PUBLIC POLICY AND BORDER MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS OF PRESIDENT BUHARI'S 2019 POLICY ON LAND BORDERS CLOSURE

Sakiemi A. Idoniboye-Obu,

Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Department of Political Science,

Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

idons03@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract

Land borders closure policy is a border management policy which is used by countries to preserve their national integrity, protect their socio-political interests, and to enhance their economy and national development. This study accordingly examined public policy and border management in Nigeria with focus on the implications of Buhari's 2019 policy of land borders closure. The study adopted the human needs theory as theoretical framework for the study. The study employed descriptive survey design and a sample size of 40 respondents purposively selected from Seme, Idiroko, and Mfun border areas using the purposive sampling technique. The study used both primary and secondary data while analyses were made using simple percentage and content analytical model. Based on the data analysis, the study found that the policy on land borders closure has neither improved border management nor reduced the rate of smuggling and insecurity in Nigeria. It equally established that the policy has not significantly improved the national development of the country. The policy did not only cause loss of jobs and shut down of businesses but negatively impacted on the indigenous manufacturing companies and also increased the price of food in the country. Based on the above findings, the study recommended among others that the Nigerian Government should draft a proper plan on how to improve border management in Nigeria and man the unregulated routes. This can be done by expanding and dispatching border security agents to those illegal routes. This would help to reduce smuggling, terrorists and criminal activities in the country. The study concluded that the policy on land borders closure posed negative impacts on both Nigeria and her neighboring countries.

Keywords: Policy, Public Policy, Land, Border, Border Management.

1. Introduction

A policy presupposes a country's conscious efforts to increase and preserve her national interest and/or improve the general wellbeing of the nation and her citizens. In the words of Adebajo (2008, 10), a policy particularly "foreign policy is a strategy or a series of planned actions that are designed by the decision makers in each country with the aim of achieving the

specific objectives or national development that are defined in terms of the national interests." It is therefore pertinent to note that policies whether domestic or foreign have helped sovereign states to enhance their development through land border management. In effect, Ahmed (2020, 789) captured that, "days after being sworn in as president for second term in office, precisely on 12th of June, 2019, President Muhammadu Buhari in his speech submitted that, in order to curb security challenges through the nation's external borders, most especially smuggling of oil products out of the country, flooding of imported rice, small arms, weapons and drugs into the country, and similarly protect the nation's local manufacturers, there was dire need to close down all Nigerian land borders."

Majorly, the border closure policy which came into effect on 20th of August 2019 was adopted by the Buhari led federal government to promote local production and curtail the high rate of smuggling of goods into the country from neighbouring countries as well as ensure compliance with existing AFCFTA and ECOWAS trade rules as to how trade should be conducted (Ahmed, 2020). As a consequence, the government of Nigeria decided to close the land borders of the country with Cameroon, Chad, Benin Republic, and Niger Republic. This decision was made in response to perceived increase in smuggling activities, alleged security breaches, human trafficking, incidence of illegal cross-border activities, undocumented migration, as well as abuse of international trade development procedures and migration in the West African sub-region. Rice, second-hand automobiles, worn clothes, and counterfeit medications are just some of the items that are often smuggled through Nigeria's porous borders, which also allow for easy passage of illegal immigrants and cash. Eselebor (2014, 15) observed that "there have been reports of booming illegal trading in drugs, small arms and light weapons as well as almost unfettered movement of terrorists, e.g., Boko Haram, across the borders." Though Buhari's policy on land border closure exists, its efficiency in enhancing the Nigeria's border management has not been empirically examined and documented. To address this research gap, this study sought to examine the impact of Buhari's policy of land borders closure on border management of Nigeria.

Research Questions

i.   How has Buhari's policy of land borders closure enhanced border management in Nigeria?

ii.   What is the impact of Buhari's policy of land borders closure on Nigeria's national security?

iii. How has President Buhari's policy of land borders closure impacted on Nigeria's national development?

Objectives of the Study

The main thrust of this study is to investigate how Buhari's policy of land border closure impacted on border management in Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

i. ascertain if Buhari's policy of land borders closure has enhanced border management in Nigeria.

ii. determine the impact of Buhari's policy of land borders closure on Nigeria's national security.

iii. examine the impact of President Buhari's policy of land borders closure on Nigeria's national development.

2. Literature Review and Methodology

Concept of Public Policy

To understand public policy, there is need for clarification on the concept of policy. A policy is both a deliberate plan of action and the action itself, and it is implemented with the intention of resolving a particular societal issue (Nwafor-Orizu, et al. 2018). It may refer to either a strategy or a course of action that is devised by a government, political party, or company with the intention of exerting influence and control over choices, actions, and other topics (Lennon, 2009). As a result, public policy narrows the definition of policy to refer only to the role that the government plays in the process of formulating and enforcing policies. Dye (1972, page 2) states that "public policy is everything that a government decides to do or not to do." According to this concept, the government is the principal agency in the process of formulating public policy. It also demonstrates that public policy is a decision that the government makes in order to pursue a certain path of action. Once again, the term emphasizes the idea that a public policy is a deliberate decision that is made by a government. This suggests that there are occasions when the activities and choices made by the government result in unforeseen effects. Public policy can also be understood as a collection of intertwined choices made by a political actor or group of political actors regarding the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specific situation, wherein those choices should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve. This definition of public policy is based on the idea that public policy

is a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of political actors (Jenkins, 1978).

