuse, the Nigerian government must take steps to improve its criminal justice system.

The first step in tackling the issue of drug trafficking and abuse in Nigeria is to strengthen the criminal justice system. This includes increasing funding for law enforcement and judicial personnel, ensuring that all cases are investigated and prosecuted properly, and providing resources to ensure that justice is served. Additionally, the Nigerian government should focus on creating an effective legal framework for drug offences, including the introduction of tougher penalties for those convicted of drug offences. Increased surveillance and monitoring in areas that are known to be hotspots for drug trafficking can also help deter traffickers from entering the country.

Another way to improve Nigeria's criminal justice system is to increase public awareness and education about the dangers of drug trafficking and abuse. This can be done through public campaigns and outreach programmes, as well as through partnerships with local organisations and schools. Additionally, the government should increase access to drug treatment centres and provide more funding for drug prevention efforts. This could help to reduce the prevalence of drug abuse in the country, which would in turn reduce the number of drug traffickers operating within the country. The government should also strengthen the laws surrounding drug trafficking and abuse. This could be done by increasing the severity of punishments for drug offences, as well as increasing the resources available to law enforcement to investigate and prosecute those involved in drug trafficking. Again, the government could increase the resources available to the judiciary to ensure that drug offenders are given fair and effective sentences. The government should also work to improve the infrastructure and resources of the Nigerian criminal justice system. This could include investing in better training and technology for police officers, as well as providing better access to justice for those who cannot afford it.

Moreover, the government should invest in more rehabilitation and reintegration programmes for those who have been convicted of drug offenses. Finally, the government should work to ensure that the Nigerian criminal justice system is more inclusive and responsive to the needs of its citizens. This could be done through increased public engagement, as well as through the implementation of laws and policies that prioritise the rights of those affected by drug trafficking and abuse. Additionally, the government should invest in the development of programs that provide support to those who are victims of drug trafficking and abuse, such as rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. These programmes could be targeted towards those who have been convicted of crimes related to drug trafficking and abuse, as well as those who are victims of the same offences.

Furthermore, the government should work to increase the efficiency of the Nigerian criminal justice system by making reforms to existing laws and policies. This could include the revision of sentencing guidelines, as well as the introduction of alternative sentencing options such as community service and alternative dispute resolution. Additionally, the government should work to ensure that the criminal justice system is more accessible to those in need of legal assistance, by increasing the availability of legal aid, and by providing more resources for legal representation. The government should also work to ensure that the criminal justice system is more effective in addressing drug trafficking and abuse. This could be done by increasing the number of drug-related crimes that are seen as worthy of a criminal charge, as well as the number of resources devoted to the investigation and prosecution of these crimes. Additionally, the government should work to ensure that law enforcement and prosecution agencies have the necessary resources and capabilities to effectively investigate and prosecute drug trafficking and abuse.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Based on the data presentation and analysis, the following findings were gathered:

