

## Socio-Political Development and Internal Security Management in Nigeria: An Appraisal of Northern Nigeria 2015-2020

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### Abstract

*This paper observed alarming level of security challenges in Northern Nigeria and interrogated its logical nexus with socio-political development in the area and by extension of the polity, within the period under investigation. In undertaking the study, we generated ~~our~~ data from secondary sources through the documentary method of data collection. Subsequently, the data were empirically analyzed by the usage of textual analysis and logical deduction. We adopted the Social contract theory as the compass that guides the logical consequence of the study. The theory postulates a contract between the government and the governed thus making internal security management the responsibility of all the tiers of government. From the study, we found that internal security management in the North is over-centralized in the Federal purview and so ineffective. Hence the study proffers among others, the devolution of authority over internal security management, involving state and community policing. This will give all the tiers of government opportunity to effectively participate in security management, provide the needed local intelligence inputs and so engender a secure environment for socio-political development to thrive not only in the North but in the entire country.*

**Keywords:** Devolution of Authority, Internal Security Management, Security Challenges, Social Contract and Socio-Political Development.

### Introduction

Security, no doubt as one of the most sought-after social phenomena appears to have been elusive in the world over. The elusiveness of the security largely stemmed from the fact that all efforts or strategies devised to bring about security are directly or indirectly creating more security challenges in the society. The major reason for this security is to protect lives, property and guarantee peaceful coexistence of individuals in the society. Indeed, the aspiration to migrate from the state of nature, where Hobbes perceived lives as being solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short to a politically organized society (State) was heralded by the decisive need for security. Sequel to the constitution of the State, the anticipated security of live and property remained a mirage in the society. The meddlesomeness to the security proposal stemmed among others, from the eruption of the First World War, through the Second World War down to inter and intra communal crises. According to Wolfers (1954), security has subjective and objective levels of interpretation. At the objective level, security measures the absence of threat to life, liberty, property and core values, but

at the subjective level, security measures the absence of fear, anxiety, tension or apprehension of being in danger of losing life, liberty, property, and core values.

In describing the dwindling posture of security status in the modern society, Nnoli (2006; p.1) maintained thus:

On behalf of its Nazi Party, Germany sought to exterminate the Jews in the great holocaust of their time. In Rwanda, the Hutu embarked on genocide of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. The Serbs of Yugoslavia pursued a policy of ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo. The United States assisted reactionary forces in Chile to overthrow the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende. In 1972, thousands of people disappeared in Argentina and Chile. Saddam Hussein of Iraq used poisonous gases and chemicals to kill Iraqi citizens of Kurdish descent, massacred the Shiite population of his country, and used chemicals and biological agents against the Iranians during the Iran-Iraqi war. Stalin wasted thousands of lives in various gulags in the Soviet Union.

However, the security is viewed in two broad perspectives such as external and internal. The external security looks at security from the purview of military dimension and warding off external threats or war against the independence, sovereignty and territory of Nigeria, while the internal security deals with issues of domestic policies and arrangements for stability in the polity through the maintenance of law and order (Eke, 2009). Unequivocally, the broad role in the maintenance of law and order could be through patrols, investigation of crime scenes, sketching of crime scenes, arrest of criminals, criminal profiling, and criminal intelligence in real evidence, testimony evidence, direct evidence, substantial evidence, and prosecution of criminals in court. While the role of the maintenance of law and order is conferred on the police, the court, the prison and some other quasi law enforcement institutions such as the State Security Service (SSS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) (Eke, 2009). In the Northern part of the country, there are lots of security challenges which range from Boko Haram menace to Herdsmen attacks in spite of the existence of the aforementioned security agencies.

Since the emergence and manifestation of Boko Haram activities in the Northern part of the country, it has consumed many lives, adversely affected the social fabrics of the citizens, by extension and worst of it all retarded the political development of the country. Therefore, the paper is designed to interrogate the nexus between the internal security management and socio-political development in the Northern Nigeria. For the purpose of brevity and precision, it is arranged under the following paradigms: conceptualization of internal security management, clarification of socio-political development, theoretical nexus, security threats and managements in the Northern Nigeria, security challenges and socio-political development in the Northern Nigeria, summary, conclusion and prognoses.

### **Conceptualization and Clarification of Internal Security Management and Socio-Political Development**

This aspect of the study is saddled with the responsibility of demystifying the phrase 'internal security management'. To perfect the central objective of the segment of the study, it is pertinent that the core concept which is security is unraveled. Hence, security in the simplest term is the protection of lives and property of individuals and government in the society. According to Agalamanya, (2008) security in a subjective sense involves value associated with confidence in physical safety and other most cherished values. Stressing further, he opined that security describes how people feel, not whether they are justified in feeling that way. By extension, he averred that the Cold War concept of security has preoccupied itself with state, inter-state conflicts and military capability.