The integrated course of action and programs of action that the government has defined, as well as the framework or guide that it has developed to steer activities and practices in particular issue areas, are both examples of public policy. Therefore, it is most often used to refer to the activities that are carried out by the government in order to satisfy the requirements, hopes, and dreams of the populace. This might take the shape of measures made throughout the process of distributing, controlling, and redistributing resources within the society (Ikelegbe, 2006). On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary for these activities to originate only from the government; the people themselves may also take the initiative to carry them out. Nevertheless, regardless of the identity of the person who first proposes an idea for a public policy, the policy-ideas proposers must first be implemented by the government before those ideas can be considered to be public policy in the proper sense (Dlakwa, 2008). The formulation of public policy is a political process that involves identifying objectives and determining which tools are appropriate to achieve those goals. Policies are acts that have been defined, justified, and articulated, and that have an objective or goals as well as a method to attain them (Howlett & Cashore, 2019). The preceding explanations lead one to the conclusion that public policy is a function that is performed jointly by the government and the people of the nation. It takes the form of an agreed-upon plan of actions and programs that are designed to address socio-economic and political issues and improve the wellbeing of a nation.

Concept of Border Management

The idea of a border helps to explain how local and international political and legal institutions are understood by their respective populations (Vaughan-Williams, 2009). When we talk about borders, we are referring to the international boundaries that separate two sovereign states. According to Guo (2015, 26), there are three distinct types of international boundaries that may be distinguished in the world: natural, artificial, and cultural. Natural borders are those that follow natural geographic features such as rivers, mountain ranges, estuaries, and other similar characteristics. Examples of natural borders include mountain ranges, rivers, and estuaries. Similarly, Ramuntsindela (2014, 67) posited that "borders can be natural in form of; sea, mountains, rivers, among others but they are in any case always artificial, or objects of consensus and agreements, conquests and peace treaties." Zartman (2010, 59) posited that borders run across land but through people. However, Simon (2007, 5), posited that, "on maps,

borders appear as one dimensional line while on the ground they have several dimensions; and without mincing words, borderlands are boundaries in depth, space around a line, the place where state meets a society, and where no one ever feels at home."

Notably, a border may be thought of either as a line separating two countries or as a territory that extends into both countries on either side of a political boundary. The geographical boundaries that define the limits of a state or country are those that have been drawn on a map after the fact. Diener and Hagen (2012, 201) stated in their article that "borders are stated to be important components of human activity and organization," Borders are often at the center of current international conflicts about issues of security, migration, commerce, and natural resources, and they also play a key role in discussions around land use and property rights on a local level. According to Ullah and Kumpoh (2018, 20), the border is one of the primary factors that determines the geopolitical landscape of Southeast Asia. In addition to being considered in terms of invisible boundaries and the lawful authority of political entities such as sovereign states and federal states, a border is also seen as the primary line that divides one nation from another (Musalli, et al, 2015). In juxtaposition to the preceding, borders serve as the line that connects and divides one country from another at the same time. Depending on the level of security that each of the contending states possesses, borders can be both a source of benefit and a source of detriment to the respective states (Akinyemi, 2013). As a consequence of this, nations see it as obligatory to implement necessary safeguards to defend the entrance points to their borders.

Based on the above definitions of border, we can explain border management to mean a country's efforts aimed at regulating and administering her borders based rules, procedures, processes, and techniques. It involves regulating the activities and traffic across defined border zones to prevent undocumented immigrant entry while leaving it open to legal trade for the benefit of the country. Formulating sound border management strategies is the major priority and focus of many countries. Border management is therefore a major aspect of a country's security strategy with which the protection of her citizens and her territorial entity is guaranteed.

Policy of Land Borders Closure and Border Management

Several reasons account for land borders closure. These could be economic, security and political reasons depending on the prevailing circumstances. For instance, a country confronted

with insecurity restricts the movement of people along their borders to checkmate the activities of trans- border criminals and illegal weapons. Several studies have therefore been carried out to determine the extent of impact of land borders closure policy on the development of a nation. Isyaku (2019) investigated the impact of land border closure policy on the economy development of China. The findings of the study revealed that land border closure policy has helped China to reorganise and grow their economy. The study concluded that it took Chain thirty-five years and more to improve on their local production and industries in order to compete with other developed countries. Alake (2020) carried out a study on border closure policy and national development during Major General Muhammadu Buhari regime in 1985. The study was conducted to find out the reason for border closure. The study found out that border was closed due to severe human trafficking, smuggling of drugs, agricultural produce, prostitution, child labour and insurgency. The study concluded that the land border closure policy did not achieve its aim of enhancing national development as a result of corruptions, smugglers activities and porous border in Nigeria. Another related research was conducted by Ola and Fabiyi (2020) bordering on Nigerian foreign policy and economic development: A critical assessment of President Olusegun Obasanjo partial land border closure. The study was conducted to find out the implication of land border closure policy on economic development of Nigeria. The study found out that land border closure policy has increase unemployment rate, skyrocketed food prices, increase rate of smugglers and crimes in Nigeria.