- i. The study found that the age bracket that abuses drugs most in Nigeria is between the ages of 18 to 40. That does not mean other age brackets are not involved, but according to the research, the most involved age bracket is between the ages of 18 to 40.
- ii. The study shows that there has been an increase in drug trafficking and seizures in Abuja and Lagos since 2010. From 2010 to 2014, the NDLEA reported 10,255 drug-related arrests in Abuja and 11,971 drug seizures in Lagos. In 2015, this figure increased to 13,077 arrests in Lagos and 12,818 seizures in Abuja. From 2016 to 2018, the NDLEA reported 15,971 arrests in Lagos and 14,528 seizures in Abuja. In 2019, the figures increased to 17,405 arrests in Lagos and 15,643 seizures in Abuja. The level of drug trafficking and seizures in Lagos and Abuja has increased significantly between 2010 and 2019. Thus, it has been a significant cause of concern as the number of seizures, arrests, and drug-related convictions has steadily increased in Lagos and Abuja since 2010.
- iii. The findings from this study discovered that drugs come into Nigeria through airports, seaports, land borders, and courier/mail companies, among others. However, it is worthy of note that they mostly come in through the waterways and aircraft.
- iv. This study provides new insights into several factors responsible for drug trafficking under Nigeria's Jonathan and Buhari administrations. These factors include unemployment, poverty, lack of political will, organised crime, economic instability, lack of funding for law enforcement responsible for addressing drug trafficking, and lack of support for policies and strategies that effectively reduce drug trafficking.
- v. Another critical finding was that the Southwest Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria had the highest incidence of drug abuse between 2010-2019, especially in Lagos and Oyo States. This is because Lagos has an international airport and a seaport and serves as the commercial centre in Nigeria. Furthermore, as established earlier, drugs mostly come into Nigeria through seaports and international airports.
- vi. The current study found that the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency and other related institutions have tried to fight drug abuse and trafficking in Nigeria. Some of the efforts include the arrest of drug traffickers, seizures of drugs and prosecution of drug traffickers, counselling, rehabilitation, and reintegration of drug-dependent individuals into society to help them stay off drugs. Others include the sharing of intelligence among the agencies, as well as educating the youth on the use of illicit drugs.
- vii. One interesting finding from the primary data during field reports was that the level of drug trafficking and seizures is higher in Lagos than in Abuja. It was because there were more passengers and international flights in Lagos, and a seaport in Lagos made Lagos a commercial capital. At the same time, Abuja is the administrative capital. Also, Lagos has better-scanning facilities due to the number of goods and foreigners entering the country by water and air.
- viii. One unexpected finding was that the Jonathan administration took a less aggressive approach to tackling drug trafficking and its threats to national security. The Buhari administration has taken a more proactive approach to tackling drug trafficking. Even though there is an increase in insecurity under the Buhari administration, its proactive approach has made it more committed to the fight against drug trafficking in Nigeria.
- ix. The most prominent finding to emerge from the analysis is that the leading causes for drug trafficking are the country's weak law enforcement and the availability of drugs in the country, the proximity to neighbouring countries such as Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and the Benin Republic has also facilitated the movement of drugs across borders. Also, the presence of organised crime groups in the country has provided a platform for the trafficking of illicit substances.
- x. Concerning the research questions, the primary and secondary data gathered provided a better understanding of the scope of drug trafficking in the country, the strategies implemented by the two administrations to tackle the drug issue, and the effectiveness of these measures in improving national security.
- xi. This finding has important implications for developing a modernised anti-narcotics policy that should prevent organised crime and drug trafficking through a broad strategy that includes prevention programmes as a public health concern and strengthening the drug laws.
- xii. The study has helped us to understand rational choice theory in the context of drug trafficking in terms of motivation and decision-making. Individuals weigh the potential financial rewards of engaging in the drug trade against the risks of being caught and the potential punishments that could come with it. This theory

- suggests that individuals make decisions based on rational calculations of the costs and benefits of each action and that their behaviours can be predicted based on these calculations.
- xiii. The study finds out that current strategies and policies in Nigeria are insufficient to mitigate the issue of drug trafficking effectively. Nigeria has encountered a protracted obstacle with drug trafficking due to its proximity to prohibited drugs' origins and transit pathways. Despite the concerted efforts undertaken by the government to grapple with the issue at hand, there remains a lack of substantial advancement in this regard.
- xiv. This study has demonstrated, for the first time, that under Jonathan and Buhari administrations, attempts to curb illicit drug problems have been unsuccessful. While much still needs to be done to ensure a complete end to the country's drug epidemic, their joint efforts have proven highly ineffective in making the country safer or reducing the threat of drug abuse, addiction, and trafficking.

5.2 Testing of Research Assumptions

Assumption One: Lack of political will on the part of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations to curb the proliferation of hard drugs is a major cause of national insecurity in Nigeria.

From the data presentation and analysis, it has been discovered that many of the respondents directly and indirectly linked their responses regarding the major causes of national insecurity in Nigeria to lack of political will. For instance, Ogunmade Adetayo noted that:

Political will refers to the determination and commitment of government leaders to act on a particular issue. In the case of drug trafficking, a lack of political will on the part of government leaders is preventing effective measures from being put in place to combat the problem and protect national security.

According to Tijani Oladipo, Dr Raymond and Bar Anthony explained that one major challenge is the significant financial resources and sophisticated networks that are often involved in drug trafficking, which can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to disrupt and dismantle these organisations. Additionally, the illegal nature of drug trafficking means that it often operates in the shadows, making it difficult to track and monitor the activities of traffickers. Lack of political will is a significant factor in the ability to curb drug trafficking and address national security issues under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations.

They further suggested that for effective action to be taken against drug trafficking and other security threats, political leaders must be willing to prioritize these issues and allocate the necessary resources to address them. Without strong political will and commitment, it can be difficult to make progress in these areas.