For Ozor (2009) security is considered to be a general condition where there is calm and order in a specific environment, mind or body. By a way of expatiation, he illustrated that in a market for instance, when people instead of buying and selling, engage themselves in a fight, security will be absent in such an environment, because the buying and selling will seize. Similarly, when one is emotionally disturbed, one will not have security of mind. Therefore, security is not something that can be touched or seen. It is a concept that is created to give a general condition when there is absence of unity. There is no general rule that measures security if security is seen as a state of environmental calmness that will be relative. This means that if the physical environment is disturbed either by riots, fighting and associated vices, it shows that security is absent in that environment. Then, in the absence of riots, fighting, demonstration etc, one may say that there is security, but there could be a general calmness in an environment and yet there is no security.

In the view of Alli (2010) security is the condition or feeling of safety from fear, anxiety, danger, poverty and oppression, the defense, protection and preservation of core values and the absence of threat to these values. Increasingly however, it is being understood that security also concerns the individuals and groups and not just state alone. When individuals are not secured, then the state cannot be said to be secured. The testimony to this is the rise in non-military sources of threats to security at the individual, societal, state, regional and global levels. This has led to the broadening of the concept of security to include non-military dimensions such as social, economic and political factors. Now, the environment, migration, ethno-religious factors, identity, health/diseases (HIV/AIDS, Bird Flu etc), poverty, human rights, political disputes, political succession, bad governance and others constitute issues that affect peace and security. Internal security management therefore implies dealing with issues of domestic policies and arrangements for stability in the polity through the maintenance of law and order.

*Clarification of Socio-Political Development* Another key term that needs clarification in this study is socio-political development. In order to unveil the meaning of the phrase, development which serves as the locus needs to be explicated. Essentially, development implies sustainable improvement in the existing status quo. In corroboration, Rodney ((1972) elaborately captured that development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing. A society develops

economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature, on the extent to which they put that understanding into practice by devising tools, and on the manner in which work is organized.

Therefore, socio-political development according to Watts et al, (2003) emphasized an understanding of cultural and political forces that shapes one's status in a society. It can be used to describe the process of growth in a person's knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties and capacity for action in political and social system. It is not limited to resisting oppression in the interest of justice; however, the capacity to envision and help create a just society is essential part of the process. Although the term does not explicitly include cultural and economic understanding but the growth in the areas are inclusive. Obviously, the definition of the concept cannot be exhausted in the existing literature; therefore, we can migrate to another segment of the study which is the theoretical compass.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on the Social Contract theory as enunciated by its threesome most famous exponents, Thomas Hobbes (1588- 1679), John Locke (1632- 74) and Jean Jack Rousseau (1712- 78). The apologists of the theory share common agreement on the origin of the State. Essentially, they maintained that the State is the outcome or the result of an agreement entered into by men who initially had no government. They therefore made a distinction between the period prior to the institution of the State and government and thereafter. This prior period they described as the State of nature. In the State of nature, men were free or at liberty and equal, subject only to the laws of nature or reason. There was no government to formulate and execute or enforce the laws. Put differently, there was a complete absence of any coercive authority for the formulation and enforcement of laws. Hobbes posited that life in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short, while Locke held that it was full of idyllic, tranquility and cordiality but fear of degeneration made men to aspire for the pact.

Under these circumstances, men agreed to bind themselves in a contract and institute the political State and government by consent for the purpose of formulation and enforcement of laws; to protect and promote happy, virtuous and secure living. In instituting the State man ceded part of their natural liberty and subordinated themselves to the authority of the State; being obliged to obey but on the condition that the government remain responsible and responsive in providing or ensuring the security of lives and property. The terms of the contract dictate that the purpose is for the preservation of lives, liberty and property. It thus also implies that the people reserve the right to change any government incapable or incompetent in keeping its own part of the bargain. For the Social contract theorists, government is a trust and the basis of government is consent.