Similar research was done by Adesoji (2020) to investigate the implication of Major General Muhammadu Buhari policy of land border closure on economic development of West African countries. The study found out that Buhari policy of land border closure has badly affected the economy of neigbouring countries. The study concluded that most neigbouring countries such as Benin Republic, Mali, Niger and Cameroun solidly depend on trans-border trade with Nigeria to improve their economies. Also, Ajayi et al. (2020) conducted research on the evaluation of the impact of land border closure policy on the socio-economic development of people in Saki Metropolis, which is located in Oyo state in the country of Nigeria. The purpose of this research was to investigate the impact that a policy of closing land borders would have on the socioeconomic growth of individuals living in the Saki Metropolis area. Based on the results, it was advised, among other things, that the policy of land border closure should be reconsidered. The result revealed that land border closure has a detrimental influence on the socio-economic lives of people in the research region.

3. Theoretical Framework

The human needs theory developed by Abraham Maslow in 1943 was used as a framework for this research project. The writings of Abraham Maslow and John Burton were largely responsible for the theory's explosion in popularity. The essential tenet of this theory is that man has fundamental requirements, and that the failure to fulfil these requirements compels man to resort to a variety of strategies in order to maintain his existence. The requirements of an individual are a primary factor in determining and shaping his behavior as well as the social interactions he has with other people. When an individual or group's fundamental requirements are not addressed, there is a high probability that they may engage in illegal activity (Coate & Rosati, 1988). When a person's fundamental requirements are not satisfied, that individual has a significantly increased risk of engaging in disorderly behavior. When it comes down to it, the fundamental premise that underpins the human needs theorists' line of reasoning is that in the event that humanity reaches a point where it is unable to come up with alternative ways to meet its requirements for survival, it is inevitable that it will resort to various kinds of illegal activity. This provides an explanation for why there are a large number of unofficial entrance points throughout Nigeria's borders. These unofficial pathways are developed primarily for the aim of ensuring one's own survival on a variety of different scales. They are quickly utilized on a small scale by residents of border communities who travel into neighboring border communities solely to till their farmlands, and they are rapidly utilized on a large scale for the illegal movement of persons (human trafficking), as well as the movement of legal and contra-bound goods (smuggling), all in an effort to make ends meet. It is important to place focus on the problem of weapons embargoes in Nigeria, especially in the North-East region. Firearms are smuggled over international borders in exchange for various foodstuffs and other goods and those who participate in weapons trafficking in the area use the same routes and itineraries as those used to carry other illegal products across borders. This is because the routes and itineraries are relatively easy to conceal.

The relevance of the human needs theory to this study is that it provides the basis for the understanding of the factors that facilitated the creation of illegal border routes to Nigeria, thereby making the country's borders porous and poorly managed. The theory helps to explain why there are increased crimes and insecurity challenges in Nigeria. This according to the theory is attributed to the quest for the realization of human needs. Thus, increased unemployment, high level of poverty and generally poor economic conditions, among others,

are the likely contributory factors to high level of criminal activities in the country. The insecurity challenges in the country have however continued unabated due to poor border management.

4. Methodology

The study employed the descriptive survey design and made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. The population of study was drawn from the entire population of people living and doing business at the land border areas of Nigeria as well as the border management agencies. There about twenty-two million and six hundred forty-two thousand (22, 642, 000) people occupying the border areas of Nigeria. There are about thirty-six (36) official (Regulated) Land Borders as point of entry to Nigeria. This includes Seme and Idiroko borders to the South West, Jibia, Illela and Maigatari border in the North West and Mfun in the South and many others (Nigeria Population Census Projection, 2020). The sample population was however drawn from Seme, Idiroko, and Mfun border areas using purposive sampling technique Forty (40) participants which include: 15 persons from Seme border area, 15 persons from Idiroko border area, and 10 persons from Mfun border area were interviewed. The target participants, cut across Local Businessmen/women; Border Securities; and Border Residents. Thus, they were selected as follows: 10 persons are Local Businessmen/women; 10 persons are Border Securities; 20 persons are Border Residents. Data analyses were based on simple percentage and content analysis.

The Republic of Benin may be found to the southwest of Nigeria, Cameroon to the southeast, Chad to the north-east, and Niger to the north of Nigeria. Together, these four nations make up Nigeria's border neighbors. Four of Nigeria's 36 states, namely Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, and Kwara, are located on each side of the border between Nigeria and Benin. These states are: The Nigerian and Cameroonian borders in Nigeria's eastern flank go all the way from the south to the north of the country, touching six different states along the route: Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Benue, Taraba, and Borno States. The frontier with Chad is Nigeria's third border zone, and it extends all the way up to the Lake Chad region, touching numerous towns in Borno State along the way. These towns include Monguno, Ngala, Bama, and Gwoza. The fourth borderland, which divides Nigeria and the Niger Republic, stretches along the whole of Nigeria's northern coast and touches seven distinct states inside Nigeria: Kebbi, Sokoto, Zamfara, Katsina, Jigawa, Yobe, and Borno States, amongst others (Nigeria Population Census Projection, 2016).