Hamisu Dauda and Prof. Moses Audu, a Professor of Criminology noted that:

Nigeria's economic situation has made it difficult for many people to find legitimate employment and earn a living wage, forcing them to turn to drug trafficking as a source of income. Also, Nigeria's high unemployment rate has left many people desperate for work and willing to do whatever it takes to make money. This has made drug trafficking an attractive option.

The rampant corruption in Nigeria's government has allowed drug traffickers to operate with relative impunity. The lack of enforcement of existing drug laws has allowed drug trafficking to thrive in Nigeria. Nigeria's porous borders make it easy for traffickers to smuggle drugs into the country. Also, many Nigerians lack access to educational opportunities, leaving them vulnerable to the false promises of drug traffickers (UNODC, 2015).

In his explanation, Comrade Julius Tobi said that:

Lack of funding for law enforcement and other agencies that are responsible for addressing drug trafficking, as well as lack of support for policies and strategies that have been shown to be effective in reducing drug trafficking. The emphasis is that governments and law enforcement agencies often have limited resources, including financial and personnel resources, which can make it difficult to effectively combat drug trafficking and protect national security.

Funding for law enforcement and other agencies that are responsible for addressing drug trafficking is an essential part of combating the global drug trade. Without adequate funding, these agencies lack the resources necessary to effectively investigate and prosecute drug traffickers and disrupt their supply chains. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "significant additional resources are needed to strengthen the capacity of law enforcement and other agencies to address drug trafficking" (UNODC, 2018). Without increased funding, law enforcement agencies are unable to adequately target and disrupt drug traffickers, and the drug trade continues to thrive.

Furthermore, Capt. Ismail Bankole and Micheal believed:

Demand for illicit drugs in Nigeria and other countries fuels the drug trade. When transnational criminal organisations engage in illicit drug trafficking. These organisations have access to resources and networks that allow them to facilitate the movement of drugs across borders. The profits associated with illicit drug trafficking make it an attractive option for criminal organisations. The high profits can make it difficult for law enforcement to disrupt the drug trade. From these discussions, the UNODC (2018) stated that the political will of the government is an important factor in preventing drug trafficking and abuse. Governments can take a variety of steps to combat drug trafficking and abuse, such as increasing funding for prevention and treatment services, strengthening border security, and enforcing laws and sanctions against traffickers and abusers (UNODC, 2018). For example, the government can introduce laws to criminalise drug trafficking, strengthen border control to limit the flow of drugs, and increase resources for law enforcement and border security personnel (UNODC, 2018). Additionally, the government can invest in effective public health interventions, such as providing access to treatment and support services for those who struggle with addiction (UNODC, 2018). By taking these steps, the government can create a strong deterrent against drug trafficking and abuse.

Several researchers advocated that the political will of the government can be used to effectively prevent drug trafficking and abuse by implementing evidence-based policies and legislation to address the root causes of drug use. These policies should focus on reducing the availability of drugs, increasing access to treatment and prevention services, providing education and awareness campaigns, and enforcing the law (Adebayo, 2020). Additionally, increased funding from the government for drug enforcement and treatment services can help deter drug trafficking and reduce the prevalence of drug abuse.

Nevertheless, the government intervention can also help to reduce the stigma and discrimination surrounding drug use, making it less likely that people will use drugs in the first place (Umar, 2020). Government interventions can include public awareness campaigns, the criminalization of drug trafficking, the implementation of drug testing programmes in schools and workplaces, and the use of treatment and rehabilitation services for those with substance use disorders (Umar, 2020). Additionally, governments can provide resources to support research into the prevention and treatment of drug abuse (Ogunlesi, 2020). By taking a proactive stance on drug abuse and trafficking, governments can create an environment that is less conducive to drug-related activities, thereby helping to reduce the prevalence of drug abuse in society.

It is noticeably clear that most of the responses are linked to lack of political will by the two administrations under study to curb the proliferation of hard drugs. It can therefore be said that lack of political will on the part of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations to curb the proliferation of hard drugs is a major cause of national insecurity in Nigeria. That is to say, the stated assumption is accepted.

Assumption Two: In fighting drug trafficking and insecurity in Nigeria, the Jonathan administration plays a more significant role than the Buhari administration.

Regarding this assumption, diverse views were derived from both primary and secondary data in comparing the two administrations. While Jonathan succeeded more in some other areas, Buhari did better in key areas. With respect to Jonathan's successes, KwalaJona maintains that: "Drug trafficking is higher under the Buhari administration, because of the high rate of terrorism and banditry in the country."