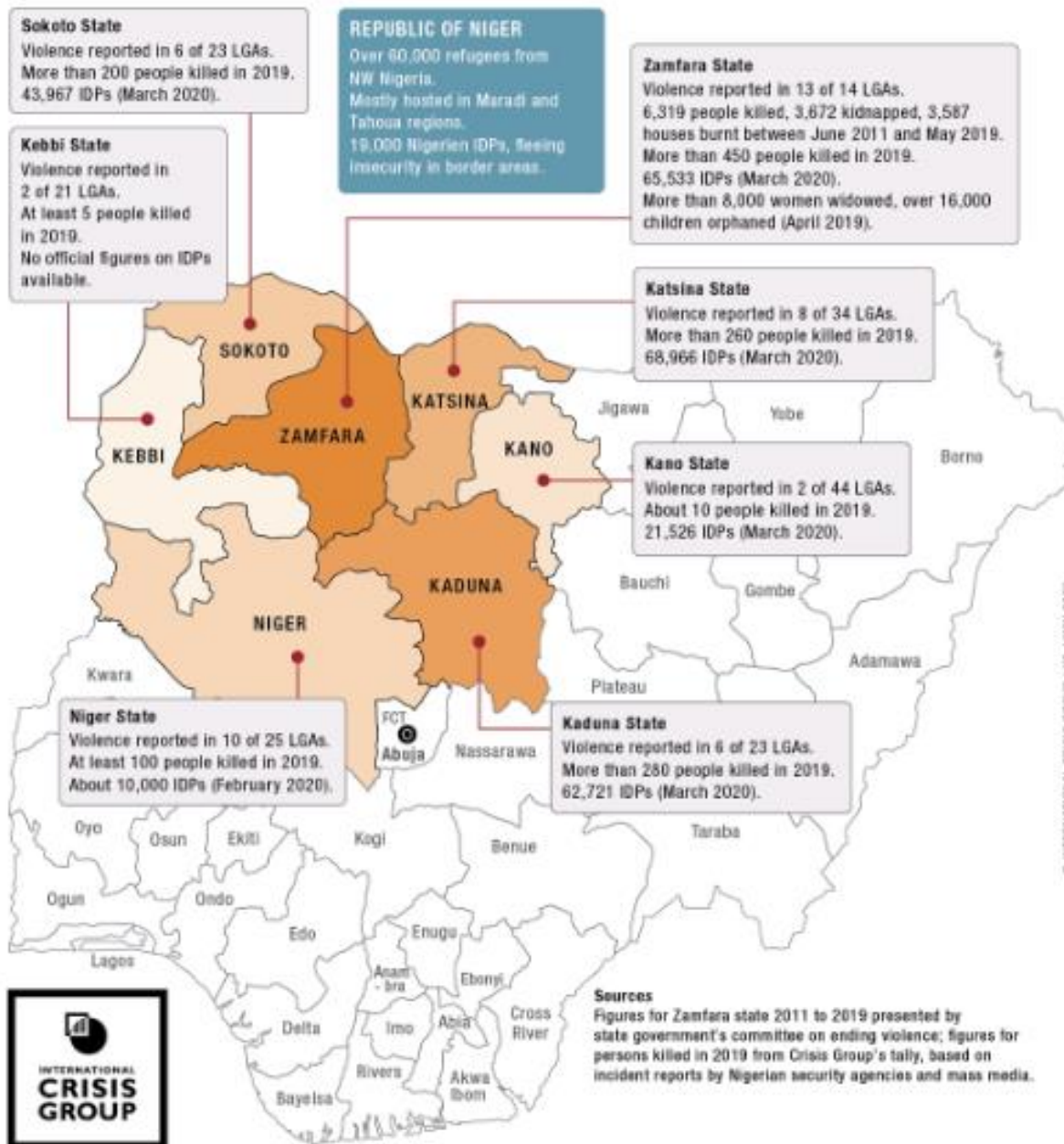
By a way of application, the preservation of lives and property, including the rights to freedom of movement, freedom to reside and engage in profitable legitimate business in any part of the country, is enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution 1999 as Amended. Indeed Article 14 subsection 2(a) acknowledges that "sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives its powers and

authority". Sub-section 2(b) of the same Article 14 provides that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purposes of government..." Given these express constitutional provisions, internal security management becomes crucial in the social contract between the people of Nigeria and the government. The contract is obviously with all the tiers of the government and not limited to the Federal Government. In a Federal Republic like Nigeria, just as in all Federal entities, the contract is between the people and the respective tiers of government under which they live. Each tier therefore has a responsibility of ensuring the safety of lives and property within its domain in keeping with the contract, without prejudice to the overall responsibility of the central tier.

It will therefore be unreasonable to oust the right of the other tiers of government from active involvement in internal security management by placing policing and the para-military security agencies in the Exclusive List alone. The situation where the State Governors are described as the chief security officers of their respective States but are denied right of issuing directives to the Police Commissioners, who are directly answerable to the Inspector General of Police (IGP), negates the social contract between the people and those other tiers of government. This partly explains the alarming rate of insecurity prevailing in the polity. It needs to be urgently addressed, after all as noted by Gewirth (1965, p. 54) "The great and chief end therefore, of men uniting into commonwealths and putting themselves under governments is the preservation of their property, to which in the state of nature, there were many things wanting".