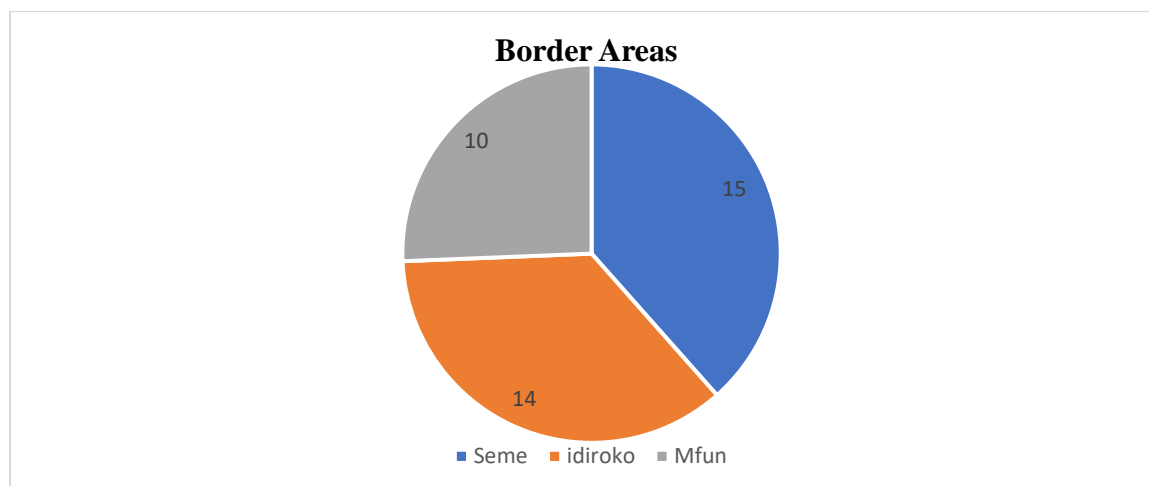**Fig. 1: Map showing Nigeria and Neighbouring Countries**

5. Presentation of Data

Table 1: Respondents Successfully Interviewed from the Three Border Areas

Border Areas	Respondents Interviewed	Successful Interview	Not Interviewed
Seme	15	15	Nil
Idiroko	15	14	1
Mfun	10	10	Nil
Grand Total	**40**	**39**	**1**