In KII session with Erhurhi Otega Urhievweda and Sunday Ugbede Oguche stated that:

We think the level of drug trafficking under the Buhari administration is higher than that of under Jonathan. Also, more arrests are being made now than during the Jonathan administration, which is why we are having more cases of criminality such as Yahoo Boys. "It is high in the Buhari administration due to economic depression.

The increase in trade suggests that these organisations are gaining in ability, strength, and global reach. There are signs that Latin American trafficking syndicates have expanded into the region. Several Latin Americans from countries including Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Mexico, some with known or suspected links to cocaine syndicates, have been arrested for cocaine cases in East Africa.

On the contrary, Dr Raymond, Prof. Moses Audu and Buba Ahmed explained that:

Let us first look at the manpower of NDLEA under both administrations. Under Jonathan, our manpower was just about 5,000 nationwide. And how can you police a country like Nigeria with such manpower? The Buhari administration has doubled that number, that's 100 percent increase of the workforce. In terms of budget, NDLEA was a weeping baby under the Jonathan administration. There is an increase on that under Buhari. These improvements are what you can see transmitting to the arrests and seizures. In other words, there is an improvement in arrests and seizures due to the increase in workforce, coordination, etc.

Under both administrations, the manpower of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) was limited in its ability to effectively combat drug trafficking. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "the NDLEA has a limited number of personnel to cover the whole country and to detect, interdict and investigate drug-related crimes" (UNODC, 2016).

Furthermore, a 2018 report by the International Drug Policy Consortium noted that the NDLEA "has limited resources and faces staffing shortages" (IDPC, 2018).

According to James peter and Dr Okafor,

We know that the Jonathan administration has tried to support the NDLEA, but because things are changing, when Buhari comes, he has done better. For instance, our workforce has doubled. Considering other things, I think Buhari's administration has done more. Another thing that I would like us to always consider in a matter like this is, the problem is not only with the leaders, but the ability of the people who headed the agencies to push their requests to the political leaders also matters.

Maryam Danna Mohammed and Dr. Afolabi Abiodun Ademola stated that: "I believe that the NDLEA and other security agencies have more support from the government now than may be the time of Jonathan." They further stated that.

To me, it is not that the level of trafficking is too high now, but because NDLEA and the government are now doing better than before. That is why everyone is not praising Buba Marwa. If I need to relate it to the issue of JAMB, it was reported when the JAMB changed leadership to Prof. Oloyede. They investigated one woman in Benue State they said that a snake stole some money. But if some people in the media want to report it, they will say it happened under the Buhari government, whereas that case happened under Jonathan.

In addition to the above, it has been gathered that under the Jonathan administration, efforts were made to strengthen the criminal justice system, including the establishment of the National Drug Control Council and a National Drug Control Strategy.

The Buhari administration, on the other hand, has focused more on prevention and awareness, including the establishment of the National Drug Control Commission (NDCC) and the launch of the National Drug Control Strategy.

In comparison, the Jonathan administration took a less aggressive approach to tackling drug trafficking and its threats to national security. While the Jonathan administration adopted a more passive approach to drug trafficking, the Buhari administration has taken a more initiative-taking approach in tackling drug trafficking. The Jonathan administration also sought to strengthen the country's border control and reduce the number of drug-related crimes. On the other hand, the Buhari administration has sought to tackle the issue of drug trafficking and its impact on national security from a more holistic perspective.

However, although there has been an increase in insecurity under the Buhari administration, but its counter measures have demonstrated commitment to the fight against drug trafficking and insecurity in Nigeria. That is to say, the stated assumption is rejected.

Assumption Three: Terrorism and border control challenges are the major issues in the fight against drug trafficking under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in Nigeria.

Considering the data on the porous border, Buba Ahmed stated that:

Drugs from Latin America usually arrive West Africa via her maritime borders in the Atlantic Ocean especially through Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde owing to their unpoliced waters. Some illicit drugs are also trafficked via air into privately owned airstrips in Guinea Bissau.

Thereafter, these drugs are trafficked across land borders of West African States to Europe and other destinations due to the porous state of these borders. In other words, a porous border is a challenge.

According to a United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report, many of these drugs, specifically cocaine, are smuggled through the waters off the coast of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (UNODC, 2020). This is due to the lack of policing in the area, allowing smugglers to transport drugs with relative ease. The drugs are then trafficked further inland to West African countries, as well as Europe.