### **Internal Security Threats and Management in Northern Nigeria**

Northern Nigeria stretches from Bornu State in the East to Sokoto in the West and southwards to Kogi and Benue States. It comprises of nineteen (19) States and three geopolitical zones out of the six that make up the entity Nigeria. These are the North-West with seven states, the North-East and the North-Central Zones with six states. Internal security threats in the area within the period under study are not just rife, profound but both alarming and precariously debilitating. They manifest in very disturbing dimensions and facets. As the current Senate President put it, they are multifarious, while a United Nations rights expert asserted that Nigeria has been turned into a 'pressure cooker' of internal conflicts and generalized violence that must be addressed urgently (UN News 2020, April 10). The most common forms of the insecurity include Banditry, Kidnapping for ransom, Robbery, Cattle-rustling, armed illegal mining, Killer Herdsmen and Fulani-Militia, Islamic fundamentalists and Insurgency. The tempo, ferocity, spread and viciousness of these threats in Northern Nigeria, escalated to devastating and precarious levels between 2015 and 2020. One of the numerous conspicuous consequences is the phenomena of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and the emergence of IDP Camps, all over the Northern part of the country, including even the Federal Capital Territory- Abuja. From media records, we can state incidences, victims or casualties and the frequency of such criminal occurrences and challenges here under, systematically in the respective geopolitical zones of the north:



*North-West Zone* As earlier explained, the north-west is one of Nigeria's geo-political zones. It comprises of seven of the country's thirty-six (36) states and covers an area of 216,065 sq km or 25.75 percent of the country's total landmass. The seven states of the zone are; Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. It has two major ethnic groups: the Hausa who are mainly farmers and the Fulanis' who are predominantly pastoralists or herders. The zone has an estimated population of 33 million (based on figures from the contentious 2006 census). Below is a geographical map depicting the zone

with security threats or challenges prevalent in each of the states as indicated. Available evidence and statistics confirm that Zamfara state is the epicenter of the multifaceted insecurity and from where it eventually spread to the other states of the zone; particularly those sharing boundary with Zamfara. Insecurity and the threats are also more intense in the local governments bordering Zamfara.

### **Causes and Casualties Insecurity in Northern Nigeria**

The causes of insecurity in the zone are multidimensional and attributable to; (a) Climate Change and related environmental degradation. (b). High population growth (c) Long running competition over land and water resources between predominantly Fulani herders and Hausa farmers. (d). Proliferation of small arms and light weapons. (e) Ungoverned expansive forests. (f) Poorly secured international boundary. (g) Influx of jihadists/Islamic fundamentalist groups from the Sahel. (h) Proliferation of armed groups, militia and vigilante groups that war against one another. (i) Weak regulation of the cash based transactions in illegal mining which attracted armed gangs interest in raiding the mining sites and robbing the miners. (j) Absence of security agents controlled by the States, particularly State police and attendant negligence of state authorities in managing the crises.

According to recent account by Premium Times (2020, April 10) a total number of 3,188 were killed in multiple violence that erupted in Nigeria in 2019. Out of this number, 2,707 were those of civilians while 481 were state security agents. Though the state with the highest number of fatalities was Borno, in the North-East, it was closely followed by Zamfara. The report remarked that the figure recorded did not include persons considered to be missing in action but only concretely verified deaths. It also found an alarming trend of attacks on security agents and their weapons carted away. In another vein, Babatunde (2020) reported that "A new report by Global Rights Nigeria has revealed that...no fewer than 1,141 civilians, 275 security agents were killed between January and April – totaling 1,416, due to the increasing spate of insecurity in the country. These deaths are exclusive of those caused by Corona-Virus (Covid 19) pandemic.

Nasir (2020, p.26) reported that Troops of 'Operation Sahel Sanity', "killed 100 bandits and arrested 463 bandits, informants and illegally armed Miners during an aggressive onslaught against bandits and other criminals in the North-West Zone", within the month of June 2020 alone. This information according to him was disclosed by the Director Defence Headquarters, Abuja- Brig. General Bernard Onyeuko, while briefing Newsmen in Faskari. The details showed that beside the seizure of a large cache of Arms and Ammunition, including AK47 Rifles, a total of 3,984 Cows, 1,627 Sheep/ Rams, and 3 Camels were recovered. A total of 107 Kidnapped victims were also rescued. It further clarified that out of the 463 bandits arrested, 315 were illegally armed Miners and 148 outright pernicious bandits. The huge figures of rescued victims, animals and property, as well as the neutralized and arrested bandits visibly demonstrate the enormity of the security challenges and threats confronting the North-West zone.