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2022

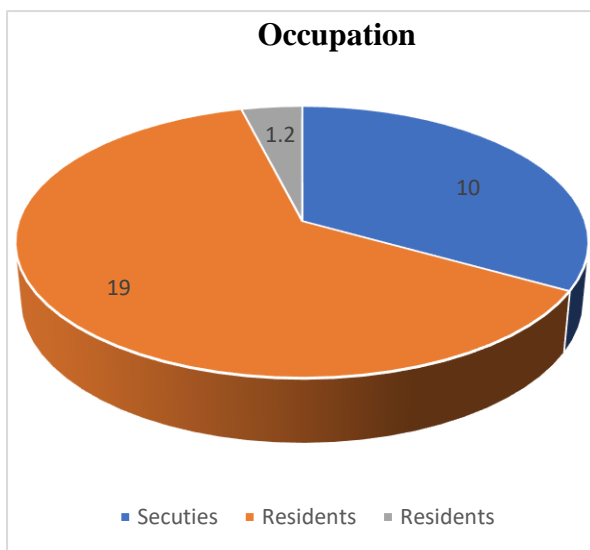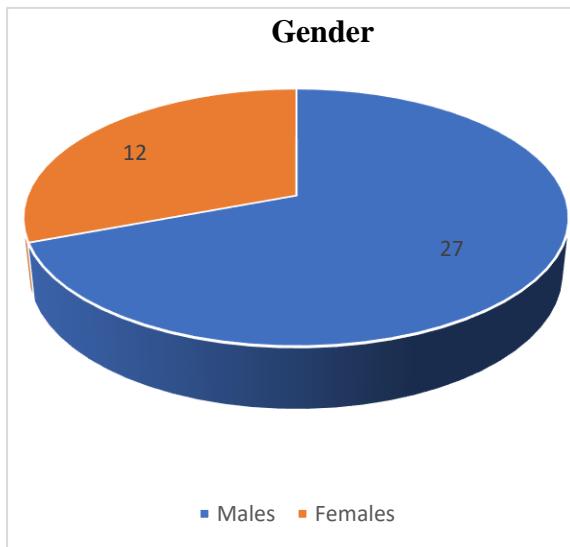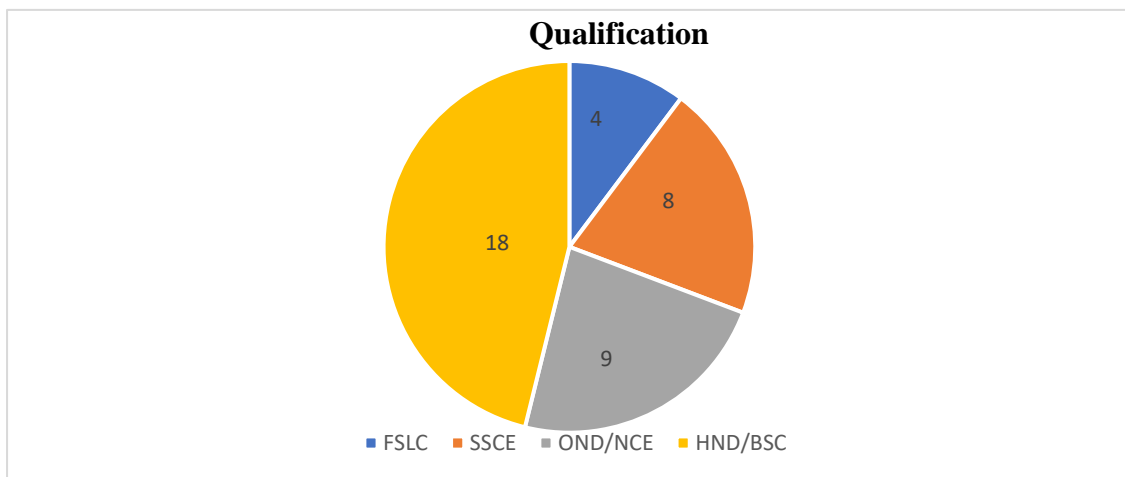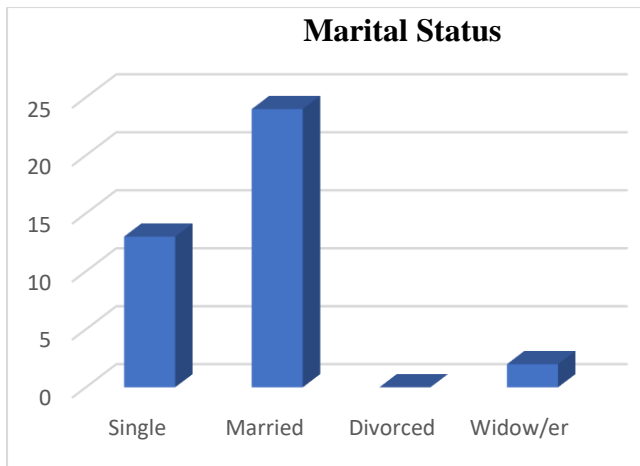The table and chart above indicated that 15 respondents were successfully interviewed from Seme border area. 14 respondents were successfully interviewed from Idiroko border area, but 1 respondent was successfully interviewed. All of the 10 respondents were successfully interviewed from Mfun border area.

Table 2: Bio Data of the Respondents

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage(%)
Gender	Male	27	69.2
	Female	12	30.8
	Total	**39**	**100**
Occupation	Local Business men/women	10	25.6
	Border Security Agents	10	25.6
	Border Residents	19	48.8
	Total	**39**	**100**
Age Bracket	21-30 Years	11	28.2
	31-40 Years	19	48.7
	41-50 Years	6	15.4
	51 years & above	3	7.7
	Total	**39**	**100**
Marital Status	Single	13	33.3
	Married	24	61.6
	Divorced	Nil	Nil
	Widowed	2	5.1
	Total	**39**	**100**
Qualification	FSLC	4	10.3
	SSCE	8	20.5
	OND/NCE	9	23
	HND/BSc	18	46.2
	Total	**39**	**100**

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2022

Gender

27

12

■ Males ■ Females

Occupation

1.2

10

19

■ Secuties ■ Residents ■ Residents

Age Brackets

Marital Status

Qualification

FSLC   SSCE   OND/NCE   HND/BSC
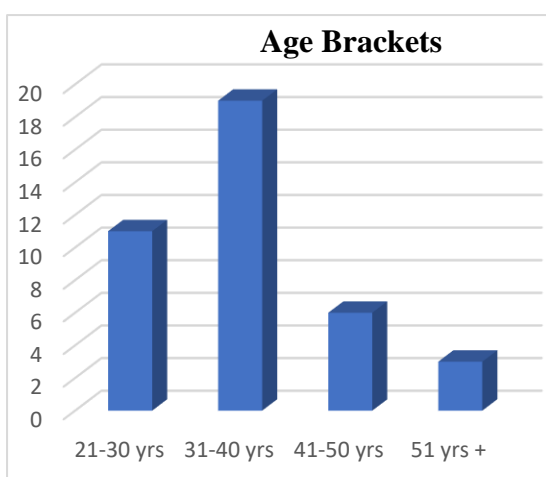
The above table 3 and chart showed that 27 respondents representing (69.2%) respondents are males, while 12 respondents representing (30.8%) are females. The result showed that males interviewed outnumbered the female interviewed. Based on the participants' occupation, 10(25.6%) of the respondents are Local Businessmen/women, 10(25.6%) of the respondents are Border Securities, while 19 respondents representing (48.8%) of the respondents are Border Residents. The table indicated a higher rate of border residents. Based on the age brackets, the participants between 11(28.2%) were between the ages of 21-30, 19(48.7%) were between the ages of 31-40, 6(15.4%) were between the ages of 41-50 years, while 3(7.7%) between the ages of 51 years and above. This implies that respondents within the ages of 31-40 years are more in number compared to others in the study. Based on marital status, the table and chart revealed that 13(33.3%) respondents were single, 24(61.6%) were married, there was no respondent divorced, while the remaining 2(5.1%) were widows/widowers. The result showed married men and women are higher in number compared to single, divorced and widow/widower in the study. Based on educational qualification, the above table and chart showed that 4(10.3%) hold