Barr. Joseph Wale added that:

Drug traffickers and other national security threats are often highly adaptable and may change their tactics in response to law enforcement efforts. This can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to stay ahead of these groups and protect national security. Cross-border nature of drug trafficking: Drug trafficking is a global problem that involves the movement of drugs across national borders. This can make it difficult for law enforcement agencies to identify and track drug traffickers and can also make it easier for traffickers to evade detection.

To buttress their positions, Somerville (2013) stated that, within the region lie inter-state borders characterised by mountain ranges such as Adamawa Highland between Nigeria-Cameroon, Fouta Djallon Mountain along Guinea-Mali and Guinea Highland along Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire borders. Additionally, border security agencies within the region are weak, ill-equipped, and poorly funded to effectively manage the borders. In addition, Okumu (2016) argued (Atkins, 1997) (Bennett, 2005) (Robson, 2002) (UNODC, 2016) opines that porous borders engender uncontrolled movement of persons, goods, and services across territories of Member States thus engendering transnational national crimes such as drug trafficking. Coastal states such as Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ghana, among others have intricate networks of creeks and estuaries that are difficult to police, which are being exploited by desperate drug traffickers. These multiple challenges have resulted in porosity of borders within West Africa with many countries having unmanned and illegal entry and exit points along their borders. This situation makes detecting movement of illicit drugs across the region difficult thus encouraging drug trafficking and adversely affecting regional security in countries such as Nigeria.

In similar position, Lorino suggested that under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in Nigeria, terrorism and border control have been identified as two challenges in the fight against drug trafficking (Lorino, 2019). These challenges have been addressed by the Nigerian government through a variety of strategies, including the deployment of the Nigerian Armed Forces to the country's borders to combat terrorism, the establishment of the Office of the National Security Adviser to coordinate efforts against drug trafficking, and the introduction of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency to tackle drug trafficking at the national level (Lorino, 2019). Additionally, the government has also implemented several measures to strengthen border control, such as the introduction of drones and other surveillance technologies, the introduction of biometric passports, and the creation of a border force to patrol the country's borders (Lorino, 2019). These measures have been successful in helping to reduce the prevalence of drug trafficking in Nigeria.

Therefore, from the data analysis, it is obvious that terrorism and border control challenges may be some of the issues in the fight against drug trafficking under the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in Nigeria, but they are not key issues. That is to say, the stated assumption is rejected.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study shows the socioeconomic factors contributing to drug trafficking and the national security threats it poses in Nigeria. As noted, Nigeria's drug trafficking is driven by socioeconomic factors like poverty, civil unrest, organised crime, corruption, limited access to education, high unemployment rates, and financial difficulties, posing national security risks. Drug trafficking is flourishing in Nigeria due to its strategic location and the prevalent poverty, inequality, and unemployment; Nigeria plays a crucial role in facilitating the trafficking of illegal drugs on an international level.

The significant prevalence of poverty and dearth of economic prospects have resulted in the widespread emergence of well-structured criminal groups that are deeply engaged in drug smuggling. Moreover, Nigeria's disorderly state of security, coupled with the absence of an organised government reaction to drug trafficking, has provided trafficking groups with a more favourable environment to function. The implications of drug trafficking on national security are varied and complex, spanning from heightened levels of coercion and undermining the rule of law. Nigeria has also sought to address this menace by enacting the NDLEA Act 1990. The Act mandated the establishment of a National Drug Law Enforcement Agency to lead national strategies to counter drug trafficking and its related crimes. Over the past decade, the Agency has made progress in establishing a clear and consistent legal framework to curb the nationwide production, transnational trafficking, and consumption of illicit drugs. The NDLEA has continued to play a significant role in the implementation of security and counter-narcotics policies involving the deployment of various

tactics, from intelligence and surveillance to drug interdiction and arrests. The study employed rational choice theory, which assumes that people act in their self-interest, weigh the costs and benefits of their actions, and make decisions that maximise their rewards. This theory can come in handy when it comes to analysing drug trafficking. By understanding why traffickers engage in drug trafficking, a researcher can gain insight into the various motivations and influences behind their decisions to traffic drugs. For example, a rational choice theorist might suggest that financial incentives and profit potential are significant reasons why individuals engage in drug trafficking, as this type of activity is typically highly profitable for successful people. This theory can also help us understand the specific strategies and techniques that traffickers use to avoid detection and maximise profits, such as using networks of smugglers, distribution systems, and techniques such as money laundering and corruption of public officials. By recognising and understanding the finances, power dynamics, and strategies used by drug traffickers, rational choice theorists can provide essential insights into how drug trafficking functions. The study uses qualitative analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the subject matter; key informant interviews were conducted with a select few individuals in a target population depth of knowledge or insight to answer research questions. Focus Group Discussions were conducted, which involved a small group of individuals (usually 8-10) to deliberate on the issue of illicit drug trafficking and examine the subject matter to obtain valuable insights through the discussions.