In an even more informative report, Omonobi (2020, p.5) noted that " investigations by a Civil Society Group- ' Nigeria Mourns' shows that at least 1,165 Nigerians were killed in violent attacks in the North-West Zone of Nigeria within the months of June and August

2020". According to the Report, the incidences were recorded in the seven States of the North-West Zone as follows, Kaduna-487, Katsina-376, Zamfara- 204, Sokoto- 96, Kano-10 , Jigawa-10 and Kebbi-1. A further breakdown disclosed that out of the total of 1,165, 1,068 persons were killed by suspected bandits, 5 by Boko-Haram/ ISWAP, 73 by armed Herdsmen, 6 died in isolated attacks and 13 from extra-judicial killings. These various pathetic reports are clear evidences of the enormity of insecurity resulting from incessant killings, banditry and abductions in the North-West Zone in particular and Northern Nigeria generally.

### **Insecurity and Internal Displacements in Northern Nigeria**

The Security challenges in the Zone have led to the phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons. In September 2019, a joint assessment mission by the UN High Commission for Refugees and the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons, citing Local government authorities' estimates reported "210, 354 persons as displaced from 171 towns and villages in the North-West. Of these, 144,996 were in Zamfara State, 35, 941 in Sokoto and 29,417 in Katsina".(<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/nigeria/288-violence-nigeria-north-west-rolling-back-mayhem>).

*North-Central Zone:* The security threats are equally formidable in the North Central Zone. The North Central Zone comprises of six states namely; Plateau, Benue, Nasarawa, Kogi, Kwara and Niger states. The Zone is also often referred to or described as Nigeria's middle-belt. The most affected states in the zone are Plateau, Benue & Niger. Nasarawa&Kogi also have their own share of the security threats while Kwara experiences the least threats. Niger has violence in 10 of its 25 LGAs with about a 100 people killed in 2019. And has about 10,000 IDPs as of February 2020. (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/nigeria/288-violence-nigeria-north-west-rolling-back-mayhem>).

A Human Rights Watch (WRW) report (2018, June 28.) among others stated that between "January and March 2018, 1,078 people died in violence in Plateau, Beune, Kaduna, Taraba, Nasarawa, Adamawa, Kwara and Kogi states". It attributed the violence to competing claims to land and water resources by indigenous farmers and nomadic Fulani pastoralists. The same report confirmed that "in Benue state alone, 102,000 children, 60% of the 169,922 people displaced by the conflict have been forced out of school". In another vein, Falada (2018) published that 4 Roman Catholic Bishops together with Clerics attended the mass burial of 17 persons and 2 Priests killed by Fulani Herdsmen, inside St, Ignatius Catholic Church Mbalom, Benue State. The beleaguered State also suffered the Agatu attack and massacres between February and March 2016 which reportedly left between 300-500 persons dead with about 7,000 displaced.

On January 1, 2018, attacks by suspected Fulani herdsmen militia in two LGAs of Benue state – Logo and Goma left 73 people dead. They were buried in a mass grave on 11 January, 2018. The same report confirmed that between January and April 2018, Fulani Herdsmen killed 226 people in Benue state alone. Beside the mass burial on 11 January, there was another mass burial of 24 people killed by the same suspected Fulani militants on Friday 17<sup>th</sup> March in Omosu, Adimoga community of Benue state. These various reports suffice to confirm a bloodbath in Nigeria's Benue state in the North Central Zone.

Plateau State- The state is another hot bed of communal crisis and violence between



indigenous Christian farmers and Fulani nomadic herders. Some incidences that illustrate the enormity of the security challenges there include a report by BBC News (2018, June 25) that a “ at least 86 people have died and 6 injured in central Nigeria after violent clashes between farmers and cattle herders, Police in Plateau said”. This report was collaborated by Ajjiah (2018, June 25) who reported the killing of 86 people by armed herdsmen who had to be given mass burial. According to the report, the attacks were retaliatory. The chairman of the north-central chapter of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) disclosed that the Fulani Herdsmen lost about 300 cows in the previous weeks and so the attacks and killings were retaliatory.

The World Watch (2018, September 14) also reported that “...dozens more are killed as Fulani herdsmen violence continues in Plateau state with 27 people killed in ambush attacks from April to September 2018”. As if not enough, Ahovi (2020) further reported that 23 people were given mass burial in Plateau state following attacks the previous Sunday, in Kwatas community of Bokks LGA. These confirmed incidences in Plateau and Benue states of Nigeria’s North-Central and existence of thousands of IDPs there, go to demonstrate the precarious security situation in the zone. Indeed, the Human Rights Watch 2019 world Report of events in Nigeria (2020, April 10) confirmed that “decades old communal conflict between nomadic herdsmen and farmers in the middle-belt intensified in 2018 and further exacerbated the security situation in the country. At least 1,600 people were killed and another 300,000 people displaced as a result of the violence in the Zone”.