the FSLC, 8(20.5%) hold the SSCE degrees, 9(23%) hold the NCE/OND degrees, 18(46.2%) hold HND/B.Sc degrees. The above table indicated that HND/B.Sc degrees holders had higher number compared to other degrees holders.

Data Analysis

Interview Question 1:

Are you aware of President Buhari's policy on land border closure?

Table 3: Response

Option	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	39	100%
No	Nil	Nil
Total	**39**	**100%**

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2022

The above table showed that all the respondents interviewed were aware of President Buhari's policy on land border closure. One of the respondents interviewed at Mfun border area with the name Mr. Okon explained that the news came to them as a surprise and a lot of the Igbo traders that deal on motorcycle and vehicle spare parts within the area across Cameroon expressed dissatisfaction over the border closure. One of them named Mr. Uche lamented that the border closure posed a great halt and effect on their trade.

Interview Question 2:

Do you agree that security reasons, smuggling, and growth of local production and businesses were some of the reasons given for the closure?

Table 4: Response

Option	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	39	100%
No	Nil	Nil
Total	**39**	**100%**

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2022

The above table indicated that all the respondents interviewed agreed that security reasons, smuggling, and growth of local production and businesses were some of the reasons given for the closure. For instance, Sgt. Itoro who was among the respondents interviewed at Seme

border area stated that 'it was a pragmatic move by the Federal Government of Nigeria to have closed the borders at that point in time as it helped the security agents in checkmating border security challenges and curtailing the smuggling of firearms and dangerous weapons into the country.'

Interview Question 3:
How has Buhari's policy of land border closure enhanced border management in Nigeria?

From the interviews conducted across the selected three border areas, most of the respondents expressed that the policy aimed at regulating and curtailing smuggling and crimes within the border areas to improve local business activities and production had low impact on border management as there are still too many unregulated and illegal border routes. A 37 year old woman resident in Idiroko border area and a 49 year old Mr. Edward resident in Mfun border lamented that the borders are still poorly managed given rise to increased smuggling and criminal activities within the border areas.

Specifically on the regulated and unregulated borders in Nigeria; the North-East/North-West have 18 regulated and 49 unregulated (porous) land border areas, the South-West/North-Central which have 12 regulated and 25 unregulated (porous) land border areas, while the North-East/South-South have 6 regulated and 29 unregulated (porous) land border areas in Nigeria (Nigeria Population Census Projection, 2021). This implies that the country has so many porous (unregulated) borders than the regulated border in the country. The closure of the regulated border areas in 2019 led to high level of smuggling through the porous borders in the country. Majority of the respondents interviewed were of the view that the policy has not reduced smuggling and insecurity rate in the country. Rather, the borders are still poorly managed despite the border closure policy. One of the respondents, Mr. Tunji who resides within Seme border area alleged that even the security agents manning the borders oftentimes encourage smuggling of commodities into the country as most of them do collect bribes. While Mr. Asuquo who resides within Mfun border area stated that porousness of the unregulated borders and illegal routes in Nigeria has repelled proper border management and rendered the policy on border closure ineffective. Idiroko, Ilela, Jibia, Mfum, Bele Sahoda, Gamboru-Ngala, Seme, and Coastal area are some of the routes that goods such as rice, apple, frozen foods, second hand clothes, textile materials, used tyres, vehicles, vegetable oil, spirit, flours, arms

and ammunitions, Petroleum products, millets, maize, petroleum products, fresh fruits, cement, spaghetti, macaroni, cement, woods and furniture (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

Interview Question 4:
What are the impacts of Buhari's policy of land borders closure on
Nigeria's national development?

Most of the respondents interviewed held that the policy on land borders closure had great impact on Nigeria's national development. For example, Mr. James (47 years old man) a Senior Custom officer; and Mrs. Jane (39 years old woman) a senior officer of the Nigerian Custom Service at Seme and Idiroko border areas respectively, agreed that there is an increase in government revenue collected through custom duties since the land border closure. According to them, the outcomes of the monthly Federation Account Allocation Committee (FAAC) meetings and the Nigeria Customs Service's reports from September, 2019 to January 2020 shows that the Nigerian Customs Service (NSC) used to generate an average between N4.7 billion and N5.8 billion in daily revenue importation from seaports and airports since the land border areas was close in 2019, as against before 2019 which the Nigerian Customs Service used to generate an average between N1.2 billion and N1.3 billion in daily revenue importation. They argued on the positive impact of the policy on economic growth and national development of Nigeria.