The most exciting aspect of the study was the comparative analysis of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations (2010-2019). It evaluates the measures taken by each Administration to reduce drug trafficking and strengthen national security, including increasing border security, creating anti-drug task forces, and enacting anti-drug legislation. It also considers the successes and challenges of each Administration in addressing drug trafficking and national security and identifies areas for improvement. As stated elsewhere, the issue of drug trafficking and national security has been of great concern for Nigeria over the past decade, and the security landscape has changed dramatically since the arrival of Presidents Jonathan and Buhari. Comparative analysis of their respective administrations (2010-2019) demonstrates a significant shift in the federal government's approach to drug trafficking and related national security issues. The Jonathan administration was not proactive in its approach to tackling the issue of drug trafficking and security in Nigeria. He prioritised greater regional cooperation and diplomatic action to address the threat domestically. Despite the increase in regional collaboration, however, the Jonathan administration seemed to view drug trafficking and security as an issue of secondary importance. His government received criticism for its need for a more proactive policy.

The most prominent finding from the analysis is that the Buhari administration has taken a more proactive approach towards tackling drug trafficking and security issues. To achieve this, the government has strengthened law enforcement institutions that carried out regular nationwide raids, resulting in numerous arrests. Furthermore, the government has invested considerable resources in training personnel and providing equipment and technology, improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the security personnel. The Administration has also sought to bolster public education initiatives focused on raising awareness about the dangers associated with illicit activities. Additionally, the government has funded several media campaigns to build awareness among citizens of the dangers of drug trafficking. The study found that the Jonathan administration took a more lenient approach to drug trafficking and national security, while the Buhari administration adopted a more aggressive stance. The Jonathan administration addressed the root causes of drug trafficking, such as poverty and lack of education. In contrast, the Buhari administration adopted more punitive measures, such as increased border security and increased penalties for drug-related crimes. Furthermore, the Nigerian government has taken a more proactive stance on international cooperation, focusing on exchanging information and resources with other countries to tackle drug trafficking and national security. The research suggests that the government should continue its efforts to address the challenges of drug trafficking threats as part of national security in the country.

Conclusion

The present study was designed to compare the strategies adopted by the Jonathan and Buhari administrations in tackling the menace of drug trafficking and its implications on national security between 2010 and 2019. The research is conducted by collecting and analysing relevant secondary data sources, interviews, and FGD with relevant stakeholders, such as law enforcement agencies, security personnel, and experts. This study has shown that under the Jonathan administration (2010-2015), drug trafficking in Nigeria devastated the country's national security. In particular, the emergence of transnational organised crime networks and drug cartels in the country created a significant security threat as they sought to control the lucrative trade and distribution of illicit drugs. This led to increased drug-related crimes, including kidnappings, robberies, insurgencies, and other forms of organised crime. Furthermore, the porous nature of Nigeria's borders allowed for the easy movement of drugs into and out of the country, thus creating additional security risks. Under the Buhari administration (2015-present), there have been several efforts to reduce the impact of drug trafficking on Nigeria's national security. The government increased its efforts to combat drug trafficking through collaborations and intelligence sharing with initiatives to strengthen the country's borders and improve its interdiction capabilities. The research has also shown that due to its geographical location, prevalent poverty, inequality, and joblessness, Nigeria is a significant hub for global drug trafficking. Drug smuggling is a challenging issue to regulate and supervise primarily due to the accessibility of traffickers to various countries through vast rural regions, coastal waterways, and unguarded borders. This study has found that, generally, with the prevalence of poverty and limited economic options, there has been a surge in well-organised illegal groups that predominantly engage in drug trafficking. The disordered security conditions in Nigeria, coupled with the absence of cohesive government intervention in drug trafficking, have facilitated the operation of trafficking groups. The consequences of drug trafficking on national security are varied, encompassing a surge in violence and corruption, erosion of the legal system, and disruption of economic progress. The research has also shown that illicit drug in Nigeria during the post-colonial power and the 1970s was a central transit point due to their proximity. This period saw an influx of illicit drugs being trafficked to Europe and North America, with much of the import trade originating from Nigeria's ports. In the 1980s, drug trafficking in Nigeria worsened due to the massive amounts of cocaine and heroin shipped in from Colombia by air and sea. Additionally, Nigeria saw a significant increase in drug trafficking from West African countries. By the early 1990s, drug trafficking in Nigeria had reached crisis levels, with an estimated \$2 billion worth of drugs trafficked annually. In response, the government formed the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) in 1990 to combat drug trafficking and organised crime. The NDLEA had limited success, with Nigerian drug trafficking routes expanding to include West, Central, and East Africa, South America, and Europe. In the 2000s, drug trafficking in Nigeria shifted from local operations to international networks. This period saw the emergence of sophisticated transnational drug trafficking organisations, such as the Nigerian Mafia, which increased the volume of drugs trafficked through the country. The rise of these organisations resulted in a dramatic increase in drug-related violence, particularly in the southwest of the country, where most of the drug trafficking was concentrated. By the 2010s, Nigeria was a significant source of methamphetamine, cocaine, ecstasy, and heroin, with criminal networks using the country as a drug transit point to Europe, the United Arab Emirates, and North America. In 2017, the NDLEA reported that it had seized 6,023 kilograms of drugs in the preceding year, a 55 per cent increase from the year before. To combat drug trafficking in Nigeria, the government has partnered with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to improve border controls and inter-agency coordination. In addition, the government has implemented stricter drug laws and increased education programs to reduce demand.