*North-East Zone:* The zone has witnessed a vicious insurgency from 2009 to date. The Boko-Haram Sect has remained a perilous security challenge to the nation’s security structure; particularly in this zone, where they have been most active. At a time in 2015, they occupied some LGAs in Bornu State and foisted their flags. The situation led to the six weeks abrupt deferment of the February, 2015 national elections to ensure the restoration of adequate security in certain areas before the conduct of the Poll. At the moment, a number of inter-city and local government roads in Bornu State in particular and other States in the Zone have become death traps- impassable as a result of ambush by these deadly insurgents.

The Governor of Bornu State, Prof. Babagana Zulum had been ambushed twice in the last two months by the Sect. Punch (2020, Sept. 26) reported that the death toll in Governor Zulum’s convoy attack rose to thirty (30). The Governor himself as reported by Adeoye (2020) had stated that there were more than 700,000 IDP.s in Mungono and 400,000 in Gamboru Ngala – over 1.1million IDPs, who cannot access their farm land. In his resolve to resettle his displaced subjects, particularly those from Baga, his convoy got ambushed with fatalities twice within two months. Following the first attack on the Governor’s convoy to Baga, “a visibly angry governor Zulum said ...we will mobilize hunters and vigilantes to recapture Baga...If the Military fail to secure Baga. ...We cannot continue like this, people have to take their destinies in their hands”. (Omonobi et al. , 2020, p.5).

The security dilemma is not just limited to Bornu State but is extended throughout the North-East zone. In Yobe State, over 110 school girls were abducted from their school in Dapchi. Though they were returned following negotiations by the Federal government, they are still with holding one of them- Leah Sharibu, ostensibly because she refused to denounce her Christian faith. Indeed, the UN Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM)

Report, <https://displacement.iom.int/nigeria>, confirmed that the displacement matrix recorded for the six most affected States of Bornu, Yobe, Adamawa, Bauchi, Gombe and Taraba, in the period April 2018 to August, 2019, were as follows:

**Table 1: DATES AND NUMBERS OF PEOPLE DISPLACED IN THE NORTH CENTRAL ZONE OF NIGERIA.**

S/N	DTM Round	Month	Year	Total Displacement
1	24 <sup>th</sup>	August	2018	1,926,748
2	25 <sup>th</sup>	Nov.	2018	2,206,602
3	-	Dec.	2018	2,216,469
4	26 <sup>th</sup>	Jan.	2019	1,948,345
5	-	August	2019	2,018,513

*Source: Compiled by the Authors from UN DTM Reports 2019.*

Table one above demonstrated the months and years citizens were displaced in the North Central zone of Nigeria. Extrapolation from the table is that we recorded the highest number of displacement in December 2018 which totaled 2,216,469 in number while the least population was recorded in August of the same year which is 1,926,748. January and August recorded 1,948,345 and 2,018,513 respectively whereas November 2018 had 2,206,602.

### **Internal Security Management in Northern Nigeria**

Nigeria's Federal Government has within the period under study, tried to engage all the Arms of the nation's Armed Forces and the other security agencies; namely the Police Force, Directorate of State Security (DSS), and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), in internal security management. The military could be said to have been bogged down, fighting Insurgency in Nigeria's north-East in particular. Though the primary responsibility of the military ought to be external defence; but the proliferation of internal security challenges has necessitated their deployment substantially in internal security management. The outcome is that the Military is not just overstretched but virtually overwhelmed; leading to lots of lapses and ineffectiveness. This observation is borne out by the frustration of a wide spectrum of patriots who had been compelled to call for a change of strategy and the democratization of internal security management.

Erunke (2020) reported that a coalition Northern East Elders for Peace and Development (NEEPD), in a statement titled "Military now at breaking point, it is time for change of Guard", expressed their worry over the turn of events in the North-East security.

The Governor of Bornu State himself had out of frustration told the Army, “ I will use hunters, if you can’t protect us”. Giving expression to the dis-satisfaction with the inability of the regular security agencies to protect Christians from the Southern Kaduna killings, the National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF) even urged Christians to defend themselves and avert continued deaths in the hands of Jihadists. Additionally, the ugly situation prompted a UN rights expert to assert that “... insecurity and violence turn Nigeria into a Pressure Cooker that must be addressed” (UN-News 2020, April, 10).

The fore-going expressed concerns among others, confirm the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the current internal security management strategy and policies. Whereas there are three tiers of government-the Federal, State and Local governments; it does appear that internal security management is the exclusive preserve of the Federal tier or the Centre. The State and Local governments are shot out, particularly in respect of Policing. The only things that exist at these second and third tiers are a form of Vigilante and the Joint Task Force (JTF) in some parts of the North. The State Governor is recognized constitutionally as the chief security officer of the State but he is circumscribed as he cannot issue directive to the Police Commissioner, who reports directly to the Inspector-General. The Social Contract theory posits that governance is a contract between the government and the governed. While Nigeria’s 1999 Constitution provides in its Article 14, sub 2(b), that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government...”