The insecurity of borders in Nigeria has also negatively affected the nation's national development. Mr. Balogun (39 years old man) who is resident in Idiroko border area said that the border closure policy has worsened unemployment in the private sector and adversely impacted the means of livelihood of many Nigerians and others involved in small-scale trading in textile, footwear's, and other commodities along the borders. Agreeing with Mr. Balogun, Madam Carol (32 years old woman) who is a local businessman at Seme border area, said that Nigeria's border closure policy has made over 2.3million people jobless. Mr. Emeka (29 years old man) who is a commercial taxi driver in Seme border area complained that the border closure policy affected his job. And that before the border closure, he used to make more than N20,000 on daily basis by conveying various people and their commodities; but after the border closure, he hardly makes up to N8000 a day. Another interviewee, Mary (30 years old lady) who is a local grocery store owner at Mfun border area, lamented that before the land borders closure, she used to make up to N28, 000 to N30,000 profit daily from her business. But after the border closure, she barely makes N5, 000 profit daily. Also, Mr. Adebanjo (59 years old

man), and Mr. Fanu (35 years old man), motor vehicle dealers in Idiroko border area, they lamented on their economic losses incurred by them and their colleagues in the business during the period of the border closure. The responses of the interviewees are in agreement with the table below.

Table 5: Number of People that Lost their Job and Businesses as a Result of Nigeria Land Border Closure, from 2019-2020

S/N	Nature of Job	The Number of People that Lost their Job	Nature of Business	The Number of People that Lost their Business
1	Commercial bike riders	375,675	Provision Store	485,112
2	Commercial bus drivers	382,657	Food Vendor	634,208
3	Commercial truck transporter	289,435	Beer Parlor Vendor	645,222
4	Clearing agents	532,890	Hotel Business	134,654
5	Cart pushers	294,900	Importer and Exporter	456,231
6	Many others	437,956	Many others	523,678
	Total	**2,313,513**		**2,879,105**
	Grand Total			**5,192,618**

Sources: National Bureau of Statistics, 2020

The above table showed that over 2.3 million people were jobless, while over 2.8 million people businesses were shut down as a result of Nigeria land border closure, while over 5.1 million people working and doing businesses at the land border areas lost their job and businesses. The policy caused untold hardship to many of them. These issues have added to national unemployment, poverty rate and invariably affected the national economic growth and development of the country. The table below also indicated the number of indigenous companies affected by the policy.

Table 6: Indigenous Companies that was affected by President Muhammadu Buhari's Land Border Closure

S/N	Indigenous Companies in Nigeria	Export Lost in 2019	Export Lost 2020	Total Lost
1	Cadbury Plc	N34.5 billion	N36.3 billion	N70.8 billion
2	Dangote Group Company	N262.7 billion	N342.8 billion	N605.5 billion
3	Chi Limited	N28.4 billi on	N29.7 billion	N58.1 billion
4	Nestle Nigeria	N43.2 billion	N52.3 billion	N95.5 billion
5	Unilever Nigeria	N57.4 billion	N63.6 billion	N121 billion
6	Flour Mills of Nigeria	N41.7 billion	N52.2 billion	N93.9 billion
7	DUFIL PRIMA food	N29.5 billion	N30.9 billion	N60.4 billion
9	Dansa foods Limited	N24.5 billion	N28.7 billion	N53.2 billion
10	Honeyland foods Ltd	N26.3 billion	N 27.1 billion	N53.4 billion
11	Honeywell	N33.6 billion	N35.8 billion	N69.4 billion
12	Leventis Foods	N30.5 billion	N31 billion	N61.5 billion
13	Envoy Oil Industries	N21.4 billion	N21.9 billion	N43.3 billion
14	Many others	N82.5 billion	N97.9 billion	N180.4billion
	Total	**N716.2 billion**	**N850.2 billion**	**N1.566.4 trillion**

Sources: National Bureau of Statistics, 2020

The above table also indicated that between 2019-2020 Dangote Group of company lost the sum of N605.5 billion follow by many others that lost the sum of N180.4 billion, while Unilever Nigeria Ltd lost the sum of N121 billion. However, a total sum of N1.56 trillion was lost by the indigenous manufacturer as a result of the land border closure. This implies that the land border closure seriously affected the local manufacturing companies doing business in Nigeria.

6. Conclusion

Land borders closure policy is a border management policy which is used by countries to preserve their national integrity, protect their socio-political interests, and enhance their economy and national development. This study accordingly examined public policy and border management in Nigeria with focus on the implications of Buhari's 2019 policy of land borders closure. The study found that the policy on land borders closure has neither improved border management nor reduced the rate of smuggling and insecurity in Nigeria. It equally established that the policy has not significantly improved the national development of the country. Although, the Federal Government of Nigeria claimed that they realised more revenue, the policy was detrimental to the poor masses that depended on those land border areas for survival. It did not only cause loss of jobs and shut down of businesses but negatively impacted on the

indigenous manufacturing companies and also increased the price of food in the country. The study concluded that the policy on land borders closure posed negative impacts on both Nigeria and her neighboring countries.