The most prominent finding to emerge from this study is that the lack of political will on the part of the Jonathan and Buhari administrations to combat the proliferation of hard drugs actively is a significant cause of national insecurity in Nigeria. Drug abuse has been linked to various criminal activities, including violent crime and terrorism, and is a significant factor in the country's instability. The government must take a proactive approach to tackle drug trafficking and abuse, including increased resources for law enforcement, targeted prevention and education campaigns, and better access to treatment and rehabilitation services. Without a concerted effort from the government, the problem will only worsen, leading to greater insecurity and instability in the country. The lack of political will to address the growing prevalence of hard drugs has increased drug-related crime and violence, further eroding the country's safety and security. The effectiveness of current national security policies in the fight against drug trafficking in Nigeria has been mixed. On the one hand, the Nigerian government has taken several measures to address the problem of drug trafficking and drug abuse. On the other hand, the effectiveness of these measures was limited due to the lack of resources, corruption, and poor control. In addition, the prevalence of drug trafficking and abuse in Nigeria is still

extremely high and a severe problem. To effectively deal with this problem, the government should increase its resources and funds for the relevant authorities and ensure the effective implementation of existing laws. In addition, the government should focus on raising awareness and educating the public about the harms of drug trafficking and abuse. Although, drug trafficking can pose a significant threat to national security because drug trafficking organisations often operate in a transnational manner and can have links to other criminal organisations and even terrorist groups. This can make it difficult for a country.

to protect its borders and maintain the rule of law within its territory. The study emphasises that Buhari plays a more crucial role in combatting drug use than the Jonathan Administration due to the implementation of intelligent drug control measures and enhanced support for personnel. The situation has contributed to a rise in drug-related law enforcement interventions, which, in turn, has enhanced the general level of security within the nation. A key aspect of comparison using the NDLEA's annual report has revealed that the Buhari Administration's dedication to combatting drug use has increased based on statistical data and analysis. The Agency's budget and workforce have been augmented by the Administration, along with a rise in the frequency of drug law enforcement activities—the number of drug offences resulting in successful prosecutions, as shown in the figures in 2016. Moreover, the Administration has introduced a more efficient supervision system to guarantee adherence to its anti-narcotics regulations and improve staff compensation plans. By contrast, the Jonathan Government was perceived as relatively lenient in combating drug-related issues since it did not boost funding or personnel numbers, and no significant advances have been made to enhance the Agency's effectiveness. It states that the Buhari Administration has been comparatively more successful in combatting drug use than its predecessor, the Jonathan Administration, due to intelligent drug control measures and enhanced support for personnel. The situation has contributed to a rise in drug-related law enforcement interventions, which, in turn, has enhanced the general level of security within the nation. Based on the findings of this study, it concluded that while the Jonathan administration adopted a more reactive approach to drug trafficking, the Buhari administration has taken a more proactive approach to tackling drug trafficking. Even though there has been an increase in insecurity under the Buhari administration.