It is therefore inappropriate to shut out the other tiers of government from performing their constitutional responsibilities and contract with their respective subjects. We wish to observe that in all federal polities, policing is never in the Exclusive list. In the US for instance, there are Federal, State, County and City Police and other specialized policing systems; after all, “modern policing involves different layers of actors” (Daily Sun 2020, Sept. 4). It is given that most crimes are local and require local input not only to effectively manage but even to nip them in the bud before they blossom. These bandits and criminals are known to often launch their vicious attacks from many of our ungoverned forests, which are strange to the federal security agents; but the local Police are at home with such local terrain and would be more effective arresting insecurity from there. Additionally, the Federal Police is understaffed and do not have enough Boots on the ground.

This is partly why even where the Air-Force successfully bomb and neutralize bandits and insurgents, they rally and return as there are not enough manpower to hold the ground. Just last month, it was reported that Bandits operated unchallenged for 12 hours, killed 23 people, attacked a Bank and made away with unspecified amount of cashed in Rafi and Magana LGAs of Niger State (Johnson & Masodomi. 2020). The point being made here is that State and Local government should have their own Police. These other tiers of government should be proactively involved as a matter of law, in the management of internal security not only in the North but in the Nigerian Federation. It is the frustration of the people with the ineffectiveness of the present arrangement that has fuelled protests and the emergence of such regional outfits like ‘Amotekun’ in the South West. Though the Federal Government recently came up with the concept of Community policing, it does not assuage the need for State Police. Indeed patriots like Col. Nyiam (2020) described Community policing as conceived by the Federal government thus:

...a diversionary practice by this government to divert people's attention from the yearning for state police because community policing has always existed. It is neither an organization nor an establishment. It is a technique of policy. So, to confuse Nigerians to think that community policing is a new outfit, is very mischievous. It is a technique to stop Amotekun happening. ...It is those who are gullible that cannot see through their tricks. Community policing does not substitute need for state police. ..." (p.3).

It is no wonder that South-East Governors after their meeting at Enugu rejected the IGP's community policing template, declaring that it would not implement the community policing template rolled out by the police hierarchy because the IGP went contrary to earlier agreement they reached on the matter (Uzodinma, 2020).

### **Security Challenges and Socio-Political Development in Northern Nigeria**

Obviously, the multifarious security challenges confronting the North and their ineffective management as it were have adverse or debilitating consequences for the socio-political development of the area and by extension on the entire Nigerian polity. On the social sphere, such precariously debilitating impacts include:

In the first place, social dislocation arising from the phenomenon of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). In virtually all the 19 States of the North, there are IDP Camps teeming with millions of displaced people of all ages. According to the UN Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) report of 26<sup>th</sup> January, 2019 (<https://displacement.iom.int/nigeria>), the North East alone had 2,216,469 IDPs as of December 2018 and 2,018,513 by Jan. 2019.s. The Bornu State Governor Babagana Zulum himself confirmed that there are 1.1 million IDPs in two camps of Bornu (Monguno-700,000 and Gamboru- 400,000) who have no access to their farms (Adeoye, 2020, Sept. 19). The situation as demonstrated earlier in this study is also true of the North-West and the North-Central Zones. This phenomenon entails grievous social dislocation with deleterious consequences. Families which are the bedrock of descent progressive societies are perniciously dislocated. Parents and breadwinners of families are recklessly killed leading to unprecedented and needless number of Ophans- 16,000 in Zamfara State alone. Widowhood is equally swelled-8,000 in Zamfara State alone as of Sept. 2019. (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/nigeria/288-violence-nigeria-north-west-rolling-back-mayhem>). Many families are consequently not only dislocated but incomplete, this definitely adversely affects the socio-political development of the Zone.

Secondly, De-population and loss of manpower. The sheer number of casualties or fatalities as amply demonstrated statistically, earlier in this study is overwhelming. Though all ages are involved in the human carnage, it is the youthful segment of the population that is mindlessly being dissipated. These untimely deaths cannot in any way promote socio-political development. Thirdly, Impoverishment and Economic decline- Nigeria has been unfortunately tagged the poverty capital of the globe. Ordinarily, the Northern part of the country, from available records host the poorest of poor Nigerians, with the least per-capita. The security challenges and its ineffective management only exacerbate an already bad situation leaving no room for escape. As asserted by a visibly disturbed Governor Zulum

of Bornu, the millions of IDPs in the zone are predominantly farmers and have no access to their farms. Indeed as he put it, "If nothing is done, believe me sincerely. We shall face a very serious challenge, even more sinister than what we are facing now". (Punch, 2020, Sept. 19).