Recommendations

Premised on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are given:

i. The Nigerian Government should draft a proper plan on how to improve border management in Nigeria and man the unregulated routes. This can be done by expanding and dispatching border security agents to those illegal routes. This would help to reduce smuggling, terrorists and criminal activities in the country.

ii. The Nigerian Government should install security gadgets at every land border entry point into Nigeria and set up monitoring agents to monitor the activities of the border security agents and other border officers. These monitoring teams should be properly trained and well paid to deter them from compromising with the security agents. This will help to reduce corrupt activities of the security agencies and other border officers, and also help to reduced high influx rate of criminals/terrorists through the land border areas into the country and minimize smuggling.

iii. The security agencies and border officials should be adequately financed and well fared. This will motivate and boost the morale of security agents to become more committed to their job. It will also discourage the security agents and border officials from collaborating with these smugglers to smuggle commodities and arms through the porous border areas of the country.

REFERENCES

Adebajo, A. (2008). Hegemony on a shoestring: Nigeria's post-cold war foreign policy. In A. Adebajo, & A. Mustapha (ed.), *Gulliver's troubles: Nigeria's foreign policy after the cold war*. University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

Adesoji, B.S. (6 May 2020). *Nigeria's inflation rate jumps to 12.26% in March as recession looms. Nairametrics.* www.nairametrics.com.

Afinotan, L. (2015). Continuity and change in Nigeria's foreign policy (1960-2016). *Ife Social Sciences Review,* 24 (2), 161-183.

Ahmed, M. (4 December 2020). *Continued border closure counterproductive. Punch Newspaper.* www.punchnewspaper.com.

Ajayi, J. K., Ojelade, M. O., Sikiru, L., & Mosabalaje, T. (2020).Assessment of land border closure on the socio-economic development of people in Saki Metropolis. *International Journal of Innovative Development and Policy Studies,* 8(3), 30-34.

Akinyemi, O. (2013). Globalization and Nigeria border security: Issues and challenges. *International Affairs and Global Strategy,* (1), 1-7.

Alake, T. (2020). Border closure policy and national development during Major General Muhammadu Buhari regime in 1985. *Journal on Foreign Policy*, 5(1), 45-67.

Burton, J. (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and prevention*. St. Martin's Press.

Coates, R. A. & Rosati, J. A. (1988). *The power of human needs in world societies.* Lynne Rienner publishers, ix

Diener, K. & Hagen, P. (2012). *Theorizing borders in a borderless world: Globalization, territory and identity*. Geography Compass Press.

Dlakwa, H. (2008). *Concepts and models in public policy formulation and analysis*. PylaMark Services Ltd

Dye, T. R. (1972). *Understanding public policy*. N.J. Prentice-Hall Press.

Eselebor, W. (2014). Porous borders and human trafficking in Nigeria. In O. Oshita, I. Alumona, and F. Onuoha, (eds). *Internal security management in Nigeria*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 12-18.

Guo, R. (2015). *Cross-border management: Theory, method and application*. Springer Publishers

Howlett, M. & Cashore, B. (2019). Conceptualising public policy. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 1-29.

Human Rights Watch (2003). *The Warri crisis: Fueling violence.* Human Rights Watch Report. *http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1103.pdf.*

Ikelegbe, A. O. (2006). *Public policy analysis: Concepts, issues and cases*. Imprint Services Press.

Isyaku, S. S. (2019). A legacy of peaceful coexistence: Historico-political and economic perspectives of China relations. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 6(1), 7-15.

Jenkins, W. I. (1978). *Policy analysis: A political and organizational perspective*. Martin Robertson publishing co.

Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Journal of Psychological Review,* 50(4), 370-396.

Maslow, A. H. (1973). *The farther reaches of human nature*. Penguin Books.

Musalli, N. M., Harun, A. & Zainuddin, R. (2015). Performance of border management personnel and its security implications in northern Nigerian borders: A pilot study for reliability and validity of instruments. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 5(4), 7-11.

Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics, (2020)

Nigeria Population Census Projection, (2021). Regulated and unregulated borders in Nigeria. *Worldometer.* www.worldometers.info

Nnodim, O. (September 10, 2019). Border closure has reduced petrol smuggling. *The Punch Newspaper*, pp. 1-7.

Ola, A., & Fabiyi, R. (2020). Nigeria border closure: Implications for economic development in Benin Republic. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Studies (JHSSS),* 4(3), 56-65.

Ramutsindela, M. (3 August 2014). *Instead of re-Drawing the map, let's transform our borders*. https://psmag.com/news/instead-re-drawing-map-lets-transform-borders-96940. p. 67.

Ullah, A.K.M., & Kumpoh, A.A. (2018). Are borders the reflection of international relations? Southeast Asian borders in perspective. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 5(3), 1-23.

Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009). Lines in the sand? Towards an agenda for critical border studies. *Journal of Geopolitics*, 14(3), 51-67.

Zartman, W. I. (2010), Identity, movement and response. In W. I. Zartman (ed.) *Understanding life in the borderlands: Boundaries in depth and in motion*. University of Georgia Press.