Recommendations

The following are recommended strategies that the government and its institutions could employ to fight against drug trafficking to enhance national security:

- i. It is recommended that specific prevention and intervention measures be targeted at the 18-40 age group, although other age groups should be considered when implementing drug abuse strategies in Nigeria.
- ii. From the data gathered on the elevated level of drug trafficking and drug seizures in Lagos and Abuja, it is recommended that the federal government increase security and inspection at both Lagos and Abuja. In addition, the scanning facilities in Lagos airport need to be improved to detect drug trafficking activities better, as the volume of goods and foreigners entering the country by water and air is higher here than in other states, resulting in a higher risk of criminal activity. The strategies to be implemented include heightened security surveillance and patrols in high-risk areas, strengthened law enforcement, intensified prevention and awareness campaigns, and stricter penalties for drug traffickers to deter this unlawful practice.
- iii. It is recommended that stringent measures be taken to monitor and control drug trafficking at airports, seaports, land borders, and courier/mail companies in Nigeria. Monitoring waterways and aircraft is vital, as these are the most common means of drug entry into the country. The government should focus on heightened security measures at airports, seaports, land borders, and courier/mail companies to reduce illicit drug influx.
- iv. The Nigerian government should address the factors contributing to drug trafficking in the country, including unemployment, poverty, political will, organised crime, economic instability, and funding for law enforcement responsible for combating illicit drug trafficking. To remedy this issue, the government must create economic opportunities to alleviate poverty. This can be done through job creation, investment in infrastructure and services, and education, giving people the skills, they need to succeed in the job market and support themselves without relying on illegal activities.
- v. The government should continue to take a proactive approach to tackling drug trafficking and insecurity. This approach should be applied across multiple administrations and be the focus of security agencies to reduce the threats illicit drug trafficking poses to the country. The Buhari government's record of accomplishment in

- combating drug trafficking to date should be viewed as an example of how a proactive approach can help ensure national security.
- vi. The findings suggest that the government implement better surveillance and prevention measures to contain the inflow of drugs in the South-West Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria. It should increase the law enforcement resources to properly prevent illicit drugs at international airports and seaports in Lagos and Oyo States, as they are at higher risk of drug trafficking.
 - vii. Based on the research findings, it is recommended that the NDLEA combating drug abuse and trafficking in Nigeria should continue to strengthen their collaborative efforts by sharing intelligence and collaborating more effectively on law enforcement actions, such as arrests and seizures of drugs. It is also recommended to emphasise prevention efforts by creating awareness and educating youth on the dangers of using illicit drugs. Additionally, higher priority should be providing counselling and rehabilitation programs for drug-dependent individuals and establishing reintegration programmes to help them stay off drugs.
 - viii. It is recommended that the government concentrate efforts on fighting drug trafficking and seizures in Lagos, as evidence suggests it is a prime location for drug dealers. Furthermore, they should allocate resources towards enhancing scanning capabilities and intelligence gathering at the seaport in Lagos to manage and decrease drug trafficking effectively.
 - ix. It is recommended that the Buhari administration continues its proactive approach to tackling drug trafficking. Taking a more aggressive stance on this issue can help curb the insecurity in the country and ensure national security. The government should maintain sufficient resources such as personnel, training, and technology to combat drug trafficking effectively. It is also vital for the government to provide more financial support to law enforcement agencies to ensure they are adequately equipped to tackle the threat of drug trafficking in Nigeria.
 - x. Considering the findings that weak law enforcement, the availability of drugs, geographical proximity to neighbouring countries and the presence of organised crime groups are all important underlying factors for drug trafficking, the country's government should prioritize strengthening law enforcement efforts to curtail the issue. In addition, the country should implement initiatives to reduce drug availability and strengthen its borders to limit drug trafficking across its neighbouring countries. Furthermore, efforts should be made to reduce the presence of organised crime groups in Nigeria.
 - xi. Rational choice theory can be used to reduce drug trafficking and related national security risks in Nigeria. A more precise understanding of the relevant decision-making processes can help to develop comprehensive and targeted countermeasures that consider the potential financial benefits and risks of drug trafficking. Such understanding can be gained by assessing the costs and benefits of each intervention, allowing policymakers to appropriately address problematic drug trafficking activities and their impact on national security.
 - xii. It is recommended that Nigeria implement more effective strategies and policies to effectively combat drug trafficking due to its geographical proximity to drug transit routes; Nigeria is particularly vulnerable to the threat of criminal syndicates using the country for their activities. The government has already taken steps to address the issue, but further efforts are needed to make noteworthy progress.

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