Fourthly, Food insecurity- The security situation in the North adversely affects foodsecurity, which is recognized as one of the elements of national power. Iyatse (2020, p.1) reported that:

The North hitherto considered the food basket of the country...consistently led the country's year on year food inflation rate from June to August 2020...According to the Consumer Price Index (CPI), a survey conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics, the food inflation of Kogi, Kwara, Plateau, Sokoto, Yobe, Zamfara and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), exceed the national average in all the three months of June to August.

This situation, prompted the leader of Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF), YerimaShettima, to observe that "...except the government tackled the challenges head-on, the country was yet to see the worst"(Iyatse, 2020, Sept.p.2)

Another challenge is the amplification of out of school syndrome- Nigeria reportedly has the highest number of out of school children in the world. Over 12million of our school age children are out of school and the overwhelming number is in the North with its Almajiri practices. The security challenges bedeviling the area only exacerbate the already very ugly and shameful situation. Beyond the core north, the problem has now spread to the North Central or Middle-Belt. Benue State has become a victim. The Human Rights Watch report (2018, June, 28) confirmed that "...in Benue State alone, 102,000 children, 60% of the 169,922 people displaced by the herder -farmer conflict, have been forced out of school". The evidence is therefore one of retrogression as this cannot in any way promote socio-political development.

Reversal of educational progress is also a major challenge. Many school buildings and other infrastructure like Laboratories, Libraries and Play-grounds have been either burnt or mindlessly destroyed. Many Teachers have either been killed or displaced and badly dislocated. School girls are abducted- a hundred (100) in Dapchi, Yobe State alone where one,- Leah Sharibu is still being held hostage. These negativities only reverse whatever gains earlier made in the education of the female gender in the area and the overall socio-political development of the region.

In the seventh place is the scaring of investors- Investment thrives in peaceful environments. Places of uncertainties, savagery, banditry, Kidnapping, insurgency and the likes, scare away investors. No one delights to invest in a jungle or what a UN expert termed 'pressure Cooker', which the north has been turned into. The numerous security challenges and ineffective management of same have therefore become a disincentive for investments and adversely affect socio-political development in the North.

Devastated Health Facilities- According to a World Health Organization (WHO) News release (2016, Dec.14), "one third of the over700 health facilities in Bornu State have been completely destroyed. ...of the 743 health facilities identified in Bornu State, 35% are

completely destroyed, another 29% partially damaged and only 34% intact ...out of those not destroyed, 31% are not functioning, mostly as a result of lack of access due to insecurity; 32% have no access to any water at all..." This report is a fair representation of the situation in all the three zones of the North with respect to access to health facilities and availability of health services. This situation is a minus for socio-political development in the North.

Finally is indiscriminate suicide bombing- Indiscriminate suicide bombing in Markets, Mosques, churches, vehicles, military and non-military targets hold sway, particularly in the North-East Zone. The situation is likened to the state of nature where Hobbes posited that life was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short; while to Locke, life in such a state was full of fears, continual dangers and so insecure.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

We consider it both anomalous and an aberration that in a Federal Republic as Nigeria, internal security management is exclusive for the Federal tier; and to the utter exclusion of the other tiers of government. The myriad of security challenges confronting the nation and in particular northern Nigeria cannot be effectively managed under the present arrangement. The ineffectiveness of the mode of internal security management accounts for the colossal loss of lives and property, as well as the phenomenon of internally displaced persons (in their millions) in all parts of the North. This has turned the north virtually to a State of nature where life is not only poor, nasty, brutish and short but also full of fears and continual dangers. A change of the present arrangement to allow each and all the three tiers of government directly in charge of internal security management within its domain; as is the standard in all Federal systems, is therefore imperative if not inevitable to assure a meaningful level of socio-political development in the region.

It is our candid opinion that for effective management of internal security challenges in the north and by extension in the Nigerian polity, the following recommendations will be useful. (a) Democratization of internal security management-The constitutional involvement of all the three tiers of government in internal security management. The Social Contract with the governed is between each level or tier of government and her subjects. It is therefore appropriate that each tier of government should possess its own Policing structure. The various State Governors should not just be the chief security officers of their respective States on paper but in reality. This will enable the necessary local inputs, prompt and early arrest of security threats before they blossom into conflagrations. (b) Permanent resolution of the Herder- Farmer perpetual clashes. Permanent resolution of the conflict will entail the adoption of Ranching and the jettisoning of the itinerant pastoral approach. Both the Federal and State governments should encourage the re-orientation of herders away from itinerant to settled pastoral system in line with global trend and best practices. (c) Given the various causes of security threats identified in this study, it is necessary that all the tiers of government should take separate and coordinated actions to ensure significant reduction of unemployment, poverty, infiltration of Islamic jihadists/fundamentalists from the Sahel and the proliferation of small and light weapons in the North.

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